

infirmities incident to such natures, will always be called impracticable.

Revolt against oppression, a longing to set the crooked straight, was Napier's ruling passion. He would, like a Paladin of old, go forth to redress the wrongs of the world with a high hand, and if the oppressor withstood him, topple him over, horse and man. Faults of temper he had, and he was fully conscious of them. "We are a hot, violent crew," he says; "but if we Napiers are violent, it is only for a moment; neither George, nor Richard, nor Henry, are the least revengeful; William and myself are, but only where resistance continues." His explosions, though pretty frequent, were sometimes designed, and very rarely ineffectual. "No man," he was fond of saying, "can command without having a bit of the devil in him;" and certainly no man was ever better obeyed. He could not help being conscious of his power as a leader of soldiers, but ever fought against it as a temptation of the devil. "Charles Napier," he wrote when he was sent to Scinde, "take heed of your ambition for military glory; you had scotched that snake, but this high command will, unless you are careful, give it all its vigour again. 'Get thee behind me, Satan.' " Though he hated war he was devoted to the study of it as an art, both from natural inclination and from a deep sense of his responsibility for unnecessary bloodshed. "To this my great and admirable father reared me; to this he, whose like I have never seen for grandeur or for gentleness of nature, whose body and mind were both cast in the richest forms of strength and beauty, reared me, not as a ruffian to delight in blood, but as a soldier to save blood where it could be saved; and to wage war for England with a heart bent to soften its miseries to man." And again, speaking of his professional studies: "How else could I command with honour? How answer for the lives

of those entrusted to my charge? An ignorant General is a murderer; all brave men confide in the knowledge he pretends to possess, and when the death trial comes their generous blood flows in vain! Merciful God! How can an ignorant man charge himself with so much blood? I have studied war long, earnestly, and deeply, yet tremble at my own deficiencies."

His military enthusiasm, strong as it was at times, was transient, and always followed by a strong revulsion of feeling; it excited, but never satisfied his nature. "The exercise of the creative faculties is my nature, my bent, my happiness. War is natural to me, but I love it not, I hate to destroy." Undoubtedly the years in Cephalonia were the happiest of his life; and no sooner was Scinde conquered than he grew glad with the hope of setting to work again to "do good, to create, to end destruction and raise up order." Few men had done more to prepare themselves for government, as far as that can be done, by reading; and to reading he had added close observation of human nature in many countries, and the actual test of experience in Cephalonia. It has already been seen, in relation to English politics, that in his desire to see political rights conferred on the greatest possible number of his fellow-citizens, in his belief in the beneficent power of public opinion finding utterance through a free press, in his respect for honest labour and hatred of privilege, he was a radical of the radicals. His trust in the people was implicit. Going beyond Burke's declaration that in all disputes between the people and their rulers "the presumption is, at least, upon a par in favour of the people," he writes in Scinde in 1844:—

"The poor people come to me with earnest prayers; they never come without cause; but are such liars, and so bad at explaining, that were their language understood by me it would be hard to reach facts. On all these occasions my

plan is a most unjust one. For against all evidence I decide in favour of the poor, and argue against the argument of the Government people so long as I can. My formula is this: Punish the Government servants first, and inquire about the right and wrong when there is time! This is the way to prevent tyranny, and make the people happy, and render public servants honest. The latter know they have 'no chance of justice' if they are complained against, and consequently take good care to please the poor. If the complaint is that they cheat Government, oh! that is another question; then they have fair trials and leniency. We are all weak when temptation is strong. Your '*doctrinaire*,' who is incapable of ruling men, looks awfully grave when the poor complain, even majestic. He holds the scales with the dignity of Minerva herself; he puts all the arguments of one side—the lies which he cannot perceive, but which, nevertheless, exist—into one scale, and all the blundering falsehoods of ignorant suffering into the other. But he leaves out human nature—he leaves out the gross ignorance of the sufferers, whose agonies break down vulgar powers of compression, and, combined with terror of the great, drive them to desperation almost convulsive in their efforts for redress."

