

managed affair, and the troopers were rewarded with the price obtained for the cattle in camp.

This happened on the 9th; on the 10th Salter's cavalry was detached to communicate with Simpson; on the 11th the adjutant-general Major Green moved with a column to scour the hills towards Deyrah, in concert with a detachment which marched from Hunter's camp, and they killed some robbers and brought back eight hundred cattle. On that day also, certain expert men, called "*Puggees*," were employed to *pug* or track the robbers who had seized the dawk, it being suspected that the Boordees of Ali Moorad's force, who were at feud with the 6th irregular cavalry, because of McKenzie's action in which some of their tribe had been killed, were the perpetrators of the murder and robbery. The trail however went into the hills, fortunately for the ameer, as the general, chafed by his previous misconduct, declared his intention, if treachery had been detected, to take Captain Malet and Mr. Curling out of the prince's camp, and send in exchange a shower of grape from ten pieces of artillery.

On the 12th, hearing nothing more of the chiefs' coming in, Sir C. Napier began more strongly to doubt the faith of Ali Moorad, and thought the offer of surrender was only to gain time for a Sikh force to join the hillmen. Yet, when he considered that he had thirteen hundred good infantry, ten guns, and six hundred cavalry in hand, and that his reserves towards Shahpoor would give him two thousand more troops, he judged that Ali dared not be treacherous: and for any force Beja and his new allies, if the Sikhs were really coming, could bring to the fight, he cared little. However, always prudent, he brought Hunter's column up from Jummuck, leaving the defiles there to the care of Fitzgerald's camel corps. Then writing to the Mazarees on the Indus a menacing letter, to deter them from giving the tribes any aid, he chose a position of battle where he could defy twenty thousand enemies and awaited events.

The 13th Hunter joined the camp, and that day also

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the confederate robber chiefs sent their near relations to Ali Moorad, saying, As they were treated so would be the conduct of the khans, the English leader might put their relations to death, but then the war would continue: and it was intimated that Mohamed the Lion might come to aid the tribes with five thousand men.

Inflexible as steel the general replied, that he would have all prisoners, or none—they might choose. On the 14th, they demanded another day for reference—Not an hour, was the answer; “and if the whole do not come in, the British army will march to-morrow embattled into your hills, but *mercy* will go back with the heavy baggage to Shahpoor. With respect to Shere Mohamed, his highness will be welcome, I have as many men here as fought at Dubba and shall be sorry if the Lion comes with fewer numbers than he had there.”

This sternness induced the relations of the chiefs to quit Ali Moorad and come to the English camp on the 15th. They came however as ambassadors, pleading distance and customs and the recent death of Beja Khan's wife for delaying the surrender until the 19th, which they affirmed was the earliest day possible. Sir C. Napier would not alter his terms as to Beja, but to the others he offered new conditions. Islam Khan Bhoogtee might, if he was content to do so, take an oath never to invade the British territory, but he must make his salaam to the khan of Khelat, his lawful sovereign. Deyrah Khan Jackranee was desired to settle in Scinde, but he might take Islam's oath instead, if he would be surety for all his tribe. If he could not do that, Deyrah himself should be received in Scinde, endowed and protected, but his tribe should be warred down: these also were the terms for the minor chiefs.

Had he known at that time where the confederates were, he would have marched against them notwithstanding these negotiations; observing, that the loss of his camels and fear of the tribes finding a refuge in Mooltan, were the two great fountains of his generosity.

But it was with him a fixed principle never to hesitate or appear to hesitate, much less go back, with barbarians, whether in the field or in negotiations; hence he repeated his declaration that he would, *God willing*, march the 16th to Dooz Kooshta, yet in consideration of Beja's domestic affliction would wait there until the 19th. In the night of the 15th however, so much rain fell the camels could not carry the tents, and he was not displeased to be thus forced to give a longer day; yet true to his policy, he made the ambassadors remark this natural impediment as a divine restriction, and not any wavering on his part. *God was not willing*. Their eastern imaginations would have otherwise found many impertinent causes to encourage them in further resistance, such as want of food, orders from the governor-general, or a fear of Ali Moorad's power. This last notion the vain-glorious ameer was diligently inculcating amongst his followers, and through them amongst the hillmen, assuming an appearance of superiority upon every favourable occasion; he even declared that he would march on Dooz Kooshta though ordered to move to Heeran on the border of the desert. His first delay had enabled the enemy to escape at Gondooee when the war might have been terminated; now he was pretending great personal anger at receiving orders, and was assuming an independence of command which might produce disaster; but he was quickly taught another lesson. A peremptory order not to go near Dooz Kooshta was transmitted, with this message; that if he were found in possession of that watering-place a cannon-shot should go through his pavilion as a signal to decamp.

At Sebree, on the evening of the 16th, notwithstanding the rain of the evening before, the wells were dried up, and the troops all gasping for water, when suddenly from the rocky hills in front came down a torrent sixty yards wide and two feet deep, pouring through the middle of the camp. Most of the soldiers, astonished and rejoicing at this unexpected relief, looked on it as a special providence, and the general, who had from his knowledge

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of hilly districts foreseen this event, thus noticed it in his journal. "How many phenomena there are in these countries which admit of being turned with a little forecast and ingenuity into seeming miracles! This torrent was one which I could have foretold and employed to advantage. And on the march from Shahpoor, when manna was found in the desert, the soldier who first brought it to me said, 'Sir, this is a miracle—it is on the bushes—it is food—it comes from God, it comes down from heaven—it is a miracle!' He was right it was a miracle—What is not?"

None of the hillmen opposed him in the defiles of the rocky wall which, from Lulle, extended as before observed to this point, where it was beginning to mix with the Mazaree hills; Dooz Kooshta was therefore attained after many hours' marching without opposition on the 17th of February. Ali Moorad had not dared to come there, and when the camp was pitched the general, who had been in the saddle for ten hours, entered his tent and thus recorded the strong feelings which the date of the day had called up.

"This is the second anniversary of the battle of Meeanee, and I am again in the field! Am I doomed to constant war and bloodshedding? Well! This is a righteous war, and so was that against the infamous ameers. But this day two years! What heaps of dead were around me—what numbers of friends were dying—what shrieks from the hospital-tent of men undergoing amputation! Peace be with them, they behaved nobly, those who died and those who survived that terrible conflict. And I am here now waiting for the surrender of the robber chiefs at Dooz Kooshta, which, translated, means *The Thief's Death*. Singular coincidence!"

CHAPTER X.

AT Dooz Kooshta the camp remained until the 19th, in pursuance of the promise to Beja Khan; but it was apparent that Ali Moorad had been deceived by the chiefs and their secret allies amongst the ameer's councillors, and that the negotiations were only to gain time. The robbers had spies and emissaries in all places and were perfectly well informed, when no tidings of their positions or designs could be obtained by the British leader. Even his personal attendant, a Hindoo, who had been with him for years, transmitted all that his master uttered in his presence to some employer, who was not detected: yet passages in the Bombay libels indicated a connection with this treachery.

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On the 19th the campaign recommenced, but ere the events are related, the positions and their military bearings must be laid down, for a new front of battle had been adopted, and the line instead of facing northwards looked eastward.

Simpson being now at Deyrah, near which he had captured a string of camels, formed the extreme left; behind him, to the westward, was a cavalry post at the Tomb; a good watering-place, from whence the patrols could communicate with the Murrees by the defile of Sartoof, and scour the Sungseela ravine.

South of the Tomb, and connected with it by patrols, Fitzgerald's camel corps was at the Jummuck pass; and both those posts were in communication with Jacob at Poolagee: thus the ravines of Tonge, of the Illiassee, and the Teyaga were commanded, and that of Sungseela watched.

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Shahpoor, always strongly garrisoned, contained the magazines.

Head-quarters were in centre of the first line ; Ali Moorad formed the right wing at Heeran, touching on the frontier of the Mazaree country ; and between these principal posts the cavalry and police maintained the communications by patrols.

This disposition of the army restricted the hillmen to half their original occupation of those desolate regions, cooping them up in the north-eastern corner ; and though their fastnesses there were the most rugged, and they could from thence descend finally into the Mooltan territory if the Dewan was faithless, the English leader had employed moral means to prevent that, and the following skilful combinations debarred them of any successful counter attack.

Jacob, holding the forts of Poolagee, Oolagee, and Lheree, on the west, could not be easily hurt ; and his cavalry and guns entirely awed the Khelat tribes in the Bolan hills, who being secretly inimical would otherwise on the first opportunity have extended the war along the Hala mountains down to Sehwan.

Simpson having the Deyrah fort, impregnable to any attack from the Beloochees, formed a pivot on which the main body could securely turn for offensive operations ; he also commanded the principal valley and was connected by the cavalry post at Tomb with the camel corps at Jum-muck, and with Jacob at Poolagee.

Ali Moorad watched from Heeran the Mazarees, and was within call from head-quarters if wanted for a battle ; meanwhile, excised from the operations and exposed in an open country to the action of the British cavalry, he was debarred opportunity for treachery. The principal force under the general was thus free to act offensively in any quarter.

In this state of affairs the troops lived hardly from hand to mouth, and as the captured herds furnished much of the subsistence, the campaign was one of great privation as well as fatigue. However the hillmen fared worse. Their

stores of grain had all been taken at Poolagee, Shahpoor and Ooch, which forced them to feed on flesh, an unusual diet producing disease, and numbers died. Some supplies indeed they got from the Mazarees of Rojan on the Indus, but they paid exorbitantly for them; and here it may be explained that there were two Mazaree tribes—a river tribe subjects to the Seikhs, and a hill tribe. From both of them the robbers expected aid, but Sir C. Napier's letters to the dewan of Mooltan had not been fruitless. The river tribe, the Dewan said, had been strictly forbidden to receive any of the robbers, and had been directed to send supplies to the British; but for the hill Mazarees, they were enemies to the Seikhs and he hoped for their destruction—they were not only robbers like Beja, but half of the depredations attributed to that chief were perpetrated by them.

These hill Mazarees were however those the general most desired for friends, because their country was known, and to enter it would dangerously extend his line of operations. Fortune again befriended him. The Bhoogtees, just before the commencement of the campaign, had plundered some hill Mazarees, and that offence coupled with the general's personal menaces, induced the latter to send several chiefs with three hundred followers as voluntary hostages. But they went first to Ali Moorad, and he from a desire to appear great induced them to remain in his camp. This insolence, the English leader, having other means of evincing his paramount authority, took no notice of at the time, justly observing, that the greater Ali pretended to be, the more powerful would his superior appear in the eyes of the hillmen when his dependence became known; and the Mazarees indeed, soon finding who was master, hastened to do homage to real power.

On the 18th Captain Salter brought advice from Deyrah, that the hillmen's camp was at Goojroo, or Shore, twenty-four and twenty-one miles in front of Dooz Kooshta; that they were about eight thousand strong, and lying close on the hill Mazarees' frontier, which they were now forbidden to pass; but whether they designed to fight the British or

Plan 2.

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to surrender was not known. This intelligence involved new considerations. Would the robbers, if pressed in their actual position, go into the Seikh territory? Would it be right to follow them? The conclusion was in the affirmative for the last. They could only go there with secret permission, or in violation of the neutrality avowed by the dewan of Mooltan: moreover, the frontier being rocky could not be well defined, and pursuit of a flying enemy would not admit of nice distinctions. Ali Moorad's credulity and falsehoods had already caused the loss of six days, at the most important crisis, and the whole object of the war was not to be further endangered by delicate respect for national rights which were totally disregarded by the enemy. The Seikhs said they had not admitted, and would not admit the tribes; the latter might then be pursued; because, either the assurance was false or they would not be within the Seikh boundary.

These reflections made, and the term of delay promised to Beja having terminated, on the 19th the troops were secretly put in motion to surprise the enemy. The camel corps had been previously called up, and orders were sent to Ali Moorad to bring forward his forces, because a great and decisive stroke was contemplated. The road to Shore, running through the defiles of Lotee, was long, rugged and difficult—in the night-time peculiarly so—but the march was so well combined that the confederates would have been surprised in their camp, but for one of those minor insubordinations which no commander can guard against, which so often mar the finest combinations, and render war the property of fortune. The movement was to have been in darkness and silence, the orders to that effect were peremptory; but some camp-followers lighted a fire, Beja's videttes saw it, and that chief instantly fled from his position. Hence, after being twenty-two hours on horseback without taking food, Sir C. Napier pitched his camp in the afternoon of the 20th at Shore, a baffled general for the moment; but a quantity of grain and a hundred and fifty camel-loads of baggage were captured at Shore, and the last was given as a prize to the soldiers. Hindoo merchants

had come from the Mazarees of Rojan with this grain, on speculation, but they lost life and goods together, for they and their followers fought bravely and were killed. These captures showed that the tribes were moving as a people, not as warriors, and that finally the English operations would inevitably circumvent and destroy them.

On the 21st Ali Moorad arrived with his wild warriors, stout and brave men ; and the same day a hill chief, Ali Shere Khosa, came in and made salaam. He was quite a youth and disliked the robber life ; but his lands being surrounded by those of the other chiefs, he had no free action until that moment. Sir C. Napier gave him a government employment, observing, that to punish the robbers was only half his object, to reclaim them was his aim ; and despite of the universal impression to the contrary he judged that he could do so, and was resolved to try, founding his hopes upon his extensive experience of mankind. He had dealt, in peace and war, with many nations, British, Irish, Americans, Italians, French, Germans, Greeks, Turks, red Indians, Hindoos and Beloochees ; and he thought military persons, having principally to do with the soldiers and peasantry of each country, had the natural characters of men in those countries, most openly exposed to their observation. By the peasantry because they are unsophisticated and have no motive for concealment with soldiers who are not enemies ; and there is a curious similarity of military law and usage in all nations, indicating a distinctive general character, exclusive of what is imposed by customs and religion, and very perceptible to an observant officer. The military life forces observation of character upon the mind. All soldiers, men and officers, must study the temper and character of those above as well as of those below them ; they are more or less in the position of courtiers with Eastern despots, and none are more shrewd in detecting character, though none are more skilful in hiding it, than Asiatic court-men—the one quality generating the other.

It is pretended, said Sir C. Napier, by men who assume to themselves all knowledge and competency for

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governing in India, that something occult exists in the Indian character ; but the distinctive general character of man is as pronounced with them as with others, when clothed in uniform. There are indeed modifications to be remarked, yet easily to be traced to conventional causes, the general character remaining the same. The sepoy for example, is sober, and cleanly as far as ablutions go, the European not so—that can be traced to religion and climate, the last being father to the first. But as a recruit, the sepoy is vaunting and eager to fight, so is the European ; as a veteran he is cool and daring like the European ; and like him he is fond of being smart in dress, of having a military bearing, and is proud of being a soldier. If undisciplined he is easily panic-stricken, so are Europeans, but when well drilled both are fierce and intrepid. The Indian, having been a slave for ages, is a liar—so is the European slave—but, like the European, the Indian as he grows in civilization and freedom adopts truth as the better policy. This is proved by the existing character. The old and respected soldier is more truthful than the recruit, and a native officer of low rank in the British service can be believed when an officer of Ali Moorad's cannot, however high his rank.

Finding fear, pride, vanity, courage, honourable ambition, ostentation and self-respect, common to both races, Sir C. Napier judged that in their avarice and generosity, and in their susceptibility to the impressions of skilful leaders, the eastern men in no way differed from their western brethren ; wherefore with hope and resolution he looked forward not only to subdue but to reclaim and civilize the wild tribes now opposing him in arms—feeling assured that a life of murdering and robbing, with continual danger, could not be really one of choice.

As the march against Shore and Goojroo had been made in the expectation of fighting a great battle or receiving the tribes in surrender, General Simpson had also been called in, and he arrived in camp on the evening of the 20th, having left a garrison in the fort of Deyrah. Thus nearly the whole army was concentrated, and the



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first thought was to push on in pursuit; but the extreme fatigue of the troops prevented this; those of the main column had been twenty-two hours under arms, and Simpson's column nineteen hours, seven of which were employed to descend one ghaut. It was absolutely necessary therefore to rest; but next day a strong detachment being led out to examine the pass of Goojroo in front, the enemy was both seen and felt at no great distance, and some of his men were killed. Fame had not exaggerated the extraordinary ruggedness of the country. With infinite difficulty the precipitous rocks on each side the entrance of the Goojroo pass were scaled, but all beyond was desolate, and impracticable from the transverse chasms. The defile itself being penetrated for about a mile was found absolutely stupendous; there was no mode of passing it save by the cavalry galloping through; a desperate expedient; for the guides said it was in length four leagues and without change, being only fifty feet wide, strewn with large loose stones and having perpendicular sides several hundred feet high: it was also without a drop of water after the entrance was passed. The flanking parties therefore came down again, not without danger and difficulty. While above, they had discerned the smoke of the confederates' camp twelve miles off, and the hillmen were evidently waiting until the British should enter the terrible defile; they would then have barred all egress, and using their knowledge of the bye-ways have closed round and destroyed the entrapped soldiers.

This state of affairs demanded new combinations uniting the utmost caution and vigour. The enemy had been at last found, and though his position was unattackable it could be turned; his back was to the Seikh territory and he could not retreat further if neutrality was observed; nor could he for want of provisions remain long where he was. But the question as to where he would go had to be revolved with more care than ever, for on the next movement the success of the war was likely to depend. It was probable indeed that Beja would push suddenly upon Deyrah and from thence throw himself into Trukkee;

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yet, though the name and strength of that celebrated fastness were familiar in the British camp, no man, guide or spy, could or would tell exactly where it was situated. In this doubt the English leader formed new combinations with a sagacity marking his mastery in war.

The Bundlecund Legion was ordered to remain at Shore, under the command of Major Beatson, a stern determined soldier; Ali Moorad was sent back to the Lotee pass; Hunter went to the Jummuck defiles again, and the general marched with Simpson's troops to Deyrah. These dispositions brought him nearer to the magazines without seeming to retreat; but they could not have been made if the Mazaree merchants' wheat had not been captured, and it was no small part of the difficulty of this campaign, that the army had to win its food from the enemy and dig for water day by day; it was no slight proof of genius either, thus continually to change the whole scheme of operations in such a country, and on such accidental circumstances.

Plans 1 & 2.

There were two courses in the enemy's choice especially necessary to guard against. First he could turn the British left by a defile which led down towards Lotee, and then moving by Deyrah break through the Jummuck defile and regain Tonge. Second he might avoid the Jummuck, after passing Deyrah, and moving by Marwar to the ravine of the Tomb, break through Jacob's posts, and make for the Kujjuck and Bolan country. Both of these movements would indeed be desperate efforts, but the hillmen were in a desperate situation, and any wild and furious effort might be expected from them.

If they did not adopt one of these courses, four operations remained for them, namely, to fight in the narrow plain, which being behind their actual camp could be reached by the British from Deyrah—to descend into the Seikh territory—to surrender when their food, of which they could not have much, was expended—to throw themselves into Trukkee. Any of these operations would be their ruin; but it was possible there might be minor defiles about Goojroo unexplored, and at this time unex-

plorable, through which they could pour upon Beatson at Shore. In fine the war had now reached a crisis and the problem to be solved was become very complicated.

1°. The British line of communication with Shahpoor was more than a hundred miles long, and passed through many dangerous defiles.

2°. To the supplies of food, it might be, that supplies of water were to be added ; for the habit of poisoning wells and pools was an understood practice amongst the hillmen.

3°. Strong escorts were required to guard the convoys, because roving isolated bands of well-mounted robbers were still lying in most of the nullahs and smaller ravines behind the army, watching for spoil.

4°. Provisions were already scarce, and the government camels had again failed from overwork ; the troops were on half-rations, and at Shore only two days' supply was in the field magazine. Hence the principal reason for sending Hunter back to Jummuck, was to protect and shorten the line of communication with Shahpoor, by turning the convoys through that pass instead of continuing their movements by Sebree and Dooz Kooshta.

Grass and water for the exhausted camels could be obtained at Deyrah, and from thence new offensive operations could be undertaken, but as it was essential to parry counter blows during the movements the following combinations were arranged.

If the enemy, who knew very exactly from his emissaries everything that was passing, should, when the main column marched upon Deyrah, find means to overpower Beatson, that officer was to fall back on Ali Moorad at Lotee, and Hunter's column, though in march, was to turn in support.

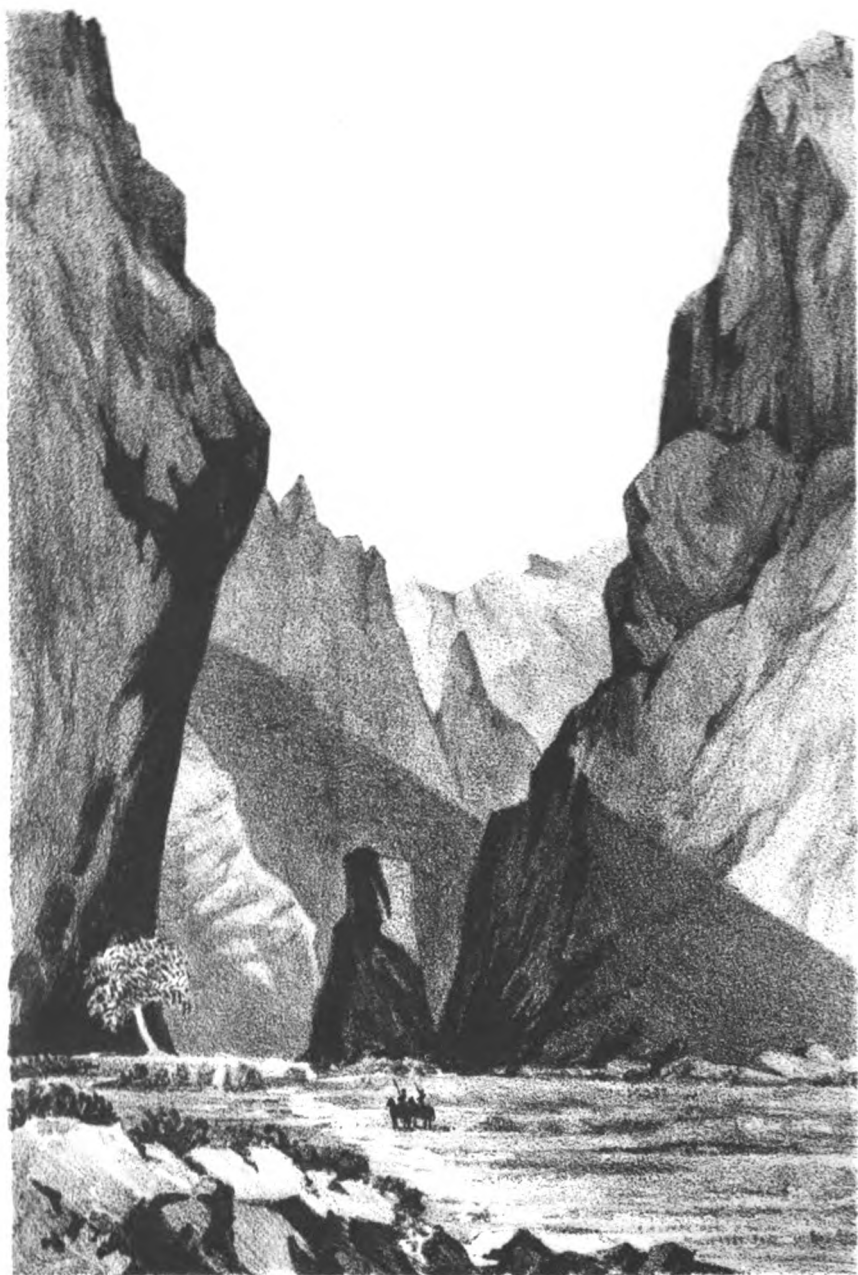
If the hillmen were deterred from pursuing Beatson by this accumulation of forces at Lotee, and should from Shore follow the head-quarters to Deyrah, Beatson and Ali Moorad had orders to close in on their rear, and place them between two fires ; Hunter was then to change his direction and move on Dusht-Goran by which the enemy would be entirely enclosed.

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Having arranged these combinations, the general marched from Goojroo towards Deyrah on the 22nd. He had little fear for Beatson, and was anxious that Hunter should arrive at Jummuck on the 25th, not only to secure the shorter line of communication with Shahpoor and have the convoys turned, but that he might be in a position to support the cavalry at the Tomb—an object of importance, as the enemy could from the Murrow plain descend on Deyrah, or by the Sungeela ravine pour down on the Tomb. In the former case the general's column could, moving by Tussoo, reach Deyrah first, as it would march faster than a heterogeneous mass of warriors, women, children and herds. The rugged defile leading from the Murrow plain on Deyrah would thus be barred; or, if the hillmen were first, they would in the plain of Deyrah fall an easy prey to a compact army assailing them while still confused and issuing from the defiles. But in the second case Hunter's aid would be required at the Tomb. That officer, however, halted a day at Dooz Kooshta, and so far the nicety of the combination was marred; yet with no ill effects, because the enemy did not adopt the operation to be guarded against.

Head-quarters reached Deyrah the 23rd, having marched through a country of astonishing asperity, where the troops were dangerously embarrassed by the multitude of camp-followers and quantity of baggage. Deyrah itself was however in a fertile, though at this time uncultivated plain, having a fine stream of water flowing through it. Here rest was obtained, and after a time, vakeels from the Murrees arrived to make salaam, induced thereto by a previous menacing communication—their recent conduct having become suspicious.

On the 26th Hunter reached Jummuck and the whole army was thus re-established under the new combinations. Beatson, if driven from Shore, could, as shown, retire on Ali Moorad at Lotee, where their united forces could hold the robbers in check until the main body from Deyrah, having only a march of fifteen miles, fell on their flank—and from Jummuck Hunter could also move to the support



G. Wells, lith.

Printed by B. Rowney & Co.

PASS BETWEEN DEYRA & THE HILARY PASS.

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of Lotee, in case of disaster. But if Beja attempted to enter the plain of Deyrah instead of assailing Lotee, after driving back Beatson, he would be met in front by the general's column, while the passes in his rear would be closed by Beatson and Ali Moorad. Nor could he gain any advantage by moving across the Murrow plain, northwards, and so pouring down the Sungseela ravine, because the cavalry post would oppose him at Tomb, being sure of support from Jummuck which was only twelve miles distant, and from Deyrah which was not much more.

The great difficulty remained: Sir C. Napier had twice let Beja and his tribe pass before his army without attacking him, because the women and children of the tribe being present he feared for their lives. This feeling still governed his operations, and with more power, because of a painfully interesting experience he had on entering Deyrah, where some poor deserted children were found starving. They were taken care of, but for a long time, demanded each day when they were to be killed, having no other expectation: thus indicating too plainly the ferocious habits of their tribes. Hence with more than his usual resolution the English leader sought to avoid battles, and keep the masses shut up in the rocks, where want of food and water might compel them to yield without fighting. Still he could not forego final success, and had now to decide on what would most conduce towards it.

The confederates had, during the recent marches, retired from the Goojroo defiles to Partur, north of the Murrow plain and touching on the Keytrian frontier; but this was judged a wile to draw the army from Trukkee, of which, though then close at hand, no information had yet been obtained, save that it was not very far off and was amongst rocks through which a narrow fissure led northwards from Deyrah to the Murrow plain. It appeared certain however that the chiefs had been refused an asylum in the Keytrian and Seikh territories, and were thus delivered over to the British operations; hence, changing as it were the fixed point of his compasses, the general now resolved to make Beatson's position on the right his pivot, and

Plan 2.

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sweeping round with his left and centre, as he had before swept with his right, to hem in the robbers and finally attack them if warranted by circumstances. To effect this he only waited for his convoys, which were now being brought up, though slowly, because the loss of the hired camels had been as yet but partially restored, and the troops had been for many days on half-rations.

On the 28th, while preparing for the new movement, Sir C. Napier secretly heard that Trukkee was really close to him, on the north-west and not amongst the rocks before indicated. Wherefore, hoping that sooner or later he should find the tribes in that fastness, he forbade all straggling or explorations towards the mysterious quarter, lest the hillmen should be thus deterred from going there; for he was well assured that, once in Trukkee, he could by famine, drought, or force of arms, or all three combined, reduce the robbers to submission. While ruminating on these things a trooper galloped into camp, saying that a convoy, which after depositing a supply was on its return, had been attacked only three miles off and was defending itself. Instantly the general made for the scene of action with his Mogul escort, leaving orders for a regiment of irregular cavalry to follow; for that such a daring attack, so close to his camp, would not have happened unless a refuge was at hand he felt assured, and that refuge could only be Trukkee.

In this conviction, when he reached the ground, he wished to keep the enemy in play, but his staff seeing only fifty mounted robbers in the field galloped against them and caused a retreat. This unmilitary procedure was very displeasing, but his judgment was quickly confirmed; the retiring horsemen suddenly rode into a chasm amongst the rocks, and a guide at his side involuntarily exclaimed as they disappeared, *Trukkee!* having only the evening before declared it was two marches distant! This exclamation, coupled with the confident retreat of the robbers, gave warrant that the long-hidden fortress was found, and the confederates brought to bay; wherefore the irregular cavalry were instantly posted opposite the chasm



G. Wells, lith.

VIEW OF THE PASS, SEEN THROUGH THE PASS OF THE OUTWARD SCREEN

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through which the horsemen had disappeared, and the English leader went back to camp exultant. It was then dark and the troops were merely warned to support the cavalry, if any alarm was given, but at daylight both infantry and guns marched, and the discovered southern entrance to Trukkee was blocked up.

In his tent the general had found a spy, come to report, that all the confederate chiefs, with four thousand fighting men, had gone into Trukkee by the northern entrance two days before, having quitted their camp at Partur for that purpose, and there were no other entrances save those now watched by the cavalry. This advice, agreeing with what had just occurred, was confirmed by the ambassadors from the Murrees, and Sir C. Napier, seeing he had the game at last in his hands, instantly detached the camel corps and the volunteers of the 13th regiment, also mounted on camels, to reinforce Beatson at Shore; carrying orders for that officer and Ali Moorad to move—Beatson by the Goojroo defiles, Ali by a route leading westward of that pass on to the Murrow plain, whence they were to track the hillmen, and seize the northern entrance to Trukkee.

This reinforcement was sent to enable Beatson to act alone, for Ali was habitually neglectful of orders, and his camp was full of traitors; but he was not perfidious, and his services were thus described. "He was faithful and useful, but too vainglorious, and his people were so many spies for the enemy. I had some trouble to keep them clear of us and carry on the operations independently, yet apparently in unison." Ali did not now obey promptly, but finally he and Beatson blocked the northern entrance on the morning of the 5th, and thus the renowned fortress of Trukkee, hitherto hidden as it were by enchantment from the search of the British leader, was suddenly found, and as suddenly sealed up; and all the robber tribes, a few roving bands infesting the communications of the army excepted, were imprisoned like the Afreets of their eastern tales under the signet of Soliman. It was a masterly stroke of generalship, an astonishing physical effort and a

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fitting climax to the cautious and calculated though vigorous operations which had preceded and enforced such a termination. The chiefs were amazed. They had imagined that Trukkee itself, involved and blended with the other rocks of that desolate and savage region, would remain a mystery, baffling the search of their antagonist ; and that from its wild intricacies they could emerge from time to time on their murderous excursions, until the invading army, dwindling under starvation and a partisan warfare, could no longer keep the field. With these hopes, like hawks as they called themselves, they had gathered on their rocks, ruffling their wings and peering for their quarry, but the fowler's net was thrown, and like hawks they were taken to be reclaimed.

Thus shut up, the robbers were without the means of lengthened existence. Their herds were reduced in numbers, their stores of grain, no longer to be replenished, were scanty, and famine awaited them, to vindicate Sir C. Napier's prescient scheme of operations against the loud idiot cry raised in derision of the expedition. Nor was the execution unworthy of the conception. The marches App. XIX. had been efforts of no ordinary kind. Beatson and Ali Moorad had threaded terrible defiles, had moved along tracks covered with huge rocks and loose sharp stones, for nearly sixty miles almost without a halt, and on half-rations ; the men therefore arrived nearly naked and barefooted, and the animals unshod : a horse-shoe was sold for thirty shillings, and their progress was truly described by the general as climbing not marching ! This also had been the character of all the movements, without a murmur being heard.

While awaiting news of the arrival of Beatson and the ameer, the infantry had encamped opposite the southern entrance, and the cavalry were moved further to the west for the watching of another entrance which was now heard of. Then the general after examining with great labour and fatigue all the approaches, scaled a high rock from whence he looked into the interior of Trukkee and formed a plan of attack—to be executed however only in the last extremity,



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6 Wells, 10th

HEAD OF ENCAMPMENT NEAR TURKEY KILN.

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TRUCKEE, BIRDS' EYE VIEW FROM THE HEIGHTS OVERLOOKING ENCAMPMENT.

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G. Wells, lith.

for the place was indeed worthy of its reputation. Resembling an extinct crater, it was twelve miles long, by five or six broad, and nature had most curiously contrived it alike for secrecy and strength. For strength, because externally it presented a belt of rocks many hundred feet high and nearly impracticable of ascent on the south side; and though it was less austere on the north, the inside there was precipitous while on the southern side it was comparatively easy of descent. Thus the whole circuit was equally impervious to assault; and the interior was a vast collection of rocky hillocks with chasms of different depths, yet all precipitous.

For secrecy, because on the south was a second wall, or screen of perpendicular rocks some hundred feet high, forming with the actual belt of Trukkee a restricted valley, or rather lane, which was to be entered by narrow fissures before the passes into the crater could be approached; and all the country for miles around, beyond that screen, and adjoining the true wall, was a chaos of huge loose stones which it was hardly possible to cross. The entrances to this hidden fastness, which seemed like some ruined colossal amphitheatre, were mere cracks in a wall of rock, so suddenly opened that the upper parts seemed still to touch and refused to let in the light. There was abundance of water inside; and just outside the fissure by which the robbers retired after their attack on the convoy, there was a copious hot spring, wholesome to drink yet forbidden to the troops by matchlock-men, perched on landing-places in the side of the precipitous crags.

It was impossible to discover exactly what stores of grain and cattle the tribes had introduced, or had previously laid up; and as there might be more entrances and many of their warriors must still be abroad, the length of their resistance to a blockade could not be calculated. Wherefore at first the cavalry were merely spread to the west until they were connected with the horsemen at Tomb, and the latter, patrolling round the western point of Trukkee, communicated with Beatson and the ameer; but when all the entrances were thus ascertained and

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secured, and the investment completed, the general proceeded to arrange a plan for forcing a way in and fighting the human hornets in the midst of their stony cells; a terrible prospect of slaughter on both sides and uncertain of success, for the interior was as formidable as the exterior. This had been ascertained at the northern entrance, where the exterior belt of rocks being more accessible than the southern, was scaled and some progress made in the defile itself; but the interior precipices were then found impracticable, and from the heights thus attained, the hillmen were seen moving from one place to another, with such labour and difficulty as plainly showed what the ground was; for they had to draw up and let down their camels and cattle by ropes, and in places even to swing them across gloomy chasms, offering defensive positions at every hundred yards, and of infinite intricacy, spreading like a network over sixty square miles!

The scheme of attack, though not finally executed, was planned with such subtilty and caution, and was yet so daring, that being afterwards laid before the duke of Wellington it drew from him strong expressions of approbation. It was as follows. The lane between the southern screen and exterior belt of Trukkee was only three hundred yards wide, but nearly forty miles in length, extending from beyond the Tomb on the west to the eastward of Deyrah. Being widest opposite the main entrance to Trukkee, it was proposed to establish there all the field-batteries and mortars, to fire directly at short range upon the entrance, and to throw shells on to the ledges, where the enemy's men were perched with levers to cast down rocks when the assailants should enter the fissure. These projectiles, it was hoped, would not only dislodge the levermen, but also bring away masses of the rock; which in conjunction with those shells that rolled off the ledges and exploded below, would help to clear the defile of its defenders. The infantry meanwhile, formed on the left of the batteries, were to open a brisk sustained musketry against the matchlock-men lining the crest of the rocks

on the robbers' right of the entrance; but no person was to go or be seen on the enemy's left of the defile.

A detachment, ostentatiously moving westward, was to offer a false attack, the commander having a discretion to turn it into a real one if he could find any practicable ascent. But during these demonstrations, a selected body of men under the command of Fitzgerald, were to lie in ambush near the rocky heights on the enemy's left of the defile, with orders to scramble up in a direction previously examined, and—correctly as it afterwards proved—judged accessible to active and resolute men. For this dangerous service the whole of the Company's 2nd European regiment volunteered, and three hundred had been accepted; but to them were added a hundred volunteers from the 64th native regiment, to whom the general wished to give an opportunity of regaining their colours, having found them on trial very gallant soldiers. These volunteers were sworn to silence even under wounds, and with the strong and daring Fitzgerald at their head, would have encountered anything. The ascent would have taken about two hours, and very subtle arrangements were made to prevent the enemy from either seeing the troops or hearing the noise of the loose rocks rolled down by them as they scrambled upwards.

Previous to the time being fixed for this attack, Sir C. Napier and General Simpson, and their staff-officers had anxiously watched the hill for several nights in succession. At first they saw a large fire burning through the night, and many hillmen about it; but the third night it was allowed to go out about ten o'clock; indicating that the undisciplined warriors had become tired of sending up pickets to such a height, where the cold was at this time very severe for eastern constitutions. At last the fire was not seen at all, it was evident the hill was no longer guarded in force, and then the attack was fixed to take place with the following accessories. All the great guns and musketry were to open at once, in the expectation of filling the narrow valley with smoke, and causing such an uproar by the reverberation of sound from the perpen-

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dicular rocks, that the robbers' attention would be entirely drawn to the entrance-fissure being thus menaced, and they would also be prevented from seeing Fitzgerald's storming party or hearing the noise of stones rolled down in its ascent. His attack would be too far off to be disclosed by the transient flashes from the guns, but, if discovered, his men were to rush on and endeavour to obtain a footing above—if undiscovered, they were, on reaching the summit, to light a fire as a signal and then attack whatever was before them.

The entrance-fissure was meanwhile to be stormed or not, as circumstances dictated, that is, if Fitzgerald made his footing good above, the whole of the infantry were to file up after him; but if he was beaten, the entrance was to be stormed before the disaster could become known along the enemy's line. This desperate sanguinary operation it was desirable to avoid if possible; yet the men were so confident and eager, that the general, always mindful of moral force, designed to give no positive order for the storm, but merely keeping a reserve in hand, to push the troops by degrees towards the entrance; trusting to their natural fierceness and bravery, excited by the astounding noise and smoke, for plunging them voluntarily into the defile with such vehemence that nothing could stand before them. And what his troops were capable of attempting had been already evinced at the northern entrance, where Beatson and the ameer were to second the main attack by a simultaneous assault.

Those commanders had, as before related, entered a short way into the defile, but from some error, a sergeant and sixteen privates of the 13th volunteers got on the wrong side of what appeared a small chasm and went against a height crowned by the enemy, where the chasm suddenly deepened so as to be impassable. The company from which the sergeant had separated was on the other side, and his officer, seeing how strong the hillmen were on the rock, made signs to retire, which the sergeant mistook for gestures to attack, and with inexpressible intrepidity scaled the precipitous height. The robbers waited concealed behind

a breastwork on a landing-place until eleven of the party came up, and then, being seventy in number, closed on them. All the eleven had medals, some had three, and in that dire moment proved that their courage at Jellalabad had not been exaggerated by fame. Six of them fell stark, and the others being wounded, were shoved back over the edge and rolled down the almost perpendicular side of the hill; but this did not happen until seventeen of the robbers and their commander were laid dead above.

There is a custom with the hillmen, that when a great champion dies in battle, his comrades, after stripping his body, tie a red or green thread round his right or left wrist according to the greatness of his exploit—the red being most honourable. Here those brave warriors stripped the British dead, and cast the bodies over; but with this testimony of their own chivalric sense of honour and the greatness of the fallen soldiers' courage—each body had a red thread on both wrists! They had done the same before to the heroic Clark whose personal prowess and intrepidity had been remarkable. Thus fell Sale's veterans, and he, as if ashamed of having yielded them precedence on the road to death, soon took his glorious place beside them in the grave. Honoured be his and their names!

Although Sir C. Napier was resolute to storm Trukkee in the manner described, if no other resource remained, he loved his soldiers too well to risk such slaughter until every minor influence had been tried on their brave but ferocious enemies; and much he trusted that want of food, and the despondency which the failure of all Beja's well-devised operations and negotiations must have produced, would bring them to terms. Yet beyond a certain time he could not persevere in the blockade; he had to bring up water as well as provisions to those barren regions; and the troops, thirsty and hungry, were almost naked and quite barefooted; for long marches over sharp loose stones and through low bushes, had torn their clothes and entirely destroyed their shoes: short of those terrible visita-

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tions which have swept away whole armies from existence at once, they were suffering as much as soldiers ever did. Yet not a murmur was heard, their general's skill was apparent, and they were content to die by fatigue, by starvation, or by steel as he commanded. "When I see that old man incessantly on his horse, how can I who am young and strong be idle? By God I would go to a cannon's mouth if he ordered me," was the high-souled expression of a youthful officer in this campaign.