It was the indignant revolt against the doctrine that self-interest is a trustworthy guide for men—against the assumption that men not only know their own interests, but are capable of following them—that separated him from the radicals of his time. He felt and worked in the spirit which inspired Carlyle's "Chartism," with as vivid a belief in the necessity for the vigorous interposition of Government to remedy and prevent the mischiefs that followed in the train of the industrial revolution which was changing the face of the world; convinced, like Carlyle, that the meaning of the clamour for popular rights was not the desire to be let alone, but the longing to be truly and wisely governed. Considering our Factory laws, Education laws, and Land laws, considering the rather unexpected tendency of Democracy to hero-worship, who shall say they were false prophets?

The faults of such a character are not hard to discover; they arise, to a great extent, from a certain excess of those very qualities which excite our admiration. It is far harder to appreciate the unwearying watchfulness with which the temptations of that eager, masterful spirit were met, or the depth of the conviction that every act was done under the eye of God. When warring with the predatory tribes of Scinde, he says, "As if some outward power moved events, all my minutest projects have come to pass. Errors, neglect, and sound calculation—all have turned out right in the end! Can I, then, feel proud of my ability? No! It is a power unseen, though to me evident, that has guided me!" His was a faith that had no need of dogmatic theology; always a "swallower of formulas," he had the greatest aversion to what he considered the pretensions of the priesthood. "When men become their own priests, and have death before their eyes, they will take the right road without promptings. When men allow priests to think for them, they pursue their own interests, leaving their souls to the priests. Men now daily find they must think for themselves, and are becoming really religious, and casting dogmas to old women of both sexes; in time they will act rightly in the eyes of God, and then Christ will rule the world." The essence of Christianity to him was the life of Christ. "Whatever may be the arguments of some who question His divinity, one thing they cannot deny—that He was the most perfect character the world ever saw before or since, and His teachings from the Mount are sufficient guidance to any man." His journals contain many passages in the same strain, generally accompanied by passionate longings for the life beyond the grave, where he would again find all he had loved. "This is the twelfth anniversary (April 1847) of my marriage with my present wife, who is all goodness and virtue. God spare her to me

till He takes me out of this world. She will rejoin me hereafter in the *central sun*, where I suppose we shall all go. For there must be a centre to the heavens as to all things, and in that centre we may believe the Deity dwells, and there receives His creatures after death. May my sins not prevent my being there, with all of mine who have gone before in recognition and love. What is to happen to us? A very short time will now let me into the secret, and curiosity is strong within me, increasing as the time draws nearer. I do not think my balance-sheet will be white; no man's is. I try hard to do my duty, but do not satisfy myself; and God will not make me judge my own soul, or I am a lost man. Yet, if so, there must be a purgatory, for I could not honestly pronounce myself worthy of heaven nor altogether of eternal damnation."

In war and government opportunities are seized most successfully by those who have taken most pains to prepare themselves in time of leisure. It is too late to think out political problems when one is called on to administrate; and in war though chance plays so great a part, yet nothing should be left to her that human foresight and ingenuity could prevent. This was a guiding principle of Charles Napier's life; his family motto—"Ready, aye Ready"—was exactly made for him. No sooner was his family housed at Poona than he put his principle into practice. "My wish is to be left quiet a little while in each day, to obtain an insight of Indian wars, history, and country; for knowledge and thought only can enable us to act wisely in such positions. This the world will not believe, and idle talk is thought more important than reason and reflection. If my morning hours only were secure from worry it would content me; but only by snatches can needful knowledge be obtained."

His energy in command seems soon to have provoked hostile criticism. His journal (20th June) says:—

"The worries of command here are great, it is a bore to be thwarted by fools who will stand up against what is good and useful; one shakes, indeed, finally into ease, but a horse just taken from grass don't like harness and a fool for coachman. All the stuff in the *United Service Gazette* about myself and my drill is pure nonsense; they are very few, and more to get my own hand in than anything else, for it requires habit to move large bodies; there are two awkward things to think of in a field—viz. what to do, and how to do. These three arms have never been worked together, and the infantry only in the same dull formal round on the same smooth piece of ground, which tired them to death. Now, they go out all together and over the hills, which they like; my belief is no one before did this, so it makes a talk. The sepoys are capital soldiers."

Like a true pupil of Sir John Moore, Napier attached the greatest importance to obtaining a moral influence over his troops by cultivating personal relations with them. In order to find out what stuff his officers were made of, he called for volunteers to bring him in surveys of various portions of district embraced by his command. How he secured the confidence and kindled the enthusiasm of the men two anecdotes will show.

The first has reference to a feat, not so uncommon now as it was then, and which I have seen at assaults-of-arms described on the programme as "Sir Charles Napier's." At a public festival at Poona a sword-player offered to cut an orange in halves on a man's hand, without injury to the member. No one coming forward, the General offered his right hand, but the swordsman declared it was unfit for the experiment; he presented the left hand, and it was admitted to be properly formed. Still the man was nervous and refused to display his skill on a man of such rank, but Napier sternly insisted, and then the swordsman, with a deep-drawn breath, cut downwards, and the orange fell in halves,

the skin below being slightly razed, but not cut through. The second story is told by himself in a letter to Sir W. Napier :

"You ask about the muskets. I found everybody running mad about the superior range and accuracy of the matchlock,"—the Afghan weapon, hence the peculiar danger of the idea—"and it seemed a settled point that the musket had no chance. To put an end to such a silly and dangerous opinion, I bet five guineas with a great stickler for the matchlock that I would with a common musket beat the best Mahratta matchlock man he could produce. I got some officers and privates to practise with me every day, until the best shot was ascertained. He and myself then contended. He put in eleven out of twenty rounds at one hundred and fifty yards; my hits were only eight; but the whole camp thus got interested, and at the end of two months Captain St. John owned that no matchlock man would have a chance, and paid his bet. He could not reckon upon firing above five or six shots in half an hour, as the matchlock takes so long to load and prepare; we reckoned on sixty shots in that time, and at least twenty in the target. I cannot describe how entirely it was settled before that the musket had no chance; the soldiers were persuaded they would be shot before they could get within range of their own arms. I explained that the error arose from having fought matchlock men ensconced on high mountains, where a shot downwards reached and hit the uncovered climbing man, while his musket could neither reach nor hit when fired almost perpendicularly upwards at men well covered; the strength of the position was thus taken as the measure of the weapon. It was my firing myself with the soldiers that did the job; preaching till doomsday would have been useless."

On hearing of the Cabul disasters he drew up a plan of a campaign, "being mad to see so many lives thrown away by foolish men;" but it remained in his desk until Lord Ellenborough reached India, and wrote to him asking for a statement of his views on the military situation. The

memoir was at once despatched, with an informal letter summarising its contents. After recommending the prompt relief of Sale as the first object to be attained, and paying an enthusiastic tribute to his splendid defence of Jelalabad, he recommends the formation of two strong columns to move on Cabul—one from Peshawur, the other from Candahar, by Ghuznee.

Cabul retaken, what should follow? "Perhaps, if a noble, generous, not a vindictive warfare, be pursued by our troops, as I sincerely hope, it might be very practicable to retire immediately with honour from Afghanistan, leaving a friendly people behind us. The Afghans are a noble race, and although their mode of warfare is abhorrent to civilisation, a sanguinary inroad would be disgraceful to us and would not give them more humane ideas." Alas! that one should have to compare these noble words with the destruction of the bazaar at Cabul, and the vindictive spirit which characterised the operations by which our disasters were retrieved. The memoir concluded by pointing out the advantages of abandoning Afghanistan, occupying the left bank of the Indus, and putting back Dhost Mohammed on the throne. It was despatched 4th March 1842.