Gallant officers, generous hardy soldiers, they were, and now their day of power was come, with this consolation for past national mishaps, that from their tent doors they could see the very places where former expeditions had failed, and could even mark the wild crags where the skeletons of Clark and his brave comrades seemed to wait in grim expectation of this avenging hour. And sternly they would have been avenged had the hillmen awaited the assault, for the murder of the camp-followers in the previous operations had rendered the soldiers gloomily resolved to give no quarter; yet such is the influence of a great leader, that while they swore to be as merciless to men as the robbers had been to them, they were avowedly fixed to save women and children, even from the knives of their own remorseless kindred.

Happily all slaughter was avoided. It was on the 28th of February that Trukkee had been discovered, and on the 4th of March Beja Khan Doomkee—Islam Khan Bhoogtee—Deyrah Khan Jackranee—Houssein Khan Mundooanee, and two smaller chiefs of dependent tribes, having with them Beja's brother Mundoo, who appeared the master-spirit although till then unknown, entered the English general's tent under truce, but with the Khoran on their heads and submissive accents on their lips, at the very moment he was giving orders to storm their rocky hold. Tall and strong men they were, and of warlike aspects and proportions, bigger men could scarcely be found, with exception of Deyrah, who was of moderate size and gentle look, and much beloved by his tribe for his honour and mildness. Yet this chief, not undeservedly respected,

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TRUCKEE, S^E ENTRANCE FROM THE INTERIOR.

according to their notions, was prone to murder and spoliation, being only more ready when passion subsided to make reparation. Beja, aged, but of Herculean dimensions, had a pre-eminently imposing appearance, answerable to his reputation as the most powerful and daring robber of the hills: but his spirit, though fierce, was scarcely answerable to his appearance and reputation.

They demanded terms. Submission, emigration, and a quiet settlement on the plains, far from your wild crags. We wish for time to consult our tribes. Take it.

Next day came Mundoo to demand modifications. The general was inflexible. Then Deyrah Jackranee—Toork Ali—Denana Mundooee—Suleyman Randanee and Jumal Khan Doomkee, brother of Beja, came with most of their followers and laid down their swords in submission—the first and second induced thereto, as they said, by the honourable treatment of their women at Ooch. These men were protected from plunder, and retaining all their property moved with the army as a caravan. The others held aloof. Beja they said, had been so perfidiously treated by Captain Postans the political agent that they could not trust English honour; and when told by General Simpson—who was sent into Trukkee as a hostage for Beja—that Sir C. Napier's faith was undoubted, they pointed to their ancles and wrists and cried out, Postans! Postans! Thus forced to renewed action the general ordered a column of three hundred infantry to open the communication with Ali Moorad and Beatson, by the western end of Trukkee; and at the same time, as the submission of so many chiefs had put him in possession of the southern entrances, he sent a number of smaller columns through them with orders to scour all the interior of the fastness and pursue with fire and sword whatever they came across, always sparing women and children. This was on the 7th, and soon two more of Beja's brothers and their families were captured without opposition, and consequently without bloodshed; but Beja himself was nowhere to be found, whereupon the scouring columns, the camel corps, and the cavalry and even the

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head-quarters escort of Moguls, were launched in pursuit, with orders to bring him in dead or alive.

Thus hunted, the recalcitrant chief, his brother Munday, a nephew, his son Wuzeer and a minor Bhoogtee chief, with all the followers still adhering to them, surrendered on the 9th. As a punishment the soldiers were allowed to plunder their goods, and they did plunder the men; but true to their honourable compact, molested no woman or child either in person or property; where a woman's dress was seen, or a child's voice heard, all was safe. Islam Khan escaped with his Bhoogtees, but his father-in-law, the Keytrian, whose tribe was one of cultivators not robbers, would not receive his followers. Driven to desperation by hunger he then plundered the Mazarees, but they retook the booty and killed a hundred and twenty of his men. With the remainder he fell on the Murrees who killed a hundred more, and the poor remnant became miserable wanderers—for with those tribes there was no charity. Thus the war ended after fifty-four days of incessant exertions.

"I have had great anxiety during this difficult campaign was the observation of the successful leader. I know not if I shall get credit for it; but I think I have done well. However the play is over."

No credit did he get from any person save Sir H. Hardinge, who behaved as a brother soldier and a public man should behave; but no thanks came from power in England, and strenuous efforts were made and successfully to prevent this great campaign becoming known in all its worth to his countrymen. The skill of the general, the devotion, the hardihood of the officers and men, the heroic deaths of the veterans on the rock were all withheld from public approbation: and the persons who sought to stifle the fame of such actions were those who should have been foremost to proclaim and reward them. History however cannot be stifled, though from natural baseness its posthumous vengeance may be disregarded. None of his staff received any promotion, Lord Ripon long withheld his despatch from the public, and when asked why he did so?



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answered He had forgotten it! A day, an hour of the dangers and fatigues of that campaign would have rendered his memory less treacherous, his luxurious existence more noble; it would have furnished at least one passage in his public life unmarked by public derision or public indignation.

During the operations to reduce Beja, the Murree vakeels had remained in camp, and in fear, because the conduct of the tribe had been so suspicious that the English general, as before noticed, had menaced them. And he could now easily reach them, because the surrender of Beja left him free action, and there was a cannon-road within his power, which, turning the defiles of Sartoo and Nufoosk, led upon their town of Kahun. It was that danger which had brought the vakeels to camp, and meanwhile the tribes removed their families and herds forty miles northwards. The general however, finding them so submissive, renewed the alliance, and offered them the Bhooogtee fort of Deyrah, with the fertile plain around it; but they refused, influenced by the fear of after-feuds if the British should give up Scinde.—An event which the Bombay faction continually assured them was inevitable.

Short as this campaign had been, the greatness of the enterprise considered, it would have been terminated much sooner, if the fear of a collision with the Seikhs had not precluded the execution of the first design, namely, passing through the Rhojan Mazaree's country and invading the hills from the east and west at the same time: the confederates would thus have been early debarred retreat to the defiles of Goojroo, and have been thrown at once into Trukkee. Nor could they have so long baffled the actual operations, if Ali Moorad had been true to time when Beja abandoned the Lulle and Jummuck passes to make for Gondooee; for wily and clever as the hillmen were in their warfare, the superiority of the Englishman's generalship over barbarian art was pre-eminent—illustrating a passage in Plutarch's life of Philopœmen, where he says that great man "*adopting the Cretan customs and*

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using their engines and weapons, their strategies and ambuscades against themselves, even showed that their devices were not the most-singular schemes of children when compared with the long reach of an experienced general."

With less than five thousand men Sir C. Napier had crossed a desert of more than eighty miles, had surprised the enemy's first line of forts and watering-places, had seized their strongest passes without a stroke, had baffled all their former schemes, and in fifty-four days subdued tribes having five times his number of fighting men, without giving them even an opportunity of delivering battle in an advantageous post. He had starved them where they thought to starve him; and by fine combinations and unexampled rapidity overreached them in their own peculiar warfare, in a country more than a hundred and forty miles long, from eighty to one hundred and twenty broad, and of such desolate strength and intricacy as can scarcely be equalled in the world—chasing them amidst crags and defiles, where a single error would have caused the total destruction of his army merely by the casting of stones down on the columns. All other invaders had ever met with destruction amongst those wild rocks and terrible passes, whose impregnable nature had become proverbial throughout Central Asia; and hence, the sudden conquest of warriors, honoured as unconquerable by all surrounding nations, spread wonder and awe. The conqueror was by his own Bengal sepoys called a Deota or spirit; and tribes hitherto dreading and obeying the Cutchee hillmen as demons, now earnestly desired to be accepted as subjects of Scinde; while the wildest Scindian tribes became more contentedly submissive to a government thus proved to be equally powerful and protective.

These results were not easily obtained. "War in these deserts, said the successful leader, is very embarrassing. To get up supplies is difficult; to move is difficult; to find a road is difficult; in fine it is a chain of difficulties such as I believe no other country presents—rocks, mountains, wastes!—all barren, wild, and full of frightful defiles, every step through which was over sharp stones, that lamed half

our animals—horses bullocks asses camels—all were crippled, and the soldiers went barefoot. It was very severe work for man and beast. Napoleon said that war in deserts was of all wars the most difficult, and my experience leads me to the same conclusion.”

Nor was the courage of the hillmen unsuited to their rugged country. In the hand-to-hand fight, where the volunteers of the 13th fell so heroically, one of the robbers being pierced with a bayonet, tore the musket from the soldier's hands, drew the bayonet from his own body, repaid the stroke with a desperate wound and fell dead! In another action twenty-five robbers, meeting with twenty of the Moguls in the desert at dusk, instantly attacked; the horsemen had the advantage and offered quarter after a sharp fight, but the gallant barbarians refused it, and died side by side, fighting to the last!

To have warred down such men in their own desolate hills, without a single reverse, by the mere force of genius and hardihood was a noble exploit; and factiously to hide its lustre from public admiration was essentially base and un-English! For if the surmounting extraordinary difficulties by a union of extreme caution with extreme daring and firmness be looked to, rather than the number of troops employed, as the test of generalship, there are few recorded exploits in war more remarkable than this campaign. And perhaps nothing in it was more remarkable than the resolution with which it was undertaken, and persevered in despite of the universal cry of derision raised by a faction but responded to with an incredulous feeling as to success in the army employed—despite also of the terrible loss of the 78th regiment, the arrogant imbecility of Lord Ripon, and the certainty of personal ruin if it failed of success.

Regarding the execution it is unnecessary to point out the subtilty with which the robbers, the khan of Khelat, and even the friendly Chandian chief were misled as to the opening of the campaign; or how Ali Moorad and his ill-disposed Beloochees, were at once debarred of opportunity for mischief and forced to push a war against their

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own race; but when was ever a surprise effected under greater difficulties, with greater physical exertion, or more prompt and able combinations than that by which Ooch, Shahpoor and Poolagee fell, and the robbers were cut off from the western mountains ere they knew even that the war was begun? Can the skill be denied, with which the terrible passes of Lullee and Jummuck were rendered nullities for the confederates, by the vigorous march of Simpson's column, combined with that of the headquarters? Was it ordinary resolution under adverse circumstances that maintained the camp between those passes, until the surprising expedition of the camel corps, relieving the distress for provisions, facilitated the third great movement of the campaign, namely the taking of new positions at Sebree and Doosh Kooshta, and from thence attempting a second surprise at Shore, which only failed from an accident that no human foresight could have prevented. And was he a common general who with one stroke then changed the plan of operations, extricated his army from the embarrassment caused by that failure, and at the same time placed his enemy in difficulties from which he could never escape?

Let the intricacy and military accuracy of the combinations there made, be examined. The confederates had been by the previous operations forced into a corner of their hills; but they had escaped the surprise designed, and had taken refuge behind a defile through which it was impossible to penetrate; it was equally impossible to remain in observation because the troops were nearly starving and the magazines distant. Meanwhile the confederates could break out by defiles in their own rear, to regain the country they had been before driven from and renew the war; thus rendering all the previous able operations null. To have turned such difficulties to the entire disadvantage of the enemy, to resign the offensive for a moment, and by seemingly retrograde marches, illustrating the saying, "draw back to make the better leap," force the confederates to receive battle in a bad position, or abandon their impregnable one altogether and take the offensive on a bad

line which could only lead to their ruin, was surely the mark of a great general.

Ali Moorad, Hunter, and the commander-in-chief seemed to be retreating when marching on Lottee, Jummuck and Deyrah; but no part of the country previously gained was thereby relinquished. Beatson still blocked the southern end of the Goojroo defile, living on the grain captured from the enemy, while the rest of the army got nearer to the magazines. Thus the supplies were assured, and the head-quarter column, without losing its connection with Hunter's detachment for more than two days, was placed where it could by a new road turn the terrible Goojroo defile, and assail the confederate chiefs at its northern end, while Beatson and Ali Moorad still blocked the southern end. If the hillmen had waited for that attack, the war would have been brought to the decision of a battle on ground favourable to the British; and there was no escape from defeat by the confederates, because the neutral territory of Mooltan was behind them and on their left flank; and if they had come down the defile it has been shown they would have got between two fires. It was then they felt all their opponent's generalship and took refuge in Trukkee, where he shut them up with potential skill. Surprisingly rapid also were his movements, for though his fighting men were few, his was an Indian army and the whole mass was heavy. Not less than twenty thousand persons and their innumerable animals were to be provided for, and handled amidst those barren rocks.

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Plan 2.

CHAPTER XI.

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DURING the campaign Sir C. Napier had not neglected the Scindian administration. "This negotiation with the chiefs in Trukkee," he writes in his journal, "has only kept me from the business of civil government for a few days, and already the pile of trials is two feet high on my table; I dare say not less than thirty are there, several from fifty to ninety sheets of foolscap—and life or death depend on some!" Yet with all this unceasing mental labour he had found time and thought early in the operations, to give an elaborate opinion for the government upon the reformation of the Indian Articles of War; and while propounding terms of capitulation to the robber chiefs, he was treating with the jam of Beila for the purchase of some choice fruit-trees to plant in the public garden at Kurrachee. Attentive also to the claims of science he had placed carriage at the disposal of Captain Vickery—a qualified person of the Company's service—for the collection of geological and mineralogical specimens, which were transmitted with a memoir to the London Society and acknowledged as valuable contributions. He would have extended these researches if the army had remained in the hills; but to avoid that public expense, the moment Beja was captured, the fort of Deyrah was destroyed, Oolagee and Poolagee were restored to their former owners the Keyharees, Lheree was given to Belooch Khan, and the army was put in motion for Scinde. The general then repaired with an escort to Shahpoor to meet the khan of Khelat, whose leave he designed to obtain for putting a garrison in that place to watch those outlying robbers who

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had not entered, or had escaped from Trukkee; and well content he was to have finished the war so soon, for already the heat of the desert had become nearly unendurable by Europeans.

At Shahpoor the khan was found, for like all the surrounding powers he was so awed by this sudden reduction of the hitherto invincible hill tribes, as earnestly to seek that conference which he had before carefully evaded. The campaign had however been entirely to his profit; his rebellious subjects were effaced as tribes, his unruly sirdars humbled and alarmed, and his desolated but fertile plains of Cutch Gundava could now be repeopled and cultivated in safety. He still complained of the hostility of the Candahar chiefs, and on that ground asked for a subsidy; but the general, though anxious to give him political weight to press down the loose materials for commotion which abounded around, thought a subsidy would only tend to enrich his scheming sirdars, and substituted for it an austere warning to the Candahar men not to molest an ally of the British. He also proposed to the governor-general that a Khelat force should be raised, officered and paid by England for a time, as a means of awing the Affghans and discontented nobles, and strengthening the alliance. This suggestion was not attended to, but the Candahar chiefs gave an earnest assurance—for they were in great fear—that they had no hostile designs, and the khan readily assented to the occupation of Shahpoor.

The Englishman now adopted a singular expedient for protecting the frontier of Scinde against the outstanding robbers. Planting the captive Jackranees and a minor tribe of Doomkees on fertile government land, near the southern edge of the Kusmore desert, he made Deyrah Khan their chief, allowing him to reject the violent spirits whose quietude he could not warrant; but those were immediately taken into pay as policemen, and removed to the south where they served well and willingly. The people under Deyrah were compelled to build houses and cultivate lands, being fed by the government until their first harvest was reaped; then house and land were be-

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stowed on the military tenure of opposing the incursions of their kindred robbers still in arms—yet with this stern admonition, that if they themselves robbed any one, or failed to oppose the incursions of others, their lands would be taken away, the chiefs hanged, and the followers set to labour in chains. Deyrah Khan was selected for this settlement because he had always been averse to the robber life, and amongst the first to surrender; under him therefore it was hoped, if the experiment failed to reclaim the fathers, that the children would have better customs. It failed with neither, only Houssein Bhoogtee and his brother, fierce violent men, who had betrayed the heroic Clark and his comrades to death, refused work, and they were instantly put to labour on the public roads in irons, without a murmur from the rest. Civilization triumphed!

It was designed to hang Beja Khan for the murder of McKenzie's grass-cutters, but Ali Moorad prayed for his pardon, and Beja's barbarian nature and customs, joined to the fact that he had been admitted to negotiation during a campaign which had annihilated his power for mischief, gave weight to the ameer's intercession. The old chieftain and his immediate followers, were therefore placed under Ali Moorad's guard as settlers eastward of the Indus, on the conditions given to the Jackranees. Sir C. Napier was also moved to clemency by hearing that when the confederates expected their last fight at Trukkee, and had left servants to kill their wives and children, they thus modified the bloody injunction. "Unless you see the English chief in person, for as he saved the honour of the ameers' women so will he do with ours—yield to him!" Neither was Beja's complaint of perfidy without weight; for though Captain Postans afterwards made a long defence, said to have satisfied the governor-general, he certainly had not satisfied the men who accused him, as their conduct at Trukkee proved.

These matters being arranged, the general reached Kurrachee after five months of incessant marching and fighting, added to laborious administrative duties, the pressure of which he thus laconically described. "Climate

and work have weakened me, but one cannot live for ever." He returned however to encounter anew the enmity of the thankless oligarchs he was so efficiently serving. His astonishing campaign, derided at first as impracticable, had been during the operations assailed with a ridiculous fury; the death of every camp-follower had been announced as the forerunner of a direful terminating calamity, which the organs of the Bombay faction strove hard to produce. Their cry had always been that "Sir C. Napier knew nothing of government—that the people abhorred him—that they were only kept down by an overwhelming army." Yet here he had carried away his main force, attended by auxiliary Beloochee tribes, one hundred and fifty miles beyond the frontiers of Scinde, and six hundred miles from Kurrachee the seat of government, to war down a kindred population. Public opinion and even the feelings of his own army had been against the enterprise, yet he pursued it for two months, and during that time no movement of insurrection had taken place in Scinde, no conspiracy was formed, no discontent was shown, no murmur was heard!

This successful campaign cut away the foul hopes of disaster cherished by the Bombay calumniators; but then, with inexpressible effrontery, they declared that nothing had been done and that a large force had been employed at enormous cost without the slightest gain: they even described Beja Khan as still ravaging the frontier at the head of his victorious tribes, when he was actually in prison trembling for his life. Such were the factious ravings in the *Bombay Times*.

History appears degraded while recording the practices of these hirelings; but it is because they were hirelings, the organs of power, that they must be noticed. Buist boasted of the support of official men; and persons of his stamp cannot be neglected in history when peace and war have been influenced by their publications. He announced at this time that Sir C. Napier was urging the governor-general to a war in the Punjaub, and had publicly detailed the plan of operations! And Major Carmichael Smith,

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in his work upon the reigning family at Lahore, expressly asserts that a speech—a *forged one*—published in the *Delhi Gazette* as spoken by Sir C. Napier, was the principal cause of the Punjaub war. For the general being there made to say his army would immediately invade the Seikhs they resolved to be first in the field, and crossed the Sutlej! This statement has been corroborated by another writer, Captain Cunningham, and verbally by the French Colonel Mouton, who was a general in the Seikh service—wherefore the baffling of the governor-general's peaceful policy, and the terrible battles on the Sutlej, with their train of consequences involving a second war, may be traced directly to the flagitious forgeries of two contemptible editors. The following extracts from a letter to the governor-general, written two months before the breaking out of the first Punjaub war will show with what indifference even to probability these forgeries were promulgated.

“It is very hard upon professional men, that it is always put down as a settled thing that they want to make war, though history proves that is not the case. They make it indeed better and govern better than the civil servants of the public; but nothing in history proves that they are more, or even so desirous of war as civil servants are. Nothing can make me believe that any man who has ever been in one battle can wish to be in a second from personal feelings, if he has those of a man or a Christian. If a battle must be fought we like to be side by side with our companions—reptiles only try to get away—but no man loves danger, except as producing honour. Woe to the ruffian who fights a battle that can be avoided, he is a wholesale murderer for his own private selfishness. Two of the most miserable days I ever spent, were those after Meeanee and Hyderabad—not from the slightest doubt of my own conduct being right, but because of the loss of my companions. I venture to say that no man ever more rigidly questioned himself as to the need of risking those battles than I did, or more entirely felt convinced; and subsequent events bore me

out, as I believed they would. No man of common sense, or knowledge of mankind, can suppose that another would fight with an enemy so immensely superior in numbers, except from necessity.

"These reflections come up on reading your letter, saying you had to prove to your employers, that a military man can honestly resist professional temptation, the indulgence of which without an absolute necessity would be criminal, in which I cordially agree with you. But the proper military *precautions* are deemed to spring from a resolution for *war*, though originating in a resolution for *peace*! And what is more, the only way of maintaining it. Lord Ellenborough was forced by an insensate, I should rather say an unprincipled clamour got up by the Whigs, to leave Gwalior independent, the result will be another war probably. Peaceful Hume! One would think peace was sold by the yard and Hume had a monopoly of the article."

"My brother thinks the Indus ought to be our frontier in its whole course *now*. I do not think we are ripe for that. I agree with you that the Sutlej is our wisest boundary just now. I would go on to the Indus when we have gotten rid of our foolish system of keeping native princes on their thrones, *within* our territory; until then it is impossible to trust to internal safety. But while I am decidedly of opinion that the Sutlej is our proper boundary-line now, I am equally certain that to keep within it is *impossible*. The revenue will not allow of such a line of defence in existing circumstances, and *you will be the conqueror of the Punjaub before 1847 if you are alive and governor-general*. Solomon was a wise man and a peaceful prince, but he had a very full treasury, and such credit with the merchants of Egypt and Tyre that to make war on him would have been dangerous—his frontier was safe. Had he been governor-general with a Seikh army prowling like a wild beast along his frontier, and requiring thirty thousand men to watch it, he must speedily have made war, or postponed the building of his temple!"

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Such were the sentiments of the man represented as thirsting for war; but he, unshaken in his course of right, was only seeking the prosperity of Scinde, and expressing his contempt for the factious folly, and the folly exclusive of faction, which tainted the minds of men in power, who could not, or would not, form any just or even sane idea of the resources of the country, or of the measures required to work them beneficially. Because the land had not sprung up into a garden by magic—because the Indus was not at once covered with merchant-boats jostling for want of room in the pursuit of enormous profits—because all the wild Beloochees, and all the degraded Scindees, had not suddenly changed their nakedness and ignorance of everything but robbery and oppression, for a scientific knowledge of the earth's products and a persevering enlightened industry in the manufacture of them, Scinde was called a desert and thought to be irreclaimable! "How!" he exclaimed "can rational beings, if such persons can be called rational, expect miracles? Because we have succeeded in keeping the heterogeneous population in peace and tranquillity, these men expect a high state of civilization to spring up on the instant!" With a master mind however he laboured to realize their first dreamy expectations.

Prominent amongst the moral obstacles were the wild ferocity of the Beloochees, the Mahometan religion, and the want of a language to communicate with the multitude, for there were many dialects, but neither Persian nor Hindostanee was known. He meddled not with man's faith or religious rites, save where the Hindoo would burn women, and hence the Mahometans had no fear of conversion; but they dreaded contamination, and would not mix with unbelievers; he could not therefore conciliate them by the gentleness and honours of society as he wished to do. Yet one faith he proclaimed, one social comfort he administered, one language, by him accentuated with peculiar force and clearness, he used, and the multitude understood him. They required no priest to expound his general beneficence, his protection

of life and property, his prompt unadulterated justice. The rich needed no interpreter to explain the generosity which assured to them their possessions and dignities. The poor were content, that without speaking their dialects he should break down the ameeers' cruel system of government farming, in all its branches, whether of taxes or rent.

At this time he gave to every person, natives or immigrants, who would cultivate land, leases for fourteen or twenty-one years with exemption from rent or taxes for the two first, the holders being responsible only to the government collectors without the intervention of zemindars or kardars. This was his appropriation of the land retained when the jagheers were regranted, and of the greater part of the ameeers' accursed shikargahs: and to give the stimulus to industry more effect he made small government loans to the poorest to enable them to start in the course of cultivation. Infinite pains also he bestowed on the general irrigation, observing that health, revenue, food and civilization depended upon controlling the waters.

His minor measures for improving the public condition and awakening men to advantages before unknown, or unheeded, were many and judicious. He formed a breeding establishment at Larkaana with the female camels taken from the hill tribes; he endeavoured to set up windmills at Kurrachee, and with the profits of the government garden, which now supplied several thousand persons with vegetables, he stimulated industry in various branches; the mills indeed failed; for being made at Bombay under the superintendence of Dr. Buist who as secretary of the agricultural society there was charged with their construction, they were very costly, and so defective they could never be set up.

Through the collector of customs Mr. McLeod, and Major Blenkyns, a sheep and grass farm was established for which merinos were obtained, and it soon produced Guinea grass and lucerne in such abundance, as to give promise of entirely providing forage, which had hitherto

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been obtained for the army from Cutch at enormous cost. Through Mr. Curling, who had been long in Egypt, tutor to one of the pacha's sons, he also sent for fine West India sugar-cane plants, and they arrived in a thriving condition at Bombay; but official people detained them there until they died, for any improvement of Scinde was to them as wormwood. However, cereal agriculture was in Sir C. Napier's judgment the only sure foundation on which to rest Scindian prosperity, and there was no real knowledge of it possessed by the people, even the most industrious; yet the Beloochee and Scindee were alike so eager to acquire knowledge of any kind, that he saw their civilization would be certain if means of teaching were provided, the regimental schools were besieged by them praying to have their children instructed. To satisfy this craving for knowledge he proposed to Lord Ripon the institution of agricultural schools on a plan first established by Captain John Pitt Kennedy, at Loch-Ash in Ireland. It had been entirely successful there, and was afterwards pressed by that gentleman upon the Irish government. And it is no hyperbole to say, that had his plan been supported against the intrigues of pretended patriots, the famine and misery which has desolated that unhappy country would have been very much abated if not entirely averted. That great and useful project was stifled to satisfy corrupt influence in Ireland, and in like manner this proposition for Scinde was set aside: it did not conduce to factious interests!

While the regeneration of the poorer classes was thus urged forward, the just claims of the high-born people of the land were not overlooked. Though a conquered race, Sir C. Napier regarded them only as English subjects, and resolved to open for all places of trust and dignity without objection to colour or religion, demanding only qualification. Mohamed Tora, one of the greatest sirdars who fought at Meeanee, was made a magistrate, at his own request, the appointment being thus justified. "The nobles of Scinde must have the road of ambition opened to them, or they will not have their rights in the honourable

sense of my proclamation—that is, if they qualify themselves for the offices demanded. But in questions of general interest like this, even qualification should not be required before enjoyment—we must give first, we can turn out afterwards for incapacity. The class-right will be thus acknowledged while the man is removed; and if one Beloochee gentleman becomes a magistrate many will qualify themselves. I want to go beyond this, if the *Indian system* will allow me; but that system, a rotten fabric of expedients for the supporting of robbery, is equally destitute of humanity and knowledge of human nature, and will I suppose certainly debar the Scindian gentlemen of the rights possessed by Englishmen. I will however give them all I can. The Beloochee gentleman may likely enough abuse his power for ten years to come; but we who have conquered the country can surely keep half a dozen of such persons in order; and the great men of the land must have a door open for their ambition, their virtues and their industry, or they will become rebellious or vile: I know not which is worst, but the government which produces either is a detestable tyranny.”

In virtue of powers granted by Lord Ellenborough, Sir C. Napier now negotiated with Ali Moorad a treaty, which that prince ardently desired, though he objected to one article, which gave a right to all persons to settle in either state, and provided that none who fled from one to the other should be given up, save for treason or murder, when the proof of guilt was to be satisfactory to the protecting state. Against these provisions the ameer clamoured—“They would ruin him, his people would all depart, his country be rendered desolate!”—“Truly have you spoken ameer if your design is to be a tyrant.” This silenced Moorad, yet his fears were not unfounded. Not only his subjects, but the cultivators of Khelat and those of Candahar, and traders from all the surrounding nations, even from the north-west provinces of British India, were crowding to Scinde as to an asylum against oppression. Kurrachce had swelled too big for its walls, and new streets were rapidly springing up beyond the gates. Many people

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of Cutch Gundava had come across the frontier, more were coming; and two independent tribes of the Gedrosian desert, the Hedgees and Punjeurees, who could bring eight thousand swordsmen to the field, entreated to be accepted as subjects, and were strangely disconcerted when denied.

Meanwhile the rejoicing for the fall of the robber tribes spread for hundreds of miles beyond the immediate neighbourhood of their stony fastnesses, indicating the extent of Beja's depredations and of his ferocity. Nor were the robbers themselves the last to proclaim their conqueror's prowess. "The Emperor Ackbar, the great Ahmet Shah, and other kings, had, they said, failed at the head of armies to penetrate beyond Tonge—and though at times British detachments had got through the first passes, they were invariably cut off in the end; and no large force had ever before been able even to approach Trukkee: they had now been subdued, but by a man no one could resist." The fame of the exploit was thus spread even to Toorkistan, where the traveller Wolfe found the wild warriors of Central Asia expectant of Sir C. Napier's coming and hoping for the spoil of kingdoms under his leading, being all willing to join him in arms. And strange to say the town of Bunpore, on the confines of Persia, being besieged, actually surrendered on receipt of a forged letter of command, having his name affixed! But so vivid is the Eastern imagination, especially in warlike matters, that had he been master of his own actions he could at this time have overrun all Asia as a conqueror, and arrived on the Mediterranean with half a million of wild horsemen. Little did those fierce plundering Asiatics think, that the chief whose military prowess had thus excited their admiration, was then bringing into activity a new, a simple and a beautiful principle of contention totally opposed to their notions—the contention of rulers, competing for power and riches and grandeur indeed, yet not by war, not by negotiation, nor by commerce—but by a benign sway, attracting the oppressed of all nations to come under his government.

Amongst the essential means to attain that noble object, was the reduction of imposts, that comfort might soothe the poor man's industry. Yet a strange difficulty attended this amelioration. The Beloochees would often prefer an onerous tax, if it was one of custom, to a lighter one which disturbed their habits; and being men of violent impulses there was always danger of their resenting changes however beneficial. Cautiously therefore were financial reforms introduced, for the general desired more to make the people understand his desire to benefit them than to obtain the fame of a rapid regenerator; holding the first to be the vital principle of permanent legislation; the last an ephemeral distinction suitable only to a reforming tyrant—a Mehemet Ali of Egypt. But while seeking in all ways to amend the moral condition of the people, and to forward their national prosperity, he considered the repression of Belooch ferocity to be a holy work, and pursued it with stern resolution though he writhed under the means necessary to effect it; for having to combine the lawgiver with the judge, and the executive office with both, there was no salve for a wounded conscience if error were committed.

“I put men to death,” he said, “for murder only, and generally it is for the murder of helpless women or children: and having deeply considered the justice and necessity of doing so my conscience is clear as an administrator, since no labour or pains, no care or reflection, have been spared by me to arrive at a just conclusion in each case. I do not flinch from this painful duty, but I do not like to be a judge. I would rather be a private person. Yet being here in authority I must do what should be done, and the cruelty of those ferocious men can only be stopped by force. Even Deyrah Khan whose countenance bespeaks his natural goodness—he who for years expressed his abhorrence of the robbers' habits and at once closed with my offers—even he is capable of fraud and murder. Bred in a bad school, the tendency of all the Beloochees is to starve from idleness and rob and murder from habit—but that habit I will break.”

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A few months after this was written, Deyrah beat one of his followers to death, and though he was from some accidental cause only sentenced for manslaughter by the military commission, the trial gave infinite disgust to the Beloochees.—“Who ever before heard of a chief being blamed for killing a follower? Well! God is great and will in time remedy what cannot be now accounted for!” Such was the language of this fierce race of blood-spillers. Nevertheless their propensity to murder sensibly abated, and the good-will of the labouring classes towards the government as sensibly advanced.

With the general prosperity the revenue also improved so rapidly, that after defraying the whole expense of the civil government, a surplus of one hundred thousand pounds sterling was paid into the treasury of India: subject only to the cost of constructing the new barracks which did not much exceed one-third of that sum, was not a permanent charge, and was sure to repay tenfold in the saving of soldiers' lives. Meanwhile so assured was the tranquillity of Scinde, that Sir C. Napier proposed to hold it with five thousand men; a proposal not adopted by the supreme government, because the Seikh troubles were so menacing. Scinde did not require an army, the general interest of India did; but so far was Sir C. Napier from desiring war at this time in the Punjaub, or anywhere, that he expressed his dread of it, saying, age had incapacitated him for the labour—that in the hills, he had been indeed several times more than twenty hours on horseback, and once twenty-six hours with only the support of a crust of bread and some tea carried in a soda-water bottle—such was his simplicity of living—yet old men do not recover rapidly from fatigue, and to do well in war a general should be always in the saddle—that his will was strong, but his worn-out body dragged it down, like a stone tied to the tail of a kite. That with the duke of Wellington body and mind seemed to have made a compact; with him they were as cat and dog.

These expressions as to his bodily powers were but indications of momentary lassitude after extreme exertions in

a debilitating climate, for his continued labours evinced his iron hardihood. However at this time he was compelled by the great augmentation of juridical business to alter his system of revision, and permit the judge-advocate-general to decide finally on the trials for certain specified offences, still allowing the accused an appeal to himself. It was full time, for between January and June he had studied, written notes upon, and passed sentence in four hundred criminal trials, some of ninety folio sheets! in addition to the military trials!

This relief enabled him to devote more time to other branches of administration, especially the system of taxation; and he had ample proofs that his recent campaign had been effectual and beneficial. Before the hill expedition the protection of the frontier had required three regiments of cavalry, and they could scarcely hold their ground. "We can do nothing against the robbers, they come and go and our men are exhausted." Such was the substance of all previous reports. Now a single regiment of cavalry and some horsemen of the Bundelcund legion more than sufficed for the duty. The presence of any cavalry was even declared unnecessary, and the officers complained of having nothing to do. There were no incursions to drive the Scindian cultivators from their lands, and those of the Cutch Gundava plains had again rendered that fertile district a sheet of grain—an unusual but truly glorious result of war, and the more glorious that those very people, driven to desperation before the campaign, had at one time actually resolved to join the robbers in a mass as the only mode of avoiding utter destruction. The khan of Khelat's revenue was thus augmented by two lacs and a half, which gave him a personal interest in the preservation of tranquillity.

While this peaceful scene was exhibited beyond the frontier of Scinde, the captured tribes within it had joyfully taken to agricultural labour, and even Beja only complained that Ali Moorad watched him too closely; but the ameer sarcastically replied—alluding to his own expenses in the recent campaign—that it had cost him

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two lacs to capture so great a chief, and it might cost him more to let him loose. In truth the general's policy had been rather to put Ali Moorad to charges than to have his aid, thinking it a good means to keep him from entertaining Patan adventurers who always desired war and disturbance. Beja was however now allowed more liberty which he did not abuse, and afterwards paid a visit in friendship to his conqueror at Kurrachee.

In the course of the summer the Murrees announced that they had again defeated the wandering Bhoogtees under Islam Khan, and had killed so many of them and taken so many arms, and so much cattle, that the tribe was nearly extinguished. This seemed to be confirmed by the arrival of a number of isolated Bhoogtees seeking a home amongst the settled tribes in Scinde, and by an offer of submission from Islam himself; but when the former terms were again proposed he rejected them with great insolence, and continued to haunt the hills with a considerable force: yet only as a bandit, his power of raising commotions was gone. The Murrees complained that the Kyharees had from Poolagee aided the Bhoogtees, and the general menaced the Kyharees so sternly that they were heedful not to provoke his wrath; for being a tribe odious to all around them, the simple withdrawal of British protection would have been their destruction. These minor troubles were not unexpected. While any robbers remained in the Cutchee hills, want would compel them to make incursions, and it was to bridle them that Shah-poor had been occupied; but no pains were spared to bring them to a peaceable disposition, and it was hoped the flourishing condition of the tribes, under Deyrah Khan, would finally prevail over the predatory habits and pride of those who still roved for spoil—for very clearly did the contentment of those settled tribes prove, that the robber life was not one of choice.

That he had saved the subdued and reclaimed ones from slaughter, was a constant source of satisfaction to Sir C. Napier, and could he have had his own way, he would at once and for always have ended the robber system, by

planting sepoy regiments at Deyrah as a military colony. The Bhoogtee fort there was ready for occupation, and the air remarkably pure, the water good and copious, the land fertile, the hills around full of mineral riches. Trukkee was a vast quarry of fine white marble, the transmission of which to the Indus for exportation would have been easy. This was a noble scheme, but necessarily relinquished, because no disposition existed with the high authorities to adopt useful projects, and Sir Charles Napier had to struggle for every public amelioration, against the folly and enmity of the oligarchs in whose ungrateful service he was wasting strength and life. From Sir H. Hardinge indeed, when applied to personally, he received a just support against his secret enemies—and he needed it; their hostility being as unceasing as it was unscrupulous—but from the councils and superior boards of India he experienced opposition, official delays, thwartings, and denials, little according with the requirements of a new government, which had to create the means of regenerating as well as to administer to a conquered nation.

From the robbers nothing serious was now to be dreaded, and even the Lion asked leave to reside with Ali Moorad, but the reply was "Surrender." This he was too high-spirited to do, and went to the Punjaub; but his tried friend, Ahmed Khan, the Lhugaree chief, seeing all hope gone, yielded, pleading truly that he had only obeyed the prince's orders in his previous career: the plea was admitted by the general, who obtained pardon, and restored his possessions. This terminated all Scindian enmity; but in June the frontier touching the Mazaree district was molested by a Seikh band, which under pretence of pursuing robbers had crossed the boundary. Sir C. Napier, to avoid embarrassing the governor-general's policy towards the Lahore Durbar, refrained from punishing this invasion, but he sent four hundred men and two guns under Major Corsellis in steamers from Hyderabad to Khusmore, with orders to fall upon any armed foreign body within the frontier-line if they did not instantly

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retire, yet to abstain from any violation of the Seikh territory even in pursuit. At the same time the Mazaree chiefs were admonished with reproachful sternness to beware of further offence. This promptitude, and the prudent conduct of Corsellis, put an end to a dangerous affair, which might otherwise have precipitated the Punjaub war.

Meanwhile the public works of Scinde were pushed as fast as adverse circumstances would admit, and amongst the most adverse was the dearth of good engineers. However the dike designed to keep out the inundation between Sukkur and Shikarpoore, was now finished by Captain Scott; it had given way to the violence of the flood at one time, and there was some doubt as to the final success; but it was restored on a new plan of execution supplied by the general, and thus completed in despite of these serious obstacles: then the yearly epidemic which had before ravaged those places ceased.

To obtain this result Sir C. Napier willingly endured a temporary loss of revenue; for with him the people's welfare always had precedence of state opulence; but many rich proprietors were discontented, for being fatalists they laughed at the notion of sickness averted by human efforts; and they would not take the trouble to sink wells, though a very few, in addition to the sluice-gates practised in the work for partial irrigation, would have compensated the loss of water from the checked inundation. They even menaced to cut the dike, but a distribution of cavalry met that threat, and meanwhile the labouring population obtained full employment, and high wages from government without pestilence or oppression—the high wages being perhaps the chief cause of the rich men's discontent. This sanitary state of Sukkur became permanent, and as to the annual pestilence, this year, it was not very prevalent in any part; but in July and August cholera appeared at Shikarpoore, Sukkur and Larkaana, and then descended to Hyderabad. To meet this visitation hakims—native physicians—and in their default, intelligent men were appointed with salaries in

every district, and they were furnished with medicines, and instructions for the relief of the poor : they had power also to enforce sanitary precautions. CHAP. XI.
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Thus ceaselessly Sir C. Napier watched and laboured in all directions, yet the course of his administration was rendered slow from the impediments continually created by official men and boards ; and so artfully were those managed that he could make no specific complaint, save of delay, though the public service languished under the effects. He had now been for nearly two years soliciting a sanction for bringing the Mullyeer river to Kurrachee and was still without even an answer ; though the want of pure water was so grievously felt in that place, and the cost of conducting the river, only twelve thousand pounds, would have been quickly repaid by a small water-tax. Still more vexatious was the delay in sanctioning the formation of a camel baggage-corps, to the organization of which he had early attached the greatest importance ; and he was especially earnest to have it ready for service before a Punjaub war should break out. It was a great military creation, which had been suggested by observing that in India armies were appendages to their baggage, instead of the reverse. He resolved therefore to reduce the latter to its proper rank as an accessory, to render it capable of regular and timely movements, to correct its tumultuous character by a military organization, and no longer permit it to be a confused host of men and animals—rolling about in misery, wasting the country through which it passed, and by its disorder helplessness and weight breaking down the finest combinations, and menacing ruin at every movement to the troops it was designed to sustain. Appendix III.

During his first campaign in Scinde the multitude of men and animals gathered under the name of baggage, weighed as a millstone on his movements. In the Cutchee hills the safety of the army was more than once endangered by it ; for the camels being all hired, their drivers naturally sought to avoid danger, not in the military meaning but according to their personal interpretation of the term ; and when their rude generalship was at fault, they con-

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cluded all must go wrong and deserted. No order was or could be maintained in the hills, where the narrow ways crowded with baggage forbade the corrective action of cavalry; and no rigour of punishment could restrain the camp-followers and camel-men from straying beyond the lines for forage or plunder, generally the last. At Jummuck the loss of life from this cause was considerable, and on the march from Goojroo, the troops having gone forward to secure the head of the defile of Toosoo, the baggage choked up the road for ten consecutive hours, liable the whole time to attack; and yet beyond aid, because for three miles the pass was so wedged with men and loaded animals that the general could scarcely pass himself or send orders to the troops, and he was finally compelled to move his artillery and cavalry, which were in the rear under General Simpson, by another way and with great fatigue.