In the following month the Bombay Government applied to have Napier in command of Upper and Lower Scinde, and in August he was ordered to take the command there. He was under the impression that the appointment was made in view of approaching war in the Punjab, and his distrust of "these widespread combined movements" was so great that he recorded in his journal his intention of following his own reason in a manner which might have excited considerable uneasiness at headquarters.

"My design and hope is to find excuses for acting on my own responsibility, and going right before there is time to set me wrong! Assuredly, if there be war, I will not

wait for orders, as Pollock and Nott have done, letting the enemy gather moral and physical strength, while both run from us in streams."

At the outset he had to contend with an evil which in after years he did much to remedy. "Being determined to cut down the baggage of the Indian army I must begin with myself; it will be a job, but shall be done if I live; a trencher more or less in my train seems a trifle, but the source of the Indus is but a stream melting from a handful of snow! Unless a man be right himself his house is not built on a rock, and cannot stand; the words of Christ are true even in our unrighteous calling."

But baggage was not the only difficulty. "What a government, what a system! I go to command in Scinde with no orders! no instructions! no precise line of policy given! How many men are in Scinde? How many soldiers to command? No one knows! I am, if sharp enough, to find that out when there! They tell me I must form and model the staff of the army altogether! This is easy to do; but is it in 1842 that the Indian staff should be modelled? our empire being nearly one hundred years old and existing by military force! That I must act for myself is clear, or rather by my own lights in their interest, for they know nothing. Feeling myself but an apprentice in Indian matters, I yet look in vain for a master." However, preparations were made with his usual alacrity, and on 3d September he set sail from Bombay, noting the date with a half-superstitious satisfaction.

"3d Sept.—Off in three hours, and this is old Oliver's day—the day he won Dunbar and Worcester, and the day he died; and a very good day to die on, as good as the second or the fourth! 'A crowning victory.' Strange! Why are we superstitious? Why is there a devil? It puzzles man, and so he is superstitious."

Fortune was anything but favourable on the voyage. Cholera broke out at starting, and many died. "The darkness of the night, the pouring rain, the roaring of the waves, the noise of the engine and the wheels, the dreadful groans of the dying, all in horrid convulsions, the lamentations of men and women who were losing wives, husbands, children, the solemnity of the burial service read by the glimmer of a solitary lanthorn held up to the book, presented altogether a dreadful scene. No man knew whose turn would be next."

Fifty-four lives were lost before Kurachee was reached, and then, "on making the land, both mates got drunk, and such a night scene of confusion I never saw. We were nearly as possible on a reef of rocks; we fired guns and rockets, but no help came; had we struck, all must have perished—at least, all the sick, eighty in number; at last we cast anchor, and luckily on good holding ground."

Three days after landing he took the opportunity afforded by a review of the Kurachee garrison—2000 in number—to try some rockets he had brought with him. The first went off well, but the second burst, and inflicted a severe wound on the General, tearing right through the calf of his leg. In ten days he was walking about again, but it was a severe trial to his strength at his age and in so hot a climate. Three weeks later he says, "My leg is swelled and painful, it ought to be well. What an unlucky devil am I! 2000 soldiers were standing around, every man within reach of mischief, and I alone was hurt! Sinclair and Munbee were close—Sinclair, a giant, rather closer than me. How did we escape being blown to atoms? Our hour was not come! The blow was like that of a bruise; it has given me a shake." In spite of the wound, however, he was only a week at Kurachee before he started up the Indus; and in that time he had taken vigorous measures

for the health of his fellow-passengers and of the troops, who were suffering from scurvy as well as cholera. He had also framed a report on the great commercial future of Kurachee, including projects for a boat-bridge over the creek, a better water-supply, a lighthouse, and vegetable gardens. But as he is now fairly launched on his new command, it is time to take a short survey of the political condition of the people with whom he had to deal.