To make the baggage of his army fulfil the conditions of its existence — a help instead of a burthen — was now Sir C. Napier's object, when after two years' constant solicitation he obtained a tardy sanction to form a baggage-corps. The pervading principle was, that the carriage of baggage should be a government matter, and organized with as much care and order as a regiment. On this basis, he formed divisions, giving to each six hundred government camels, and uniforms to the drivers. Each division had a directing animal, which was to carry a flag by day and a lantern by night—the flag, the light, the trappings of the camels, and the uniforms of the drivers corresponding in all points. Remembering the Israelites' march in the wilderness, he also placed an elephant at the head of all, carrying a larger flag by day and a larger lantern by night, a star to lead, and a sign of command which none were to disregard.

The camel-drivers were enlisted, disciplined armed and paid as soldiers, and commanded by regular officers; and the general knew human nature too well not to invest them with every title to respect and honour which the bravest soldiers could claim. Their animals, classed as

strong and weak, bore round their necks tablets, engraved with the maximum load of their class, as a protection from oppression in overloading, an injustice to which the poor beasts are very sensitive. One man was appointed to each camel instead of three camels to one man, as the practice was, a change saving baggage guards; for one man still led three animals while two flanked the march as soldiers, and were yet at all times skilled and ready to help in loading and unloading.

To aid the passage of baggage and guns in difficult places, five spare elephants were attached to the corps, and the whole mass was placed under the command of a superior officer, who had power to enforce all regulations, and move his cumbrous masses as a second army in conformity with the operations of the fighting men. If the enemy's horsemen, sweeping, as was their wont, like a whirlwind round the flank, should fall on the baggage corps, the latter instead of fettering the action of the troops, or flying confusedly towards them for aid, was practised to cast itself by command into orbs or squares, the camels kneeling down with their heads inwards and pinned together, while from behind that living rampart the drivers defended themselves with the carbines they carried.

Minor regulations completed the system, and the result was superiority of movement, saving of animals and expense, with increased comfort for the troops and consequent diminution of sickness; and withal so great a relief to the field operations as to make the creation of the corps a signal epoch in military organization. It was in truth an enlarged and perfecting application of that principle of order which first dictated the substitution of disciplined forces for feudal levies and armed mobs. Its creator well observed at the time. "That it was the way to obtain rapidity in war, which did not result from bugling, double quick marching, and galloping of horse-artillery, but from incessant care, the raising and supporting the moral feeling and physical strength of the soldier, the rendering the baggage conducive to his wants, and as little of an impediment as possible."

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When this corps was organized Sir C. Napier may be said to have given wings to his army ; for he had before so horsed his batteries that they were capable of any exertion—had created the fighting camel corps with its surprising power for sudden and distant expeditions—and had in a manner also created the Scinde horsemen, the *Moguelaees*, whose matchless ability for irregular warfare did not keep them from being foremost in the field charge when solid hosts were to be broken. They had indeed existed nominally previous to his arrival, yet, neglected and undisciplined were falling to pieces and an order for disbanding them had been issued, but he interfered ; reforming their organization he increased their numbers and placed them under Captain Jacob, an artillery officer, but selected with a sure judgment for this service. The army of Scinde was therefore emphatically an army of movement ; swift to assail, terrible to strike ; and if the formation of the Belooch battalions, now well organized and fit for service, be added to the institutions mentioned above, the military creations will be found to have kept pace with those of the civil administration in Scinde.

By the Bombay faction the baggage corps was necessarily decried—"It was an expensive folly—a complete failure—so had the conquest of Scinde been—so had the administration been—so had the hill campaign been." Colonel Burlton, a Bengal commissary-general, also published a work against the baggage corps, striving to prove that waste, disorder, extravagance and oppression of the native population, are as profitable to armies in the field, as they are by some supposed to be for persons in his situation. But every advantage gained by Sir C. Napier in war, every stroke of successful policy, every undeniable proof of enlightened government, naturally produced a storm of passionate calumny from men whose incessant predictions of failure were as incessantly belied by results. India was well described by Chief Justice Roper at this period, as a press-ridden community ; and yet with a few exceptions, such as the *Gentleman's Gazette*, which did justice to its title, there was not, and there is

not, a free press for the many. There is only a licentious press for certain factious persons having wickedness enough to protect the editors from legal consequences; a few instances of this immunity for libel enjoyed at Bombay will suffice for illustration.

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Dr. Buist published, as a regular official document, a reprimand to a naval officer, which had indeed been written by Sir C. Napier, but for reasons affecting the public interest had been cancelled and locked up in his desk, from whence it could only have been obtained by infamous means! He also published a forged letter from Sir C. Napier to the governor-general, in which the former was made to return Sir Henry Hardinge's personal kindness with foul abuse; and though the Bombay government was officially called upon to prosecute for these two offences, Buist committed both with impunity, and boasted of having information and support from men in power, in such a way as to indicate very plainly that members of the government council itself were intimately connected with his libels. Lieutenant-Colonel Outram likewise, published in the newspapers such slanders against Sir C. Napier that the governor-general desired the latter to leave the correction of them in his hands, but with an overstrained delicacy he referred them to the home authorities. His motive was that as the slanders were also directed against Lord Ellenborough, Sir Henry Hardinge in dealing with them might be embarrassed by his family connection with that nobleman. It was an error of which he was soon made sensible. The secret committee in England passed indeed a severe censure privately on Outram, but with a miserable cunning, falsely assuming that Sir C. Napier had entered into a public controversy with that person, instead of having, as the fact was, sent in a formal demand for justice to the government, condemned such controversies generally and refused to notice the official appeal. But Outram, thus privately reprimanded, was immediately appointed to a lucrative civil office, in the view no doubt of giving weight and currency to his vituperation. That error was however in time corrected by the public voice, which forced

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the Court of Directors to bend with abject submission to the general whose reputation it had thus basely sought to lower.

There was yet another authority—Lord Ripon—who declared that Outram's proceeding was right, that it was what men in power must expect, and should excite Sir C. Napier to greater zeal!! In fine he plainly disclosed his own connection with the assailants of the man he was bound to protect. There is however a moral as well as an official standard of right, and Lord Ripon's authority is not of force to establish the one or to efface the other. It was not right that a violation of the Articles of War, and all just authority, should be, not only left unpunished but encouraged; that truth should be outraged and public decency outraged, by loathsome calumnies—that soldiers in the field should be told their general was entirely ignorant of his duty, and the murderer of their comrades—and it could not be right that a minister of the crown should countenance such insults to real greatness, at the dishonest behests of a body he was appointed to control!

Dr. Buist in support of his libels boasted that his informants were men high in office, a boast never contradicted, and of weight when coupled with these facts that secretary Willoughby was, as men say, one of the proprietors of his journal; and when reeking from the acknowledged slander about the ameers' women having been dishonoured by the officers of the army, Buist was received as a guest in houses whence he should have been especially spurned for that foul falsehood. Those official informants therefore told him "That nothing had been effected in the hill campaign, and that the robber tribes were more formidable than ever, though the greater portion were then settled as quiet cultivators in Scinde—that Beja, when actually in prison, was a victorious chief and ravaging the frontier at the head of his Doomkees—that Sir H. Hardinge, though he had given his express consent to the expedition, and warmly applauded the successful execution in public orders, entirely disapproved of it—that Scinde was a wasting drain upon

the resources of India, when it was paying a large surplus to the general treasury—that Sir C. Napier had refused to hold the country with less than sixteen thousand troops, when he had actually only twelve thousand—that he had applied for a reinforcement of a thousand men to meet the sickly season, when he had in fact sent away three regiments to enable those ‘sovereign authorities’ to quell a rebellion caused by oppression in the Bombay presidency; and instead of demanding reinforcements had proposed to spare seven thousand of the twelve thousand under his command, and hold Scinde with five thousand!”

Such was the hostility evinced towards a man who was wasting life in exertions to serve the government that thus encouraged and protected his assailants; and that nothing of baseness or absurdity might be wanting, the Bombay faction endeavoured to confer the character of a martyr on the savage filthy criminal Ameer Shadad, fawning on and licking his hands, red with the blood of the murdered officer Ennis. They concocted also a petition to the Queen from the Ameer Nusseer, which Sir Henry Pottinger undertook to present. Every line of it contained some notorious falsehood forged by the faction. The attempt was however too gross to succeed in England though Nusseer’s cause was adopted by Lord Ashley, whose profound and deplorable ignorance of everything relating to Scinde affairs did not prevent him from meddling and countenancing to the utmost of his power, the efforts of these conspirators against the interests of England and the fame of Sir C. Napier.

But while Buist’s high official authorities were so ready to give this kind of information to injure the governor of Scinde, they were totally insensible to the just pride and welfare of the gallant troops who conquered that country; and so also were the authorities in England; each seeming to strive for pre-eminence in heartless scorn of the soldiers’ claims, rights and honour.

Lord Ripon took more than two years for striking off the Meeanee medals, and it was believed they would never

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have been struck but for the strenuous interference of Lord Ellenborough; thus numbers of gallant men died without the consolation of having those honourable marks of merit attached to the manly breasts they had so bravely presented to the sharp swords of the enemy. When struck the medals were sent to Bombay without ribands, and the government there, with a like scorn of honourable feeling, transmitted them, as bales of common goods amongst commissariat stores to Scinde, with such contemptuous irregularity that the commander-in-chief received his from the hands of a lieutenant-colonel, whose subaltern officers had obtained theirs long before!

When the 25th native regiment, whose courage had been so conspicuous in the battles, was recalled to Bombay—against the general's wish, and apparently because against his wish—it was, after five years of foreign service treated on landing with insulting neglect; as if it had come back stained with dishonour instead of beaming with the lustre of heroism.

Sir C. Napier's representations to the Bombay authorities that the widows and children of the Scinde horsemen who fell at Meeanee in 1843, were still in 1845 without any provision, were treated with indifference, though he stated that those poor claimants were living on the charity of their fallen protectors' comrades! Even the sacred duty of forwarding the *living* sepoy's remittances to their families was so shamefully neglected, that he was compelled to represent the matter to the governor-general.

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Sensitive enough however they were upon other points; for a memorial was framed by some civil servants, avowedly under an official stimulus, praying the interposition of the directors to make the governor of Scinde declare why he called some of their body jackals! And this singular folly was clamorously pressed until he, admitting wrong to the jackals, intimated an intention to call for a statement of work and salaries, and institute a comparison between those of the memorialists and his soldier civilians. The cry then ceased. But in truth he had not assailed the civil servants as a body at all, he had only said in a

private letter, with the publication of which he had no concern "The general opinion was that '*certain civil servants*' were corrupt." And it is not a little singular that this "*general opinion*," thus quoted, had come to him from some of those very persons at Bombay, when speaking of their brethren at Calcutta, who were now rendering themselves subjects for derision by a simulated indignation.

But by a singular coincidence, always some proof of the superior government of Scinde was publicly furnished when its maligners were most boisterous in condemnation.

Thus it was predicted that a ten years' partisan warfare would be established on the right of the Indus, and immediately after more than a hundred chiefs on that side of the river voluntarily proffered their salaams.

When it was clamorously asserted that the whole Belooch race abhorred their conqueror, all their chiefs and sirdars eagerly came to the great Durbar at Hyderabad in sign of submission and good will.

It was proclaimed that Scinde was tranquil only because it was kept down by a large force; and a portion of that force was immediately sent to aid in quelling an insurrection in the Bombay presidency, leaving Scinde tranquil.

When it was announced that the population of Scinde only awaited a favourable occasion to restore the de-throned ameers, the general marched to war beyond the frontier of Scinde; and this favourable occasion could not induce a man to stir in aid of the Lion, or of the forty-eight Talpoor princes who were still at large and actually in Scinde, calling on their former subjects.

Striking as these facts were, none were more so than a partisan warfare undertaken in the autumn of this year by Deyrah Khan, against Islam and his roving Bhoogtees. The general had foreseen, when he planted his captives near the frontier, that the outlying rovers would soon be forced to make forays for food, and he judged their first attempt would be on the settled Jackranees; because from them less resistance was to be expected; and they could be thus

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sounded as to resuming the robber life. So it happened. The Jackranees were plundered. But instead of hankering for their former vocation, fiercely they rose and demanded leave to retaliate. Nothing could be more in accord with the general's policy, and he directed some cavalry to support them while crossing the desert, yet to leave them to their feud when within the rocks.

He had no doubt of their return to the plains, for being now industrious cultivators, he had the double hold on them, of their interests as proprietors, and their vengeful passions as warriors; nor was he without hostages, having previously taken the most energetic and influential of the tribe into government pay. Deyrah Khan's warfare was therefore the consummation of a profound scheme of policy, which had in nine months subdued and reclaimed the spirit of men previously regarded by the world as more akin in ferocity to wild beasts than human beings—a policy which had so changed their habits, that being peaceful agriculturists when not injured, they were now marching against their former confederates in the interest of civilization; and invading those very fastnesses from which they had been so recently torn themselves by force as robbers!

This was a result the greatest of men might be proud of; but it was carefully hidden from the English public, and he who had achieved it was more foully and vociferously vilified and calumniated than before. Indeed the secret practices of his official enemies had become so dangerously unscrupulous, that he was now compelled in self-defence, to avoid all financial responsibility, and decline all public works until superior sanction could be obtained—and that was always delayed by official forms—for he well knew that men and boards were on the watch to effect his ruin. The Bombay council had already privately sent letters to the governor-general insinuating charges against him, and though they were returned with great indignation, and an intimation that such accusations should be made publicly and sustained, or not made at all; the council continued its hostility in secret, and in a

mode so flagitious, that the wronged man's own words must be used in exposition. The necessity of frequent references to libellous publications will then be comprehended, and Buist's boast, that he had *eminent and unquestionable authority close to the sovereign power in Bombay* will be understood. Sir Charles Napier speaks.

"The *Bombay Times* has asserted, and *entered into details*, that I was driving the people of Scinde mad with excessive taxation, and that I had even dared to re-establish the impost called the *transit-duty*. These assertions were accompanied with abusive epithets such as the *sordid and shameless leader of Scinde*—*The autocrat of Scinde*—*The Scinde czar*—*The unscrupulous murderer of the soldiers*—*The liar at the head of the Scinde government* and so forth. India was kept ringing for several months with accounts of my *infamous attempts to make up a sham revenue*.

"As I never put on a tax and never laid the value of a mite upon any article in the way of impost; and as I have taken off a number of taxes, I laughed at what I knew must in time he found an invention as pure as that of the people said to have been seen by Sir John Herschel in the moon. But how could I laugh, when, after India had resounded with these charges, I found, by the mistake of a clerk at Calcutta who sent to me what was designed to be kept from me, that the Bombay government had *sent a secret note of council to be registered at Calcutta*—containing accusations against me of making up a false revenue, not only by levying excessive taxes, which they only hinted at, but by a monopoly of grain; the price of which the minute said I had raised by my command of the produce and sold dear to the troops, and made the loss fall on the Bombay government! In fine that my conduct had been so infamous, that, one iota of it being true, hanging would be too good for me!

"Had the clerk not made this mistake—if mistake it was and not a generous disgust at such villany—there would have been in the Bombay and Calcutta archives heinous crimes *secretly* but *officially* registered against me

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by my bitter enemies. And when I was no more they would have been given to the world as irrefragable proofs of my flagitious government of Scinde! And these accusations were so ingeniously concocted by two members of the Bombay council, *Reid* and *Crawford*, who are old practical accountants, that it cost me a week's hard work to prove the villany of the men; and that so far from increasing the expense of feeding the troops, if there was one point more than another to which I had devoted myself during the three years of my ruling in Scinde, it had been that of *reducing* the price of grain to all, by destroying monopolies and lessening the pressure on public revenue.

"But this was not all, the secret minute was recorded, and the authors of it chuckled at having thus shot their assassins' bolt, but not content, they manufactured their minute anew for an article in Doctor Buist's publication—the words only slightly changed to suit a newspaper. Not knowing its source I only laughed at it as one of his usual attempts to make me out a scoundrel; but when I received the minute from the Calcutta clerk I answered it, and gave my opinion to the council freely; disproving by document after document every lie they had advanced. Was that all? No! Enough in conscience, but not all. I got a letter from Lord Ripon, saying, 'he had *heard* of the accusation but *hoped* it was not true!' And then he gave me all sorts of reasons to prove that I ought not to reimpose the *transit-duty*—thus showing that he *believed I had done so*, notwithstanding his *hope*! To do Lord Ripon justice, he gave me but little trouble to answer him, for he discovered such entire ignorance of the subject, that I saw he did not know what a *transit-duty* was. Yet again a day was lost to me in answering him, and my *real work* thrown into arrear—and what work! Long trials to read and to decide upon, putting five men to death. Horrid work! requiring calm thought, great and concentrated thought and resolution not to err. At such a time, with my mind stretched on the rack to attain right in the sight of God, I was to force myself to examine, to

write, and to dwell upon villany past all belief, and beyond my power to chastise! Fortunate that I have escaped from the snares of those who, while profiting from my ebbing life, are seeking my destruction!

"No sooner had I answered Lord Ripon, thinking I had been sufficiently tormented, than there came from Calcutta a letter written by the secret committee, Lord Ripon's colleagues, to demand why I had restored the *transit-duty*? which from '*various sources*' they heard I had done. I have asked why they did not name their '*various sources*' or any one of them, that I might expose their *secret informer*. This they won't do, but were we of Venice in the days of the Ten, these men would soon put me out of the way: and things of this nature happen weekly."

To expatiate upon this almost incredible proceeding, not indeed of a council, for the governor Sir G. Arthur opposed it and was outvoted by the others, that is to say by Reid, Crawford, and the secretary Willoughby—a man who upon every occasion stimulated the hostility shown to Sir C. Napier—to expatiate upon such a proceeding would be an insult to the honour and sense of the English people to whom this work is dedicated. Nevertheless it is fitting to observe that when this secret minute was being concocted, the price of grain was in Scinde absolutely more dependent on demand and supply than in England, all taxes on its importation being abolished in Scinde and not in England, and Sir C. Napier's real views on the subject may be judged by the following instructions to his collectors.

"There is but one sound way to make grain cheap, viz. encouraging cultivation and not taxing importation. I took off the importation-tax last year, and I have been liberal to cultivators; these are the only radical cures for want of grain—expedients there may be besides, but these are the foundations for having cheap food. As to the effect produced by monopolists, the correction is to make grain so plentiful they cannot forestall; if they attempt it they will be ruined, or at least lose greatly where they

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seek to gain greatly. I at first thought it might, in this case, be good to fix a maximum, but reflection renders me sure that government had better not interfere, except by providing plenty of grain. I dread direct interference of government with men's private affairs, and it seems to me government must be to blame, directly or indirectly, where a whole people suffer want of food. Slavery indeed justifies the summary interference of government; for if a man deals in human flesh, human flesh has a right to deal with him; but cheap food, good wages and plenty of labour; these are the three essentials of good government and they produce each other if the taxes are light; without that the machine will not ply freely.

"As to the occupiers of ground, government ought to take a fair share of the produce of land and *no more*. If we legislate for bad land, taxing good land to make grain rise to a remunerating price for that bad land, we pull down the good land to the level of bad land; that is to say, we raise the cost of food to the poor, to enable zemindars to cultivate bad land. That was done by the ameers, and look at the result! Half Scinde lies waste, and good land too; for why should any one seek for good land so heavily taxed that it could only make the profit of bad land. My reduction of imposts on land is an equal benefit to all, and is proportionate to produce; hence if bad land could pay when the impost was high it can do so now when lower, and the sale of its produce is secure while Scinde *imports* grain—when it *exports*, the demand will raise the value of bad land, if it is worth cultivating at all. Nor must it be forgotten that the great difficulty of cultivation in this country is to get water, and the wider cultivation is spread the more readily will water be obtained."

Grain was however high-priced in 1845, and the causes were amongst the extraordinary difficulties through which Sir C. Napier dragged Scinde to prosperity.

1°. The war of conquest had continued in different parts until August 1843, which was nearly too late a period to commence cultivation for that year, and plundering of

grain just previous to and during the military operations was general; for the people seeing a strange army descend on the land knew not what might happen, but fearing the worst stole and concealed all they could, neglecting agriculture.

2°. The sudden conquest cast the whole administration of an unknown country and people at once into the hands of the British authorities; and before light could be thrown on the system of imposts and collection, government was easily defrauded; law also was so little regarded that most men were occupied with pillage instead of agriculture.

3°. The canals were that year left uncleared, the amceers being only intent on war; and when the canals are choked neither health nor harvests are to be expected in Scinde.

4°. A dreadful epidemic raged from August 1843 to January 1844 destroying thousands and leaving the survivors, for nearly everybody had been attacked, too debilitated to labour. Thus agriculture was nearly abandoned in 1844; men had not strength to work; and though the troops were less fatally affected than the people, only two thousand feeble tottering convalescents were at one time capable of bearing arms. And as this terrible calamity was rendered more oppressive by a wide-spread visitation of locusts, scarcely any produce remained in Scinde.

5°. The Indus fell suddenly that year in an unusual manner and did not again flood, thus the poor remnants of vegetation which had escaped the locusts perished for want of water.

It was under these frightful visitations, these terrible calamities Sir C. Napier's energy and ability lifted and shielded Scinde from famine and commotion, and placed her on a solid social basis in the end of 1845. And it was with a knowledge of these dreadful miseries that the Bombay councillors complained of grain being high-priced—that they secretly accused the governor of causing that high price by infamous arts, and at the same time themselves

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endeavoured to make it higher by imposing an export duty on all grain leaving the port of Bombay—thus putting the finishing touch to their intolerable baseness by doing themselves what they were falsely accusing him of doing! Scinde was however in the latter part of 1845 unmistakably prosperous even to eyes offuscated by these vile arts. The population had been increased by immigrant cultivators, besides the forcibly-settled tribes; and a very large accession of inhabitants had swelled Kurrachee and Shikarpore to cities, thus augmenting trade both ways, by the sea-board and by the river. Wealthy merchants were now also seeking to open new commercial channels in a country considered by them as that one of all the East where justice was most surely and cheaply to be had.

Meanwhile the revenue had so increased that in December another ten lacs were paid into the general treasury, making a gross surplus of two hundred thousand pounds; and it was the opinion of the collectors that the same system would in ten years produce one million sterling without pressure on the people, or very sensible increase of administrative expenses. But the most remarkable proof of good government and personal reputation was, that the whole people of Cutch Gundava in the north, and the tribes of the Gedrosian desert on the west, now asked to be received as subjects; while on the east the nawab of Bhawulpoor, who did not disguise his dislike of the political agents with whom he had hitherto dealt in his political relations, demanded to be placed entirely under the control of the Scindian conqueror, whose government had been so suddenly thrown by the shock of war into the midst of these wide-spread populations. Like a rock cast from a volcano into a lake, it had come, and like the waters they had receded tumultuously, like them to return and tranquilly subside.

But none of his great administrative services, nor all of them combined with his surprising exploits in war, were of any avail to cool the malignant heat of enmity in the Court of Directors, nor warm Lord Ripon to a momentary

sense of what was due to a great man from a minister of the Crown. Vexatiously he had delayed the soldiers' medals, had insulted the general, and endeavoured to stifle the despatches announcing success in the hill campaign,—had applauded Outram's slanders—had adopted the secret accusations of the Bombay councillors, without daring to name them as accusers, and had refused, or at least neglected, to expose the false official statements foisted on the public as to the expenses; thus without inquiry—to which he was invited—countenancing the industriously inculcated notion that it was a worse than useless conquest. Scinde is nevertheless a great and beneficial acquisition which has opened a high-way for commerce with Central Asia; and if governed on Sir C. Napier's principles will become an opulent province and a powerful bulwark on the south-west for India. If governed on the usual system of the Company it will become one of those lasting shames for the directors, which made Lord Wellesley call them the "Ignominious Tyrants of the East."

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WHILE Scinde was thus happily ruled, the state of Indian affairs beyond her frontier was perplexing and menacing. An embarrassing and costly insurrection had long tormented the Bombay presidency, and in the north-west a war with the Seikhs was hourly impending; yet the prevalent opinion in India was adverse to the occurrence of this last event; and joined to that incredulity was the arrogant assumption, that if it did happen, an easy triumph awaited the British arms. Judging very differently on both those points, Sir C. Napier reflected carefully upon every possible phase of such a contest, the danger and difficulty of which he foresaw and foretold from a distance, with a surer military and political comprehension than others who were closer. He had, under the governor-general's orders, equipped, and in September sent to the upper Sutlej, pontoons for bridges, and he was vigilant to keep his own military administration so organized that no sudden call, however onerous, could cause confusion though its extent might embarrass his resources. He had therefore unceasingly pressed the progress of the camel baggage-corps, as the most powerful spring to insure regular and rapid movement in that great and complicated machine, an army in the field. Constantly also he meditated on the force to be employed, and the operations to be adopted when required—as he foresaw he would be—to act as an auxiliary to the main army on the upper Sutlej.

His speculations, transmitted to the governor-general, were found to coincide in a remarkable manner with the

transmitted opinions of the duke of Wellington on the same subject, and thus mentally fortified, he awaited the course of events. It was not long before his sagacity was vindicated. The governor-general, trusting too confidently to his own strenuous efforts to preserve peace, had certainly adopted—it might be caused—the public opinion as to an amicable termination of the Punjaub difficulty, and the Seikhs commenced the contest before the British forces were prepared; so unexpectedly they did so, that only a fortnight before the battle of Moodkee was fought Sir H. Hardinge assured Sir C. Napier he would give him six weeks' notice of hostilities. The war was therefore an unlooked-for event which made India tremble; the veil of falsehood, woven at Bombay to cover Scinde from public estimation, was thereby rent asunder; and the great importance of that acquisition was comprehended when the announcement of the battle of Moodkee was accompanied by an order to assemble at Roree, with all possible speed, an army of fifteen thousand men equipped for the field, and with a siege-train. To do this was impossible from the resources of Scinde; but reinforcements were to come from Bombay, and soon ten thousand men of all arms, with guns, waggons, horses, camp-equipage and camp-followers were marched from the interior of that presidency to the coast, and embarked at all the sea-ports of Western India. From Mandavie, Surat, Bombay and Vingarla, on every description of floating craft, from the steam-frigate to the open country boat, men and materials were poured into Scinde with a promptitude showing, that Sir George Arthur, and Sir Robert Oliver the commander of the Indian navy, had no sympathy with the factious sentiments of the Willoughbys, Reids and Crawfords.

Had the policy of the supreme government permitted Sir C. Napier to obey the dictates of his perception that the war was inevitable, a Scindian army could and would have been equipped for the field three months before, and cautiously quartered from Hyderabad upwards, ready at a moment's notice to concentrate at Roree and move into

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the Mooltan country. This could have been effected without attracting the attention of the Seikhs; but it had been forbidden to move a soldier, to purchase a camel, or in any manner to prepare for a contest; and when the order for war came, only the eighteen hundred camels, of his newly-organized baggage-corps, that is to say, carriage for a column of three thousand persons was available, when carriage for nearly fifty thousand was required; and when the general spread agents abroad to purchase, the jam of the Jokeas endeavoured to thwart them. Sir C. Napier's vigour of command to meet the campaign thus violently thrust upon him was not to be so impeded. He arrested the jam in the midst of his tribe, awed all insidious enemies, redoubled his own efforts, and soon obtained twelve thousand camels; meanwhile he equipped and pushed men and guns up the Indus with incredible rapidity; for his battering-train was advanced a hundred miles two days after he had received the governor-general's orders!

Then he met the influx of the multitude from Bombay with a power of order and resources never surpassed. Every department worked day and night and on the right road, without jostling or confusion. The artillery in addition to their numerous field-batteries formed a siege-train complete of thirty-two pieces, with a thousand rounds a gun; the engineers under Captain Peat, an officer of unbounded talent, organized a park, said to have been a model—so complete was it in arrangement and all things essential for war—although collected under great difficulties, and where genius was taxed to supply the absence of regular arsenals and the resources of civilization. The commissariat carried up two months' provisions; the medical department was amply furnished; and though the Bombay reinforcements had to be marched to the coast and embarked with their equipage and followers, in all not less than thirty thousand persons; though their voyages were of five hundred and eight hundred miles, and the troops when disembarked again had to march nearly four hundred miles, the whole army was concen-

trated at Roree on the forty-second day after receiving the order !

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On the 6th of February more than fifty thousand men, if the camp-followers be included, were assembled at Roree with every department well ordered, well combined and completed. Eighty pieces of artillery were gathered with all materials and ammunition for a campaign in abundance. A powerful armed flotilla was on the Indus freighted with stores and three months' provisions, and having on board three hundred yards of flying bridge. A zealous body of officers worked like men anticipating and resolved to merit success, and an almost frantic enthusiasm pervaded the soldiers—they fought with the air and could hardly be restrained from shouting to the charge as they marched—yet a careful discipline was everywhere apparent.

This rapidity, unexampled if the scanty resources of Scinde, the suddenness of the order and the completeness of the equipment be considered, could not have been attained if the camel baggage-corps had not been previously organized; nor could this powerful, war-breathing army, when assembled, have dared to move in advance but for the previous campaign in the hills—that campaign which Lord Ripon with official imbecility stigmatized as an insignificant affair of outposts. Had it been neglected the army would now have had as many enemies on its flank and rear as it had in front, and could not have moved a step in advance—fortunate if it had not a separate warfare to sustain for the defence of Scinde !

About five thousand men remained for the protection of that country.

Three thousand with six field-pieces and fifteen heavy guns were appropriated to Kurrachee as the principal place of arms, and key of the whole system.

At Hyderabad the fortress and intrenched camp, the latter armed with six twelve-pounders, were furnished with three months' provisions and garrisoned by a sepoy regiment and eight hundred police.

The steamer arsenal at Khotree on the Indus, had its

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own fort with two guns and a hundred marines, aided by the armed workmen and some policemen for garrison ; this was however a small force to secure so extensive a district, wherefore troops were brought from Cutch to Wangar Bazaar, on the borders of the Delta. Detachments from Deesa were also directed to garrison Omercote in the desert, but Meerpoor and Aliar-ka-Tanda were guarded by policemen only. Larkaana and Sehwan were likewise left entirely to the native police, and the five thousand regular troops presented but two formidable masses.

Shahpoor, Kanghur, Sukkur, Shikarpore and Bukkur, were guarded by a regiment of regular cavalry and one of infantry, with six field-pieces ; Sukkur had also its armament of heavy guns, and all these places were to be aided by the northern policemen who were now as formidable as the sepoy, and so resolute that Ayliff Khan, the swordsmen, had recently with only six men defeated a predatory band of Seikhs, and ignorant of the general's order not to pass the frontier, had crossed and pursued his enemies for twenty miles.

To resign the whole country, during war, to the keeping of so few troops was in itself an answer to all malevolent libels on his government, but Sir C. Napier had other and surer warrant for tranquillity. Belooch Khan, the independent hill-chief near Lheree, whose suspicious dealings during the campaign against the confederates have been mentioned, now offered to join the army with a hundred horsemen. Khan Mohamed made a like offer, and to serve at his own expense, adding, that for a small pay he would bring five thousand of his "*tenantry*" to the field ! Now Mohamed was the most powerful sirdar in Scinde, and a Talpoor, being nephew to the Lion, at whose side he had fought bravely up to the latter's defeat by Jacob ; yet was he earnest to march with the man who had dethroned his kindred ; and he had so entirely adopted the new order of things as to talk of his warriors as his *tenantry* ! To him Sir Charles spoke frankly, saying how willingly he would have given to the world this proof of the contentment and good faith of the

Scindians; but as the Beloochees and Bhawalpoores were enemies of old, the nawab would have just cause of complaint if the British brought foes into his territory. He would think some sinister design to deprive him of his possessions was entertained, and would become a suspicious ally, perhaps a secret enemy. Mohamed acknowledged the force of the argument, and so the matter ended. Secretly the general's policy was to quell, not to stimulate the warlike habits of the Beloochee race; but this offer from a man so resolute and powerful, and of such lineage, coupled with the sentiment of fear which the strongly-organized army now assembled was calculated to produce, left him without fear of commotion in Scinde. He had therefore only to consider his plan of military operations, and the disposition of the neighbouring powers in Khelat and Affghanistan, both of which he treated with cautious sagacity.

The Khelat sirdars, thinking to make a stroke of policy demanded money in the khan's name, to resist the Affghans, who were, they said, prepared to invade Khelat and even Scinde when the general entered the Punjaub—adding, that the money would enable them not only to hold the Candaharees in check, but even to win them over as auxiliaries in the war. Thus artfully they sounded his fears as to that contest, but the reply was sternly explicit. “I will not give a rupee. I want no aid against the Seikhs, and if the Affghans give offence an English army can go again to Cabool, and perhaps remain there; if the khan is molested the troops at Hyderabad and Shahpoor shall march to his assistance.” This sufficed for the sirdars; and the Candahar chiefs, instead of menacing Khelat offered to join the British army—an offer received with thanks, but declined as being likely to embarrass the operations with wild plundering warriors, who troublesome in success would become enemies if a reverse occurred; indeed at this period Sir C. Napier could, if so inclined, have led half Beloochistan and Affghanistan into the Punjaub.

Now also Ali Moorad tendered his services thinking to

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get back some territory formerly taken from him by Runjeet Sing; and his offer was accepted, on the condition that he moved up the right bank of the Indus, and supplied a garrison for Mittenkote when it should fall, an arrangement which promised the following advantages.

1°. The ameer would sweep away the bands of match-lock-men that were sure to infest the right bank of the river, and interrupt the communications.

2°. There would be an appearance of two armies, one on each side of the Indus, the fame of which would be exaggerated by the Asiatic imagination, and spread even to Constantinople!

3°. Mittenkote would be held by an ally, whose aid in the field of battle was not required, whereby the British line of operations would be shortened by the distance from that place to Roree.

4°. If the ameer proved treacherous, which was scarcely to be expected, he could do no serious mischief, because the left bank of the Indus and the river itself would still be commanded by the British army and flotilla; and Mittenkote would be under the control of Captain Malet and Mr. Curling, whose influence with Ali Moorad's hired Patans was sufficient, with an offer of higher pay, to draw those adventurers altogether away from that prince's service.

The general's plan of operations was framed with singular care and foresight. Mittenkote was the first place of importance capable of resistance, the Seikhs were busily strengthening the works, and its situation within the confluence of the Punjaub rivers, adapted it for a place of arms to sustain an invasion from Scinde, and to facilitate the sieges of Soojuabad and Mooltan, the fortresses next in succession. The design was therefore to make a rapid movement on Mittenkote in two columns, throw a flying bridge over the river, and crush it at once by the concentrated fire of eighty pieces of ordnance. This the general observed was like "killing a gnat with a sledge-hammer," but, besides the value of time he knew how dangerous irregular warriors like the Seikhs were behind stone walls,

and his policy was to terrify Soojabad and Mooltan by this sudden overwhelming of Mittenkote. The movement against Mittenkote was to be up both banks of the river with the flotilla between, because, after passing Kusmore, the right bank belonged to the Mazarees—enemies—and as some of the troops were already on that side and the whole would have to be there at Mittenkote, two passages and time would be saved by the double movement which would also awe the Seikh Mazarees.

Ali Moorad was then to be launched with all of his men, not required to garrison Mittenkote, against Deyrah Ishmael, a rich town to the westward. For with a nice appreciation of character the general judged that the ameer's desire for plunder would lead him to advance several marches, that his fears would then make him halt, and thus, without misfortune to the town of Deyrah, a powerful diversion would be effected, which would draw off troops from the right bank of the Sutlej. Meanwhile the army, moving up the left bank upon Ooch, was to form a field depôt there, fortify the place, and prepare to force the passage of that river; an operation judged of easy accomplishment, if Ali Moorad's diversion was effectual; but always mindful of that great principle of war, that as an enemy is never to be despised all available strength should be applied to every effort, the English leader resolved not only to place the whole of his siege-guns and field-artillery in battery on the bank, but to transfer the guns from the steamers to small boats to insure a preponderance of fire. When the passage was effected, he designed to construct a double bridge-head, armed with steamer guns, and by intrusting it to the Bhawulpoor auxiliaries, keep his own force and battering-train entire to move against Soojabad or Mooltan.

He had fifty-four field-guns admirably horsed, and on these he chiefly depended for defeating the Seikhs, expecting by rapid movements to put their heavier artillery sooner or later into a difficulty, and then with his active army to break their cavalry and infantry without being crippled, for his intention was to go far, yet not wildly.

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He knew his ground. He had prepared means to raise all the population along the Indus as far as Deyrah Ishmael Gazez against the Seikhs; and had he been permitted to assemble his army as he desired, at an early period of the cool season, he would have shown the world a great game in war, and burst upon Lahore at the head of fifty thousand fighting men long before the battle of Sobraon was fought. The siege of Mooltan in the second Punjaub war, perhaps that war itself, would thus have been spared. It was otherwise ordained.

While the Scindian British army was being assembled, the battle of Ferozashur was fought on the upper Sutlej, with so little advantage that the contending forces remained in observation on the English side of the river, and a powerful corps was necessarily detached under Sir Harry Smith to protect the communications, then menaced near Loodiana by an auxiliary Seikh force. In this state of affairs the governor-general suddenly ordered Sir C. Napier to direct his army on Bhawalpoor, and repair himself to the great camp on the upper Sutlej; a journey not to be safely made without an escort for several days, which would have been slow for the occasion; but the fighting camel corps was here again made available and the speed was as a courier's. He reached the camp at Lahore on the 3rd of March, yet only to find that the battle of Sobraon had been gained, that a treaty was in progress, that his well-devised campaign was nullified, and his life endangered by the combined action of mental and bodily fatigue, for no object! Anticipated fame, health and independent command had been snatched away at once; and, worse than all to his spirit, he found that when the Punjaub was actually lying bound at the feet of England if he had been allowed to conduct the operations as he had projected, the war was not to be continued by the main army—peace with the certain contingent of another war was to be substituted for complete conquest. He was received by the governor-general with honour and very great kindness; by the soldiers with enthusiasm; and in Durbar he was treated by Goolab Sing, then going to be raised to the

sovereignty of Cashmere, with such a marked respectfulness of demeanour, as to indicate that he had adopted the general opinion as to the "*nusseeb*" or fortune of the Scindian conqueror, which the Beloochees rudely expressed by saying it was "*a cubit longer than that of any other man.*" But his mission was naught, and after a few days' stay he had to return to Kurrachee, where he arrived in April, suffering in health from this useless continuous journey of eighteen hundred miles under an Indian sun.

While at Lahore, he saw and reflected on the difficulties arising from the advanced season, and the absolutely denuded state of the British army, and as his own projected auxiliary invasion of the Punjaub, which would have insured entire conquest without imposing further operations on the main army was set aside, he judged negotiation advisable; but his opinion was adverse to the general policy pursued. He had before hostilities commenced, declared his belief that the British empire in India was not ripe for a frontier on the upper Indus; yet as circumstances had forced on this war and the Punjaub was virtually subdued, he thought the conquest should and might have been consolidated without further bloodshed; whereas—"if a puppet king like Duleep Sing, and a real monarch like Goolab were established, the battle would have to be fought again, rivers of blood would flow, and the result might be doubtful." He said so, and in two years Mooltan, Ramnuggur, Chillianwallah and Goojerat, bore red-handed testimony to the truth of the prediction.

It has been said, with sufficient authority to assume the fact as historical, that his projected campaign was thus stifled, to have his aid on the upper Sutlej, where, previous to the victory of Sobraon, the war bore a dark aspect. This was a flattering recognition of merit, but having been productive only of mortification and evil to the object of it, gives the right of examination as to the possible public benefit.

Sir C. Napier with fifteen thousand men, so well organized, disciplined and provided, and wrought to such frenzied eagerness for battle, was, his great reputation

CHAP. XII. with the nations around considered, worth another man
 1846. with thirty thousand; and his line of operation was, politically and militarily the true one for an auxiliary force. He had a sure base and retreat on well-furnished fortresses, his power would have been magnified extravagantly when he had crushed Mittenkote and invested Mooltan, and as nearly the whole of the warlike population on the left bank of the Indus were in secret communication with him and ready to join him in arms, he would have decisively influenced the operations on the upper Sutlej. Indeed the mere appearance of his army at Roree had so terrified the southern Seikhs, that the Dewan had secretly treated for the surrender of Mooltan; and an influential native in another quarter being ready to obey his secret orders, he was very justly confident, of reaching Lahore without a check, and with the Dewan and Mooltan Seikhs as auxiliaries. In fine the campaign was in his hands, that is, using his own words, "*as far as man could know of war, for if fortune take offence she can make a straw ruin an army.*"

Was it wise to cast away such moral and material advantages, to call such a general from a country and a people so perfectly known to him, and, no slight consideration, knowing and fearing him as though he were a demon in battle—to call him at a critical moment to a country and people of whom he knew nothing. And for what? To have one man more in a council, where perhaps there was already one too many; and where unless some very unusual arrangement was contemplated, he must naturally be regarded with jealousy. Ignorant of the resources on either side, he could only have advised hesitatingly, and could not act at all. Meanwhile his own army was thrown entirely out of the scheme of operations by being moved to Bhawulpoor, where it was palsied and without sure communications; for the river was thus rendered useless as a communication, and an invasion of Scinde was invited, which would have thrown all the incumbrances of the force upon the grand army. This is not conjectural. It was subsequently ascertained that a

Seikh force was actually prepared for such a counter invasion, and was only stopped by the negotiations after the battle of Sobraon.