The population of Scinde, which numbered rather more than one million, contained four distinct elements: Scindians proper, Hindoos, Beloochees of the plain, and Beloochees of the mountains. Scindians and Hindoos had long been accustomed to alien rulers. Among the fierce and unmanageable settlers, who at different times left their mountains for the fertile banks of the Indus, came a Belooch clan called the Talpoorees, who dethroned the reigning dynasty near the close of the last century, and established their own chiefs as Ameers or Lords of Scinde. The chieftainship was divided, and, at the time we are now dealing with, there were the Ameers of Khyrpoor or Upper Scinde, the Ameers of Hyderabad or Lower Scinde, and the Ameer of Meerpoor, on the borders of the desert which formed the eastern boundary of the country. These chiefs, of whom those at Hyderabad were the most important, had exercised the supreme power, after the usual Eastern fashion, for nearly seventy years. The Scindians and Hindoos were treated with the grossest tyranny, ground down by taxation, while their most fertile land was taken for the hunting-grounds, and their daughters for the zenanas of their masters. The Beloochees of the plain held lands by military tenure; those of the hills vaguely acknowledged the Ameers as their feudal superiors.

Our intercourse with Scinde received its first public recognition in the treaty of 1809, which provided for

mutual intercourse by envoys and the exclusion of the French. On the renewal of this treaty in 1820 an article was added settling disputes as to the border on the side of Cutch, which then formed the frontier province of the British Empire; it is to be remarked that this article was not obtained without an armed demonstration on the part of England. The next important step was an exploration of the Indus, ordered by the Board of Control, and undertaken by Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes in 1831. "The mischief is done, you have seen our country," cried a prophetic native to the traveller. Burnes was followed the next year by Colonel Pottinger, who negotiated the first treaty which gave England positive rights in Scinde. Its chief provisions were: That the Indus should be free for commerce, but not for ships of war or military stores; and that a tariff should take the place of arbitrary tolls. It was reserved for Lord Auckland definitely to overstep the boundary, never very scrupulously attended to in our dealings with Indian States, between commercial treaties and political interference or dictation. In 1836, alarmed by the steady growth of Russian influence in Asia, Lord Auckland set to work to obtain an active influence over the Afghans, and as a first step to the attainment of his aims he resolved on strengthening British influence in Scinde. An opportunity soon presented itself. The Maharajah of the Punjab threatened to invade Scinde, and the warlike Beloochees were fully prepared to face him unaided, and let him do his worst. Before commencing operations, however, the Maharajah applied to the British for a supply of arms to be sent to him up the Indus. His attention was at once drawn to the article of the Scindian treaty whereby the conveyance of military stores up the Indus was forbidden. At the same time Colonel Pottinger was sent to Hyderabad to offer British protection to the

Ameers against the Sikhs, and to suggest the introduction of a British force into Scinde. This proposal, which was quite uncalled for, was subsequently embodied in a modified form in the treaty of 1838, whereby England undertook to mediate between Scinde and the Sikhs, on condition of the Ameers receiving a political agent at Hyderabad, with an escort of British troops, of such a number as the British Government should deem suitable—the troops to be paid by the Ameers.

The desired footing in Scinde having been obtained, Lord Auckland was free to execute his measures for checking the Russian invasion of India. How was this to be done? "Surely," says Sir W. Napier, who accurately expresses Sir Charles's thoughts on the subject—"surely by cultivating the goodwill of the high-spirited Afghans, the wild Toorkmans, the keen-witted Persians. To speak to their self-interest by commerce and by presents, to their sagacity by missions, and to trust their instincts of self-preservation for the rest." Lord Auckland thought otherwise. He resolved to invade a nation which at that time bore us no ill-will; and further, to injure that nation in the most offensive manner by setting up an unworthy puppet in the place of the vigorous, popular, and not unfriendly Dhost Mohammed. We have not here to tell again the shameful story of the first Afghan War, but only to point out how it affected our relations with the Ameers of Scinde. Lord Auckland, who does not seem to have been much troubled by military considerations, became a party to a triple treaty with Shah Sooja and the Maharajah, whereby the latter accepted English mediation in his quarrel with Scinde, while Shah Sooja relinquished his rights as suzerain over that country on condition of receiving arrears of tribute. The object of this treaty was to secure a line of operations against Afghanistan through