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To overrule all these considerations, simply to have a third general in council, would seem to argue a state of much greater peril and nakedness on the Sutlej than has yet been made known to the public; and without presuming to censure or even to analyze the plan of campaign followed, it may be permitted to indicate another scheme of operations, which might possibly have been as effectual with less bloodshed; and would certainly have obviated the necessity—if there was a necessity—for blotting Sir C. Napier and his army out of the campaign.

For two years the state of the Punjaub had indicated a coming war; and though the governor-general might hope by policy to avoid that extremity, there was always sufficient danger to warrant preparation up to the verge of action. To say such preparation would have provoked that event, is a conclusion to be reasonably denied; and it is certain a contrary system did not avert the catastrophe, though it did deprive the army of the resources required to give human confidence in the result. Taking then as a basis, that hostilities should from the first have been deemed inevitable, it follows, that the most powerful military means to sustain a war should have been combined with judicious policy to prevent one; and the time required for warlike preparation, could certainly have been most easily gained by negotiations to stave off a conflict altogether. A war and peace policy would thus have marched together for a certain time, and the following dispositions would have placed the army in a better condition as to its communications, than it was previous to the victory of Sobraon; they would also have enabled it to decide the war by one great action, instead of fighting five times ere its own safety was insured.

Lahore was the Seikhs' base of operations, and they had several lines of invasion open.

First. To pass the Sutlej near Ferozepoore, or at Hureekce, as really happened.

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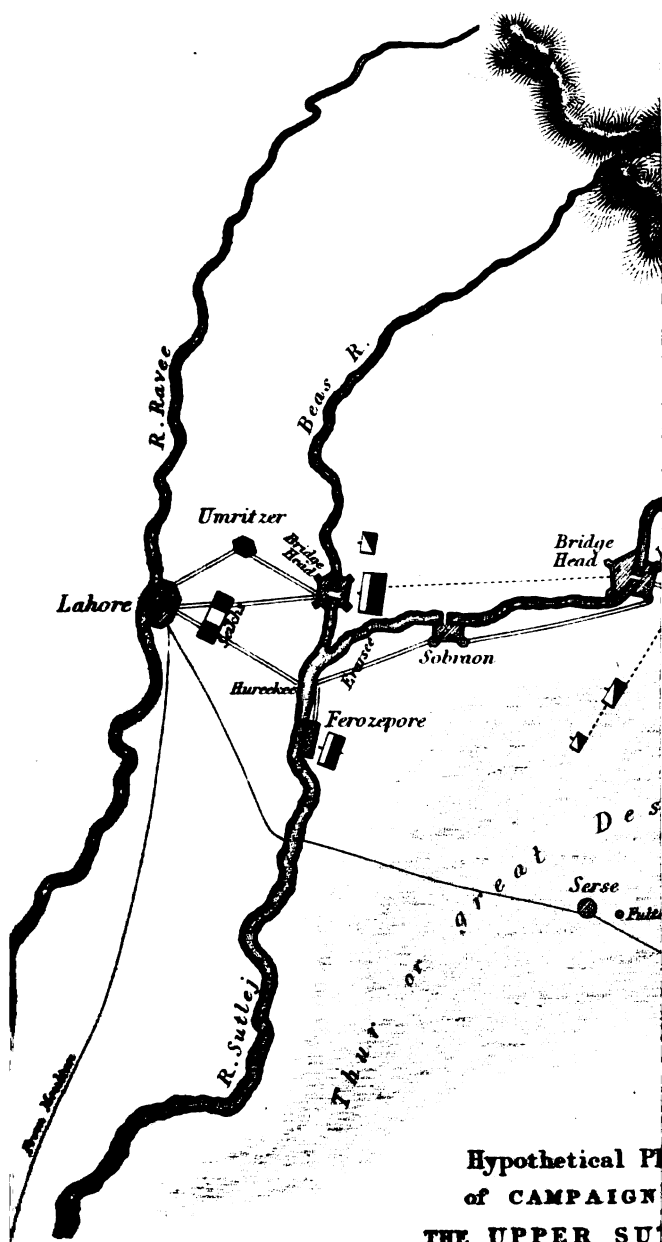
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Second. To pass the Beas, and the upper Sutlej near Loodiana, as the force defeated at Aliwal did do.

Third. To pass the Sutlej below Ferozepoore, and, crossing the desert by Seersa, menace Delhi.

In the first and second cases, the Seikhs might have marched forward in mass, or, intrenching themselves, have detached their numerous cavalry to ravage the country up to Delhi. The problem to be solved was therefore how to dispose the British army, that, while remaining on the defensive, it could yet baffle those three courses of invasion without losing command of the initiatory impulse if circumstances gave it the right to strike first. To effect this solution, Ferozepoore should have been considered, not as the key and pivot of the operations upon which the army was to gather, but as an isolated point to be thrown on its own resources. It should have been furnished with stores as a place of arms, and with the means of bridging the Sutlej; it should have been strengthened with an intrenched camp to be occupied with a moveable corps of all arms, ten thousand strong at the lowest, and so have been left to itself.

This arrangement would have obviated the necessity of the flank march from Loodiana down the left bank of the Sutlej to succour it, such as occurred. Certainly an un-military march, for that river did not cover the British army, being fordable in many places, and it was actually passed by the enemy during the movement; in fine it was a line of march which could not have been adopted before a skilful enemy. The Seikh general showed no ability, and yet that flank march enabled him to fight the dangerous and indecisive battles of Moodkee and Ferozashur, and involved an after-necessity on the British side for Smith's operations to clear the communications. But if Ferozepoore had been originally shaken off as a detached point, the main army could have been assembled in masses at and about Loodiana and Sirhind; using those towns and Umballah as secondary places of arms and communicating with Delhi. In this position, having the cavalry thrown out on the wings to protect the country on each



Hypothetical Plan
of CAMPAIGN
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flank against any sudden action of the Sikh irregular horsemen, the army, provided with means for throwing a permanent bridge over the Sutlej and having a flying bridge for further operations, might have calmly awaited the development of the Punjaub troubles after giving notice to the Lahore Durbar, that any Sikh movement towards the Sutlej, or even the furnishing of their troops with means to take the field, would be considered a declaration of war.

Thus prepared with a declared policy and a powerful army, the British chief, when the Sikhs, as really happened, issued pay and ammunition to their troops and consulted astrologers as to the fortunate hour for action, could have called in his cavalry, laid his permanent bridge over the Sutlej, avoided the left bank altogether, and taking post on the Beas, have thrown his pontoon bridge and fortified a head on the further side of that river. This movement would have inevitably stopped the Sikh army, and yet have permitted further negotiations, not unlikely to succeed when thus vigorously supported.

If those negotiations failed, the command of all the movements offensive or defensive would have remained with the British army. For if the Sikhs attempted to pass the Sutlej below the confluence of the Beas, they could be opposed in front by the corps at Ferozepoore, while the main army, crossing the Beas, fell on their flank and cut them off from Lahore. If they attempted to force the Beas itself, the main army could receive the attack with every advantage; while the corps from Ferozepoore, by means of their bridge and the fords, either passed the Sutlej at Hureekee to menace the enemy's flank, or at Erareese to support the defence of the Beas.

But the Sikhs would never have attempted such difficult operations, and must have remained passive in defence while Sir C. Napier's army was operating from the side of Mooltan on their flank and rear; and if, as is most probable, the Sikh general intrenched a position to cover Lahore and Umritzer, the British army on the Beas and the auxiliary force at Ferozepoore, passing the Sutlej and the Beas simultaneously by means of their respective

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bridges and at the fords, could have united to deliver a decisive battle which would have given them the capital, possibly the whole country, and would certainly have brought them to the Chenaub, or the Jelum, where Sir C. Napier's force could, if necessary, have joined.

If the battle was adverse to the British, their retreat over the Beas and Sutlej was secure; and if driven from those lines, Ferozepore offered a refuge for its own corps while the main body took a new line behind the upper Sutlej as at the opening of the campaign: meanwhile Sir C. Napier's operations would prevent the Seikhs from vigorously following up their victory. Now quitting this hypothetical campaign to resume the story of the administration of Scinde, it shall be shown that the field of battle is not the only place where heroic conduct can be displayed by an officer.

At Kurrachee Sir C. Napier, although suffering from illness, resumed his unceasing cares for the people committed to his charge. He could not indeed help seeing that he was a man looked to in danger and difficulty, but overlooked in the distribution of honours and treated with contumely when fear did not enforce respect; but with a noble scorn he pushed base usage aside in his pursuit of the real greatness belonging to a discharge of his duty to a whole people. "I do not pretend" he said "that I am not chagrined at being a man marked by the government. This has been made evident in many ways. Nothing has been done for my staff in the hill campaign; which would not have been the case I imagine under any other general, and I receive no redress or even answers to my complaints of injuries. As to rewards I can only act as I have always professed—namely that those who are to receive them are not the men to dictate. Hardinge and Gough are both my seniors, Smith however is only a colonel, and is made a baronet—that is very marked, why I know not nor do I care—I have worked and do work from motives of honour and right feeling, and because I love work, and if the ministers have not the same right feeling I cannot help it."

It was his fortune that while thus personally maltreated,

nearly every possible natural ill should be accumulated to bar the progress of Scinde under his government, as if to prove the unyielding energy of spirit which could sustain both burthens and still work through to good. It has been shown how war, pestilence, locusts, anomalous overflowing of the Indus, scarcity, predatory invasions, and the previous tyranny of the ameers, were combined with the hostility of the Court of Directors and the foul practices of the factious Bombay authorities to produce disasters, thus tormenting his administration during the first three years—and how the fourth year was opened by the mortification of being called away from that gallant army, which with such unexampled pains and surprising rapidity he and his officers had organized for the field, at the moment when with a natural ambition he looked for increase of reputation.

There was still a crowning ill in store. In June the cholera came to Kurrachee with more than its usual terrors and havoc. It had appeared amongst the natives in May, not severely, but gradually acquiring intensity until the night of the 14th of June, when it struck all people, soldiers, Europeans and sepoys, with such a sudden fearful mortality, that to feel it was to drop, and to drop was death. Fear seized every breast, the cooks, butchers and bakers died or fled with the panic-stricken mass of the population to the open country, where without food, water, help, or cover from the sun, then in its raging season, nearly all perished and the land was covered with carcasses.

The soldiers rushing, some to the hospitals others from them, were very much excited, and in one place some commissariat carts laden with spirits, which were imagined to be an antidote, were on the point of being seized when the town and cantonments would have been overwhelmed with madness as well as death. Soon the general appeared with his staff, issuing the necessary directions for re-establishing order and system, and recalling men to their senses and duties; for seeing that some panic prevailed in a quarter where the utmost devotion was necessary, and some drunkenness amongst the hospital attendants, he

CHAP. XII. infused new vigour by aiding the sufferers himself, helping
1846. to carry the dying to the wards, rubbing their convulsed limbs, and encouraging all to bear up as they would on a battle-field.

This terrible visitation continued to scourge the place from the 14th to the 18th unceasingly, and if it had not then abated the whole station would have been destroyed; for in its mitigated form, the deaths on the 30th of June were one hundred and twenty of the people besides soldiers! Every twenty-four hours the general and his staff, twice visited every ward and every man in the hospitals, besides taking measures for reassuring the population—a fearful duty, because of the horrible agonies of the sufferers. The labour was also great. The different hospitals were far asunder, the nearest more than a mile from his house, and in that dreadful heat and on that dreadful duty, they must have passed over twenty to twenty-five miles each day besides the exertions of personally aiding the patients. The dying men with look and voice expressed satisfaction at having their general near them in their pains, and he, seeing that moral influences would be at least as efficacious as medicines, though he was debilitated by previous sickness, nerved body and soul for the task without any shrinking of either, even when the plague smote his own home—heavily smote it.

The child of his nephew, John Napier, first died and was buried, its mother being then on the eve of giving birth to another; and the next evening the young father, whose affliction had not lessened his efforts to help others, was laid in the same grave! His years were few, and he had no opportunity of gaining that distinction in arms which with a chafed spirit he constantly sought, for he was a lion's cub! He found instead a death of agony, and obscure for such an ardent soldier; yet it was on the straight path of honourable duty, which he followed without faltering when danger was more rife and intrepidity more needful than on the field of battle.

It was computed that seven thousand persons, more than a third of the population of the town and canton-

ments, died in the few days the horrible pestilence lasted ; and the deaths in the country around being added not less than sixty thousand persons perished. The Angel of Death had passed over the land with sounding pinions and all were dismayed.

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"This mysterious disease," said Sir C. Napier, writing at the time, "principally attacks the finest and the strongest men. I separated the regiments as quickly as my deficiency of carriage enabled me, but nothing would stop the vehement progress of the sickness for the first three days. Afterwards, that is to say from the night of the 17th, its virulence seemed mitigated, and on the 18th it became infinitely milder. This day, the 19th not more than fifteen soldiers have died, and the medical men expect that to-morrow it will pass away. It is a strange and mysterious sickness and defies reflection to account for it. In some it appeared with violent convulsions, dreadful to behold ; in others all was calmness, they came into hospital placid and silent. Not one of these quiet ones lived many hours, but the cries of the others were prolonged and very painful to hear.

"I believe many medical men hold that water is bad in cholera ; this seems a great error ; some of the most violent cases appeared to give way to repeated draughts of cold water. At first it was thrown up, but after two or three rejections remained on the stomach, and the patient recovered. All were continually calling for water, and especially for soda-water, which happily was manufactured at Kurrachee, and thousands and thousands of bottles have been drunk. I greatly encouraged the surgeons to give water, because, seeing death was inevitable, I thought it cruel to add the pains of intense thirst ; and I happened by a strange accident to have seen in the newspaper, the morning of the day cholera broke out, an advertisement by a medical man, asserting the beneficial effects of cold water in cholera ; his description tallied exactly with what I observed in the hospitals, and I am persuaded it is correct to give water. I endure great anxiety from this sickness, and from fear of the station being destroyed by

CHAP. XII. famine, and the sun is hot beyond anything we have yet
1846. experienced in Scinde; however, generally speaking, until this blow fell we had been remarkably healthy."

Notwithstanding the great diminution of the population by death and by flight, food became very scarce, because distant people, dreading infection, would not come in with supplies, and every horror menaced the station. Shocking also was the reflection that the disease had been exacerbated—and would have been more so but for the accidental presence of the soda-water manufactory—because sanction for bringing the Mullyeer river to Kurrachee had been neglected. The Kurrachee water, holding many deleterious substances in solution, predisposed the viscera to accept the disease, and aggravated its development. Sir C. Napier, as already shown, had been for two years prepared to supply good water, but never could he get even an answer to his solicitations on the subject—"and for the king's offence the people died!"

This official procrastination clogged or retarded almost every measure of importance. The formation of the baggage corps had been delayed for two years, and the names of the officers of the irregular corps which had been formed were long withheld from the *Gazette*, so they could only draw their pay on account, to their discontent and public inconvenience. Above seventy thousand pounds also had been disbursed under the supreme government's orders for various objects, yet the regular official sanctions were retarded, and thus the public accounts were thrown into confusion, the accountants into difficulties.

It was so likewise with respect to Ali Moorad's treaty, which he was impatient to have concluded; and it was very essential that it should be arranged, because the rumour of restoring the ameers, sounding like his death-knell, urged him to look for alliances and support independent of the British. Yet no effort could extract any decision or any intimation on the subject, the treaty was neither confirmed nor abrogated, a profound silence was maintained on the subject.

Sir C. Napier attributed this state of things to a

malicious feeling in official persons, civil and military, who having thwarted Lord Ellenborough for reasons before mentioned, now transferred their hostility to him as one of that nobleman's successful generals. Sir Henry Hardinge, new to Indian affairs, and having a great war and negotiation on his hands, naturally referred such matters to the subordinate authorities, secretaries and boards, with whom to embarrass the governor of Scinde was a maxim of state. "*Oh let Scinde wait*" was the official password, and hence all measures of a beneficial tendency depending on such persons, were held in abeyance or entirely abated, and the action of the Scinde administrative policy had no adequate scope.

"It is thus," he observed, "that I am lamed in my course, for if I make fight, both I and Sir Henry Hardinge will be overwhelmed with an enormous correspondence from every department to prove that they are quite right; and after two or three years of this work it will be settled that I am a very zealous but entirely wrong-judging person, and ill informed of what is required in government. The game is not worth the candle, when that candle is my life, which must sink under such additional vexatious work. Wherefore, when justice to individuals or to bodies is involved I am stiff, but where the evil only affects the government I let things go their own gait; the public suffers indeed, but I cannot help that when every remedial effort only makes matters worse. I will not sacrifice the primary consideration of forwarding the civilization and prosperity of Scinde, to waste my time and my bodily strength in useless contests with factious official people; I am content, if they so please, to do nothing, but I will not do mischief!"

Though cribbed and constrained by such arts, all that depended on his own authority made rapid progress, for it was well said of him at the time of the cholera, "That neither age, nor exhausting toil, nor gathering dangers, nor broken health, nor the greatness of the public calamity, nor the stings of private sorrow could make his heart falter, or shake his spirit in the performance of his duty." The advancement of agriculture, of commerce, of popu-

Remarks on
Lieut.-Colonel
Outram's work,
by Richard
Napier, Esq.,
published by
Ridgway.

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lation and of revenue was astonishing. The most experienced men had judged it hopeless for many years to make the country pay even its own civil expenses, and in 1843-4 the revenue had been only nine lacs; yet such was the power of his formula of government, that in 1844-5 it was twenty-seven lacs—in 1845-6 the financial year ending in April, it was forty lacs, of which thirty-one, or three hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling were surplus paid into the general treasury, after defraying the whole cost of civil administration including more than two thousand policemen horse and foot, all excellent soldiers! Yet the ameers' taxes had been reduced one-half, and no new ones imposed, while the cost of the civil government by vigilance and economy was kept stationary.

This steady augmentation of surplus revenue was sure to increase under the powerful administrative machinery developed, which was attaining every day more regularity and precision and was attended by an increasing commerce and agriculture. Each half-year also cancelled some current expenses, which had been required for the first establishment of government, but which were not to be permanent, such as the construction of barracks and fortifications. A thorough clearing out of the canals was another enforced outlay of a temporary nature, because that duty had hitherto of necessity been trusted to the kardars to whom it belonged under the ameers; and who had taken advantage of the times to redouble their usual frauds; but now the organization of a canal department under Major Scott being completed, a general survey made, and the water-levels all over Scinde ascertained with great cost and labour, a scientific system was laid down, and the whole of the canal and water system was taken out of the kardars' hands.

On the new system a far greater extent of country would have been irrigated, and at a diminished cost, augmenting the revenue both ways; but the principal improvement would have been the establishing of sluice-gates, so combined that the waters of the Indus were entirely controlled, whether in flood or in recession, whereas previously

they had rioted capriciously both for production and destruction. Thus in June and July the country was always an expanse of water in which grain shot up marvellously; but often the water would recede anomalously, leaving the plants to the raging sun, which they could, from the moisture left, sustain for a time, and if a second inundation came quickly the harvest was sure to be rich and heavy; but if the refreshing flood did not return, as often happened, or was not high enough to fill the canals, the crops perished, and in conjunction with the lower levels which were always swampy, produced promiscuous crops of grain, weeds and fever! These evil changes and results would have been corrected by the sluice-gates, and yet at first, the ignorant people thought this controlling of the waters was designed to withhold it and starve them! The Bombay faction greedily recorded those foolish apprehensions as proofs of general disaffection; but soon the cloud passed away, and the conquered would have rejoiced in this new benefit from the conquest.

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The conqueror did rejoice at having established a system which in a few years would have been thoroughly understood, and which by controlling the action of sun and moisture on an alluvial soil, was sure to render Scinde one vast farm for cotton, indigo, sugar, wheat and all minor grains. He had now also the satisfaction to find that the merchant cafilas, which had previously gone from Khelat by Beila to the Gedrosian port of Soonomeecanee, the rival of Kurrachee, had, from the security of Scinde under his government, changed their route, descending by Schwan to Kurrachee; which thus by the mere force of justice, with an inferior harbour, had usurped the whole trade. Soonomeecanee was then deprived of its mercantile value, and Sir C. Napier dropped the negotiations for its purchase. He had however already raised the revenue of Bombay very largely by stopping the smuggling of opium from Scinde; and had good reason to say the conquest was a most profitable one for the Company and for England. For the Company so enormously profitable, that in the suppression of opium

Plan 1.

See Captain Rathborne's and Mr. Edwards's letters, App. XVI.

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smuggling only, it must be reckoned by millions, and would be almost incredible if the proofs were not so clear and irrefragable. The facts are indeed still perverted in parliament, or withheld from the public, but from this source alone the Company have by the conquest of Scinde derived millions of pounds sterling!

Notwithstanding all these facts, false statements of the expense, and equally false returns of the number of troops employed, were palmed on the parliament with the object of discrediting Sir C. Napier's labours—but while loud cries were raised against the number of troops quartered in Scinde there was really a strong aversion on the part of the Bombay faction and its unworthy abettors in England to have them reduced, because that would have publicly demolished all their libels as to the feelings of the people towards their conqueror. Those feelings were not as was said, hatred and discontent; they were of reverence of attachment and of admiration, which grew stronger and were more unequivocally shown as the result of his protecting and encouraging legislation became more developed; and those results, however great, would have been much greater but for the two interrupting wars which had occurred—that against the hillmen in the beginning of 1845 and that of the Punjaub in the beginning of 1846—which engrossed all the mental and bodily energies of the general and his officers, day and night, leaving no margin for thought or intervention as to civil improvements. Many months' action of the energy which had marked every day by some measure of peaceful utility, were thus forcibly abstracted from the three years which the civil administration of Scinde had now lasted; and it has been before shown how vexed and tormented those years were by natural visitations, by the foulness of factions, and the negligence and enmity of power.

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WEARIED of exile, or believing the Talpoor dynasties would be finally restored, the Lion sent vakeels in the summer of 1846 to treat for his return to Scinde, but being referred to the governor-general, broke off the negotiation and remained in the Punjaub. This notion of restoring the ameers had been, as already shown, industriously promulgated by the Bombay faction. In England also Lord Ashley had moved parliament in their behalf; and without any accurate knowledge of affairs to warrant interference, he so stirred himself, as to merit being classed with the persons described by Napoleon as "*Brave blunderers who with all possible good intentions, do all possible mischief.*" The ameers therefore, thinking him a sure support, had through their Bombay confederates announced, that a paper given by Lord Ashley to their vakeels in London, contained an assurance to themselves, that they were to live as private gentlemen close to the frontiers of Scinde. That paper indeed said, they would *not* be allowed to do so, but it suited the faction to leave out the negative, and hence the story ran, that they were to be conveniently planted for raising commotions in their lost dominions.

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This prospect produced consternation all over Scinde, and the sirdars of the Talpoor family were most alarmed. The ameers, they said, could not live quietly, they must conspire. Belooch honour would compel the Talpooree nobles to join them, and thus ruin would fall on all, for their power would be naught against Sir C. Napier, and their treason would give him the right to destroy them.

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They earnestly deprecated the return of the ameers and wished for no change. The Scindee population was less concerned. Believing equally in the power of the British general, and feeling only hatred for their former tyrants, they were able and willing to defend their newly-acquired independence; but the Hindoos were so frightened that some of the richest merchants instantly transferred their money to other countries, and prepared to follow it with their families. Thus commerce was seriously checked, and doubt and dread pervaded the whole community, as the concocters of the falsehood designed: nor was the distrust entirely removed by a proclamation which was immediately issued by the general to contradict the report.

Over these shameless artifices Sir C. Napier grieved, as they were injurious to the public and hurtful to private persons; but as they affected himself he treated them with contempt. "I wish," he said, "plenary success to them. I wish they may restore the ameers, and withdraw all our troops—in one year anarchy would be at its height. The poor indeed, of all countries bear much before they resist; but the poor of Scinde have now justice, work and high wages; and the rich have all they had before and more, for now they can keep their riches. The merchants have security, all classes have the benefit of a vast reduction of taxation, and twenty thousand soldiers with their followers spend money. Let the ameers be restored and the poor will get plenty of work, but no wages, justice will disappear, the rich will be plundered to form a new treasury, and will hold their jagheers at the caprice of despots, instead of fixed law; the merchants will again be squeezed, the old pernicious taxation will be renewed, and the cutting of throats will be resumed as a virtue."

Whether there was any intention of restoring the ameers, is not publicly known, but a change of government at home happened at this time, and Lord Ripon, on quitting the Board of Control, wrote to assure Sir C. Napier that he approved of all he had done, acknowledged the difficulties overcome, and thanked him for his exertions in the public service! This unendurable provocation from the

man who had encouraged and supported his enemies, and condemned what he now acknowledged to be meritorious, proved the abject submission with which that man had obeyed the Court of Directors. He was thus answered.

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"I have the honour to thank you for your letter of the 7th of July, which however places me in a position distressing to any man of proper feelings. I mean that of obligation for expressions of private kindness, while as president of the Board of Control you have refuted me *justice*. Your lordship refers to the difficulties which I have had to encounter in Scinde. The greatest, and the only painful one, has arisen from your lordship's conduct relative to Major Outram. While I have strictly obeyed, though with mental uneasiness, the orders to be silent, issued by the governor-general to myself and to Major Outram, that officer has been not only allowed, but by your lordship's silence, encouraged to assail me in the public prints and in a book! I now find also, from Lord Hardinge, that your lordship had long ago resolved that I should not receive support from government.

"My lord, you must excuse me for saying, that if my conduct in Scinde deserved the approbation which it received from her Majesty, from Parliament, from the Court of Directors, and from yourself, it also deserved a better return than the injustice I have received from your lordship."

Having given this merited rebuke to Lord Ripon Sir C. Napier, hearing that Scinde was to be placed under civil authorities from Bombay, and knowing how much error was afloat in England as to his government, thought it proper to instruct Lord Ripon's successor, Sir John Hobhouse, as to the true state of affairs and the probable results of such an arrangement. In that view, he sent him the following memoir which, though composed in a few hours amidst pressing public business, displays the true aspect of the government and evinces the writer's power of generalization.

State of the People.—The people of Scinde are wild, uneducated, warlike, and a noble nation, if the word

CHAP. XIII. nation can be applied to men who have no national
1846. feelings, no union whatever. They are divided into tribes,
some stationary, some nomadic. All are addicted to robbery and murder if we can call their acts by those names; but that would not be strictly just, because no law existed under the ameers against such crimes, in which those princes largely participated. A few general rules did exist, but they were so open to every species of corrupt influence that it is an abuse of terms to call them *laws*. They only applied, if applied at all, to the first of the three races inhabiting Scinde, namely Beloochees, Scindees, and Hindoos. The Beloochees are Mahomedans and, until the conquest, were the masters;—the other two were their slaves. The Scindees were serfs, over whom every petty Belooch chief held the power of life and death, and used that power freely. In reality there was no law, and each tribe protected itself in the following curious way.

Tribe A being in want robbed tribe B, which remained passive for a longer or shorter period according to circumstances. When the proper time came, B, having perhaps a quarrel with tribe C, proposes pardon to A if it will help B to rob C; which aid and a small compensation for the original robbery made up the quarrel between A and B. This rotatory system of plunder was general, and thus pressing necessity was relieved by what may be called forced loans; and between these attacks on each other, the plunder of travellers, and the levying of "black mail" on caravans, intervened. The black mail and a limited but existing commerce, enabled the tribes to live in a country where neither lodging, nor clothing nor firing are needed; and where the greatest chief lives under a mat stretched on poles cut from the jungle. It is true that the richer Hindoos had houses in towns; but built of mud, and purposely made wretched in appearance, or the ameers would have squeezed from their owners large sums of money. This system to us is robbery; for them a conventional arrangement, understood, and producing no very bitter feelings amongst the tribes. At the same time it prevented in a great measure (except amongst chiefs)

intermarriages ; for evident reasons each tribe kept itself pure and distinct.

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With regard to murder, it is still a sort of rude natural law, understood and rigidly maintained. If a man of tribe A seduces a woman of tribe B, her friends kill both, a blood-feud arises, and the two tribes become deadly enemies unless they have joined to slay both culprits. But if a man of A seduces a woman of B, and her relations kill her, while the man escapes, there will be a blood-feud, because a man of A has caused the death of a woman of B, and the first man of A that can be caught is slain ; but then the feud would cease.

I have said the first man of A caught, is slain, but the man so sacrificed is unconnected with the criminal, and his family make no remonstrances ; they admit the justice of the act yet secretly vow a private feud against the man of B who actually slew their relation, and they will watch for years and finally slay him or some of his family in revenge—thus the public balance of murder is again uneven and both tribes take arms. These private feuds are not blamed, it would be dishonouring to neglect them. I have traced this running account of blood through several generations, on several occasions, and one recently between the "*Bull-foot Noomrees*" and the "*Choola Noomrees*"—the first our subjects, the last our neighbours. They knew I would not let them fight, and so made me umpire. Originally of one family they split about a hundred years ago, and their feud comes down to this day. They embraced in my presence with a peculiar ceremony, the Choola making the first advance to the Bull-foot chief as the head of all the Noomree tribes. Their expression, when I recommended reconciliation, was, "That my sword was stronger than their swords, and what I ordered must be obeyed." When reconciliation takes place it is not unusual for the murderer to give a sister or daughter in marriage to the next of kin of the slain ; and I have known the daughter of the murdered man given to the murderer. Educated to expect this, it is not such a hardship on the girl as it would be with us.

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From the time a blood-feud begins, an exact account is kept, and until an equal number are slain on each side no peace can be—sometimes not even then. So accurately is this account kept, that wounds which do not prove fatal are set down. All this we call murder, with them it is only fatal duelling, and not so bad as our duelling, for we have law protection if we choose to seek it. But in the ameers' time, these men had no law, and no other protection; wherefore *robber* and *murderer* does not justly apply to them.

As to petty thieving it is scarcely known—a little in the large towns; and in our cantonments which are infested with the lowest blackguards from Bombay.

These divisions amongst the tribes prevented their having any national feeling or any attachment whatever to their late rulers the ex-ameers. I saw this when I first arrived, and when the conquest happened I turned it to account by giving each chief all he possessed before the battle of Meeanee, and with it a secure title which he had not before; for under the ameers no man who was not very strong was sure of his jagheer. The nobles were thus attached to an order of things which confers advantages they never before possessed; and I acquire knowledge of their feelings as to government from the collectors—especially Captain Rathborne the collector of Hyderabad, who lives on intimate terms with the most powerful, and is an officer of great ability.

System of Government.—I shall now state my mode of governing such rude tribes. Having secured the confidence of the chiefs as to their possessions, my next object was gradually to subvert their power over their Scindee and Hindoo slaves—not called so, but so in fact. The abolition of slavery by order of the supreme government gave the first blow to this, as far as their purchased African slaves were concerned. The second step was to hear all complaints made by the poor of ill-treatment perpetrated by Englishmen or Beloochees. This produced a feeling that justice and protection to all would be found under the British rule. The third step was to deprive the chiefs

of the power of inflicting death, torture, or any other punishment; and force them to refer to our magistrates for justice against offenders. This in some measure lowered the chiefs in the estimation of their retainers; but it raised the latter in their own estimation. The fourth step was to abolish the abominable *old Indian* system of regulating labour by a tariff. I threw open the market for labour, and wages rose, to 3*d.* and 4*d.* a day, having been before forced, unpaid labour, or nearly so. This met with opposition from Englishmen, and, strange to say, I have hardly been able entirely to enforce the rule yet! I have heard that a tariff on labour prevails very much in India at this moment. I do not know this from personal experience, and can hardly believe in the existence of such foul injustice and tyranny towards the labouring class. However by this measure I have so improved the condition and feelings of the poor, that I doubt, if government were so unwise as to restore the ameers, that the latter could hold their position for six months: all would be confusion and bloodshed.

I deprived all persons of the right of bearing arms in public except the chiefs; for them it would have been an indignity; and I doubt if they would have borne it so patiently as they have other rules more fatal to their supremacy as feudal chiefs. Had I suppressed their arms discontent would have united them in a common cause and healed their feuds, whereas by leaving them their swords and shields I added to their consequence and flattered their vanity. Their followers would care little for the deprivation unless worked up to anger by their chiefs; but if so worked, they would have been fierce and ready to use their arms instead of relinquishing them. All was received with good feeling. Meanwhile the Scindees and Hindoos, who were never allowed to wear arms, acquired importance, and were pleased to find themselves on a level with their former tyrants—the latter being pulled down while they were raised—and were no longer awed by the Belooch scimitar which had before been drawn and fatally applied upon the slightest provocation.

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It is now man to man, and the Scindee is as good as the Beloochee, allowing for the habitual fear of the slave. Emancipation cannot at once remove that, and I see it still to prevail, especially when the reports are spread by some of the infamous Indian newspapers that the ameers are to be restored.

A letter arrived last Christmas from the ameers, stating, that Lord Ashley had written to say, they were to live on the frontier as private gentlemen! I am unable to say what truth there was in this, but the Hindoo merchants believed it, and in consequence sent their money to Muscat and Bombay and prepared to abandon Scinde. The first notice we had of it was from a great chief, the nephew of the ameers, who stood by them to the last against us. He possesses a principality which I restored to him to honour his faith towards his family; for he fought at Meeanee at Hyderabad and in the desert; but when Shere Mohamed (the Lion) fled from Scinde this man laid his sword at my feet. He is very clever and has heartily entered into the English habits, improving his land, and adopting civilization. He said "I am ruined, and so are numbers of others if this news be true; for we *must* join the ameers in a conspiracy to overthrow the English government, and shall be overthrown. For God's sake tell your government to let us alone, we are happy and getting rich; but all of Talpoor blood must join our chiefs if you let them come near us, and as to their living quiet as private gentlemen that is nonsense."

And if the ameers do come assuredly blood will be spilled; not by the people, but the great chiefs who will be influenced by family honour, and as this chief said, *ruined*. His words were emphatic. "The first time I was received by the general as a brave and faithful soldier, and I have received from him all and more than all I had before; but if I fight him again I shall be a traitor and can have no claim on his mercy." Speaking thus to Captain Rathborne, this prince became very animated, and taking a jug of water that stood near filled a glass, saying, "You English are a very odd people, you have conquered Scinde,

you have done us good, all is full like this glass, but instead of drinking you throw all away thus"—and he poured the water on the floor, alluding to the return of the ameers.

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The prohibition to appear armed has tended more than most things to keep the people orderly and prevent murders and feuds arising from the sudden wrath peculiar to men of hot climates.

Collection of Revenue.—I divided Scinde into three great collectorates, placing at the head of each a collector with deputies under him, English officers. They are all magistrates, but with restricted powers as to punishment. To them I gave the whole establishment employed by the ameers for collecting money and inflicting vengeance; as to punishing moral crimes those princes never interfered; the only crime in their eyes was disobedience of their orders, and those orders had but two objects—amassing money and administering to their debaucheries. The last was only painful to certain individuals. The first opened a door to great and general calamities—injustice, torture, and ruin to the country at large. Their machines for extortion were the *kardars*, the head men in each village who collected the taxes; the *umbardars* who took charge of the grain when collected for the ameers. Both *kardars* and *umbardars* had their *fumiliars* to execute their orders; and what those orders were depended generally on what the kardar himself was, but not always, as the following facts show. If grain was high the ameers ordered the kardars to sell it at a certain price beyond the highest in the market, and to send the amount received at once to the treasury. The kardar assembled the richest people of his district, compelling each to take a portion of the grain and pay instantly the ameers' price, perhaps more for their own profit. If any refused he was hanged by the thumbs to a beam and a hot ramrod was placed between his thighs. The money being thus collected—God help the kardar if it was not—each zemindar, or farmer, took his forced purchase away and divided it in like manner, and with *like persuasion*, amongst his ryots or labourers, who, being

CHAP. XIII. poorer, had a larger allowance of hot ramrods and other
1846. tortures. The kardar in such cases could not help himself if he would ; but it generally gave him opportunity to extort money for his own profit.

All these kardars and umbardars I made over to the new magistrates to work with, and thus enlisted a large body of influential men in favour of the conquest. They of course robbed us at first as the English officers were ignorant of what ought to be paid ; but now the collectors know their work well, and from their systematic military habits and experience of men they quickly got the whole machinery into high order, working hard, and the revenue rapidly improved and will yet improve. The collectors and their deputies keep diaries, which are sent to me weekly and I thus learn what goes on in each district. They are read to me by the secretary to the government, Captain Brown, an officer from whom I have received such able assistance that I ought in justice to call him my colleague rather than secretary.

Police.—To secure the peace of the country and avoid disseminating the troops, which would render them too familiar with the people and possibly diminish the wholesome fear of our power, I established a police of two thousand four hundred men, well armed, drilled, and divided into three classes—one for the towns, two for the country. The first all infantry, the two last infantry and cavalry, called the rural police. They assist the collectors, but form a distinct body under their own officers. The police never agree with the kardars, and while the police inform us of the cheating of the kardars, umbardars and zemindars, these people complain of the usual faults of policemen—namely overbearing insolence. In this manner they keep each other in check, and both take the part of the poor, not out of humanity but spite : the motive signifies little, the government profits by the results, for the poor now look on both as protectors. Thus if a policeman ill-treats a ryot the latter applies to the kardar for protection ; and if a kardar robs the ryot, the latter goes to the policeman. All this gives much trouble at times to the collec-

tors and myself, for some sub-collectors have been weak enough to enter into the disputes of their followers; but that is ephemeral, and we have a sufficient number of men of sense and temper. The whole works well and the police not only seize thieves but are good troops: they had on their first establishment sundry battles with robber bands whom they generally defeated, and now no such bands exist.

Control of the Administration of Justice.—An officer has been made judge-advocate-general, who from experience and study has acquired much knowledge of his work and of military law; he was sent by Lord Ellenborough, and his calm dispassionate good sense and amiable disposition and his great industry and uprightness singularly qualify Captain Keith Young for the post he so worthily fills. To this officer I have given two deputies who officiate at Hyderabad and Shikarpoore. To this judge-advocate-general all the magistrates send reports of trials which they are competent to enter upon. Crimes of a deeper hue, such as murder, robbery with violence, are first examined into on the spot by the magistrates, and the preliminary depositions on oath are sent to the judge-advocate; he submits them to the governor, who orders thereon, if he thinks fit, a trial by a military commission consisting of a field officer and two captains; or in case of a paucity of officers a subaltern of not less than seven years' service: a deputy judge-advocate conducts the proceedings, but has no voice in the finding or sentence. The minutes are sent by the president to the judge-advocate-general, who makes a short report upon the sentence and submits the whole to the governor. If the court, the judge-advocate-general and the governor all concur, the latter confirms the sentence and orders execution: if the court and judge-advocate-general differ the governor's opinion decides. By this mode justice is rendered as quickly as I can insure it, though not so quick as I could wish, and the prisoner has in fact the advantage of three courts.

I read all the trials on which I have to decide, with the greatest attention, frequently twice or thrice over, especially

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when the punishment is capital—never ordering an execution until I have given at least two and often several days to the full consideration of the sentence. In smaller matters the deputy-collectors at once try the cases and submit the proceedings to the collector, who either confirms the award or objects, but in either case forwards the proceedings to the judge-advocate-general, who has a casting voice in some cases; in others appeals to the governor. In addition to the above, there are for civil cases, what are termed *Punchayets*. I have made a slight change in these; they were formerly assembled without remuneration and I give them a small daily pay to cover their loss of time. They are something like our juries, or rather courts of arbitration, and hitherto their functions have been restricted by me to civil cases; for I keep all criminal cases in the hands of Europeans; but I wish much to increase the powers of these tribunals, which I found under another name existing in Greece. They exist I believe in all eastern countries and the English jury is but one form of them. In Greece they call it the court of *Veechiarde*, or Ancients, in India *Punchayet*, and their powers vary at different periods and in different countries according to circumstances. In India and in Scinde they are limited; in the Punjaub lately the *Punchayet* assumed supreme power! I am sure this subject demands much consideration, as a cautious mode of gradually introducing the people to take part in the government of their own country: but it is possible the directors do not think *that* so advisable and wise as it appears to me.

Such is the simple process by which justice is administered in Scinde, and the frequent disagreement in opinion between magistrates, military commissions, judge-advocate-general and governor, proves in my opinion the independence of the judges, and that the system works well and is merciful rather than harsh; especially as the judge-advocate-general and myself endeavour, as far as we can with justice, to modify the sentences so as to go with the feelings of the people and avoid giving disgust. But this is a large field, so I will conclude by saying that I

have long applied for leave to transport culprits to Aden, but have not yet had any reply. If this were permitted much of the capital punishments would be avoided, and the government would gain cheap labour for the fortifications there; the culprits would come back at the end of their sentence and the great evil, so justly reprobated by the archbishop of Dublin, of forming a condemned population would be avoided.

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Revenue.—The revenue of the ameers averaged from thirty-five to forty lacs. The revenue under my government has gradually increased from nine to thirty-one lacs; but there seems no reason to doubt that it will reach thirty-five lacs next April, ending the financial year of 1846-7. The general opinion of the collectors is that it will in 1848 amount to forty lacs and gradually increase, because commerce is increasing, and cultivation has this last year been greatly extended. However this letter is to state facts not conjectures. I am given to understand that the conquest of Scinde has added very much to the Bombay revenue by preventing smuggling through the Portuguese colony at Demaun. I have also to call to your notice, that in the ameers' revenue one of the most productive of their taxes was the *transit-duty* or *rahdari*. This has been abolished by us, and yet there is every probability that our revenue will exceed theirs. I have also abolished many other taxes—hence the amount of all these abolished taxes should be added to my revenue, and it will appear that less taxation has raised greater revenue.

In the ameers' revenue, Ali Moorad's possessions and the receipts from Subzulcote and Bhoorg-barra now transferred to Bhawulpore were included.

Commerce.—Our imports of European goods have increased since 1843, from four and a half to nine lacs in 1845; and to ten lacs in the first six months of 1846! The merchants of Kurrachee cry out for steamers to convey their goods up to the sources of the Indus and the Sutlej! I have received memorials from them to this effect, and have begged of the governor-general to make over four of the war-steamers on the Indus to the Scinde government for mercantile purposes. Thus the steamers will repay their keep, be equally available for war, and give facility for general commerce by their rapid and safe transmission

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of goods. For now the calculation is, that of every seven vessels coming down the Indus at certain periods of the year, six are lost altogether or their goods destroyed, owing to the badness of the country boats and the ignorance of the boatmen. This amounts to a prohibition of commerce. No steamer has ever been lost on the Indus, and if four are given up to the Scinde government they will be continually and fully laden, and I understand from merchants here that trading companies to the interior would be instantly formed.

Merchants are not altogether to be trusted in this country on such points, as the desire of lucre deceives them. But the demand for steamers has without doubt arisen, and I think it ought to be complied with, and the more readily as we have just discovered an inland passage for steamers from Kurrachee to the mouths of the Indus. I have had it surveyed, and a steamer has passed through. It runs parallel to and very near the shore, which shelters it from the furious monsoon sea, one impassable for five months in the year. The only doubt is whether this passage will be affected by the inundations. This will be decided when the waters have subsided, and a steamer is then to make the passage. The officers of the flotilla are confident of success, and if so, Kurrachee becomes the real fixed mouth of the Indus, not varying like the other mouths with every inundation, so as to be useless for commerce. If this passage fails us, the merchants will still equally require steamers to convey their goods from Tattah to the sources of the Five Waters.

It did not fail.

Agriculture.—Cultivation and revenue are on the increase, because taxation has been lowered; and during the short time we have ruled, considerable immigrations have taken place. I am now endeavouring to ameliorate still more the condition of the ryots. You must know, Sir, that the system of farming the revenue has generally prevailed in Scinde, the ameers farmed every branch of their revenue. I have abolished this detestable practice; but still the zemindar, the farmer, exists; he hires large tracts of land from government or from jagheerdars, and while

he cheats his landlord he starves the ryot—as far as men can be starved who live in a country full of game and wild fruits—who can rear fowls without cost, and who have abundance of firing for the trouble of collecting fuel: men who go naked, who require no houses and who make no difficulty of stealing a sheep when pressed. A man here first steals a camel, which he rides a hundred miles to steal a sheep, returns next night with his mutton and turns the camel loose into the jungle from whence he took him. No one is the wiser, unless he who loses the sheep misses his animal in time—that is to say, while the camel's foot-prints are fresh; but then he hires a *puggee* or tracker who *pugs* the camel's steps and the thief is caught. These puggees are unerring. They follow a track for eight or ten days and nights, unless a storm of wind overlays the foot-prints, human or quadrupeds, with sand; or a fall of rain washes them away. No ingenuity seems able to elude a good puggee.

The zemindar oppresses the ryot, driving him to idleness and robbery. And I am granting small farms to ryots to take them out of the zemindars' hands, giving them only so much land as they can cultivate by their own labour without sub-letting. They pay their rent to the collectors direct without the intervention of kardar or zemindar. I hope thus not only to raise the character of the poorer ryot, but greatly to increase our reputation in surrounding countries, and so add to the population of Scinde, its happiness and its revenue. I have also adopted a measure which I know succeeds in England, viz. making small loans to the industrious poor when they are distressed by unforeseen accidents. These loans are made with caution by the district collectors and sub-collectors: the repayment is by instalments and rigidly enforced, yet under certain rules which cannot be detailed in a letter.

I consider that taxation may be still more diminished and yet the revenue be increased. In time I will prove this, and I expect next April will show more clearly what my system will finally produce. Last year realized thirty-one lacs—and I shall be disappointed if this year does not

CHAP. XIII. produce thirty-five lacs. Our crops this year are good, but in great danger from locusts, which have destroyed the grain in the adjacent countries. Scinde has not had time to settle since the conquest. People fancy that trade and agriculture spring up at once like Aladdin's palace. But it will, I reckon, require ten years to recover from the effects of the ameers' tyranny and such a great revolution as Scinde has undergone; and it appears to me no ordinary matter, that already she is perfectly tranquil and rapidly improving. At the time of the battle of Hyderabad I thought that if we kept Scinde it would take ten years to put it in the state it is now in. Lieutenant-Colonel Outram publicly asserted, that I would have a guerilla war for ten years! So much for his knowledge of the people of Scinde!

This is our present financial position :—

Total revenue from 24th March, 1843, the date of the battle of Hyderabad, to 30th April, 1846	£659,393
Total expense of civil government for three years including police force	£336,526
Balance in favour of general government, April 30th, 1846	£322,869

I shall make a full statement on this head in another paper, because the papers laid before Parliament and ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 30th of April 1846, I do not think correct. Meanwhile I have to say the large force in Scinde has not been *for Scinde* but *for the Punjaub*. I have for two years constantly said, that 5,000 men are sufficient, and more than sufficient, for the defence and for the maintenance of tranquillity in Scinde. This has been contradicted by an ignorant and factious party at Bombay; but I can prove this force is more than sufficient. Have I not quitted Scinde with nearly my whole force, even when the Seikhs were up and might have been looked to for help against us—as they always were by the ameers? And has there ever been the least doubt of the tranquillity of Scinde? Never! And there

never will be while I am here, because that tranquillity has been based, not on the force of arms after the battles, but the justice and kindness of government towards all ranks. Not an Englishman has been murdered since the ameers quitted the country—not an Englishman has been even insulted! These are facts of no small weight, and not usual in these eastern countries, nor in any country recently conquered.

The extraordinary military expenses are of two kinds; the one relating to supplies, the other to the building of barracks. The first will diminish as the force diminishes, and three-fourths of it must be charged to the Punjaub account; the other fourth to the *occupation* of Scinde—not one penny to the *conquest* of Scinde, except the expense of barracks at Hyderabad, which has been already much more than covered by the surplus revenue stated above. *The conquest of Scinde has not cost a single shilling to the East-India Company*, on the contrary it has saved money; for I defy any politician, or soldier to say that, had the ameers still ruled in Scinde we could have occupied Kurrachee and Sukkur with a smaller force than was kept here during the events of the last two years at Gwalior and on the Sutlej. I will say more—and I can prove it—that had the ameers remained, bloody scenes would have been enacted here when Gwalior was in arms, and when the Seikhs crossed the Sutlej.

Had the governor-general been so rash as to reduce the garrison of Scinde to 5,000 men in 1842-3, the ameers remaining in power and our small force divided between Kurrachee and Sukkur, he would have lost the army. The delusion of Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, who could not perceive the hostility of the ameers till he was attacked in the residency, would, had he been left in the position I succeeded to, have lost the whole army in 1844 or in 1845; for all would have been apparently tranquil in the first year until Gwalior was ready; and in the second till the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, which would have been accompanied by a simultaneous and equally unexpected attack by the ameers on Kurrachee and Sukkur.

CHAP. XIII. No succour could have been sent to our weak divided and every way unprovided force. Lord Keane's army was scarcely able to hold the ameers in check even before the disasters in Affghanistan. The result would have been a cost of blood and treasure, far exceeding what the conquest required: I therefore assume *that* conquest must be accounted, except in the opinion of an obstinate faction, a great saving of blood and treasure, without reference to the honour of our arms, which has certainly not been stained in Scinde since the end of 1842.

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Mine may be called an impartial opinion as regards the *policy* of the conquest; for I cannot recollect ever having presumed to offer a single suggestion to Lord Ellenborough on the subject; so far from it, I did, until I was appointed governor, expect that the ameers would be subsidized. I admired Lord Ellenborough's policy, but I must have equally executed my orders had I disapproved. *I believe I am a singular instance of a successful general having been run down by his own government, for having obeyed the superior authority set over him by that government—and receiving no support in his command from home when all he did was approved of by successive governors-general. Yet this is what Lord Ripon and the Court of Directors have done by me.* However I am prepared to prove that the conquest of Scinde has been less expensive in blood and money than an occupation would have been, according to what is generally understood as being originally intended after the destruction of our army at Cabool. If to occupy Scinde with a diminished force was not the original intention, it is evident that the only result of the conquest is the addition of its revenue to the public treasury, without additional outlay. This will be seen when passion, prejudice, and a very insidious, very virulent, but not very honourable war, made upon me, by individuals shall subside—a moment that I wait for with patience because I feel confident in the result.

Climate.—That the climate of Scinde is very hot is unquestionable, but that it is more unhealthy than any other part of India I know to be untrue. Many soldiers

have died, so they have in every new conquest made by the Company, and for these simple reasons. *Want of good barracks—want of comfort—want of local experience.*

All three were felt by the army in Scinde—a country so entirely ruined, so miserable and deprived of everything by tyrannical government, that we are really more like a colony planted in a desert than an army occupying an inhabited country. We have lost but few officers, even including those who died of cholera and other diseases unconnected with the locality, because they have been better lodged and have had more comforts. Now we are gradually getting good barracks erected, and Scinde will not be unhealthy beyond what all parts of India must ever be to European constitutions. Twice since the conquest has an epidemic fallen on the troops, and the European private soldiers have also suffered, because they drink ardent spirits, *bad* ardent spirits, and because their constitution is not congenial to a hot climate. We have also twice had cholera. All this frightens weak timid people and they unjustly condemn the climate.

Natural Riches of the Country.—Scinde is capable of producing an immense revenue; the soil is rich beyond description. I am endeavouring to control the waters of the Indus; this will I hope ere long be effected, and then the produce will be very great. The present want is that of sufficient population to cultivate the great quantity of waste land. The mines are supposed to be rich, and the fields of salt inexhaustible.

Surrounding States.—The newspapers talk of our being constantly embroiled with neighbouring tribes. This shows great ignorance. Not a single tribe has the least desire to quarrel with us—on the contrary they are gradually coming to settle in Scinde! All who love peace and desire to cultivate and enjoy the fruits of their labour wish to settle here, and numbers do so.

Such is the general state of Scinde since I have governed it, and I do not think I have misstated anything. I could not enter into details without having more time than I can command, and to have done so would have

CHAP. XIII. made this memoir a book; still I feel how very slight
1846. and general is the view I have given. But under this system the revenue has increased and is increasing; the people are contented and happy, and there have been no conspiracies or insurrections, though the hill campaign and Seikh campaign both offered tempting opportunities. Here also I will give an opinion, I think a correct one—not formed by *an old Indian* (which frequently means a man who has been living twenty years in India eating, drinking, and in profound ignorance dogmatizing; as if he possessed a thorough acquaintance with the people), but by one who has for five years studied the character of the Scindian people and successfully governed them for four years. It is then my opinion that if a civil government is formed in Scinde, the revenue will be swamped by large salaries to civil servants, immense establishments and little work: for as civil servants of experience and real knowledge will not quit their good positions in India to come here, the province will be overrun^d with young and ignorant men who have been initiated into all that is luxurious and idle without experience or perhaps ability to have acquired the good. They may be very good fellows; they smoke, hunt hogs, race, drink beer and issue their orders in bad Hindostanee, to a subservient set of native clerks, who consequently soon get the real power into their hands, and turn it to account by all sorts of venality and oppression. The result of this will be, or rather may be, bloodshed and expense. The people here have no respect for civil servants. Soldiers themselves, they look to being governed by soldiers, a feeling that would make them ready to draw the sword if affronted by civilians.

In proportion as the civil establishment is increased, expense will increase, and the military will decrease, and the control will become weaker; so that if a civil government produced insurrection it would not be well able to put it down. I am aware of the inconvenience which arises to the army by the extensive employment of military men in civil branches of government, and I have

introduced four or five uncovenanted civil servants into the Scinde government, with good effect; they, with one exception, have conducted themselves with diligence and modesty. But three *covenanted* servants, sent by Lord Ellenborough in the first moment of conquest, were quite useless. I had no prejudice against them, but the contrary; for one was the relative of an old comrade of mine, who fell in Spain, and for any one belonging to him I would have done anything in my power; but their ideas were so grand as to establishments, and they were themselves reported to me as being so idle, that I could only send Lord Ellenborough the statement made by the collector Captain Pope, under whom I had placed them, and with it their own explanation. He ordered them back to India. They were, I have no doubt, clever and gentleman-like young men, but a dozen of them would have paralyzed my government, and thrown it into the hands of clerks and natives. I indeed should have no objection to these clerks who are very clever men generally, and so are natives; but then let them have the pay and responsibility and get rid of the gentlemen with their high salaries, their clerks, their pigs, and their beer-barrels. Let the men who do the work have the offices! If men have any other pleasure than their business they are good for nothing in that business.

I will now conclude by saying that though the officers with me, and myself might have done more and better, no one will deny that we have had many and great difficulties to struggle with—war, and pestilence in its utmost virulence, the destruction of a whole harvest by locusts, and the greatest part of another by a sudden and unprecedented fall of the inundation before the grain was mature have been amongst the evils afflicting Scinde since 1843. In the midst of an extensive military command I have had to construct the entire machinery of a civil government, assisted by young officers who had at first starting little or no experience, but whose zeal and abilities have enabled them to serve me well; and by diligence they have overcome the great obstacle of total want of local experience,

CHAP. XIII. 1846. which was at first almost insuperable in the collection of revenue. How we have succeeded we must leave the world to decide. But we have done our best; and if, as I see stated in the public papers, it is intended to change the system of rule here to one more analogous to that of India, I am ready, if called upon, to give a full account of my mode of conducting the government since it was confided to me by Lord Ellenborough in 1843, and to deliver it over to my successor, who I hope may feel the same interest in it that I do. But if the home government approve of what I have done and wish me to remain in my present position, I am prepared to continue my exertions as long as my health will permit me to do with justice to the public service.

Since writing the above I have received orders from the governor-general to send away a large portion of the force in Scinde. This is to take place next January, and greatly pleases me, as it will be another proof of the tranquillity of this country and relieve the province from the absurd charge made against it of being ruinous to the finances of India.

It was understood that this able memoir arrested the transfer of Scinde at the time, but it in no manner abated the falsehoods promulgated, or softened the hostility of the Court of Directors. Nor did it procure justice or protection from the cabinet—Lord Howick's despicable enmity prevailed there too strongly. Meanwhile Sir C. Napier in pursuance of his convictions renewed his proposition for reducing the number of troops, offering to send away eleven regiments and all the European artillery! The governor-general actuated no doubt, by an inward sense that the Punjaub conquest was unsettled, would only call off four regiments, and the Scindian governor thus remained under the accusation of retaining troops when he was anxious to get rid of them; and the Scindian people were called disaffected, when the most touching proofs of their profound attachment were being given, and when foreigners were eagerly demanding to be allowed to become

their fellow-subjects! For in the autumn of this year, an independent chief formerly driven from Scinde by the tyranny of the ameers, offered, and his offer was accepted, to abandon his mountain refuge and settle with eighteen hundred families for cultivation if lands were assigned to them. At the same time the collector of customs, having business to transact at Beila, was on his return surrounded by a multitude of miserable slaves entreating him to take them to Scinde, "*where all men were free.*" Their masters came up, and, being afraid to coerce them lest the "great English sahib should be angry," besought the collector to put them back officially. He refused, saying, he hoped they would break their bonds, but he could not interfere either way. Then the masters forced them back, two excepted, who were armed with axes and keeping close to the collector's horse forced a way across the frontier.

There was still much distrust abroad as to the probable restoration of the ameers. Ali Moorad, foreseeing ruin to himself if that should happen, became so uneasy at the non-confirmation of his treaty, that it was to be feared he would seek other alliances if fresh troubles arose in the Punjaub; and meanwhile the reasons assigned by the government for having so many troops in Scinde contrary to the general's wish was, that fear of him alone kept the people submissive! This assumption he proudly and peremptorily rejected. "They were at first submissive from such fear, and he had taken advantage of it to establish his administration vigorously, but that influence had long passed away and been replaced by self-love—they were quiet because they were getting rich and enjoying the fruits of their industry. Their quietude was not the result of force, but of justice and its attendant happiness: they were quiet because they knew their own interests."

But Sir C. Napier had now acquired the certainty that official men in England were, equally with the Bombay council, the instigators and protectors of the libellers who so constantly assailed him, and whose virulence was hourly augmenting. He had honestly strived to serve, and had most efficiently served governments which were

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bent on his ruin while they profited from his devotion to their interests; he had been successful in war and peace, had won battles, subdued kingdoms, tranquillized and governed nations, legislating happily, administering justly; and he had made English power an object of love and reverence where before it had been abhorred and at times despised. He had been repaid with foul enmity, malignant and scurrilous abuse, and his virtues had been denied. He had been denounced as a man stained with cruelty and rapacity, and the slanderers who thus assailed him were rewarded by those who owed kingdoms, aye and safety to his genius, his courage, energy and incorruptible character. He alone of those officers who had been distinguished in Indian warfare had been neglected in the distribution of honours. Even the thanks of Parliament had been withheld for a year—an unexampled slight to a victorious commander—and they were not finally voted without the accompaniment of personal insult from a knot of calumniators, the chief of whom was now a cabinet minister. Attempts had been made to stifle his despatches that his exploits might be lessened to the public; and sinister measures were taken, vainly indeed, but taken, to render him unpopular with his troops. His name had been studiously withheld at public banquets when Indian victories were toasted, as if he were an outlaw from glory; though to nearly unexampled success in the field he had added unusual sagacity and unusual economy in civil government—the last perhaps an inextinguishable offence, for he was so vigilant that corruption could not thrive in his neighbourhood.

These things made him reflect seriously on the inutility of wasting his life to serve men who had marked him for every injustice and insult; and with this sense of ill-usage he resolved to retire into private life. Yet remembering what he owed to the people he had subdued and undertaken to civilize, he determined not to resign until he had completed what was necessary to consolidate his work, and for that another year of power was required.

His principal objects were,

1°. A reduction of the troops to the number formerly

fixed by Lord Auckland for the garrisons of Sukkur and Roree, namely, five thousand; at that time certainly insufficient against the ameers, but now more than enough to hold all Scinde; and even this number was adopted in deference to the views of the supreme government, and with reference to the appointment of a civilian, or some obscure military man, to the government, more than to the necessity of the case.

2°. The complete development of the ameliorated system of taxation, whereby all vexatious town-duties were abolished, and all export duties collected at fixed posts on the frontier. This was a matter involving the future interests of commerce and the immediate comfort of the towns, and a vigilant superintendence of the early working of this system was all-important.

3°. To obtain Mittenkote from the supreme government as an appurtenance of Scinde; and to have Deyrah in the Cutchee hills occupied either as an outpost, or as a military colony; an arrangement which would give the Cutchee hills as a frontier from the Indus to Dadur near the mouth of the Bolan pass, and debar their being again filled with robber tribes, who he knew by experience could not be again put down without much bloodshed.

In the hope of attaining these objects he remained in Scinde. But his recent trying journey to Lahore and back while suffering under a painful wearing bodily ailment, his great mortification of spirit, his extraordinary exertions during the cholera, and his grief for domestic losses, nearly deprived him of life. It was not until the end of autumn that his strength returned. Fortunately his administration now worked easily and happily, and with exception of a not very fatal visitation of cholera at Sukkur, the country was remarkably free from disease. Crime was very much diminished, and the comparatively fewer murders of women, and of homicides in feuds, proved that the social habits were being improved. The public works were also well advanced. The great mole at Kurra-
chee had got into such deep water that steamers took in cargoes alongside it; and these cargoes were for Sukkur,

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an important step in the river commerce, enhanced by the discovery of the chain of salt creeks mentioned in the memoir addressed to Sir J. Hobhouse. They run parallel with the coast to the nearest great mouth of the Indus, offering a natural canal, intricate indeed, but always full and unaffected by the inundations, or the monsoons.

As this gave direct water communication with the Indus and made Kurrachee the permanent port of that great artery of commerce, the general immediately appropriated the only two river steamers at his disposal for the transport of merchandize by this communication to the Indus; thus opening a new commercial road to Central Asia, the effect of which must, sooner or later, render Scinde a great and prosperous country. Some slight difficulties attending the first effort, were thus described.

"The Kurrachee merchants are a little timid, or rather I believe cunning, and mean to frighten me into low fares; but they will not succeed. I have made my calculations as low as we can afford, and if they don't like my charges, they may buy steamers for themselves—there is no force for pigs that won't eat grains. Or they may continue to send their goods by camels, which cannot reach Shikarpore under five weeks, while my steamers get there in sixteen days. Each camel must be guarded, and may be robbed notwithstanding. A steamer is safe, and one man guards the whole cargo, whereas each camel requires two men—one to lead another to guard—making twenty or thirty men for every cafila, some of which take three months for the journey. Yes! the merchants will come to my terms: their shyness is subtilty, but Cocker's arithmetic beats barbarian arts.

"The merchants of Shikarpore take larger views. They see that the freight charge must cover the cost of fuel, and they are all ready. I have refused passages to my officers, at which they are discontented, but, 'know thyself,' said the oracle; and next to that it is good to know your countrymen. I will give passages to officers in the war steamers, but not in these merchant steamers; they would lord it too much over the merchant and the super-

cargo. When my experiment can go alone, it shall cease to be a government venture, and I will turn it over to the merchants; who will not then be able, if willing, to return to the cafilas, for business will have become too brisk, the demand will cover the cost, and yield a profit to draw private steamers into the trade—meanwhile the child must be nursed.”

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This happy state of affairs was supported by a vast increase of production. 1846 was the only year since the conquest in which agriculture had not been distressed by wars, locusts, pestilence, and anomalous inundations, hence the price of grain fell one half; and for the first time since the accession of the Talpoor dynasty Scinde became a wheat-exporting country instead of an importing one. Scindian wheat was actually exported in 1846 and 1847, through Bombay to England, with good profit; for being much harder, drier, and heavier than Canadian wheat it fetched twenty shillings a ton more in the market. Sir C. Napier offered eleven thousand tons, received as revenue, for the use of famishing Ireland, at one-third of the market price of wheat in England, and Lord Ellenborough pointed out to the ministers a cheap mode of conveying it—the bargain would have been most advantageous, alleviating the misery of the Irish and improving the Scindian revenue; but a measure reasonably beneficial to Ireland, and useful to Scinde, was a cup of double bitterness and instantly rejected.

This excess of production exceedingly lowered the revenue, which was chiefly paid in kind, yet left it sufficient to defray all civil expenses; and it would have paid all the military expenses likewise, if the proposition to reduce the troops had been acceded to. Revenue was however with Sir C. Napier always secondary to the welfare of the people; he rejoiced in the abundance and would not increase the imposts; for to raise more money by taxation than the absolute expenses of administration and protection required he thought a crime in government; and vigilantly to economize these expenses a sacred duty; not however in a pitiful spirit, for he judged it no

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economy to starve useful institutions. A great vexation to the Bombay libellers however was this abundance, and they displayed it with an effrontery of falsehood scarcely credible; for while the Scindian population was thus, as it were gorged with food, they asserted that it was scourged with famine, the result of Sir C. Napier's ignorance! And this astounding falsehood was republished in England and believed!

Unheeding their fury he continued his administrative labours. His canal system was in full progress; and the chief engineer, Captain Peat, an officer too soon lost to his country, conducted all the works of his department with such singular ability, that the general felt he could, so assisted, open the road to prosperity in a marvellous manner if supported by the supreme government. With this feeling he formed great schemes, and made arrangements to send an exploring steamer to Attock, hoping thus to establish trading communications along the great river and all its confluent. But official procrastination baffled all plans, all hopes; he could not even obtain an answer to any proposition; and while fretting under this injurious restraint he had to break up and disperse the model army he had organized for the Punjaub war. It was a good occasion, and he took it, to make an exposition of the real condition and value of Scinde in the following general order issued January 1847.

"The army of Scinde is ordered to be broken up, and the number of troops reduced so as, in future, to form the ordinary garrison of a frontier province. This, as regards the interior tranquillity of Scinde might have been done two years ago. But the character of the Lahore government and of its troops made it necessary for the government of India to keep an army in Scinde.

The danger apprehended from the Punjaub subsided after the victories gained on the Sutlej, and the concentration of a large force on the Indus ceased to be necessary.

To the army of Scinde is due the tranquillity of this noble province. To the discipline and orderly conduct of all, and the support which the officers of this army have

given to me by their just and conciliating conduct towards the people, England is indebted for the tranquil possession of a country which the valour of the troops had conquered.

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To the abilities of those officers who have from the first conducted the civil branches of this government, and to their unremitting exertions in the administration of justice, is, more especially to be attributed the successful administration of the province, that attachment to the British rule, and that confidence which has been so strongly evinced by the inhabitants of Scinde on two signal occasions, the campaign in the Bhoogtee hills, and the march of the Scinde force to Bhawulpoor.

But to the glory of freeing an enslaved country by a necessary conquest, and the consequent tranquillity of an apparently satisfied people, this army has added an increase of revenue to the Company.

The last financial year showed, that the united ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the civil government of Scinde (including the expense of a police of two thousand four hundred horse and foot) amounted to only fifteen lacs one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four rupees. That the revenue, for that year, was forty-one lacs forty-two thousand nine hundred and twelve rupees, and consequently, that *twenty-five lacs* were paid last year towards defraying the military expense incurred, not by the conquest of Scinde in 1843, but by the previous occupation of Scinde, and by the disturbed state of the Punjaub.

Previous to the conquest, the army of Scinde was an unmitigated expense to the East-India Company.

Since the conquest, that expense has been reduced by the aggregate sum of forty-two lacs thirty-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-five rupees, which has been collected *in excess* of the expenses of civil government and police force, calculating both from the battle of Hyderabad to the present day.

Thus, whatever the previous occupation may have produced, the conquest of Scinde has not cost the East-India

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1846. to rule the land not a soldier could have been withdrawn from the force which occupied Scinde in 1842—on the contrary, strong reinforcements must have been added to it, divided, as it would have been, between Kurrachee and Sukkur, with the aggregated forces of the courts of Hyderabad and Khyrpoor assembled, in a central position, between the weak wings of the army of occupation—wings separated by four hundred miles of difficult country, and incapable of assisting each other, or of receiving any reinforcements during five months of every year! Such a position must have been untenable, or tenable only in consequence of egregious folly on the part of an enemy who commanded one hundred thousand men in a central position.

An army divided as I have stated, would probably have been cut to pieces, for apparently there could not have been any retreat!

The prompt military operations ordered by Lord Ellenborough in 1843, not only saved the army of Scinde from the fate which befel that of Cabool, but secured the north-west frontier of the Indian empire, speaking of Scinde in a military point of view—while in a commercial one, as commanding the navigation of the Indus, it is the key to the Punjaub.

Not a man has been added to the army of occupation in consequence of the conquest. Scinde was conquered by the troops which previously occupied Sukkur.

This is a fact which cannot be too often repeated. But this is not all. The advanced frontier has a right to the troops that occupied the former retired frontier, extending from Bhooj to Balmeer. The latter no longer require garrisons, and consequently the conquest of Scinde has not entailed the necessity for having additional troops, or throwing greater duties on the Bombay army—whereas, but for the conquest, not a soldier could now be withdrawn, or the Indus would be closed to commerce even though the Punjaub were opened!

No troops, beyond the police, are now required to pre-

serve the interior tranquillity of Scinde. The increasing revenues are thrown into the Indian treasury, and the military charges belong to India generally, not to Scinde more than to any other province of the empire.

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An immense increase of revenue has taken place in Bombay in consequence of the conquest of Scinde, which prevents the smuggling trade in opium, formerly carried on. What may be the amount of this increase I have no means of knowing; but it is said to be very great. Commerce is already actively commencing between Kurrachee and Sukkur, ready to branch forth into the Punjaub when the results following the victories on the Sutlej shall open up the *Five Rivers* to the enterprising spirit of British merchants. Sukkur, ordered by Lord Ellenborough to be called *Victoria on the Indus*, has become the depôt for goods passing into Central Asia.

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XVIII.

Such, soldiers of the Scinde army, have been the services of those regiments which conquered, and of those which have occupied Scinde since the conquest. During this period of four years, there has not been a single political crime, conspiracy, or act of hostility of any kind, public or private, committed by the people of Scinde against the government, or against the troops, or against any individual. Nor am I aware that any body of officers, any officer, or any private soldier, has given cause of complaint to the inhabitants. There has been perfect harmony between the conquerors and the conquered, if the term, conquered, can be applied to a people who have been freed from a degrading and ruinous tyranny, which sixty years ago was established by traitors over the country of their murdered sovereign!

This adds more glory to our arms and to the British name than even the victories which you won on the fields of *Meeanee* and of *Hyderabad*. Courage may win a battle, but it is something more than courageous when a victorious army turns a conquered people into friends and peaceable subjects!

Such, soldiers! have been the results of your labours, and your dangers; and those regiments which return to

CHAP. XIII. their respective presidencies, return with the becoming
1846. pride of men who have well performed their duty, and gained the approbation of their sovereign and their governments—the greatest reward that well-disciplined soldiers can receive !

For myself, I remain at my proper post as governor of Scinde, and the commander of that division of the Bombay army stationed on the new line of frontier. But it becomes your general, who best knows what you have done and what you have suffered, to make known on the breaking up of the army the things it has achieved for India—his admiration of its merits and his gratitude for its assistance. The military spirit which animated the force that marched last year to Bhawulpoor, was probably never surpassed : no army was ever more worthy of India, nor more possessed the confidence of its commander.”

This forcible exposition increased the obscene violence of his enemies, because it displayed the truth they were so anxious to obscure ; and their mortification was augmented at the time by two public testimonies to his merit from the duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough. For the first moved the sovereign to confer on him the rank of lieutenant-general in India—an advancement hitherto confined to commanders-in-chief. The second offered the following concise but comprehensive eulogium.

“It is unnecessary for me to declare in words my entire approbation of Sir C. Napier’s conduct. I showed what I thought of it by my acts while I was governor-general, and I think the services he has performed since I left India have been even greater than those I endeavoured, but was unable, adequately to reward. His campaign in the hills was a military operation even superior to that which was for ever illustrated by the victories of Meeanee and Hyderabad ; and he has proved himself to be the ablest, at least the most successful of all administrators, if the success of an administration may be tested by the contentment and confidence it gives the people. His

services during the late campaign on the Sutlej, when, having had no previous instructions to keep his forces prepared, he moved in a few weeks with fifteen thousand men and a hundred guns against Mooltan, leaving Scinde tranquil in his rear, was of itself sufficient to show to all minds capable of comprehending great measures of war and policy, not only the perfection of his arrangements and the popular character of his just and excellent government, but the immense value in a military point of view of the position which his former victories had given to Scinde. These matters are however so very little understood in this country, even by the few who attend to them at all, that I fear it may be long before his merits are justly appreciated; and people here may discover only when it is too late, that Sir C. Napier has possessed that rare combination of military and civil talent, both excellent in their kind, which is the peculiar attribute of a great mind."

Scinde was now internally very prosperous, but it was still subject to frontier disturbances, and towards the close of 1846, the miserable Bhoogtees, defeated by the Murrees, rejected by the Keytrians, repulsed by the Mazarees, and warred against by their former comrades the Jackranees under Deyrah Khan, had finally cultivated the valley of Deyrah for subsistence, desiring rest: but their harvest failed and they once more made a foray on Scinde. The British cavalry posts immediately took the field. Twenty-five troopers under Lieutenant Moore, accompanied by some Jackranees, first fell in with them, and the latter slew several in a jungle, amongst them a noted chief. The Bhoogtees then came out of the bush, and Moore, finding their numbers considerable, retired, urged thereto by the Jackranees, who declared themselves unequal to a conflict, yet offered if so commanded, to kill their horses and die sword in hand. There was no need for such devotion, and all fell back on Meerpoore, a small place, where a supporting force was assembled under Colonel Stack. To that point also came Lieutenant Greaves, who had likewise fallen in with the Bhoogtees, and sent notice of their foray to Shikarpoore. Stack had a respectable

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cavalry force, and some riflemen, sent to him from Shikarpoore on Greaves's report. That officer had however forgotten to send a like notice to Shahpoor, the garrison of which could, with timely warning, have moved on Ooch and so cut off the robbers' retreat; this rendered prompt action essential, but Colonel Stack remained four hours at Meerpoore, and finally, made a night march in the desert with his cavalry only, and without carrying water or food for man or beast.

At dawn he found the enemy drawn up on a sandy waste, covering the retreat of the herds they had captured. There were only eight hundred footmen and not all provided with matchlocks, but rattling their swords against their shields with loud shouts they offered battle. Stack had two hundred and fifty troopers, furnished with carbines and pistols of great range; yet he declined action and returned to Meerpoore, his men and horse fainting from the double march and want of water. This was excused on the plea that the enemy had a strong rising ground with a nullah in front. An after-examination showed that there was no nullah, and the rise of ground very slight; it was then said the mirage common in that desert had quite deceived the English commander. Islam Khan subsequently declared that he had resigned all hope of life at the moment the cavalry retired. He now regained his rocks in safety and held a funeral feast, where vengeance against the Jackranees was solemnly sworn for the death of the champion killed in the jungle. The failure on this occasion was certainly in the execution. The efficiency of the general arrangements was proved by the robbers being found by so many parties; and soon afterwards Lieutenant Younghusband of the police showed what the result of a fight would have been. For hearing of a minor foray, he with only thirty-four mounted police pursued a superior force, overtook it after a march of thirty-five miles in the desert, and in a sharp encounter, where Aliff Khan the swordsman distinguished himself, killed ten and carried off seven prisoners, with a chief named Dora.

Stack's error was disquieting, because the slightest success elated those barbarians inordinately, and the Bolan tribes might join the Bhoogtees; the Scinde Moguls and the camel corps were therefore sent to the frontier; but meanwhile the Bhoogtees, always in trouble, had fought with the Murrees again, and losing the battle were quieter for a time. At Bombay the whole affair was, as a matter of course, proclaimed to be one of Sir C. Napier's crimes; for at this period he could not move, or utter a word in public without furnishing a topic for torrents of scurrility; and always there were abundance of correspondents to furnish the newspapers with a thousand easy and infallible correctives for the civil and military errors and disorganization which those persons perceived and deplored. Supremely contemptible all this would have been, if experience had not demonstrated that some members of the council of Bombay were the secret instigators and concoctors of these calumnies, and that the Court of Directors was ready to reward the calumniators. With this stimulus to slander, India was deafened with statements of his crimes and follies; and one especial topic was his inhumanity to the ameers' wives.—“He had torn away their personal ornaments to swell his prize-money, and still remorselessly persecuted those helpless females, having recently treated the aged mother of the excellent Shadad with peculiar barbarity, intercepting her correspondence with her virtuous son and opening her letters to add mental anguish to bodily sufferings.—She was actually pining from hunger under his government while her jewelled ornaments were being offered for sale in Bombay to swell his brutal profits!” with much more of a like nature.

This starving lady, had however, in conjunction with her sisterhood, and notably the widow of Kurreem Ali, taken advantage of the conqueror's extreme delicacy towards them, after the battle of Meeanee, to abstract nearly two millions sterling from the ameers' public treasury! And they were at this time, while complaining of destitution, for the starving story originated with them,

CHAP. XIII. expending ten thousand pounds upon a tomb for one of
 1846. the princes! She and Kurreem's widow, in concert with the latter's confidant, Mirza Kosroo, a Persian slave and a clever violent man, were engaged in secret machinations with the young ameers residing in Ali Moorad's court, and it was in pursuance of some of their schemes that leave had been asked and obtained to send letters to Shadad. Secret information led to the arrest of the messenger on the frontier, when, as foretold, a large sum in coin and ingots of gold was found artfully concealed in his baggage. Whether this treasure was designed directly to aid Shadad's escape, or to pay Buist and his employers for their advocacy did not appear, because the general, while barring this improper intercourse with a state prisoner, returned the gold, and the letters, unopened, to the lady.

App. XVI.

In this manner passed the year 1846, but in 1847 Sir C. Napier, while treating with disdain the calumnies of his enemies, felt that he must give a permanent character to his interior policy before he quitted Scinde, foreseeing that once placed under the civil government of Bombay the object would be to overturn and destroy all that he had effected, were it only to prove that he had effected nothing. Minor mischief he could not prevent; but he resolved that the people at large should not be thrown back into barbarism, and therefore hastened the action of his regenerating policy as to the tenure of land. By that policy he aimed to make the great men landlords, their retainers tenants, and their serfs independent labourers, instead of remaining as heretofore military barons, vassals and slaves. He had long meditated on the principle, had gradually prepared the people for the change, and was now determined silently and quietly to complete it—trusting, and, as it proved, judiciously trusting that the extreme ignorance of the Court of Directors on all that really affected the interests of the nations under their rapacious rule would enable him to effect his object without official interference. Once done, by no evil intermeddling of power could it be undone. "And I shall then," he said, "stand upon a rock and defy them."

It has been shown before that all the land of Scinde was by law and custom vested in the government, which was entitled to resume any jagheer or crown grant at pleasure ; but at the great Durbar, held in 1844, jagheers had been given on life tenancy, subject to a rent, a portion of the land being retained, in the nature of a fine, to be let to poor ryots on government account. This system had been gradually expanded, to accustom the people and the jagheerdars to changes preparatory to the great one now to be effected.

Jagheers were of all sizes, from three hundred thousand acres down to small estates ; but not above a fourth part of any had been or could be cultivated by the holders, and the remainders were wastes, only valuable as they gave importance by their royalties, and an excuse for a greater warlike following, to be subsisted by oppression and plunder ; but the suppression of military tenures having taken away that advantage the extent of jagheer no longer conferred such dangerous greatness. The system of life tenancy had worked well, and was spreading ; for always the jagheerdars were free to choose under which tenure they would hold ; and the principle was now to be extended in the hope of giving the population, rich and poor, new views of social organization, by making the great men territorial nobles and gentlemen instead of turbulent rapacious waiters on despotism.

With that view they were offered an absolute hereditary right of property in all the land they had, or could cultivate ; but the remainder was to be resumed by government as a fine, or purchase of the fee-simple ; and the resumed lands, nearly three-fourths of the whole, were to be let to ryots and immigrant settlers, at very low rents and with the advantages of being free from both rent and taxes for two years. The cultivators and the immigrants of both races would thus be attached irrevocably to the new order of things ; and the noble Beloochees would be satisfied with a secure title and enjoyment of all that was really valuable in their jagheers. Their importance in the state would be increased by this enjoyment of independence, but

CHAP. XIII. 1846. their clannish power abolished, and their hitherto oppressed serfs would enjoy freedom and gain good subsistence while they contributed largely to the revenue by bringing the waste lands into cultivation. The sirdars came slowly into the scheme at first, because they could not easily divest themselves of their suspicions, that no government could be of good faith, and hence that Sir C. Napier's departure would destroy their security of title; but it has since spread, as such a wise, great and benevolent measure should spread.

The complete mastery the general had obtained over all the people of Scinde was thus evinced; for the new principle was established without constraint, without commotion, without remonstrance or discontent; but from his first assumption of power, his measures were always advanced to consummation, with the cautious sagacity of sound legislation. "My motives for this step," he said, "are that a host of poor ryots, hitherto slaves, not only to the ameeers but to the jagheerdars, will be enfranchised and enabled to live in comfort if industrious; and I know that the nobles can never be good or contented subjects unless we give them public employment and honour them. When civilization advances they will, under this system, find themselves rich, and they will embark in mercantile pursuits and agricultural improvements, because they will find their property safe and need not as heretofore make themselves formidable as military chiefs to retain it. But had I left them in possession of their enormous jagheers, and their military tenures, and their royalties, they would have always been dangerous subjects. We have now put them down as military chieftains, and we can keep them down because of their semi-barbarism; but hereafter we should find it very difficult to deal with their more civilized sons, if they continued to hold such immense tracts of land, which advancing civilization will change from wastes to fruitful possessions. Even under my system they will become very powerful; but I have established a counter-check by opening a way to raise a race of independent farmers attached to the govern-

ment. This is all I can now do for Scinde and its fine people."

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That he could do no more good was daily becoming more evident, and his resolution to free himself from the stupid spiteful enmity of ungrateful masters was fixed; yet, ere he took that step, he thought it politic to show himself to the people after the number of troops had been reduced, and while the false impression that the ameers would be restored was prevalent. Wherefore as the body of Nusseer Khan, the chief of the captive Hyderabad ameers, who died about this time, had been brought to Scinde for interment, he resolved to carry the corpse with him up the river. The Bombay faction had looked for disturbance on this occasion, thinking there would be a great public ceremony, but the prudence of the general baffled that expectation. "I would," he said, "give the deceased ameer a pompous funeral, but reason forbids it, and I balk my own desires and reject the prayers of my son-in-law, McMurdo, who invoked me, exclaiming, '*But, general, a dead enemy!*' I did not want the hint, and I like him the better for having given it; but to accede would raise a notion, that the supreme government had ordered the ceremony as a prelude to the restoration of the ameers and if bloodshed followed blame would justly attach to me. Much therefore as I might wish to honour a fallen enemy, who however had no honour according to our ideas, I refuse myself the credit of such a display, because I have no right from personal vanity, and after all it is but that, to risk the shedding of blood. Lord Ashley has, unintentionally, by urging this restoration retarded the tranquillity of Scinde and caused great loss to private Hindoo families; but as to restoring the ameers, as far as I am concerned, he could do nothing more contributive to my reputation in these countries. The poor know I devote myself to their interests, and they know the cruel treatment they would receive from the Talpoor race if they again became masters. Experience has taught them a lesson, and I defy anything but English bayonets to replace the ameers!