Scinde—that is to say, a line about thrice the distance of the Punjab line, through the terrible Bolan Pass and the barren highlands of Afghanistan, with communications threatened by the incensed Ameers and the Belooch tribes of the hills, and with the strong fortresses of Candahar and Ghuznee to pass before reaching Cabul. Well might the Duke of Wellington say, “The troops will force their way through a wild disunited people, only to find the commencement of their difficulties.” The march, however, was executed by Lord Keane, with the loss of hundreds of soldiers and about 40,000 camels on the way.

Meanwhile the tripartite treaty was sent to Pottinger, who was instructed to tell the Ameers that Shah Sooja would be at Shikarpoor in November, that the arrears of tribute must be paid then, or the town and district of Shikarpoor would be seized. He was also to announce the suspension of the article forbidding the transport of military stores by the Indus, and that any connection with Persia would be considered an act of hostility to England. Pottinger replied that he “would not fail to tell the Ameers that the day they connected themselves with any other Power than England would be the last of their independence, if not of their rule; and neither the ready power to crush and annihilate them nor the will to call it into action were wanting, if it appeared requisite, however remotely, for the safety or integrity of the Anglo-Indian empire or frontier.” Considering our relations with Shah Sooja, no one will wonder at another remark in the report with respect to the tribute, that “many besides the Scindees will believe that we are making a mere use of Shah Sooja’s name to revive a claim which has been long obsolete.” So the Ameers thought, and if they had any doubt as to our further designs it was soon removed. Burnes was sent to Khyrpoor to arrange for the passage of the Bengal army.

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that it dealt with the Ameers no longer collectively but separately. Roostum had acknowledged British supremacy and the right of the British to occupy Bukkur in time of war. He undertook to have no foreign policy but that dictated by England; to accept arbitration in case of disputes; to render aid, if required, in the Afghan war; to co-operate in the development of the commercial advantages of the Indus; and to receive a Resident. He received in return an assurance that England would not covet his possessions, that he should be absolute in his own territory, and that complaints from his subjects should not be listened to.

The main stipulations of the treaty with the Ameers of Hyderabad were as follows:—

A British force to be quartered in Scinde, its strength to be determined by the Governor-General.

Noor, Nusseer, Mohammed, each to pay one lakh towards the maintenance of the force; Sobdar to be exempted as a reward for previous friendship.

The Ameer's territories to be under British protection.

The Ameers to be absolute with respect to their subjects; but quarrels among themselves were to be referred to British mediation.

Their foreign policy was to require the sanction of the English Government, and they were to furnish a force for defence when required.

Tolls on trading-boats up or down the Indus were abolished.

On the conclusion of these negotiations, Pottinger records his opinion that if ever the British military strength was to be again exerted in Scinde—an event which he did not anticipate—it must be carried to subjugating the country.

In 1840 he was succeeded by Major Outram, and there was a brief respite, until the disaster at Cabul threw our

Government into such confusion that the nations on our borders thought the end of our rule was at hand, and the Ameers took courage to prepare for the opportunities for vengeance which the general commotion seemed so likely to offer. Suspicion was aroused by the discovery of a correspondence between Nusseer Khan, the head of the Ameers, and the Sikh chief of Mooltan, and between Roostum of Khyrpoor and Shere Sing, Maharajah of the Punjab. But at this moment Lord Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, and hesitation, panic, and confusion were at an end.