CHAP. XIII. Lord Ashley and myself will appear before a tribunal
1847. where truth alone can be heard, and he will then learn—
I will not say to his cost for I am told he is a good man—
but he will learn that I have acted with honour and
humanity to the ameers and to the people of Scinde; that
I have seen my way with more knowledge of the country
than he has; that I have never done an act of injustice,
but have raised the character of the English for truth and
honour where the political agents had sunk it; and that
he has been from first to last in error about Scinde.

“Well! time will tell on these matters and I abide
mine, though I do not think any justice will be done to
me while I am alive, and when I am dying I will not say
with that great man Sir John Moore ‘*I hope my country
will do me justice,*’ for I am so hardened by undeserved
abuse and misrepresentation, that I care not whether
justice is done to me or not. Yet it is discouraging, how-
ever firm the heart may be, to see persons like Lord Ashley,
ignorantly assenting to the running down the character of
a man who has lost two of his family in this trying climate,
and who is risking the lives of the rest, and his own life,
from a determination not to abandon his post while he
can be of use. I am however hardened—not in feeling,
but by principle and reason—against abuse. I have done
nothing but what was right and honourable. I have in no
instance violated religion or honour to obtain success; on
the contrary, I have attained it by a rigid adherence to
both, and I hold those who so foully abuse me in just
contempt.”

With these sentiments he continued to work conscien-
tiously, and by the light of his own genius amidst the dark
cloud of falsehood raised to shroud his actions from the
knowledge of his countrymen; but in July, 1847, a severe
illness, which nearly sent his wife to the grave, hastened
by a few months his resignation of power, and in October
he embarked for England with all the honour that his
troops could offer to show their veneration, and every
good wish that a people grateful for happiness and security
bestowed, could express. Nor was this a transient feeling

with the Beloochee and Scindee races; for this after-proof of its depth and sincerity has been given; one as irrefragable as that furnished by the grateful peasants of Cephalonia, when they cultivated his farm in his absence. In 1850, when returning from the supreme military command of India through Scinde—when it was known that he was at variance with the governor-general and was abandoning India for ever—the grateful Belooch chiefs asked leave at Kurrachee to present him with a sword of great value, not, as they said, because he was their conqueror, but that he had, after conquest, secured to them their rights, their dignities and possessions, and made that conquest a benefit to them and their race.

This is a noble contrast to the feelings which have actuated Lord Dalhousie and the Bombay government; for with that littleness which forgets the public welfare in the indulgence of personal malice, they have, since Sir C. Napier's departure from Scinde destroyed as far as their power went every great work and institution projected by him for the benefit of that country.

The camel baggage corps if not entirely put down, has been so withered by intentional neglect as to be useless.

The completion of the barracks at Hyderabad, perhaps the most excellently contrived for the soldiers' health and comfort of any in the British dominions, has been peremptorily stopped when one wing was finished, the other advanced; and all the materials gathered are left to rot alongside the walls which are perishing from exposure!

The continuation of the great mole at Kurrachee has been abandoned under positive orders, issued in disregard of the loud cries of the shipping and mercantile community for its completion. Those cries have indeed been so loud and imperative, that the present able and vigorous commissioner for Scinde, Mr. Frere, confident in the just feelings of Lord Falkland to support him, has, it is said, resolved to resume the work. The petty jealous folly which stopped it remains however the same, it is Mr. Frere not Lord Dalhousie who has displayed sense.

The construction of the aqueduct for conveying the

CHAP. XIII. Mulleear water to the town and vessels has never been permitted.
1847.

The great canal system for scientifically irrigating Scinde has been abolished, and the control of the waters, so absolutely essential to the agriculture and revenue of the country, has been thrown again into the hands of the ignorant and fraudulent kardars.

To these retrograde acts must be added the breaking up of the annual mart for horses and other commodities at Sukkur, and the refusal to sanction the building of a safe magazine at Bukkur. Commerce with Central Asia was forwarded and the army supplied with fine animals at a cheap rate by the first establishment, and the want of the second exposes Bukkur, Sukkur and Roree hourly to a terrible explosion. These and many other minor injurious interferences present a lamentable picture of destructive folly and ignoble jealousy.

While Sir C. Napier was yet in the land, the last decisive blow was given to that robber system which he had sworn to extirpate—a blow terrible in its details of blood, but a crowning measure of mercy for the tranquillity of Scinde.

Notwithstanding their skirmish with Lieutenant Young-husband, and their subsequent disastrous fight with the Murrees, Islam Khan's Bhoogtees, always pressed by hunger, made another foray on the Scindian frontier. Moving down the Teyaga ravine, they first assaulted one of the Kyharee forts, were repulsed, and their further march tracked by a young officer named Merewether, who from Shahpoor followed them with a detachment of the Moguls and some auxiliary Kyharees. He found them, about seven hundred in number, thirty-five only being mounted, arrayed in a deep line near the foot of the hills, but preparing to cross the desert. They first sought by a flank movement to gain a jungle on their left, but Merewether galloping across their front cut them off; yet their position was still strong, amidst rocks and bushes, if they had staid quiet. They however, thinking the gallop of the Moguls was to avoid an action rushed forward firing

matchlocks, clashing sword against shield, shouting and howling in a frightful manner, whereupon the horsemen wheeled and charged through them. The shock was rude, but the undaunted Bhoogtees closed again and keeping shoulder to shoulder still made for the hills, followed by the Moguls who plied their carbines with a terrible execution. Having crossed a rivulet the robbers turned and stood to receive another charge and carbine-fire, and then without breaking renewed their efforts to retreat, yet were once more cut off from the hills and finally brought to bay. Merewether offered quarter, but they bore his fire until only one hundred and twenty remained, who sullenly threw down their arms. Two of their mounted men escaped, all the rest were killed or taken, and eight chiefs died sword in hand.

Islam and Ahmed Khan, the two principal men, were not present in this fight, and so avoided the general ruin, but their stout-hearted tribe was destroyed; for though only one hundred and twenty Moguls were engaged the earth was cumbered with six hundred Bhoogtee carcases! There was here no cruelty to cause this dismal butchery—all the ferocity was on the side of the sufferers. Long had Sir C. Napier striven to abate that ferocity and induce them to settle alongside the Jackranees in Scinde; he had personally endeavoured to soften the temper of the captive chief Dora, had given him land and sent him with renewed offers of protection and possessions for his tribe; and in the fight Merewether had adjured them to accept of quarter. Hence, while admiration for their constant intrepid temper is mingled with pity for their destruction, justice proclaims that their blood was on their own heads!

So ended Sir C. Napier's administration of Scinde!

He had found that land domineered over by a race of fierce warriors, who hated the English from political and religious motives, and who were preparing for war, with a well-grounded distrust of British public faith and honour, and a contempt for British military prowess—a contempt which the disaster at Cabool and several recent minor defeats in Khelat seemed to warrant.

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He had found it under the oppressive sway of an oligarchy of despots, cruel, and horribly vicious in debauchery; setting such examples of loathsome depravity, as must finally have corrupted society to its core and made regeneration impossible.

He had found the rural subject population crushed with imposts, shuddering under a ferocious domination, wasting in number from unnatural mortality and forced emigration—the towns shrinking in size and devoid of handicraftsmen. The half-tilled fields were sullenly cultivated by miserable serfs, whose labours only brought additional misery to themselves; and more than a fourth of the fertile land was turned into lairs for wild beasts by tyrants, who thus defaced and rendered pernicious what God had created for the subsistence and comfort of man.

He had found society without the protection of law, or that of natural human feelings; for slavery was widely spread, murder, especially of women, rife, blood-feuds universal, and systematic robbery so established by the force of circumstances as to leave no other mode of existence free, and rendering that crime the mark and sign of heroism. Might was right, and the whole social framework was dissolving in a horrible confusion where the bloody hand only could thrive.

He had found the Beloochees with sword and shield, defying and capable of overthrowing armies.—He left them with spade and mattock submissive to a constable's staff. He found them turbulent and bloody, masters in a realm where confusion and injustice prevailed—he left them mild and obedient subjects in a country where justice was substituted for their military domination.

He had found Scinde groaning under tyranny, he left it a contented though subdued province of India, respected by surrounding nations and tribes, which he had taught to confide in English honour, and to tremble at English military prowess as the emanation of a deity. He found it poor and in slavery, he left it without a slave, relieved from wholesale robbery and wholesale murder, with an increasing population, an extended and extending agri-

culture, and abundance of food produced by the willing industry of independent labourers. He left it also with an enlarged commerce, a reviving internal traffic, expanding towns, restored handicraftsmen, mitigated taxation, a great revenue, an economical administration, and a reformed social system—with an enlarged and improving public spirit, and a great road opened for future prosperity. He had in fine, found a divided population, misery and servitude on the one hand, and on the other a barbarous domination—crime and cruelty, tears and distress, everywhere prevailing. He left a united regenerated people rejoicing in a rising civilization the work of his beneficent genius.

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SUPPLEMENT.

IN the foregoing chapters, the administration of Scinde has been sketched rather than described ; a full exposition must be sought for in Sir C. Napier's correspondence ; and should that proof of his qualities for command be ever laid before the world, it will show how entirely he loved justice, and how conformable to the spirit of Christianity was his whole government. It will then be seen that he deserved well of his country, and of the directors who treated him so basely : but neither worth nor success could abate their ungrateful hostility, which continued to pursue him in England.

It had been the constant usage when conquests were made in the East, for the Court of Directors to move the Crown to order a distribution of "booty" prize-money being so officially termed ; but this was by the Court of Directors refused to the victorious army of Meeanee, which was thus forced to appeal directly to the sovereign. This appeal was successful, but for some reason not explained, though not difficult to divine, the Court of Directors was made trustee for a fair distribution, and immediately proceeded to make a foul one ; namely, that Sir C. Napier, *"not being a commander-in-chief, should, according to the prevalent usage in India, share only as a major-general, and have but a sixteenth instead of an*

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eighth." This was notified to the Lords of the Treasury as the Court of Directors' decision !

There was however more to be done. A decision it was, and as mean and base a one as ever disgraced a public body, but it was not a final decision. The royal warrant provided an appeal to the Lords of the Treasury ; and though the Court of Directors withheld all official notice of its decision from Sir C. Napier, who was then in Scinde, thus indirectly seeking to debar him of his right of appeal by lapse of time, his friends in England, apprized of what was going on through other channels, were permitted by the Lords of the Treasury to put in a plea for the absent general. Then was poured into the public ear, all possible anonymous scurrility, and resistance to oppression was represented as a sordid seeking for dishonest gain at the expense of the soldiers who had fought the battles ! Moreover at the very time the decision, shameless as it was shown to be, was made by the directors, one of their body, Sir J. Weir Hogg, prompted a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Baillie—the prompting being readily accepted in all its foulness—to assert, in opposition to a suggestion that the general had not been duly honoured, that “he *had received* seventy thousand pounds as prize-money !”—a sum exceeding the amount of the eighth which Sir J. W. Hogg was then endeavouring to reduce one-half, and also knew well, that far from being *received*, neither the greater nor the lesser sum could be paid for several years ! Neither prompter nor speaker on this occasion could understand, that to a generous mind money was not an equivalent for honours withheld when glorious actions had been performed : that was a mystery they could not penetrate.

The directors' decision was, on appeal, reversed by the Lords of the Treasury, and Sir C. Napier's advocate, Mr. John George Phillimore, dissecting it with a firm and skilful hand, exposed all its malignant weakness. He showed, that the denial of rank as commander-in-chief was advanced in direct contradiction of the governor-general's

minute conferring that appointment, and in opposition to the whole stream of his official correspondence—that the directors had studiously suppressed all facts bearing on the real question, and had as studiously brought forward irrelevant matter to obscure the truth—that all former decisions, all usage, all analogy precedent and rule laid down, whether by former courts or by royal authority, contradicted the Directors' assertions, and marked their decision, indelibly, as a pitiful display of personal hostility, offensive alike to custom, to law, and to honour! Yet here, justice again imperatively calls for the admission, that amongst the directors were men who did not join and were incapable of joining in this proceeding, though powerless to prevent the corporate act.

As a corporation the Court of Directors acted in a base manner. From the moment Sir C. Napier appeared as a victorious general under the auspices of Lord Ellenborough, he was marked by that court, and through its influence by the crown ministers, for slights and ill usage, because his exploits gave lustre to a policy which it had been factiously decided to decry. In that spirit the park guns had been silenced, and the thanks of parliament for his battles withheld for a year, though the noise of both was readily furnished for intermediate actions scarcely to be called victories.

Every scurrilous writer, from the pompous libellers of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, to the penny-paid slanderers of the daily journals, were set to assail his character and depreciate his actions; and while he was denied all legal and customary official protection, insubordinate officers were inordinately rewarded for assailing him in publications violating at once discipline, decency, and the orders of the court itself—orders issued with Machiavelian policy, to give an appearance of condemning what it was secretly encouraging and openly rewarding. Miserable expedients also were resorted to for abating his reputation. Lord Ripon *forgot* to publish his despatches—ministerial orators omitted his name at public banquets

when lauding the generals who had gained Indian victories : and those contemptible arts were continued when he returned to England. He only of the officers who came back from the East with any pretensions to celebrity was uninvited to city feasts, was ungreeted by the offers of city honours. When tributes of respect, springing from real public feeling, were paid to him, the London journals, a few excepted, left them unnoticed ; and that this was the result of an extraordinary sinister influence was proved by its constancy, and by the following fact. The town-council of Portsmouth, in presence of an enthusiastic assemblage of inhabitants, presented an address to Sir C. Napier on his landing ; and he was escorted to the town-hall by all the regular officers of the garrison, and those of the royal marines. No account of this complimentary proceeding appeared ; and when the mayor of Portsmouth sent an authentic report to one of the leading journals for publication it was refused, though he offered to pay for it as an advertisement !

The contrivers of those artifices in their eagerness to obscure a great man's fame, forgot that history and posterity would remain, even though the English public had been so indifferent as to accept such pitiful impositions on its judgment. But it did not do so. Unexpected and imminent danger to India caused the real national feeling to burst forth with a violence overwhelming all despicable arts ; and those ministers who had lent themselves to the Court of Directors' passions and enmity, were compelled by the nation to present to their sovereign the slandered, neglected, victorious general, as the man whom England called for in the hour of danger—and then the directors, licking the dust with fevered tongues, besought him to accept honours and confer safety !

Scornfully forgetful of past injuries, Sir C. Napier put ministers and directors from his thoughts, and looking only to the sovereign and the people, returned to India, there to meet, as he foretold, the same ungrateful male-

volence when danger should pass away. Forced by insult to resign his high command a second time, he is again a butt for injustice, and supercilious neglect ; but for posterity, for history, he will always be the daring victor of Meeanee and Hyderabad, the intrepid subduer of the hillmen, the successful regenerator of Scinde, the firm military reformer of India—the man on whom the universal English nation called in the hour of danger to uphold a distant tottering empire.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE nature of the ameers' government to which the Bombay faction gave the character of "patriarchal" is here shown.

Extract from a Report of the Kurrachee Collector, to the Judge-Advocate-General on the mode of examining witnesses in criminal trials under the Ameers.

November, 1844.

The ameers had no regular rules for examination of witnesses or for administering justice. The most common practice was to ask the witness, without administering an oath, what he knew, and in the event of his professing ignorance, should the judge entertain suspicion of his truth, he was forthwith put to the torture to make him tell what the judge considered he ought to know. This torture was either the hanging him up by the thumbs, and applying a red-hot ramrod to different parts of his body; or by pricking him with a dagger; or by applying a naked blade to his throat, with an intimation that his throat would be severed unless he at once told the truth. These atrocious modes have been practised, to my knowledge, by different hakims or governors of Kurrachee since I have been in Scinde, and on two occasions with success!

Extract from a Report of the Hyderabad Collector and Magistrate.

November, 1844.

Oaths were generally in the ameers' time administered to parties in civil suits, but there were then no such things

as regular criminal trials in Scinde. The usual way was, if the case was one of murder to leave the respective tribes to settle the matter by retaliation or otherwise. In case of robbery or other ordinary crimes, the kardar ascertained as he could by verbal information, by tracking, and other modes, who the delinquent was, and when he had seized him, put him in the stocks and thrashed and tortured him until he confessed. Any man whom there was good reason to think able to throw a light on the case, but who refused or tried to evade giving evidence, was treated in like manner, till his reluctance was overcome. There was also the ordeal by fire and that by water, wherein, if the accused was burned, or unable to remain below water the regulated time without being drowned, or if he refused the ordeal altogether, he was without more ado found guilty.

In the above cases I suppose always the accused to be a Hindoo or Scindee, or a Beloochee of some tribe whose chief was powerless; for otherwise he would not have concealed anything, but have kept the property in defiance of complainant and kardar, and cut down the first man sent to apprehend him.

II.

*Compressed Extracts from a Report by C. W. Richardson, Esq.
Deputy Collector in Scinde.*

July, 1845.

Sugar has been planted and grown in considerable quantities throughout upper and lower Scinde on the banks of the Indus for many years, and I am led to believe the culture of it may be increased to any extent. The culture was in the ameers' time much diminished, from the exorbitant taxes on the ground; but the soil on both banks is admirably adapted for the sugar-cane. The richness of the soil from the annual alluvial deposits obviates the necessity of manure, which in every other part of India is absolutely requisite and entails besides

much labour and expense for carriage and collection. In Scinde the principal labour is ploughing and clearing the land of jungle-bush and weeds. In many parts of India it has been found difficult and even impossible to raise sugar-canes, from the great quantity of water required independent of the labour of drawing it from deep wells; but near the Indus they can be supplied in abundance and certainty. Notwithstanding the advantages of rich soil and abundant water, the inhabitants during the ameers' sway have taken no interest in the cultivation of sugar; and even now with ameliorated taxation they do not take care or trouble; hence the cane which ought to be of a superior kind is generally stunted and small, and the juice is of an inferior flavour.

A great deal of the cane is sold as an esculent in large towns and the villages in the vicinity of the cane-farms; some portion is however compressed in a rude manner for *goor*, but the people are ignorant of any good process. By the introduction of superior canes from the Mauritius and other places, and a better cultivation of the indigenous cane with superior manufacture, the actual produce of *goor* might be doubled; meanwhile sugars of every description are imported, chiefly from Muscat. In many parts of Bengal sugar-manufactories have been established with success; yet nowhere have the facilities been so great as in Scinde, where soil, climate, abundance of water, easy irrigation and transport are all combined; it needs but the hand of government to make sugar-cultivation flourish. The expense of a large sugar-manufactory would not be very great, and a handsome return would soon be realized, and induce private speculators to commence enterprises which would largely increase the revenue. The sugar-mills should be established in the vicinity of the cane, as the latter dries and ferments rapidly after being cut; and it would be well to encourage the ryots to raise the cane, make the *goor* and bring it under conditions for sale at the government sugar-manufactory. The cost of an iron mill sent from England would be about three hundred pounds, and the govern-

ment outlay of the establishment be about three hundred and sixty pounds; but if the government had the ryots instructed how to produce the best raw material and then purchased it, the cost of an iron mill would be spared.

Joined with the institutions for making sugar might be one for indigo, for which valuable product the soil, from Sukkur to Kotree, is generally very favourable; but below the latter place the dews are so heavy as to be injurious to the plant. Any quantity of indigo may be grown in Scinde; and the alluvial soil on each side of the Indus, saturated by inundations, should produce indigo of a quality fully equal to, if not better than that of Bengal; and I doubt not would do so; for in fact Scinde is just Bengal over again, without its rains, and the rains are the great enemy of the Bengal planter. In the districts of Kanote and Mahajanda, ninety or a hundred maunds of indigo are yearly made, and the quality of the drug is good, but a rough mode of manufacture greatly depreciates its value.

III.

Extract from one of many Letters addressed by Sir C. Napier to the supreme Government about the Mullaree river, which were unanswered.

August, 1845.

As we have now passed over the season for rain and have not had any at Kurrachee, the tanks are all dry and the wells very low. The consequence of this is bad water, and bowel-complaints are attacking the soldiers. I assure you it would be very desirable for the health of this cantonment if we were to have the Mullaree river brought into camp, the expense, which I forwarded in August 1844, would be only twelve thousand pounds: a small sum compared to the great advantages of health and convenience which would result from this work.

The water here is drawn from wells, and is strongly

impregnated with soda and other matters. Sometimes you dig and come to fresh water at ten, twenty, or thirty feet; then go a foot deeper and it is perfectly salt. There are wells in the cantonments within two hundred feet of each other, and in some cases a great deal nearer—one is *salt* the other *fresh*. The earth is full of saltpetre and soda they say. However the water is deleterious whatever it be composed of, and you would do a great favour to Kurrachee if you will order us to begin this work at once.

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

To Sir HENRY HARDINGE, &c.

Note.—A medical board was afterwards directed by government to report on the water at Kurrachee and declared it to be “*pure and good water.*” Nevertheless it contained the foreign substances mentioned in the above letter with the addition of alum: and invariably produced bowel complaints when first used by new comers. It was by all unlearned men considered unwholesome. Moreover this board examined it at a time when rain had just fallen, and as all the wells were then full the proportion of deleterious matter was greatly reduced.—W. N.

IV.

Extracts from a Letter to Lord Ellenborough written when preparing to commence the Campaign against the Hill-men.

Sukkur, 19th December, 1844.

I have this day arrived here, the anniversary of the day on which I left it two years ago! It reminds me of all your lordship's kindness to me, and of the danger to which this empire has been exposed by your recall; and in the words of one of our greatest men, Sir John Moore, I will say I hope all the mischief that may happen will not happen. I left Kurrachee the 11th of November, and have found the country a dead level with, if I may use the expression, rows of mountains running through it in

Paragraph A.

a direction, more or less, north and south. These hills do not gradually rise so as to form undulating sections; they are all strongly defined like walls and full of fossils. One day we marched through quantities of petrified wood; this we found at Mulleree camp—so marked on Walker's map. When we passed Pokune the country changed to hill and valley, and between those two watering-places the highest part of the country appears to be. Thence it becomes rocky and the alluvial soil disappears, but we again come upon it on reaching Chorla. Up to that all is barren.

Between Pokune and Chorla the country is wild in the extreme; rocks rolled together apparently by some grand convulsion of nature. I heard from one guide that there is a quantity of alum here—he said he had got it and sold it. I would have halted there a week were it not that I am so ignorant of geology and mineralogy that I should have lost time, and Scinde would have gained nothing, nor science either. There are hot springs among these hills, and we observed a low range of hillocks ten to twenty feet high, running parallel to the great range of the Hala, and formed of stones like cinders. One wise man of our party pronounced them a “concrete of vegetable matter,” so I suppose they are. However they have a curious appearance and are quite different from their neighbours. I carried away some pieces which I keep against the time I meet a learned man, the breed of which I am afraid is rather scarce in Scinde, and I have begged a *little philosopher* from Sir H. Hardinge, if he has one to spare, for travelling in Scinde to tell us what treasures we possess.

From Chorla I passed through Peer Aree where Colonel Roberts surprised Shah Mohamed. It was well done, and I am sorry the colonel did not get the C. B.; that march and capture of the Lion's brother were of great use in settling the country, and a march at that time of year was no ordinary movement.

At Sehwan I examined the ruins of what is called Alexander's Tower. I have seen a great deal of Grecian ruins, and this is decidedly not Grecian. It probably is

the site of the colony left by Alexander, because the rocky bank makes it probable the Indus has always run here and occasionally Greek coins are found, but the ruins are those of a fortress destroyed by Aurengzebe. From thence to Sukkur the land has much cultivation though not a hundredth part *is* cultivated. Still it is rich and so may all between Kurrachee and Pokune be—immense plains of rich soil untouched by man! The formation makes it difficult to find water, but to me it is beyond a doubt that water may be found everywhere by sinking wells, and to that I will give my best attention as soon as I can. My idea is to increase and improve the wells where they have been already made by poor people; then, as the advantages are there felt and agriculture increases round them, and the people grow richer from growing markets and decreasing robbery, they will themselves sink new wells distant from those existing. This seems to me the most rational mode of proceeding—a slow one, but that is inevitable—one needs patience in these things, yet the more anxious I am to be of use, the more difficult I find it to be patient.

I found a set of robbers of the Rin tribe—not Beloochee, but Scindee Rins—they had remained faithful to the Kalloras and the ameers persecuted them. They were driven by the ameers from the Delta to the mountains some years ago, and have from that time lived by plunder; but being intruders the Belooch robbers were hostile to them and were supported by the ameers, the poor Rins lived a hard life. They petitioned me for land and protection, and I gave them waste land in the vicinity of Jurruck. This has been one good done by my tour. Another is that I found, in despite of my exertions, slavery existing to a great and cruel extent. This was made known by the slaves coming to me when they found I mixed with the poor people and had an interpreter, for they crowded round my tent everywhere. I instantly seized ten or twelve slave-masters, men of rank and influence, and for three weeks I have marched them as prisoners through the country. * * * I am

extremely displeased at this slavery still existing, and I believe it to be only in Captain Preedy's collectorate, and in the close neighbourhood of the mountains, where obedience to the law only establishes itself step by step and cannot be enforced at once as in the flat lands—it is a great point for robbers to have their retreat secure in their war against the law. However my harsh treatment of the slaveholders has struck a terror that I hope will really destroy slavery.

Wullee Chandia has behaved with perfect fidelity. He captured Nowbut Khan, a robber chief who has defied me for a year, plundering and murdering without remorse. On his plundering a caravan of seventy-five camels and killing the camel-men I offered 1,000 rupees for his capture, and he is now in Fort Bukkur, and with him another great robber, Sobah Guddee, who also defied me. Fitzgerald marched seventy-five miles with the camel corps and surprised this chief in his mountain hold; 400 of his men were out, he and forty were at home. He fought. His son and two nephews died gallantly in arms with their backs to a tree. Lieutenant James, deputy-collector, begged of them to surrender but they refused, saying, they were Sobah Guddee's son and nephews and would not lay down their swords and shields. I am sorry they could not be saved. Their father had less courage; his character is that of a cruel unsparing robber, and the whole country rejoices at his fate; Lieutenant James says, people turned out in crowds to see him pass and expressed their satisfaction. He shall be tried by a military commission. I think the capture of these men will stop robbery in bands for the future, and I now hope I may say the right bank of the Indus is orderly and tolerably secure. There are however one or two gentlemen with whom I had conversation as I passed their villages, who are very fit subjects for capital punishment. One was very active in pursuing Nowbut when he plundered the caravan: he recovered sixty-three of the camels and very generously gave eighteen to the owners. As I passed they complained

and I sent a policeman to him. He is old, and if ever villany was depicted in man's face it is so in this chief's countenance.

I find in many cases here taxation taking one half the produce, I will reduce it everywhere, and under all circumstances to one-third. It is objected that the revenue will suffer. It will at first, but there will be a reaction ; more people will then come and settle in the plains and there will be more jungle cleared, and increased cultivation will more than cover the loss to the revenue for two or three years. The government has plains of good land, some twenty miles long by eight and twelve in breadth, untouched, and by giving great advantages to the ryots so many will settle as to repay the temporary loss of revenue, and the additional comfort will diminish the disposition to robbery. But these wild men must get comfort on easy terms at first, or they will not change their swords for ploughshares. I have turned all this much in my mind as I rode through the country thinking how I could best serve it. The result is to reduce taxation and rent—they are really one—to one-third of the produce of land at all hazards. If I do harm I must be punished by my own regret, and the Company must place here a better man. I have the collectors against me, and I do wrong therefore, if wrong it be, of my own will, no one else can be blamed, except your lordship for putting me here ; but I am too thoroughly convinced that my principle is right to have fear. However I will go slowly and gradually to work.

I am resolved also upon another step—that of making advances to the poor ryots of a little money, say, as far as thirty rupees to purchase a pair of bullocks ; and to give them land rent free for two years on condition of clearing jungle. I am told they will run away with the money. This may happen in one or two cases but I wholly disbelieve it will be general. These Scindees I think an exceedingly honest people. As to the hill chiefs it is another thing ; robbery is a profession made necessary with them by bad government, which has left men of a certain rank no other mode of existence. No officer is

robbed, every kind of property is safer in Scinde than in Bombay. I am therefore sure that by these little advances to poor families I shall clear the jungle rapidly and raise up that class for which England was once so celebrated—yeomen. I am also gradually breaking down the system of jagheers. Whenever a jagheerdar dies, I either resume the jagheer and divide it amongst zemindars and ryots, or let it to the son of the jagheerdar for a regular rent, depriving the jagheer of its royalties—they try hard to preserve their privileges of life, death, and taxation.

The black mail is a terrible affair; I cannot see how to deal with it for several years. Our police works admirably. They fight stanchly, and their inclination to bully has been taken out of them on one or two occasions rather severely; so they no longer give offence to the people as they did at first.

The system of trying great culprits by military commissions answers well as far as I can judge, and the magistrates deal out substantial justice in minor cases. I read every process and sign every sentence myself, and I find my labour increases: the people like our system and the number of trials is very great. I fear if they increase I shall hardly be able to go through them for want of time. I have now given your lordship a general idea of how we go on. Perhaps I may add, that with allowance for Eastern manners, the flocking of the people round my tent everywhere to make salaam, and the shouting loud prayers for me as I rode through their villages, were signs that they are rather content than otherwise, with my government. Another good sign is my riding with only the Scinde irregular horse through these wild tribes. Insult might have been offered, and maintained also, by these mountain chiefs; for I could not have entered their mountain defiles with a slender escort of cavalry far from any support. I felt however confident in the disposition of the people or I should not have done so.

I have just heard the *Delhi Gazette* states that Scinde is positively to be given back to the ameers. Unless government puts a stop to these reports they must do

harm ; they keep the Hindoo population in great alarm, and they will not spend money in any speculation while these doubts exist. Some of them tell me frankly, " We have money, but if we show this, (which we would do if we were certain of the English remaining) and you restore the ameers we shall be lost men : they would not leave us a shilling, and we might be tortured to make us confess to more."

They are going to take Cutch from Scinde ; they are wrong and I have said so in answer to a very weak paper sent by the directors to Sir Henry, who sent it to me. I hope they will do so as far as I am concerned, for Cutch adds to my labour and I feel no interest about it ; but Colonel Roberts, who has been all his life a personal friend of the Raō, has I think done much good. The Bombay government is very sore, Cutch having been taken from it. However all these external matters have little interest for me ; I am wholly engrossed by Scinde, and always fear I do not do half what ought to be done—indeed I know I do not, yet I strive hard, for the interest I feel for the country is past description, and daily increases. I hope I shall never be offered the commander-in-chiefship of Bombay, especially now, when they seem going on badly I fear, though they have the advantage of "*single-handed James Outram*" "*with full powers*" as the papers inform us. I am ignorant of the nature of this social warfare, but it seems to train on, and will open men's eyes to the advantage of your lordship's vigour at Maharajapoore ! I suspect they will find that they removed your lordship when you had "scotched not killed the snake ;" but for that blow at Gwalior, the insurrection in the southern Mahratta country would probably have worked well with the northern, and that long line of country been in arms. Nor are the Mahrattas a despicable enemy—the spirit of Sevagee is still amongst them.

I have given Sir G. Arthur the 6th N.I., and the 13th light infantry, not numerous but stanch old soldiers, worth double the number of young ones. I cannot give

him more; I know not what effect his disturbance may have on Scinde, and I have lost the 78th. That beautiful regiment arrived here in high health, and every other part of Scinde was healthy; but the first week in November they began to grow sickly, and here they are bodily in hospital, about 200 dead, men women and children. I am sending them away as fast as I can to Hyderabad. As to any movement against the hill tribes at this moment I have no men! This place is just a depôt of fever—not a man has escaped, it is as bad as last year.

* * * * *

V.

Extracts from Letters to Lord Ellenborough and Sir H. Hardinge touching the mutiny of the Sepoys and the sickness of the troops.

Mutiny—I am afraid the mutiny is not over. I met Hunter to-day for the first time, and he knows the sepoy well—he has no confidence in the present calm.

* * * * *

I cannot delay telling you that General Simpson and Hunter are both of opinion that *all is not right among the Bengal troops here*. The soldiers of the 4th have of late been putting very unpleasant questions to their officers about pensions to their families in case of their (the sepoy's) death. The 64th expect to get those pensions; the other regiments want to know why they who have not mutinied should not have the pensions also. In short there is reason to believe that great discontent prevails. Some of the 4th have said that if the 64th go back to India they mean to follow them. * * * * *

It is with great pleasure I correct a mistake that both I and my adjutant-general made as to the opinion of General Hunter regarding the sepoy. He *is* satisfied that all is now right. General Simpson is not; nor is it the general opinion of the officers as far as I can discover

quietly, for it is not a thing to be talked about—one must *find* out without asking.

Sickness.—I have this day sent the first division of the 78th to Hyderabad—not a man in the whole regiment can stand under arms! and not above 120 of the 64th N.I. and about 80 of the 4th N.I. Some of the guards have not been relieved for five weeks; but fewer native soldiers have died than of the 78th regiment. I have also sent the European battery or rather the men to Larkaana: the guns and horses were left behind; there were no men able to take them. This is a crippled force to do anything with—only 200 men and they have been ill! I brought the Scinde horse through the hills with me as a guard; they and the camel corps are the only men I have able to use their arms, except 300 volunteers from the 13th whom I have left at Larkaana. I was afraid to bring them to this den of fever. Five or six of the 78th died this day; and I fear many more will go. In this state, hostility on the frontier, and crippled by this terrible fever you will I am sure approve of my acting as circumstances may demand, I may be obliged to keep the volunteers. * * * * *

As to the 78th, that a severe fever raged through the cantonment is certain; the natives suffered as much as the Europeans. But my own opinion is, and I am backed up in it by Dr. Robertson of the 13th, a high authority, that the *mortality* in the 78th was as much owing to drink as to fever! no medical man can say that malaria fever or remittent fever does not fix upon the *brain* and the *liver*—they all say this—they all say that ardent spirits do the same, and the received opinion of mankind is so, even to vulgar songs, "*Gin it burns my liver.*" Now let us take the soldier. I do not mean the 78th in particular—it is, say in beautiful order and no drunkenness—but the Highlander takes his allowance to the full as well as any other man. Observe then that the government allows him two drams a day—that is to say, three glasses or nearly one-third of a quart bottle. One he takes before breakfast, and one after. And will any one tell me, who

have lived my whole life amongst these men that they do not, aye! *the soberest of them who drinks at all, add at least one if not three more?* I laugh when I hear their officers, men of little experience, and who do not pay the attention I have done all my life to the habits of soldiers—I laugh when I hear these young men say their men don't drink!! by which they mean get *drunk*. I have said the truth. These sober and well-behaved men pitch in at least half a bottle of spirits daily. But I want no exaggeration. I will take the government allowance of nearly one-third of a bottle of raw spirit, swallowed daily, and I ask common sense if that is not enough to keep the liver and brain in a constant state of inflammation, more or less. And I ask of any medical man to say, if a remittent fever supervenes, whether the chances of recovery are not against the patient?

For those who are more guided by authority than reason, I heard Sir John Moore say, he thought the third of a bottle of wine too much for a young man to drink regularly every day *in England*. Yet *here* we give a boy one-third of a bottle of raw spirits! My second authority was Doctor Bailey, the great Bailey, who said to * * * “If you want to recover your stomach and have health never touch wine or beer”—“Oh! but I am used to wine I cannot leave it off so suddenly”—“That is egregious nonsense, an argument used only by men who don't like to give up their wine.” So much for authorities; but common sense must tell every one that the government allowance is enough to ruin the health of the young men who come to this hot climate. I again appeal to medical men. The strength of a young soldier carries him through the remittent fever and his ration of raw spirits; he is weak indeed and at death's door, but nature triumphs. He leaves the hospital, his body disposed to dysentery; the hospitals are full, the attendance, from the sickness, scarce, surgeons worked to death. When weak and low the convalescent gets his dram and his spirits at once rally. Young and uneducated, he attributes this to the dram doing him good; after a while

the exhilaration goes off, and then languid and feeble he tries another—he won't get drunk, he knows that is bad ; but he goes close to it, and in a few days the internal irritation turns to dysentery, or that is upon him from the first perhaps, and he takes the drams to cure it—in either case he is gone. Now here is a good youth without vice, merely using what government allows him, which he naturally thinks good for him, and his comrades tell him so ; it kills him, and when he dies the result is laid on climate. Now climate is strong, yet medicine and regimen can wrestle with and overthrow it ; but medicine cannot overthrow climate and the third of a quart bottle of raw spirits, taken daily preparatory to fever before going into hospital, and as a restorative after coming out ! I have taken a sober soldier who drinks only his ration ; and how few there are who confine themselves to that ! I am told that some “tee-totallers” have died. I do not doubt it ; there may be hundreds of exceptions—sobriety does not make a man immortal—but I will still say that the mortality is divided between drink and climate, and also want of sufficient care and attendance which in these heavy attacks cannot be provided—surgeons and attendants get sick and die like other people.

I have entered largely into this question because I know its importance. Dr. Robertson of the 13th (Queen's) told me that in his long Indian service, wherever it happened to be impossible to get spirits the hospitals were invariably empty ! He had not a sick man in Jellalabad until they were relieved and spirits arrived. When that regiment had leave to volunteer here he said, “Now you will see, the moment the bounty is paid my hospital will be filled with cases of fever and dysentery”—and so it was. Yet in the face of these facts and of medical opinions, and of common sense, we give rations of spirits to soldiers !—and men of sense will assert that it does no harm ! It may be so, and the government seems to be of the same opinion. However the natives who do not drink spirits recover in far greater numbers than the Europeans do.

[*Extract of a Letter to Doctor Kirk.*]

My own opinion is immoveable, that among the many concurring causes of death in cases of malaria, of which I have seen much in all countries, especially in the Mediterranean, drink is one of the most vigorous. I do not mean drunkenness. I mean swallowing a certain portion of spirits every day—especially with young soldiers whose habits before entering the army were those of sobriety. The young soldier winks his eyes as he swallows his first dram, and is obliged to make, as they say, “two bites of a cherry.” He then comes to tossing it off with ease—then he likes it, and then he buys another in addition to the ration drams which are given him twice a day—to train him I suppose! Now, do not run away with the idea that I am such an ass as to attribute malaria fever to drink as a *cause*. I am persuaded that on certain occasions, and in certain circumstances it is a *preventive* of malaria fever; but I am confident a man who never gets drunk, but regularly imbibes a certain quantity of alcohol daily, prepares his brain and liver for fever, and an attack will run him hard—especially if this alcohol is poured into an empty stomach. What can be worse than the silly Indian habit of drinking a glass of wine before dinner to enable the stomach to take more than it has strength to manage!

VI.

Sir C. Napier's Observations on the 6th section of the new Articles of War for the Indian Army, re-introducing corporal punishment.

December 29, 1844.

With regard to the note to Sec. 6 “Criminal Offences,” which I received subsequently to writing my previous observations, I think the greatest care should be taken not to tie up the courts-martial by defined rules when it can be avoided.

1°. Because, where no criminal jurisdiction exists the

country must be one lately come under the power of the East-India Company.

2°. Such a country is probably in a state of barbarism, like Scinde.

3°. The most decisive, and at times the most severe measures are necessary to secure the peace and control the chiefs of such a country.

4°. Such measures cannot be supported by the good sense of a court-martial (if it be tied down by accurately-defined crimes and punishments, and by rules formed for objects which are quite different) by military judge-advocates, who believe they understand law, and yet are ignorant of law. They thus destroy the real vigour, the efficiency and spirit of military courts without gaining the advantage of real legal principles. They produce a non-descript which is neither military nor legal. The result is that the military spirit of courts-martial is daily changing into the captious spirit of quibbling; and the use of such quibbles, the only part of law these gentlemen know, may do great harm when a lawyer pleads before a judge and jury. The latter hear the ingenuity of the lawyers on both sides, and then have the deep learning and experience of the judge to clear away the quibbles and place the case before them in a plain unprejudiced manner. With his charge impressed upon their minds they retire and decide on their verdict. Very different is the case with a court-martial. A military judge-advocate, who unhappily for the service fancies himself versed in law, and two or three of the members, who believe themselves equally enlightened, lay down all sorts of rules which they have decided to be law, and screw and twist every word and sentence in the charge, which is thus placed on the rack of their ignorance; and the most determined culprit often escapes by this quibbling spirit. There is no adverse counsel, no learned judge to clear the law and expound it. It has been laid down by extreme ignorance, to people who are equally ignorant and carries the force of law, without being law.

The courts are thus placed in a false position, for these

ignorant men are the judges as well as the jurors; there is no real judge to control or instruct them, no refuge from their self-sufficiency, and the military spirit of courts-martial is lost. I mean the consciousness amongst them that they are courts of honour and conscience assembled to arrive at the truth, without regard to the means, if they be such as honesty warrants and common sense dictates—the members, satisfied that the prisoner is guilty or innocent acquitting or condemning accordingly.

The judge-advocate being a soldier of some experience should regulate the forms of the court according to the *customs of war* and the *Articles of War*, and not according to writers on military law, who are no authority whatever. The judge-advocate, not having a vote, has no other responsibility and can give his whole time to correct the court if it acts against the Articles of War, or the rules of the service. He probably knows no more of them than the senior members; but as he is taken off other duty he is supposed to be more ready, and to have the details more at hand. But if he forgets that he is a *soldier* and fancies himself a *lawyer* all becomes illegal quibbling, produced by the legal castle the gentleman has built in the air, and for which he finds inhabitants amongst the weak-headed portion of the members.

Now if the new articles define too much the jurisdiction of courts-martial, where no criminal jurisdiction exists; it is my opinion that great confusion quibbling and illegal proceedings will take place. We have no learned judge to charge, and our courts are not juries in any point of view. But if the new Articles of War will merely say, that where no criminal judicature exists, courts-martial are to take cognizance of all criminal offences, we shall have courts which will judge as honest enlightened men of education always judge when untrammelled—that is to say they, together with the approving authorities, will do substantial justice, which is all that a newly-acquired territory can want till its habits demand, and its revenues can pay for a regular code of laws with proper officers. Then the military rule ceases. * * * * *

The way in which the judge-advocates at head-quarters go on is in my humble opinion subversive of our code; and is making courts-martial absolutely dangerous to a general officer. It is no longer a question whether a man is guilty or innocent; but whether he can get out of a scrape by quibbles. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne I brought a soldier to trial on the occasion of the ** regiment attacking the new police. The case was a gross one. The captain of the man's company sat by the prisoner with a very clever attorney, who so bullied the court, that, if I recollect aright, the man was acquitted. Here every European soldier demands "a day for his defence" and produces a very fine written defence; some of these are very clever, but very mischievous from their pert and saucy tone to the prosecutor, and their legal quibbles—these are well paid for of course. Now all this is exceedingly bad I think.

By our judge-advocates-general not being in their proper places they are ruining discipline. D'Aguilar's book was good as a help; *it sticks to the Articles of War*; but all the others, which bring their miserable modicum of law into play, and God knows it is bad law, do a world of harm. We soldiers are not lawyers, we never can be lawyers; but we may be, and are—and we are daily getting worse—great quibblers, and in time we shall not be able to convict a criminal. The other day there was a doctor, a known drunkard, tried. Several officers proved he was drunk, one being his senior medical officer, whose evidence was, "The assistant-surgeon was drunk."—"Are not so and so the signs of blood to the head?"—"Yes."—"Might I not have blood to the head?"—"Yes! but you were drunk." The court then asked the medical witness. "Did you apply any test!"—"No." An acquittal followed, and the drunkard is turned into an hospital in such a climate as this, and the unfortunate patients see him reeling from bed to bed, and must take what he prescribes!! It is horrible! Yet not a man of that court had a doubt of his guilt.

Another doctor here, whom I also tried, got off with

being put a few steps down the list, though he actually fell down upon Colonel ——'s daughter who had the fever, while attempting to feel her pulse! She died, poor girl, and no wonder. Those men got off by the spirit of quibbling; the honour of the medical profession, and, what I care more for, the safety of the soldiers was sacrificed in one instance, not by this judge-advocate who is not troubled with the law rage, but by the quibbling members of the court.

VII.

Compressed Observations on the necessity of restoring Corporal Punishment in the Indian Army.

I have long considered the flogging question as regards native troops, and my opinion is fixed. I entirely concur in the governor-general's remarks upon the orders of Lord Combermere, General Barnes, and Lord William Bentinck. The abolishing flogging was a great mistake and injurious to the Indian army. Discharge from the service is not the greatest punishment to a bad sepoy, though it is to a good one. And it is severe to give that highest punishment—made more terrible and disgraceful by hard labour in irons along with felons—to a well-drilled sepoy of previous good character, a man attached to our service, who has, perhaps only in a single instance, broken the rules of discipline; a man who, born under the fiery sun of India, is by nature subject to flashes of passion that cannot be passed over but do not debase him as a man. It is unjust and therefore injurious, and even disgraceful to the military code, which thus says, "I punish you in the highest degree, and stamp you with infamy for having a weakness, more or less common to all men." These transgressions, chiefly ebullitions of anger, are to my knowledge often provoked by young officers who frequently command regiments, and by others not in command. These gentlemen at times fancy, because they "passed in the languages," that they are masters of Hin-

dostanee, when they cannot speak a sentence correctly; and if they could, the chances are a Mahratta or Guzerat sepoy would not understand them. In some disputes both grow angry. If the officer commits himself by unjust abuse, it passes over, unless he brings the man to trial and thereby exposes himself. If the private is wrong he is dismissed and worked in chains like a felon. There is now no other punishment; and in the field scarcely this; so that the power of punishing ceases when it ought to be most vigorous, and order becomes almost a matter of personal civility from the sepoy to his commander. Really one is astonished how the army preserves any discipline! It proves that the sepoy loves the service, and how unjust it is for an outbreak of temper to give a punishment so terrible to him. Their own expression admirably depicts this injustice. "If we deserve punishment flog our *backs* but do not flog our *bellies*." Lord William Bentinck was a man I loved personally, as my old and respected friend and commander; but he did not see the severity, I will almost say cruelty to the sepoy of a measure, which he deemed to be the reverse.

Taking the sepoy's own prayer as the basis of our system, I would reward him and flog him, according to his deserts—his good conduct should benefit his belly, his bad conduct be laid on his back. An Indian army is always in the field and you have no other punishment but shooting. In the campaign against the ameers I availed myself of provost-marshals to flog. Some of the newspapers called upon the sepoys to mutiny. I stood the risk. Had I not done so, and showed the Scindians they were protected on the spot, instead of feeling safe and being safe they would have been plundered, and would have assassinated every man who passed our sentries, and instead of bringing supplies would have cut off our food: thus to save the backs of a few marauders hundreds of good soldiers would have been murdered. And if the campaign had not failed in consequence, such hatred would have been engendered that at this moment we should have only the ground we stand upon. Instead of my riding as I am doing with a

slender escort, I should be praying for reinforcements; instead of chiefs arresting robbers at my command, all would have been in arms against me. All this was avoided by having at once ordered every pillager to be flogged. And plenty these were—I dare say not less than sixty were flogged the first two days. Some religious people said “it was unholy” forgetting that our Saviour scourged the money-changers in the Temple. Some attorneys’ clerks in red coats said “it was illegal;” but I flogged on, and in less than a week the poor ryots instead of flying, or coming into camp to entreat protection (which I could only give by the lash) they met us at the entrances of the villages and furnished us with provisions. That some plunder goes on still I know; so there does in England; but the principle of protecting the people from the insults of armed men has been established; the people know it and are attached to a government which thus protects them. Without the use of the lash plunder would have raged—officers would have made personal efforts to stop atrocities, and what the great duke calls “the knocking-down system” would have prevailed, and shooting and hanging alone could have saved the army.

In the courts-martial here on native soldiers, insolence to officers is a strong feature; and the prisoners who in a moment of anger have been heedless of imprisonment and dismissal express deep regret when too late; but I think they would master their tempers had immediate corporal punishment awaited them. I observe that in nearly every case the officers and non-commissioned officers have fairly cautioned the offenders, but the suffering from dismissal being in some degree remote the angry sepoy braves it. Formerly he loved a service which punished him when he deserved it, yet still kept him—he does not in the same degree love one which discards him for one fault not in itself dishonourable. In the former state the army was his home, but that feeling has been weakened by the second.

I must take another view. The *state* has to be considered as well as the culprit. The good soldier does not

enter into the question at all, which is confined to culprits and the state. The state enlists, arms, drills, pays, and at an enormous cost places the culprit in presence of the enemy. The army exists by its discipline—all safety, all hope of victory depends on discipline. A wild violent malicious or drunken sepoy breaks through that discipline. You cannot confine him with hard labour—that is impossible. Dismiss him ! He will join the enemy and teach him to shoot your good soldiers. But say there are five hundred culprits, five hundred well-drilled soldiers to join the foe ! They will not do so. Worse and worse as far as humanity, justice and policy are concerned ; for they will die of starvation or be murdered by the enemy, and that, because they are still faithful to a service which rejected them !

I am convinced corporal punishment must be restored, whether the sepoys like the measure or not ; and at once, or the governor-general's observation will prove prophetic—“*Delay* tends to confirm the general order of 1835 by usage, and weakens the power as well as the right of returning to the former system of discipline.” If a right be not exercised, it grows so weak that to exercise it becomes impossible ; or a tyranny which divests it of propriety and makes justice revolting. I do not agree that if once a sepoy works in chains with felons, dismissal should be a necessary consequence. I doubt the necessity. It is not so with us. Infamy is a matter of volition. I would say to the sepoys, “The state has bought you from yourself ; the bargain was voluntary ; it paid a great price for you and you shall perform your contract—you shall go again in irons if you do not. The road of repentance and honour is again opened for you.” In some cases dismissal may be necessary, but it should be left to the commander-in-chief, when recommended by courts-martial.

With regard to *caste* it has attained an importance beyond its due. I would not outrage any man's religious prejudices ; if he chooses to redden a stone and worship it, let him do so : but if, seeing I respect his prejudices, he goes beyond that and says, “Now worship you likewise,”

I am surely a fool to do so ; for he next will say, " I have drawn a circle round this stone, your house stands inside my circle and the god has ordered me to pull down your house, it is a respect due to my religion." And if I obey another demand will follow. But if instead of submitting to his absurd demand I at once punished his impertinence, he would have felt that I was just and not foolish. This appears to be our way with caste. We are meanly, unbecomingly and mischievously nourishing prejudices that we ought not to pay court to, for we have abundant examples of the natives being ready to break through them if properly treated—that is to say neither insulting them nor permitting them to insult us. The 35th lost caste by their intimacy with the 13th when defending Jellalabad. They are attacked I understand by their own people. What is the result? They glory in their friendship with the 13th. These natives have good sense. Insult them and they resist; act upon just principles and they will go hand in hand with you to the end of the chapter. I see great danger from giving undue importance to caste, as I understand is done in the Bengal army. They pay, apparently, little attention to caste in the Bombay army. If a high-caste man in private life touches a low-caste man he is defiled. If this happens in the ranks he is not defiled. This shows that good sense effects the object despite of prejudices, which ought not to be considered insurmountable though not to be interfered with lightly. The highest caste man, if he commits crimes can bear being flogged and will do so if administered justly, and that he sees we are resolved to punish him.

The great danger of our Indian system is this. We keep Indian princes on their thrones and allow them to tyrannize under our protection, while we teach the people not to bear their oppressions! The Kolapore irregular horse have just turned traitors; had this happened at the moment flogging was restored it would have been attributed to that cause; and that necessary punishment would have fallen into disrepute. This may seem a digression; but I wish to show that the whole Indian fabric is inti-

mately connected, and that we are in no danger from introducing *wise* measures; but we are so from *old* measures, wise and necessary perhaps in their day, but dangerous now from the growth of the empire, when our stations are so distant, so isolated, and consequently weaker against sudden outbreaks by native princes. If flogging be objected to by the Bombay army, it might be dangerous to restore it until the Kolapore insurrection is quelled; but from all I hear it will not be objected to by officers, native or European, nor by the sepoys. I had here an instance of how firmness acts on caste. A 64th mutineer, a Brahmin, refused to drink the water at Kurrachee which was carried to him by low-caste men: he said he would rather die. My answer was he might choose to die or live, but if he did not work I would flog him, and he gave no more trouble; his plain sense told him that he must submit; but had I yielded he would have made other demands. If the independent native princes are put down, their people justly ruled, and the sepoys punished as justly as they are paid, our hold of India will last for ages.

While I thus strongly advocate corporal punishment, I must be clearly understood to wish its adoption only under very stringent rules; such as I find in the new copy of the Articles of War which appear excellent; but I object to the same number of lashes being given to the sepoy as to our soldiers; he is a weaker man, more delicate of fibre, and has a softer skin—I think half the number would have equal effect. How the sepoy bears solitary confinement I know not, it is not used in the Bombay army; but I think a month too much for Englishmen even in the English climate. When commanding the northern district I inquired into this, and found magistrates, and medical men, civil and military, thought it too long. The sepoy is likely to bear it better—he eats opium and sleeps.

The additional responsibility given to regimental commanding officers by the new Articles of War makes it more necessary to have experienced officers in command. At

present lieutenants are frequently in command of regiments, and if this evil be not remedied no rules can prevent the deterioration of the Indian army; exclusive of the danger in active service. The native officers and sepoys have the greatest respect for experienced officers; but they cannot respect youngsters, without knowledge or experience, in the same degree as they do men who have been their instructors and protectors, men who first made them soldiers and have led them against the enemy. The young officers are anxious to learn, but like other trades they must serve their apprenticeships under master workmen. Now who is to teach them? A brother subaltern? Preposterous! As to lieutenant-colonels, they seem never to be left a moment with their regiments. This is a great injury to the service, and it is a matter intimately connected with the judicious infliction of corporal punishment. It becomes more than ever important to have field officers at the head of regiments and they should not be changed as the custom is. I do not mean that a lieutenant-colonel is never to have any other command, but that his removal should be a rare occurrence. The 64th regiment at the execution of the mutineers was under a lieutenant! a very young one! That fact seems ominous for the Indian empire! I speak with fifty years' experience of soldiers generally, and with two years' experience of an Indian army constantly in the field; a period sufficient for a general to learn something of the nature of his troops, if he is capable of learning anything—if not, a life spent among them would be unavailing.

There are people in India who think differently, who believe bile and a knowledge of the native character is acquired by the same process, and that men with the largest livers must necessarily be the greatest generals and diplomatists. Without admitting this doctrine entirely, I maintain that a certain degree of age and experience is necessary to command a regiment, or that reverence with which European officers are still held by the native soldiers will decline. A regiment is a school and if it has no experienced master the army must decline,

especially when the character of the people as well as the profession is to be taught—the Indian army's fidelity and efficiency depends more on its regimental officers than any army in the world. When a lieutenant commands, unless he has naturally an extraordinary character, he becomes a butt for his brother youngsters; he makes mistakes from inexperience which become subjects of mirth for the young men, and of course for the sepoys. All this is injurious to the respect for the "sahib" character which should be maintained and cherished with the sepoys. I would have more captains, or call the present captains divisional captains, placing them at the head of grand divisions, or two companies, each company having a brevet captain or captain-lieutenant, so that experienced men should be at the head. I would let the divisional captains on parade be posted in front of the centre of his two companies like a squadron leader in the cavalry. This would be better than five companies with captains, and five commanded by subalterns; because every sepoy would then have an experienced divisional captain to look up to; I would not allow captains to be on the staff, but form a staff as an exclusive corps. In this manner having experienced and respected officers in regiments, I would seek to make corporal punishment little needed, much feared, and effectual in this noble army; for better soldiers or braver men I never saw—superior in sobriety, equal in courage, and only inferior in muscular strength to our countrymen. This appears to me, as far as I am capable of judging, the true character of the Indian army in the three presidencies, and I have had men of each under my command. I may be in error; let abler men judge; but to me it is as clear as the sun in the heavens, that unless the East-India Company keep officers of high rank at the head of their regiments, and more captains with companies, it will ere many years pass have cause for regret—native officers will gain influence and finally *take* the command. If I am answered "It is too expensive," I reply "It is more expensive to lose India." Every part of this magnificent army is in the highest degree interesting. It is one grand

arch, the keystone of which is *pay*, and accordingly it is the best paid army in the world ; and the Company has a right to hold the soldier to his bargain. Nor does the sepoy shrink ; he glories in the service and nothing but unfortunate mistakes on our part will make him swerve from his fidelity.

Paragraph A.

The Bombay government has said that I was "*unnecessarily alarmed*," because I complained that the remittances from the sepoys in Scinde were not duly received by their families in the presidencies. I differ with the Bombay government. It was just one of those important details, which might, if it was not instantly attended to give a dangerous shake to the fidelity of the army, especially when mutiny had made its appearance in the Bengal and Madras troops. It signifies nothing, whether the error which caused the nonpayment arose in Scinde or Bombay ; with our difference of opinion on that point the public can have no interest ; the danger was that the sepoy should feel a want of reliance in the faith of government, and be uncertain as to the fate of his family. I therefore took good care that he should not feel this ; and that the moment that a mistake arose he should see that the supreme government—the Bombay government, and the Scinde government—were all at work to correct the evil. I made a great stir about the matter purposely, that the sepoy should feel safe ; and I would do the same thing again, so far from thinking I was unnecessarily alarmed. It is utterly impossible to be too cautious in such a case—the second I have had to complain of, since I came to India, and in both I have had thorough support from Sir George Arthur, the governor. The first took place before his arrival ; but when he came he at once took the matter in hand ; and I believe (for I left Poonah), satisfied the sepoys of the 24th N.I. whom I found in a state of extreme indignation and very justly so. Thus in the short space of three years I have *twice* seen the sepoys very much wronged in the most important of all points and this, not by the supreme government, for the Company is generous in the extreme to its troops, but from the neglect of individuals.

All this proves that officers of experience must be with regiments and companies, and I strongly recommend this reform when the re-adoption of corporal punishment is promulgated, as a matter of precaution; but I repeat that in the Bombay army the general opinion is that measure will be popular with all ranks.

On reading the account of the battle of Maharajahpoore I was struck, by finding that many of our sepoy's relations came from the enemy to see them the day before the action. Those men fought us the next day and were enemies because they were too short for our ranks, in which I presume they would otherwise have been! I could not help reverting to Napoleon's plan of voltigeur battalions for men of under-size.

I do not know whether I shall be thought to have written sense or nonsense; but I have done my best to understand the Indian army; and if my zeal has drawn from me a more extended opinion than I was called upon to give I hope to be forgiven for the honest motive.

VIII.

*Memoranda on the Baggage of an Army. Addressed to
Lord Ellenborough.*

Hyderabad, 18th May, 1843.

In acknowledging your lordship's letter of the 12th April, which letter reached me last night, I have to observe that your lordship refers to suggestions, relating to a camel corps, contained in some letter I have never received. With regard to the other observations with which I have been honoured, and also the report of Sir W. Nott which I have attentively read, I must agree with that officer as to the difficulty of making a report beyond the confined limits of one's immediate experience. I will therefore without further preamble lay before your lordship the results of my own experience during the campaign I have served in India; for in the Peninsula we used a superior animal to the camel, that is to say the mule.

The Camel.

This animal seems to be the favourite beast of burden in these provinces ; and one more unfitted for military purposes can scarcely be imagined. His faults are.

1°. He is extremely delicate in his constitution.

2°. He is liable to diseases the treatment of which appears to be but little understood ; for if the camel grows ill from fatigue or any other cause, the cessation of that cause seems to have no effect in producing a recovery. The horse or the mule when exhausted by fatigue is quickly recovered by rest. Not so the camel, he grows daily weaker and weaker, he expresses his sufferings by the most piteous groans and in a short time dies in spite of every care.

3°. He requires an immense time to feed, and in military movements it is frequently impossible to give him this time, and always difficult in an enemy's country ; for it is immediately after a march when everybody is fatigued that the camel requires his nourishment and the camel-driver feels least disposed to attend to his wants.

4°. The least wet completely impedes his march in clayey ground ; his soft foot slips in moisture ; his long unwieldy hind legs split widely asunder, and the weight on his back prevents his recovering his position, both his hip joints are dislocated in an instant, the great force of his muscles prevents the possibility of setting the dislocated joints and the animal is lost. The smallest ditch after a shower of rain is sufficient to stop the baggage of an army for many hours. The baggage arrives late, and daylight is nearly gone before the animal can be turned out to graze. If his grazing-ground be at a considerable distance, and an enemy in the neighbourhood, it is impossible to send him to it, and he goes four-and-twenty, perhaps six-and-thirty hours without food, except such as may be carried with the troops, which enormously increases the number of animals and the difficulty of making military movements.

5°. In mountainous and in rocky ground the camel appears to me unfit to carry burdens ; I have remarked, on

all occasions, when ascending a hill he is frequently obliged to stop for want of breath, and unless rest is thus given him he cannot pass mountains without being distressed in an extraordinary degree. I discovered this when watching the progress of the camel battery over steep sand-hills. They did not exhibit the same evidence of suffering that a horse does. There was no panting, no apparent want of breath, but the animals suddenly became powerless and apparently unable to move. After a few moments' rest they recovered, and again put forth their strength. Their soft feet are quite uncalculated for rocky ground and prevent their exertion.

6°. The length of the animal, and the slowness of his movements, when loaded, make the baggage cover an enormous space of ground, and demand, when in presence of an enemy, an immense force to guard it. Such appear to me to be the natural defects of the camel as a military beast of burden and they cannot be remedied.

Ill-treatment of the Camel.

Under ill-usage the camel quickly succumbs, and he always receives it in some one of the following ways, generally speaking in all conjoined.

1°. The proper load for a camel is in these countries from 200 to 300 pounds weight. It is impossible accurately to estimate the load of a camel, but the average may be taken at 250 lbs. Now this is invariably exceeded. I have frequently detected 800 and even 900 lbs. weight upon a camel. The sepoy has no mercy upon these animals, nor have the Europeans much, and the latter are even more violent in their treatment of the animal afterwards: they constantly beat them ferociously and tear out the cartilages of their noses. Naturally of a gentle disposition he pines and dies under this maltreatment.

2°. He is never sufficiently nourished.

3°. He rarely gets sufficient rest.

4°. His drivers are generally of the lowest and most brutal description of persons.

5°. Owing to ignorance or carelessness, his load is ill put on, and few things destroy the power of the camels sooner than an ill-balanced load, for the length of his leg becomes a powerful lever to distress him when the load is on one side.

Such are the evils, natural and artificial under which those unhappy animals labour, when pressed into the military service. Let us now inquire into their few perfections.

1°. He goes longer without water than the horse or the mule.

2°. In Scinde, and other countries where the tamarisk and other shrubs of which he is fond abound, he is easily fed and it is not necessary to carry forage, as is always necessary for the horse and frequently for the mule.

3°. In the sandy desert for which the conformation of his feet seems peculiarly fitted, he is perhaps more valuable than the horse or the mule; he does not suffer much from extreme heat, and if fairly loaded, not hurried, and well fed, he is capable of making long marches without suffering. For example, when I marched to Emaumghur the camels of the camel battery performed their work well. It was very severe, but I increased their rations, they were carefully attended to by Captain Whittie, and more camels were put to each gun than was allowed by the constitution of the battery. Had I adhered to the regulations with regard to food and number of camels to each gun, the battery would never have reached Emaumghur. If this battery had been drawn by horses we must have carried forage for them, the number of animals would have been immensely increased, we should not have had water sufficient for them, and the enterprise would have been rendered much more difficult, if not altogether impracticable. Here then the camel was in his element and did his work well.

Having now stated as far as I have been personally able to judge, the advantages and disadvantages of the camel as applicable to military carriage, the next point to be

considered is, what ordinances are necessary to render his good qualities as efficient as possible, and render his natural deficiencies less inconvenient. I am convinced, and long ago wrote a memoir on this subject, that the baggage of an army can never be rendered properly moveable even in Europe or America, still less in India, unless it is formed into a corps perfectly organized. It was with great satisfaction therefore that I found your lordship was disposed to such a project. It applies to every country, every army and every climate. It is a general principle by which most difficulties regarding baggage may be removed, and all of them reduced and made comparatively trifling. I am not aware of anything which would better exemplify the advantages which arise from the division of labour.

The baggage of an army is perfectly susceptible of being reduced to order; but for that purpose a base of rigid organization must be thoroughly established. How can such an organization be produced among a thousand camels, uncouth camel-drivers, sepoy, servants, all assembled on a dark morning at three or four o'clock, jostling, shouting, fighting for places, the baggage-master hoarse with useless roaring to people who do not mind the least what he says—and exposed perhaps to the attacks of insolent camp-followers. How can any order or system be introduced by him into such a mass of wild confusion, and introduced too within the space of half an hour allowed for the baggage to assemble and march? The thing is utterly impossible and the consequence is that the movements of the army are impeded, the duties of the baggage guard most fatiguing to the troops, and the baggage itself liable to be cut off, or which is worse driven in among the troops producing a great risk of general confusion and defeat. The fact is that a general officer's character when he commands an Indian army is greatly endangered by the baggage, the great mass of which, and the immense number of followers, if they are driven upon the fighting men, is quite sufficient to produce total defeat.

The organization required is to form a corps of camels, horses, mules, bullocks, and donkeys, the division of which is an arrangement of detail for after-consideration. But I shall here speak of camels only as being the chief beast of burden with an Indian army; and sufficient to exemplify the principle. The "corps of camels," then, should have its colonel, majors, captains, lieutenants, ensigns (for it especially requires standards), non-commissioned officers and privates, the latter being also the camel-drivers. All these should be armed, and I should say that the proportion would be as much as two to every camel, of whom, on the line of march, one should lead two camels, and one form their guard. These minor matters, however, are details for future arrangement, and must vary according to the state of the country, its formation and the description of roads.

The next point to be considered is the arrangement of the baggage itself. An order should be issued prohibiting the use of any other than a regulation form of box, of bed, of table, of chair, and of every article carried by officers or private soldiers in the field, or indeed at any time; for in peace, if an officer wishes to have an inordinate quantity of baggage let him send it by whatever means would be open to him were he a private gentleman, but it is not just that the public service should be hampered by their trumpery. The size, the weight, the form, the number of every article in the officer's or private soldier's possession would be at once ascertained by the practised eye of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the camel corps; they would immediately detect the slightest irregularity, and on the roadside burn the extraneous article, taking care to inform the owner at the end of the day's march that a portion of his baggage had been burned. The halter for the camel, the string by which he is led, and his saddle should all be minutely according to regulation, and the last should be made so as to admit of a man being carried together with the baggage; for preparation should be made beforehand that in case a temporary exertion should be demanded of the camel on an emergency to carry sick or tired men,

the increased weight may be placed without deranging the equilibrium of the baggage.

The advantages of such an organization seem to be as follows.

At the hour appointed the drilled officers and non-commissioned officers conduct their detachments of camels to the head-quarters of the regiments to which they are respectively attached; there the servants of the officers await them and are ready to guide the privates who conduct and guard the camels to their masters' tents, where the officers deliver their baggage and that of their companies to the drivers; the whole being according to regulation and made to fit in a particular form on the back of the animal; each article has its particular and well-known place and the whole is packed in an instant however dark the night may be. The soldier camel-drivers then return to the head-quarters of the regiment, where their officers await their coming and assemble them by some peculiar signal of trumpet or drum. From thence they march to the "rendezvous" where the superior officers arrange them in that formation which a habit of doing their work has taught them to be most suitable to the description of country through which they are marching. The whole is systematic and methodical, no time is lost; the camels are not unnecessarily harassed, the loads are all of an equal weight and that weight suited to the power of the weakest camel and balanced with precision; the march is liable to no interruptions, or difficulties greatly beyond that which would attend the march of the troops themselves; and the steady pace of the camel would generally enable the commander to ascertain with precision the moment of arrival. A small body of cavalry would then be sufficient guard, for if the baggage were attacked it could throw itself into squares, the animals kneeling down with their heads towards the centre; (a position in which I ordered them to be placed at Meeanee) and form a living redoubt of great strength; for from behind the baggage a fire would be kept up by the baggage-men, and no cavalry could reach them with their swords.

The certainty of the hour at which they would reach the encamping-ground would prevent the soldiers being detained in the sun and waiting for their tents; each company or section of camels would at once proceed to the several departments and regiments, and in an instant they would be unloaded by the camp-followers and at once marched to their grazing-grounds, instead of being detained (as they now are) for many hours after arriving at the encamping-ground. Thus they would have the whole day to feed, they would be attended to by their respective officers and drivers, instead of what happens under the present system, and which I have myself detected fifty times at least, viz. That the idle driver of a government camel, afraid of being flogged for losing the animal, goes into the jungle, ties him fast by the nose to a small bush (which the poor brute devours in five minutes) and goes to sleep, leaving the animal to fast till the guard of cavalry which is scattered all over the jungle drives them home at night. The commissary, supposing very naturally that the beast has been feeding all these hours and having other duties himself, is unable to attend to the camels and prevent such villanies. Here the "division of labour" would act with its wonted force to the advantage of the camel.

When order, method, responsibility, are fairly introduced into a body of men, a moral feeling also arises, and instead of the base, thieving, cowardly crew which now form the mob called the baggage of an army, the camel corps, systematic and orderly, would feel proud of their work and courageously defend it too in case of need; and the general of an army could with safety detach his baggage to a considerable distance without danger. He would be sure that it would accompany him in the most rapid movements, for its commander and his officers, perfectly acquainted with the relative strength of their animals, would on all occasions of emergency make a temporary distribution of the loads, relieving the feeble camel without distressing the strong one; the sick camel would be also attended to.

I believe that the loss of camels in the force which I have commanded in the present campaign is considered to be exceedingly small. I do not think in the whole five months that we could have lost 150 camels altogether; and when it is considered that they were chiefly composed of miserable animals, nearly worn out in Affghanistan, this number I am told may be considered as nothing. I attribute it in a great measure to my endeavour to approximate as much as possible to the system I have proposed, namely, attaching the baggage-master the provost-marshal and the commissary as much as possible to the baggage on the line of march, and ordering them to flog without mercy the camel-drivers and camp-followers who were disobedient. I also ordered the baggage-master to burn all baggage which was over the weight, yet in spite of this I more than six times found camels loaded with eight hundred-weight and even upwards! As matters now stand, *fire* is the only thing to deal with baggage in an Indian army, and the only way to preserve the camel from overloading—no activity and zeal can supply the want of regulation, and no regulation can be applied except by means of a camel corps.

There is another advantage in a camel corps which I have not yet mentioned. You are always secure of the efficiency of your carriage, whereas on the campaign in which I am now engaged this is by no means the case. The influence of the ameers nearly crippled my operations about ten days before the battle of Meeanee. The contractor's house and family fell into the hands of Nusseer Khan at Shikarpoore, and he had made his contract with us when Shikarpoore was occupied by a British force. The result was, that on the day when he was to have furnished 1,000 camels only 170 were forthcoming, and during the two nights previous to the battle of the 24th of March about 200 of the hired camel-drivers disappeared: such accidents as these are severe trials upon the moral courage of a commander. With regard to bullocks and other beasts of burden the same principles will apply,

namely: systematic arrangement to insure justice to the animals and orderly movement.

I will send a copy of this memoir to Captain Thomas in order that he may make any remarks which his ability and experience may prompt, though I am inclined to think he will agree with me in what I propose, for the subject has long been a matter of much reflection.

It does not appear to me that the system I propose is in any way influenced by locality, because it is entirely based upon the principle of doing justice to the animal, which saves their lives, and consequently diminishes the difficulty of supply and the expense produced by an increased demand, which of course raises the value of the animal.

The whole subject seems to me to be one of great simplicity, but whether or not I have succeeded in stating my ideas clearly I cannot say.

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

IX.

Extracts from a Letter to Lord Ripon.

Bhoogtee Hills, 7th February, 1845.

Prize-money. — I enclose to your lordship a direct application from myself, (to the lords of the Treasury) though I confess I feel a dislike to do so after having been deliberately, and I will say, *most atrociously* accused in the House of Commons by Lord Howick, of having sacrificed the lives of thousands of my fellow-creatures, and amongst the rest many of my brother officers and intimate friends, from the infamous desire of getting prize-money, which neither I nor any man in my army *could* have expected. Who could have expected such a victory as Meeanee in its results? Who expected the unconditional surrender of Hyderabad? However it is idle to occupy you with refutations of Lord Howick's accusation.

My interest is so united with that of the troops that we go together, and her Majesty will decide what is proper.

I must do what you think just for the sake of others, though it has the awkward addition of being personal and will of course be said so by the public. Having nothing but what I have saved from my salary, since I came to India, I am not so hypocritical, or so foolish, as to deny that I should be very glad to have prize-money; but I assure you, Lord Ripon, that I have thought very little about it, being quite satisfied that whatever share I had in the conquest of Scinde has been amply rewarded by the grand cross and the approbation of government.

Your lordship says, you conclude the batta issued must be considered part of the prize-money. I am no judge of these matters, but I know that the men who *fought* will not be at all satisfied to have the batta issued to regiments which *were not in Scinde* (78th, 86th and many native regiments) deducted from their prize-money. The whole force reckoned that the batta was given to *cover their loss of health from the unexpected and unparalleled epidemic*, in which hardly a man of 16,000 escaped suffering in health. If the batta be deducted it would I imagine be only so much of it as was paid to the troops of Meeanee and Hyderabad. Whether we have a right to prize-money I put aside as a distinct question, to be decided by her Majesty. But if we are to have it, the division should I think be made as it would have been on the field of battle. Extend the principle of deducting batta given to troops who neither made the capture, nor preserved it, nor were in Scinde at all until long after the treasure was in Bombay, and I do not see where a line is to be drawn. The batta of the whole Indian army might with equal justice be deducted! In a few words. *The Company takes the prize-money to cover its military expenditure.*

X.

Hill Campaign.—My last letter informed your lordship that I was preparing to attack the enemy. You will ere this reaches you have heard that we made a

most successful one, and as the details will reach you officially I will not enter on them here. I am now following up my attack with very great difficulty. The robbers will I fear retire within the Mooltan frontier which I dare not enter. Any military man will tell you that a warfare amongst arid sandy deserts and barren mountains, and against the inhabitants of those mountains, is one of the most difficult that can be made and requires the greatest caution. To enter the defiles of these mountains is not possible without making the means of *retreat secure*. To get intelligence of the enemy is all but impossible, and to catch him quite so, if the Mooltan people admit him.

Believe me, my Lord Ripon, that the *Punjaub must be conquered*. I am hostile to the extension of territory beyond the Sutlej on *principle*, but I am satisfied that we must go into the Punjaub. Lord Howick will say I want to go there for prize-money; but I do not; I can hardly bear the fatigues of war. I do not want to go to the Punjaub, yet I apply the words of Cato—the Punjaub is the Indian “*Carthago*,” only it must be conquered not destroyed! Its present state will, amongst other and greater evils, force you to keep 10,000 men in Scinde *more* than the occupation of Scinde requires. I positively deny that I love war and want to see wars; I am most unjustly accused; but I do know that unless the Court of Directors are very careful they will some day find, that in endeavouring to *make a show of peace* they will be doing what unskilful surgeons often do—heal the skin and leave a sinus full of matter beneath. Look at the state of the Mahratta country at this moment. How is it possible to suppose that we can be safe, while native princes are left on their thrones *within* our territories. *Outside!* Yes! That is a distinct case. I hope to put many regiments at Sir Henry’s disposal after I finish this war, which I hope to do within a fortnight; but who dare prophesy in such a war as this?

XI.

*Names of the Volunteers from the 13th Regiment who
Scaled the Rocks of Trukkee 8th March, 1845.*

Sergeant John Power—Reached the top—Was slightly wounded.

Corporal Thomas Waters—Did not quite reach the top—Two medals.

Private John Kenny—Did not quite reach the top—Three medals.

Private John Acton—Reached the top—Slew three enemies—Killed—Two medals.

Private Robert Adair—Reached the top—Slew two enemies—Killed—Two medals.

Private Hugh Dunlap—Reached the top—Slew two enemies—Killed.

Private Patrick Fallon—Reached the top—Killed—Two medals.

Private Samuel Lowrie—Reached the top—Slew the enemy's commander and another—Killed—Two medals.

Private William Lovelace—Reached the top—Killed.

Private Anthony Burke—Reached the top—Slew three enemies—Two medals.

Private Bartholomew Rohan—Reached the top—Slew an enemy—Severely wounded—Two medals.

Private John Maloney*—Reached the top—Slew two enemies—Saved Burke and Rohan—Severely wounded—Two medals.

Private George Campbell—Reached the top—Slew two enemies.

Private Philip Fay—Did not quite reach the top—Two medals.

Private Mark Davis—Did not quite reach the top—Two medals.

* John Maloney was wounded with his own bayonet after he had driven it through a Beloochee, for the latter unfixed it, drew it out of his own body, stabbed Maloney and fell dead!

Private Charles Hawthorne—Did not quite reach the top—Two medals.

Sepoy Ramzan Ahier—Did not quite reach the top.

XII.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Roderick Murchison, upon the Geological Specimens collected in the Cutchee Hills by Captain Vicary during Sir C. Napier's Campaign.

I return the report of Captain Vicary on the geological features of the Beloochistan hills, the reading of which produced much interest and a good discussion at the Geological Society. It was curious to observe that among the camel-load of fossil shells sent here by Sir C. Napier several specimens are perfectly identical with fossils of the *uppermost beds of the chalk in the Pyrenees*; thus the age of the chief ranges of Beloochistan, and also I believe of Affghanistan, has been for the first time determined.

XIII.

Letters to the Governor of Bombay touching Forged and Stolen Letters published by Dr. Buist.

Kurrachee, 13th August, 1845.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.

HONOURABLE SIR,—The *Bombay Times* of the 23rd July has published a letter to the governor-general of India in council, and to this has affixed my name. Sir, I never sent such a letter to the governor-general; nor any letter on the same subject to his excellency. I therefore enclose to your honour in council an affidavit to that effect, and request that the editor of the *Bombay Times* may be prosecuted for the forgery of a state paper, and for affixing my name to the same; or that such other steps may be taken as your honour in council may deem to be the proper course to punish the delinquent, and to insure the integrity of the public offices against the

corrupt influence of the *Bombay Times*. If the editor gives up the name of his informant, and that he is in Scinde, I will either try him by a general court-martial here, or send him a prisoner to Bombay, as the law officers judge most proper.

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

The GOVERNOR of BOMBAY
in Council.

Extract of a Letter to the Governor-General.

16th November, 1845.

I do not understand what the verbose letter of the Bombay government means. *A state paper is stolen.* It is found in the *Bombay Times*. Surely the proprietors of that paper can be called upon to say where they got it? It is like any other description of property, inviolable! My reason for never sending you the letter in question was a good one. Captain Powell commanding the Indian flotilla told me he thought it would give offence to the navy, for they did not like orders issued to them through a military orderly-book. I therefore thought it better not to risk making the seamen discontented, as the great object is to work well together; but to my surprise I saw my letter in the *Bombay Times*, as having been sent to you! Whereas it is a draft and is in *my own possession now!*

It is very clear that now the *Bombay Times* can get, and will get, any paper he wants if it leaves my writing-box, or perhaps the editor can *reach it there*—I may leave my key out of my pocket accidentally.

By Mr. Lemessurier's doctrine any secret state paper may be published with impunity, provided that it really was *authentic* and had been written. The *mode by* which it was obtained and *who* obtained it appears to be a matter of no importance. I am pretty certain that I know the man who stole the paper, and so does Powell; but we have no proofs and the Bombay government will not make the *Bombay Times* tell. Its own editor *boasts of its connection with government*—see Mr. Buist's letter—but I believe he told no secret.

XIV.

Letter to the Governor-General relative to Lieutenant-Colonel Outram's published slanders.

3rd August, 1845.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,—Captain Outram, a brevet lieutenant-colonel in the service of the Honourable Company, has published a libel reflecting on my character as governor of Scinde; and has added the monstrous accusation that I caused the destruction of her Majesty's 78th regiment.

I shall not trouble your excellency in council by the detail and easy refutation of the mis-statements deliberately published by Lieutenant-Colonel Outram; but I am ready to do so. I simply send a copy of that part of his production which has reached me.

I have not either by word or deed, privately or publicly given to this officer any cause for hostility.

His libel professes to be an answer to a work published by my brother Major-General Napier. Now, I in Asia am assuredly not answerable for what another man publishes in Europe! I may consider such a publication to be good or bad, eloquent and true; or vulgar and false; but I cannot be responsible for it.

Even if Lieutenant-Colonel Outram were to form the tribunal before which general officers are to be dragged like criminals to receive judgment, I could not in the present circumstances be amenable to his, or any jurisdiction; for not only was General Napier's book written at such a distance as to be beyond the reach of consultation, but it has only been read by me within forty-eight hours; and the work altogether contains a mass of matter on which I was previously but imperfectly informed.

My whole conduct as regards Lieutenant-Colonel Outram is explained in the two *Blue-books* on Scinde. It was direct—open—official—and public! In short I can only attribute this officer's hostility to me, and the untruths

which he states, to that malicious blind vindictiveness which we frequently see arise from disappointed self-sufficiency acting on feeble intellects. I had preserved an army, and the Blue-books contain the proof, that had I attended to the advice of Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, that army would have been annihilated.

Lieutenant-Colonel Outram is responsible for what he puts his name to. I am responsible for what I put my name to, and General Napier is responsible for what he puts his name to; but none of us are responsible for what another man writes.

I therefore formally demand through your excellency in council the protection of her Majesty's government, and that of the Honourable Court of Directors, against the libels of Lieutenant-Colonel Outram.

I have served with faith, zeal, and hitherto with unusual success, and always in strict obedience to the orders of the supreme government of India. I have devoted myself to the honour and glory of her Majesty's and the Company's troops; and more especially to that part forming a part of the Bombay army with which I am intimately connected, both as my companions in arms and by private friendship; yet a captain in that army, a man whose ignorance was nearly causing its destruction, has with unprovoked malice put forth these * * * * and scurrilities. If I had given this officer any cause of complaint, redress through the proper channel was open to him; as it is to every officer and soldier in the Queen's and Company's service.

I have up to the present moment received the marked approbation of her Majesty, the Parliament, the British Government, the Court of Directors and the supreme government in India. But it is impossible for any man to command a military force if a captain in the army, of which that force forms a portion, is thus openly and foully to traduce and hold up such general officer to the scorn and contempt of the troops under his orders.

I do not complain, Honourable Sir, of *the effect* of Lieutenant-Colonel Outram's publication on the troops generally, because they know me too well for such * * * *

to do much harm, or produce any other result than that of contempt for the writer. Yet in particular cases, it may do mischief; for what are the poor Highlanders to think, when in their barracks at Poona they read the gross * * * * * adduced as having been uttered by me to the disparagement of their noble regiment? And when Lieutenant-Colonel Outram tells them in print, that their general is more ignorant than any subaltern of five years' standing under his command, and that he recklessly destroyed their comrades.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

XV.

Extract from a Letter addressed by Sir C. Napier to the Governor-General.

7th November, 1845.

We have received our medals, *sent to us amongst the commissariat stores as a bale of goods, without ribands or any means of hanging them on our breasts!* As Lord Ripon has taken nearly three years to prepare them they might have been finished! Those I received from Bengal came in a more gentleman-like way from the commander-in-chief, and through the adjutant-general—the orthodox channel. Lieutenant-Colonel Penefather *sent me mine*, and some officers here received theirs through *private hands* long before! Indeed it was from them I first heard of the arrival of the medals. Those gentlemen were annoyed and brought their medals to me. However all this is *Bombay style*, and don't much signify, or rather does not signify at all.

Compressed Extracts from a Letter addressed by Sir C. Napier to the Governor-General, touching the secret schemes of the Ameers and their women.

9th September, 1845.

I have traced a correspondence between Shere Mohamed (the Lion) and Shadad at Surat, and the channel is the

zenana of the ameers, which is entirely governed by a man named Mirza Koosroo, a very violent man. When going through the zenana in the fortress to give up the treasure there to the prize agents, Mirza made all sorts of difficulties—no blame to him—to give time for the abstraction of treasure by the departing ladies. He stopped every moment and began disputing with the agents, and when an attending havildar said “Come, come,” and took Koosroo by the arm but without violence, the latter seized Lieutenant-Colonel McPherson by the throat and tried to choke him. He was made a prisoner, and the *Bombay Times* said *I flogged him cruelly*. I did not flog him at all! I sent for him, and telling him such conduct would not do set him free again. This admonition was the only punishment he received; but a sepoy seeing McPherson so handled was going to put his bayonet into Mirza and McPherson saved him. He was left by the ameers in charge of their intrigues, together with Noor’s widow Kurreem. She gave *seven lacs* to Nusseer for the war, and took, it is said, and was said at the time, *six lacs from the fortress*. I however refused to let her baggage be overhauled.

From information, I have now arrested a slave named Mayboob. In this man’s secret box and a bag were found about 3,000 rupees in *gold mohurs*, with other articles—one a rich hilt of lapis lazuli belonging to the ameers. We also traced his intercourse with *Shadad*, and found in his box a letter from Shere Mohamed. Mayboob says the gold belonged to Mirza Koosroo, and *he* says it belongs to the ladies, who, we can prove, have before through the same channel sent to *Shadad* 8,000 rupees, or some such sum. I have given all the money to the ladies. We found a quantity of the richest Cashmere shawls and silks, which there is little doubt were abstracted from the treasury of the ameers “*the Toshkhana*.” These I also gave back, as the washermen, on whom they were detected said they were presents from the ameers, and that was *possible* though not probable as the amount is so large. One of these men had given his three daughters to

Nusseer Khan, and the other, a handsome man, is supposed to have been Shadad's. * * * * *
 I thought it right to return the articles as not becoming in government to doubt the generosity of their highnesses for *such favours*, or to go into an examination of such matters.

The correspondence of Shere Mohamed with the ex-ameer Shadad is another affair. By all I hear the latter lives quite familiarly with the officers and is under no restraint whatever. I have written to Sir G. Arthur about this, because we should have mischief if this villain is allowed to lay his train. I wish he was removed to Bengal, where he would be properly watched and out of reach; and as Mirza Koosroo was a Persian slave I think it would be wise to send him to the ameers. The ladies flatly refuse to leave Scinde and will continue to intrigue, and if I take the least step to prevent it no terms will be bad enough to describe me! Some other information, crossing upon that which led to what I have discovered, makes me fear Ali Moorad is not going on right. I do not think he is doing any actual mischief, but I suspect he is carrying on some correspondence with people to the west. He is watched and I shall give him advice, if I find cause, and plain speaking steadies him for a short time. But he has got some bad counsellors, who are not friends to the Feringhees on religious grounds.

I hope it will be practicable to put Shadad in some fortress in Bengal; it is not good to keep him in a presidency where all but the governor himself, think and tell him he is a *martyr*, and not a *felon*.

There does not appear the remotest symptom of any jagheerdars, much less of the people, having been mixed up with these things; indeed from first to last it has been clear they never liked the ameers nor cared whether they were dethroned or hanged. The Scindees and Hindoos hated them, and the Beloochees were indifferent. Every Beloochee looked to the immediate chief of his tribe, and those chiefs thinking our object was to despoil them fought: finding this erroneous they are quite satisfied!

This as far as we strangers can judge seems to be the real state of the case, and it is the opinion of all the Europeans in Scinde. If we are wrong the Beloochees must be the most expert conspirators to deceive both us and the Hindoos! The hill campaign was a strong test. The Punjaub war, if it takes place, will be another and a stronger one.

XVI.

Letters to the Widow of the Ameer Noor Mohamed.

17th October, 1846.

LADY,—You asked me to let you send four men to the ex-ameer Shadad, and you said they were to bear letters and a few clothes which you specified. I had reason to believe you were also sending a large sum of money to the ameer. This very much surprised me on three accounts. First because you did not mention to me that you were sending money—secondly because you must be well aware that large sums of money are not allowed to be sent to state prisoners except through government—thirdly I was surprised, because, not long ago you and the other ladies stated to me that you were starving. Now lady, I had your men stopped, and the police found a large sum of money in bars of gold and coins of gold and silver in their possession, which you were sending and which I have ordered to be safely returned to you, and also your letters unopened. As your instructions about the money, if such instructions they contain, may require to be altered, your fresh letters, or those returned, shall be forwarded for you to the ameer, but no treasure shall be sent to him except through, and with the knowledge of, government.

C. NAPIER, Governor.

28th October, 1846.

MADAM,—I understand and approve of your feelings for your son. I did not object to your sending him money, but to your sending money *clandestinely*, for it was concealed in a bag of rice; and to your telling me you were

starving, when in addition to the handsome allowance paid to you by the Honourable the East-India Company, you had means of sending large sums constantly to the ameer Shadad; for you know and I know it is not the first time. This money shall be sent to your son if the governor-general pleases, and if you wish I will ask his leave, but I cannot allow money to be sent in large quantities without the permission of the governor-general. The ameer is not kept in poverty, and allow me to say you know this perfectly well; and you also know, and *all Hyderabad* knows, how the English general was to have been treated by your son had the former been so unfortunate as to fall into your son's hands! You know well Madam that I have always treated and shall always treat you and the other ladies with proper respect and honour, both because you are women and because your husbands and sons are prisoners. Your sons are fed and protected by government, and I regret to be obliged to differ with a lady when she asserts what I know to be inaccurate. I cannot allow the government I serve to be accused unjustly; I do not know why your days are passed in distress, no one molests you, you have a handsome allowance from government, and you are not prisoners. You are free to go to your son if you choose. I am afraid that the people about you cheat you and tell you falsehoods—and therefore I will have this letter delivered into your own hands. I have the honour to be with great respect,

Madam,

Your most obedient humble servant,

C. NAPIER.

XVII.

Major-General Hunter touching the progress of the Horse-mart at Sukkur, established under his superintendence by Sir C. Napier.

I think I sent about 300 or 350 horses to Bengal—there was no doubt but 1,000 horses could have been got yearly,

after the horse-venders were aware that a sale could be effected at Sukkur: the demand in common years for the army never could exceed that number, indeed 600 would I fancy be enough. For horse-artillery and European dragoons I paid 450 rupees each horse, and they were most excellent. For light field-batteries I never gave above 300 for each horse, and they were the best adapted for that work of any I ever saw; far superior to the undersized stud-horses, which were much too light for gun-draught, and never could be put to use under the same sum that the full-sized horses cost.

The supply would yearly have increased both in number and quality, I am sure. The first year I got only sufficient to complete Foster's Bombay battery; the second I completely horsed Smith's battery and the Bundlecund Legion, and the 7th Bengal cavalry; and eighty horses I sent up with the return troops to Hindostan. I am so very fond of horses, and being well acquainted with the manners and customs of the northern horse-dealers, I doubt not that I could have formed a capital horse-market at Sukkur, and had Lord Ellenborough remained governor-general there would have been a great trade into Sukkur. He caused many letters to be written to me on the subject, but after he went nothing was done from Calcutta; and the assistance you gave me was in the third year quite upset by an order from Colonel Benson, by the authority of Lord Hardinge, desiring me to purchase no more horses for the Bengal army. You of course then directed only a sufficient number for the Bombay troops quartered in Scinde. To my certain knowledge many of the horses that went from Sukkur, by merchants, to Bombay, were purchased at five and six hundred rupees each and sent back to Sukkur for remounts, but that was before your time. No reason was ever assigned to me for giving up Sukkur as a mart, and I am quite at a loss to know what cause there could have been for so doing. Certainly we had sufficient proof that the light field-battery, nine-pounders of the Bundlecund Legion, were respectably horsed entirely by Sukkur-purchased horses. I think I made over

seventy to Alphorts when he arrived, to replace an equal number I was obliged to cast which he brought from Hindostan: these went off without training in any way to harness, and performed a campaign of fifty-two days through the Bhoogtee hills, and not one of them died or was lamed. ("Mowatt's troop it was that made the long march to the hills with me to Ooch."—Note by Sir Charles Napier.) On our return to Sukkur, Captain Mowatt (now colonel) also wrote to me that all the horses he got for his troop were excellent. You may recollect my writing often to you of the sad complaints the horse-dealers made at none of their horses being purchased the last year, when they in hopes of a sale brought some 1,200 noble nags. It was a great mistake stopping that market; no money was carried out of the country by those northern merchants, as what I paid them for horses they gave back for English or Indian cloth and other articles.

XVIII.

The following observations by Captain Rathborne chief collector of Scinde confirmed by the comment of Mr. Edwardes the civil magistrate at Simla, show one source of enormous profit to the Company by the conquest of Scinde; and the results thus set forth as clearly prove the incapable baseness which still strives to injure Sir C. Napier, by misrepresenting that conquest as a barren and expensive one.

Observations by Captain Rathborne.

Hyderabad, 30th July, 1850.

What Lord Ellenborough says is true about the forty-two lacs increase on opium-passes. But he omits to take into account the Company's profits on the opium grown by itself in Bengal. It must be obvious, that the same circumstance (viz. the closing up every route) that has enabled it to levy 275 rupees more per chest on opium in transit from foreign territories, must have procured it a proportionate enhancement of price on the opium grown

within its own. The price of Patna opium for export to China must necessarily be very much affected by the price of the Malwa, which eventually meets it in the same market—it would be absurd to suppose speculators would buy opium at monopoly price from the Company in Bengal, if they could get the Malwa opium at the mere cost of production and growers' profit through Scinde. The effect of Scinde being an open route was not felt in its full extent at the time, because for the last few years preceding the conquest the state of Scinde had been adverse to its being used very largely as a route for so valuable a drug as opium is. Nor were the afneers—cut off as they were by their institutions from all communication with the civilized world—aware of the advantage their country possessed in this respect. But with peace would have come security, and with increased intercourse with us, knowledge; and eventually, there can be no doubt, we should have had to compel them by force to close the route, or in other words recur to the old story of war, or *our opium revenue in India would have been annihilated.*

Continuation of Observations by the same.

Hyderabad, 15th August, 1850.

With reference to opium I enclose a report of Sir John Hobhouse's speech on Mr. Bright's motion, which shows the increase in the number of chests sold by the Company *of its own opium* in the six years subsequent to the conquest of Scinde, and the actual amount sold. All this is wholly independent of the opium on which passes have been granted, and in respect of which Lord Ellenborough considers Scinde ought to be credited to the extent of forty-two lacs (£420,000) a year.

When, as in the case of opium, government raises a revenue in two ways—one by charging an export-duty of 1,000 rupees (£100) a chest on the opium of every one else; the other by selling its own opium at public auction with the privilege of exporting duty free—it must be quite clear that in each case the amount of tax will be

just the same, though in one it assumes the shape of pass-duty, and in the other that of monopoly profit to government. For were it otherwise, either the Calcutta or the Malwa tradewould cease. No one would pay 400 rupees duty on Malwa opium in addition to the government charges if, duty and charges included, he could get it cheaper in Calcutta. And on the other hand, no one would pay a higher rate to the monopolists in Calcutta than—duty and charges included—he could get opium from Malwa, because the opium in each case, it must be borne in mind, is eventually to meet in the same market, that of China.

This being so, the same cause that has enabled the government to levy a higher duty by 275 rupees a chest on Malwa opium, has in reality given that increase per chest on its own, if there have been no other causes leading to depress the price of opium while this was raising it. This will be visible in a clear rise of the price of opium per chest to that amount at the Calcutta rates; but if there have been other depressing causes at work, and the actual sum paid per chest has fallen, the fall has not been in the monopoly profits but in the growers' charges; and the fall has still been less by that amount than it otherwise would have been.

Allowing these data to be correct—and be they tested as they may they will prove so—there is in addition to the forty-two lacs (£420,000) increase on passes, allowed per annum by Lord Ellenborough to be credited to Scinde, the sum of 41,347,150 rupees, being 275 rupees increase per chest on the 150,426 chests of the Company's own opium sold within that period. This in English money will be in round numbers, *four millions one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds sterling!*

The proper person to comprehend the value of Scinde, taken in this light, would be a Spanish minister of finance, who has an instance before his eyes in Gibraltar, of the loss of revenue to a country from an outlet for smuggling being in adverse possession. In regard to a drug like opium, the only possible thing that could prevent the revenue

being utterly ruined by such a circumstance, would be the ignorance of the barbarian holder of power over our finances in this particular—an ignorance that in these days of enlightenment both with Blacks and Whites never could last long.

I mark another passage wherein Sir J. Hobhouse takes credit for the amount expended on canals in Scinde! I must say it does seem a good joke, this perpetually twitting us about the cost of the province, and then taking credit for the principal item as a proof of the liberality generally of the Company's government.

Comment on the above Statement by Mr. Edwardes, Civil Magistrate at Simla.

September 5th, 1851.

I return you with best thanks Captain Rathborne's statement. I have studied it carefully and fully coincide in the correctness of his reasoning.

I have also submitted it for the judgment of our commissioner of customs, one of the soundest financiers in the country, and he fully agrees with Captain Rathborne, that the increase he mentions may fairly be attributed to our *holding possession of Scinde* and closing that formerly important outlet for contraband trade.

XIX.

Notes by Major Beatson, on his Separate Operations, and March to blockade the Northern Entrance of Trukkee, 1845, written at the time.

On the 20th of February 1845 I joined the camp of his excellency Sir Charles Napier, governor of Scinde, about two miles below Goojroo: I had with me a portion of the Bundlecund Legion, consisting of two nine-pounders, a squadron of cavalry and the first battalion of the infantry of the legion.

On the 21st Sir Charles directed me to take up a position at Goojroo which the enemy had left on the approach of his excellency's force: giving me two horse-artillery six-pounders, instead of my nines, which were considered too heavy for hill-work.

My position commanded both the pass from the westward, and the valley opening to the north of Goojroo.

On the morning of my arrival I accompanied Captain Malet and Ali Moorad to the place where the road to Deyrah goes off to the left; but we saw nothing of the enemy.

On the morning of the 23rd I went up the hills to the north-west of Goojroo, accompanied by Captains Winter, Barry, and Hayes, with an escort of fifty sepoy.

In a very difficult watercourse, near the top of the first range of hills, I found the remains of fires which must have been recently left, and also of one or two fires on the face of the hills; but did not see a man.

On the 24th we went to the top of the hills to the south-west of Goojroo; after my return to camp, in the forenoon, some of the Belooch horsemen made an attempt to carry off the camels at graze, but on being pursued, they made off by some of the numerous paths well known to them, but which we knew nothing of, and left the camels:—as yet I have not lost a single animal.

On the 25th I went up the valley to the north of Goojroo, over a very rugged pass, and descended into the sandy bed of a river, the only apparent entrance for which is through a chasm about thirty feet wide, formed by perpendicular rocks on each side, of about two hundred feet in height; so regular is this chasm, that it looked as if a column of infantry had opened from its centre by subdivisions, closing fifteen paces outwards.

One shot was fired from an inaccessible hill in the neighbourhood; but we saw no person.

Goojroo was an important post: the enemy had no choice but to force that or go into Trukkee, and he chose the latter alternative, which enabled the general to finish

the war. It was clearly the enemy's desire to avoid fighting from the first, or he never would have allowed Sir Charles's force to go without opposition through passes where he might by rolling down rocks have destroyed the force without losing a man.

I had at Goojroo a striking instance of the confidence which such a man as Sir Charles Napier inspires in all soldiers who serve under him:—the exigencies of the service, caused by the crippled state of our camels, rendered it necessary that my men should be put on half-rations of unground wheat, and with only enough of even that for a few days when we took up our position at Goojroo; but there was never a murmur from any man of the legion, and when we were sometimes reduced to our last day's half-rations the feeling of every soldier was "the general will not forget us!" And true enough, he did not forget us; for as sure as the sun was about to disappear behind the Belooch hills in the evening, a string of camels with supplies was seen ascending the pass, thus justifying the confidence of the soldiers that their general had not forgotten them—and recollect, these soldiers generally were the high-caste men of Hindostan—Rajpoots, Brahmins, and Mahomedans—the two former of whom would die rather than eat anything but grain. But the whole secret is, they had confidence in their general, and where soldiers have that they will do anything.

On the 2nd March I received orders from Sir Charles Napier to proceed with a field detachment from Goojroo to blockade the rear of Trukkee, while his excellency's force took up a position in front of that place. My instructions were to march if possible north-west from Goojroo to Lutt; but I found the country impracticable for guns. I therefore descended the pass into the Deyrah plain, and skirted the hills till I came to "Deolet Gorai" and then went due north through a very difficult pass into the Murrow plain, where I found Ali Moorad with his force encamped, and where I was joined by the volunteers of her Majesty's 13th under Lieutenant John Barry, and the camel corps under Lieutenant Bruce:—the former

See Plac. 2.

brought me a despatch from Sir Charles Napier directing me to act independent of Ali Moorad in blockading the north of Trukkee. On my arrival I informed the ameer that I should march immediately my rear-guard came through the pass; on hearing which he immediately struck his tents, and moved off in the direction of Trukkee, which he did not appear to intend to do till he found that I was determined to move on whether he did or not. The delay in getting the rear of my force through the pass gave Ali Moorad a few hours' start, and enabled him to keep some miles in front of me all day—the difficulties of the country frequently obliging me to dismount the Europeans from the camels to drag the guns up passes, which the horses were found quite unequal to.

An instance of the tact and cunning of the Beloochees occurred on this march: I was riding at the head of the column, about dusk in the evening, when three horsemen with red turbans were passed up from the rear of the column under an escort of the Bundlecund cavalry, they having represented themselves as Ali Moorad's horsemen, come from Sir Charles Napier with orders for me to halt, as Beejar Khan had given himself up and the war was at an end. I asked them if they had brought me a letter from Sir Charles: this did not disconcert them in the least, and they at once replied that they had been sent on ahead, to give me the intelligence, and that others were following with the letter. Their story was so plausibly told, that I must confess I thought there was truth in it; but at the same time I was too old a soldier to halt without written instructions to do so, after I had received Sir Charles's positive orders to blockade the rear of Trukkee as soon as possible: I therefore told the three horsemen to go on to Ali Moorad, and I would continue my march till the letter came from Sir Charles. On joining Ali Moorad next day I mentioned the circumstance to him, when he immediately declared they must have been a party of the enemy who had tried to deceive me, as none of his men had come up with any message to him from the rear.

I must here mention that the only distinguishing mark between Ali Moorad's men and those of the enemy was that the former wore red turbans, and the latter white, or green:—the Beloochees were too knowing not to take advantage of this; so the three who professed to bring me the orders to halt, had donned red turbans for the occasion, thus the disguise was complete as to dress; and I must confess the ruse was well planned and skilfully carried out. Talleyrand could not have kept his countenance better, or told his story more plausibly than the Beloochees did. The instructions I got from Sir Charles Napier were, on getting to the north of Trukkee, to blockade the pass but not to attack the enemy without orders, and to report to his excellency every day. I did write and send off my reports every day; but I am inclined to believe that Ali Moorad played me false and did not forward my reports to Sir Charles, and I was obliged to trust to Ali Moorad to do so, as my men were totally unacquainted with the country. After I had been several days in rear of Trukkee I sent a European officer with an escort, and a letter to Sir Charles, and I have reason to believe that was the first he received since I left Goojroo. I was subsequently confirmed in the belief that Ali Moorad had not forwarded my letters.

After we had been some days in rear of Trukkee, I got impatient at seeing or hearing nothing of the enemy, and also at receiving no intelligence of what was going on with Sir Charles's force in front of Trukkee—I therefore determined to go some distance into Trukkee to reconnoitre. I told Ali Moorad of my intention, and moved off to the right into Trukkee at daybreak, leaving the ameer with his force at the mouth of the pass: to my astonishment on my return I found that Ali Moorad had moved off with his whole force to the left, out of sight, and left the principal pass into Trukkee, quite open: this was not only a strange kind of co-operation, but it also crippled my subsequent movements by obliging me to leave a part of my force to guard that pass which Ali Moorad's force had occupied. When I went into Trukkee the 8th

March to look out for some men I had seen on the hills to the right (supposed to be part of the enemy, which they turned out to be, and I believe Beejar Khan was with them) on a triangular table-land, it appeared from where we were, to us who were unacquainted with that difficult country, to be inaccessible; and so it was everywhere, excepting by foot-paths, by which only one man could ascend at a time—so that a few men at the top to roll down stones could have kept our army in check.

In an endeavour to turn this position to the right, in hopes of finding a way to get up on the other side, one of my flanking parties consisting of a few of those daring soldiers, the volunteers of her Majesty's 13th, ascended the apex of the triangle by a goat-path overhanging a tremendous precipice. The Beloochees had a breastwork on the table-land about twenty paces retired from the top of this path, behind which were concealed about seventy men, who overwhelmed the small party of Europeans as soon as they got to the top; first giving them a volley with their matchlocks, and then attacking them sword in hand, killing several and driving the others down the rock: the volunteers did all that men could do, and fought most gallantly; but seventy against ten! the former having all the advantage of position, while the latter were blown by the steep ascent and unexpected attack, were too great odds. One European drove his bayonet through the breast of a Belooch, but while so entangled, about a dozen swords flashed about his head, and he was of course cut to pieces:—the parties of volunteers under Lieutenant Barry and Lieutenant Darby, seeing their comrades engaged, immediately rushed to their assistance, but a deep chasm prevented their getting even to the bottom of the ascent; all they could do was to open a fire from the opposite side; but the distance was too great, the balls all falling short—their marks were afterwards seen on the rocks below the enemy's position.

The bravest of the brave could not have done more than these few men of her Majesty's volunteers—but they were

overwhelmed in a position where their comrades could give them no assistance—and even after I collected all my detached parties we could find no practicable way of getting at the enemy's position on the triangular table-land. We afterwards found there was a path on the opposite side, but our men being unacquainted with the country we did not discover the path till too late.

Early next morning I got a note from Captain Curling informing me that Beejar Khan had surrendered. I therefore suspended operations. I also got a letter from Colonel Frushard, mentioning that the enemy had agreed to surrender and that the war was at an end.

On rejoining Sir Charles Napier at Shahpoor, his excellency did me the honour to appoint me to the command of Shikarpore and of the line of frontier outposts, as far as the Larkaana river to the south, and Shahpoor to the northward.

I was subsequently also appointed by Sir Charles Napier to be president of the military commission for the trial of all serious criminal cases at Shikarpore, and on the frontier. The *Calcutta Review*, for September 1850, says, Major Jacob was left in command of the frontier. This is a mistake—Major Jacob did not succeed to the command of the frontier till 1846 after the Bundelcund Legion left it.

Note.—The position on which the Beloochees killed the men of the volunteers was such as the other men, who had been through the campaigns of Afghanistan, declared they had never seen anything at all to compare to in that country—"My eye what a place!" was their exclamation. It was an almost perpendicular rock to be ascended by a footpath, on which only one man could go up at a time—and supposing the enemy to let them get up unmolested to the top, there was not room for more than ten men to form in front of a breastwork capable of containing a hundred men, with the rear open and reinforcement constantly coming up from the base of the triangular table-land—besides which from the width of the ravine no musketry

fire was of any use in covering the advance of an attacking party, which would thus have had to ascend by single men as before described in the face of a strongly-posted enemy. This the Beloochees were no doubt well aware of, and seeing that the few men of the volunteers were separated from the rest of their party by one of those chasms so common in that country, they allowed them to ascend the precipice unopposed till they had got them on the top in front of their breastwork, where they expected them to be an easy prey, which they were not—for the Europeans fought like devils, and slew more than their own number of the Beloochees before they were overpowered.

The gentlemen of the pipeclay school will probably ask why was this flanking party so far separated from the main column, and where were the connecting files! My answer is, You were never in Trukkee or you would not ask:—it is there quite impossible to keep either distances or communication. I have seen an officer, whom I knew to be a gallant fellow under the enemy's fire, lose his head on the ledge of a rock overhanging a precipice, so that several soldiers were obliged to help him across. I have seen others caught by the feet between two rocks, and several men required to extricate them, with the loss of their shoes:—if this will not explain to the martinet why distances and communication were not kept, I have nothing left for it but to recommend him to “try Trukkee.”

In 1846 came the first Punjaub war; and there never would have been a second had Sir Charles Napier's plan of operations been carried out:—that it would have been carried out successfully, it is only necessary to mention that Sir Charles himself would have taken command of the force to march to Deyrah Ghazee Khan and thence to Mooltan. Such a move would have as effectually settled the Punjaub in 1846 as Scinde was settled by the battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad.

XX.

The following letters properly belong to the History of the Conquest of Scinde, but having been obtained since the publication of that work, are inserted here.

The question as to whether Roostum's cession was, or was not voluntary, has been decided by the annexed letter from that ameer, written to his son at the time, but only produced in 1850 in consequence of an official inquiry instituted as to Ali Moorad's conduct: it disposes completely and peremptorily of all the falsehoods published on the subject by the ameers and by their English coadjutors and bewailers.

Meer Roostum Khan to his Son Meer Mahomed Hussain.

Dated 17th Zekaght, 1258,—20th Dec., A.D. 1842.

[After compliments.] According to the written directions of the general (Sir C. Napier) I came with Meer Ali Morad to Dejee Kagote. The meer above mentioned said to me, "Give me the Puggree and your lands, and I will arrange matters with the British." *By the persuasion of this Ali Morad Khan, I ceded my lands to him, but your lands, or your brother's, or those of the sons of Meer Mobarick Khan, I have not ceded to him: nor have I ceded the districts north of Roree.* An agreement to the effect that he will not interfere with those lands, I got in the handwriting of Peer Ally Gohur and sealed by Meer Ali Morad, a copy of which I send with this letter for you to read.

Remain in contentment on your lands, for your districts, those of your brothers, or of the heirs of Meer Mobarick Khan (according to the agreement I formerly wrote for you) will remain as was written then, and Meer Ali Morad cannot interfere in this matter.

Dey Kingree and Badshapore I have given to Peer Ally Gohur in perpetuity; it is for you also to agree to it. My

expenses and those of my household are to be defrayed by Meer Ali Morad.

(True translation.)

(Signed) JN. YOUNGHUSBAND,
Lieutenant of Scinde Police.

Sukkur, 4th May, 1850.

The letter of which the above is a translation was given to me by Meer Mahomed Hussain.* It bears the seal of Meer Roostum.

(Signed) JN. YOUNGHUSBAND.

Letter from Sir C. Napier to Sir Jasper Nicholls, Commander-in-Chief, in reply to the latter's Censures on the Conduct of the Operations in Scinde.

25th June, 1843.

I have just had the honour to receive your excellency's note of the 9th of March, in which you observe, "*But I see you made that an arduous struggle, which might have been an easy success had you detained the 41st regiment and some part of Colonel Wallace's detachment.*"

This is a serious charge against me. Whether you will think it justly grounded, or not, when you hear my defence, I cannot say; but you will I am sure excuse my desire to stand higher in your opinion as an officer than I appear to do.

To begin with the 41st. Versed as your excellency is in Indian warfare, I need not tell you that a European regiment cannot march, especially in hot weather, without "*carriage.*" The 41st had *none*. They were on the Indus in boats. I *had* not and could not obtain sufficient "*carriage*" for the force I had with me; much less could I assist the 41st. The want of carriage obliged me to leave the 8th native infantry at Roree. The 41st must have joined me, if they could have joined me at all, without carriage for sick; for ammunition; for water; for tents; for provisions. How could they have joined me? Impossible!

* The son of Meer Roostum.

But this was not all, though sufficient. Up to the 15th the ameers of Hyderabad had loudly declared their perfect submission to the will of the British government—they disclaimed all union with the ameers of Kyrepore. The latter had not an army that my force was not fully equal to cope with; and the governor-general and the government of Bombay had *reiterated* their positive orders to me to have the 41st ready to embark at Kurrachee on the 20th of February. I knew the cause of their anxiety, and that it was very important the 41st should embark the 20th. Was it for me in January, when all the ameers had declared their acceptance of the new treaty, to write to Sukkur in the face of superior authority and order the 41st to halt? Not to join my force, for that was impossible, but to halt! I suspect the governor-general and the government of Bombay would not have been much satisfied with my conduct had I done so. The 41st therefore arrived at Sukkur on the 4th of February and found orders instantly to proceed on its voyage, and it passed Hyderabad the 10th February, five days before the ameers declared war, and when Major Outram, an accredited agent of mine, was by their own invitation living in their capital, and assuring me of their earnest desire for peace—he being the person *supposed* to know more of Scinde than other Englishmen, and more of the ameers individually and personally.

On the day of the action the 41st were at Kurrachee. I being inland and my letters constantly intercepted could not know where the 41st was, except that it was somewhere on the Indus, that is *somewhere or other on a range of three hundred miles!* I did not hear of its arrival at Sukkur till it was past my reach had I supposed it was required, which I did not, how could I suppose so? By reference to my journal I find that on the 13th February, being then at Syndabad, I received no less than two expresses from Major Outram to say and impress upon me that there were "*no armed men at Hyderabad!!!*" At that moment however the town was *full*, and 25,862 men were in position at Meeanee, six miles off! short

miles, for the battle was seen from the walls. I think after the above statement your excellency will acquit me of having had the power to reinforce my army with the 41st regiment; but this and more shall become public if any inquiry be necessary.

Now for the second part of your excellency's charge, viz. that I might have *had an easy success, had some part of Colonel Wallace's detachment been with me.*

In the first place the whole brigade under Colonel Wallace, as far as I recollect, and my memory is tolerably strong, could not turn out fifteen hundred rank-and-file: it must therefore have been a *large* portion to have made the battle of Meeanee an *easy success*. However, say I had five hundred; assuredly that number would not have changed the character of the engagement. It would have brought a larger force of the enemy into action very possibly, and consequently both their loss and ours would have been greater in that proportion; but the action would not have been an "easy success." No! nor an *easier* success. But what excuse had I to weaken Wallace, who was apparently, at the time we divided, in more danger than I was? He was about to seize an extensive district, and if any resistance were to be made assuredly *there* it might have been expected.

Supposing me to have made the military error of sending a feeble force to execute what was expected to be a perilous operation, and that I had brought a thousand men down with me to the south, what would have been the result? Water was everywhere scarce, and oftentimes I had scarcely sufficient for the small force with me. Had I had the Bengal column *also*, or a large portion of it, I must have marched in two columns, with the interval of a day between them to let the wells fill after being emptied by the first column. The result would have been, that I should have been unable to have given battle till the 19th of February, before which 10,000 Chandians under Wullee Chandia—7,000 under Meer Mohamed Hussain and 10,000 under Shere Mohamed would have joined the troops at Meeanee! When the

victory was decided all these were within six or eight hours of the field of battle—an additional 1,000 on my side, an additional 27,000 on that of the enemy would not have rendered my success more “*easy*.”

Your excellency will say that these things were not known to me at Roree when I first marched south. *All* were not, but *enough* were; 1°. I knew there was a great want of water. 2°. I knew I could carry spare provisions with me if the country refused supplies, but I should not have had carriage for this if the Bengal column was with me. The *additional* baggage would have been nearly as large as our own baggage, and all the wells would have been drunk dry. The Bengals had carriage for their baggage, but not for additional water and spare provisions independent of wells and of their bazaar.

Suppose I could have conveniently brought down the Bengal troops, and left the north unguarded. Still men are not prophets. The ameers of *Hyderabad were at peace with us*—I was marching against those of *Kyrepore*. The latter had not 10,000 men, I wanted no increase of numbers to encounter them; nor did any man believe they intended to fight: nor the ameers of Hyderabad neither. Even on the 12th of February, Major Outram, then in Hyderabad, wrote me two letters assuring me the ameers of Kyrepore and Hyderabad had *not a single soldier*. So little did he then even apprehend hostilities.

The Belooch army suddenly assembled, as if by magic! I saw nothing but disgrace and destruction in an attempt to retreat, and I at once resolved to attack, confident in the courage of the soldiers. My confidence was not misplaced; neither will it now I hope, when I trust this letter will satisfy you that I brought every man into action that was at my disposal.

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

Lieutenant-General Sir JASPER NICHOLLS,
Commander-in-Chief.

Plate 1.

Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50

English to Chinese and Chinese to English

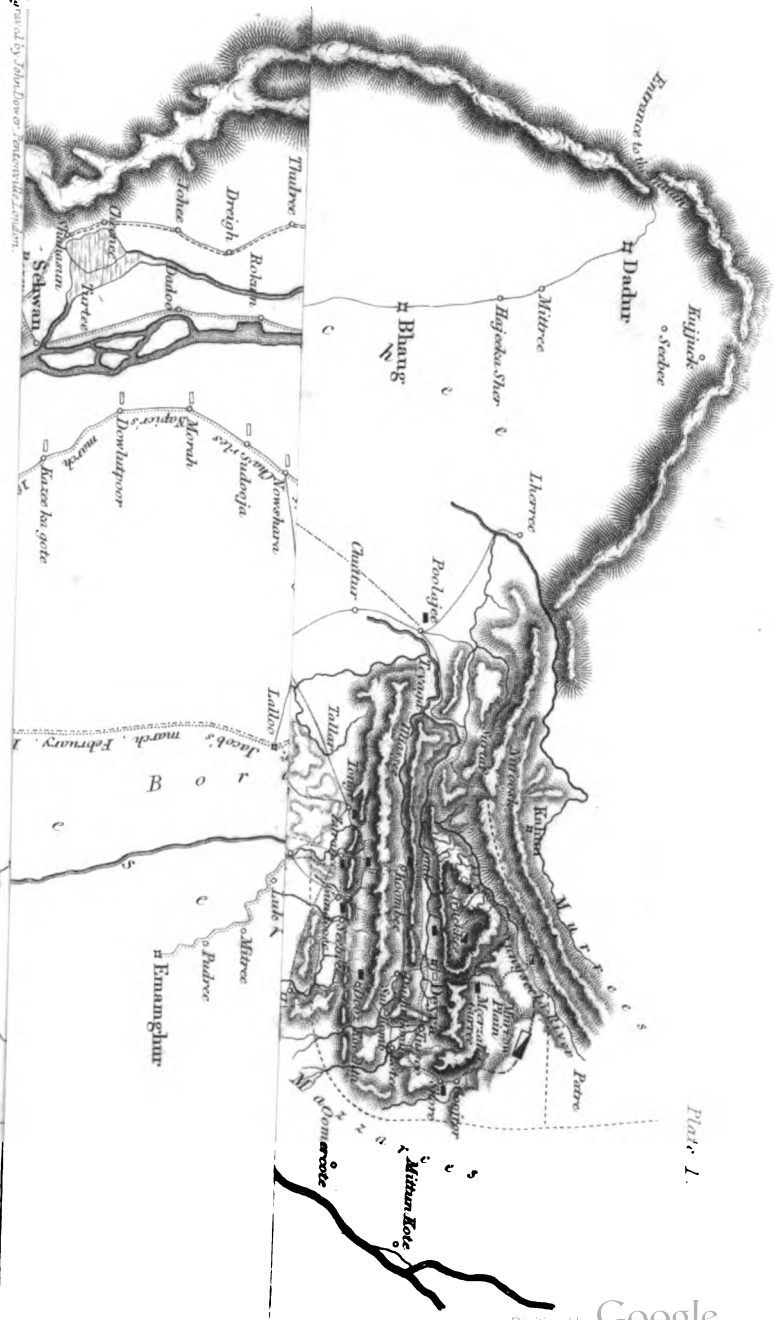
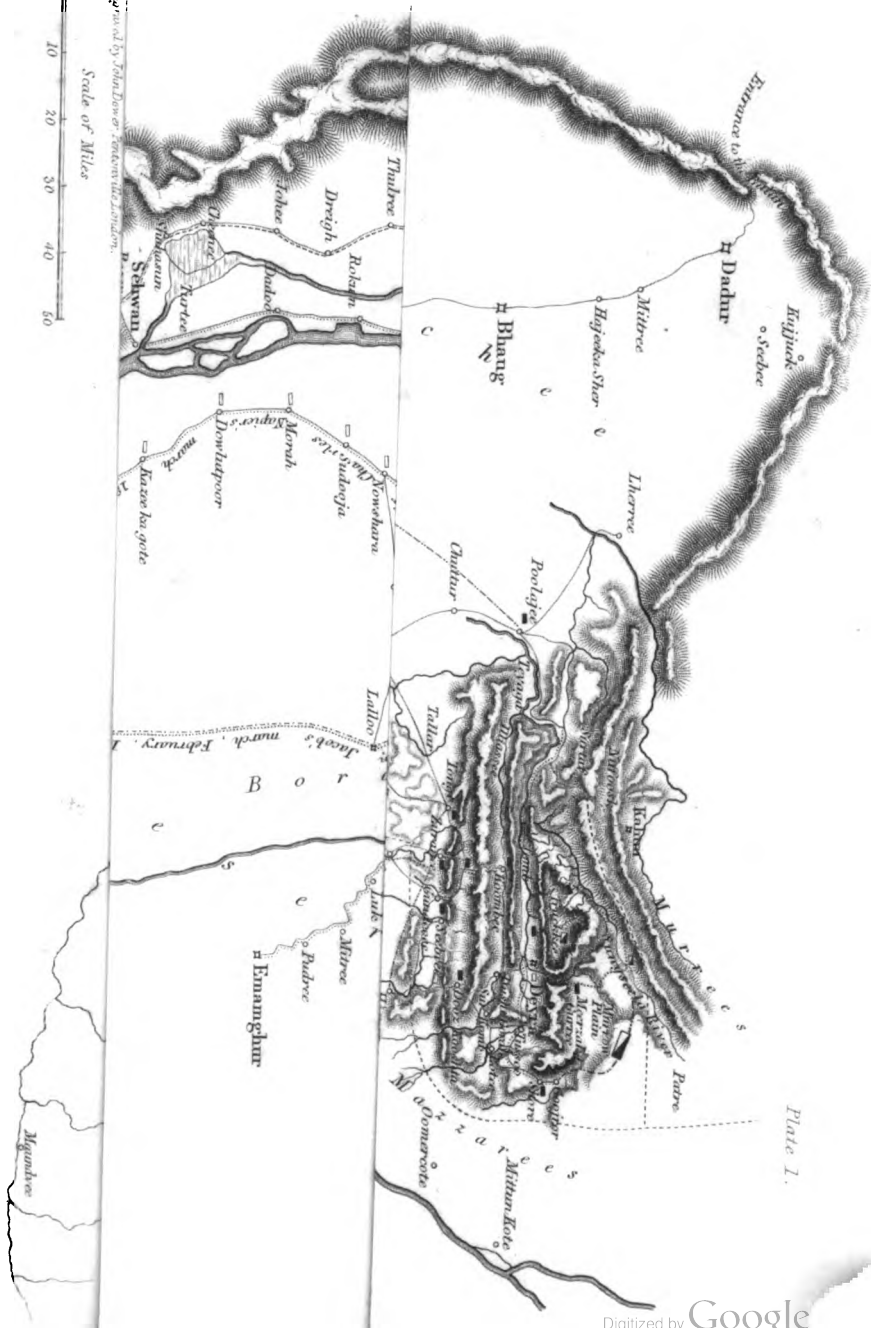


Plate 1.

Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50

Figured by calculation of distance in the country.





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