The new Viceroy, in spite of his well-known vanity and inordinate love of oratorical display, had the vigour of mind and body, the unfailing self-confidence, the unflinching hatred of corruption, that fit a man for a great emergency; and those qualities had never been more needed in India. An army had been annihilated, Ghuznee surrendered, Jelalabad was not relieved, Brigadier England had been driven back upon Quetta, and Nott was in the utmost peril. Within our frontiers the Anglo-Indian community was in a state of prostration, and there was the greatest need for a strong will to check abuses and infuse fresh energy and public spirit into the civil service.

Accepting the political situation of Scinde as he found it—and, indeed, he could hardly have done otherwise, considering the perilous position of the troops to be rescued—he lost no time in giving Major Outram a clear indication of the policy he meant to pursue:—

“The Governor-General is led to think you may have seen reason to doubt the fidelity of one or more of the Ameers of Scinde. He therefore forwards three similar letters to be addressed, according to circumstances, and at your discretion, to those of the Ameers whom you may have grounds for suspecting of hostile designs against the British Government.

And you will distinctly understand that the threat contained is no idle threat intended only to alarm, but a declaration of the Governor-General's fixed determination to punish, cost what it may, the first chief who shall prove faithless by the confiscation of his dominions. But there must be clear proof of such faithlessness, and it must not be provoked by the conduct of British agents, producing in the minds of any chief a belief that the British Government entertains designs inconsistent with its interests and honour."

Outram withheld the three letters, which were no less plain in their language, on the ground that the Ameers were so conscious of treasonable designs that Lord Ellenborough's menacing tone might drive them to extremities. But his conduct, which was approved by Lord Ellenborough, does not seem at that time to have been dictated by any regard for the character and rights of the Ameers; for he states that he has it in his power to expose the hostile intrigues of the Ameers to such an extent as might be deemed sufficient to authorise the dictation of any terms to those chiefs, or any measure necessary to place British power on a secure footing. He also sent Lord Ellenborough a draft of a proposed new treaty, on the ground of the frequent violations of former treaties by the Ameers and their treasonable designs against the British troops in Scinde. He recommended that, in lieu of tribute, the Ameers should cede Sukkur, Bukkur, and Kurachee, or Shikarpoor and its territories instead of the last-named place. Lord Ellenborough, in reply, rejected these proposals on the ground that, though he was determined to punish faithlessness, he was anxious to avoid any sudden change in our political relations with the Ameers. At this stage, however, Sir Charles Napier arrived and took over the management of affairs, as Lord Ellenborough's instructions directed him to "exercise entire authority over all political and civil officers"

within the limit of his military command. We may now, therefore, resume the thread of our narrative.

We left General Napier sailing up the Indus from Kurachee. On 25th September he reached Hyderabad, and had his first interview with the Ameers of Lower Scinde.

“Nusseer Khan pays his court to me thus : first a great man meets me on the Indus, and on landing forty men come with trays of sweetmeats ; again, at the house of the political agent, Lieutenant Mylne, sixty more trays come, with ten sheep and vegetables. I dress in full uniform, with decorations. A magnificent palanquin, covered with scarlet cloth, lined with scarlet, and pillowed with cushions of green velvet, awaits me, and camels, having rich housing, are there for my retinue. My wound prevents me riding, or a horse would have been sent ; but fifty of the Scinde irregular horsemen, the political agent's guard, attend me—wild, picturesque fellows, with their brilliantly-coloured trappings, very much like stage banditti. Crowds of Scindian peasants, armed and unarmed, flock to see the Sahib. We approach the city ; the Sirdars meet us, all mounted and with mounted retainers, their horses lean and small, but active and showy. Some few of the riders have spears, all have sabres, and each a shield on his back. This and the coloured trappings, the men's own dresses of variegated shawls and silks, the turbaned heads interspersed amongst the handsome Scindian caps, and the exceeding grace of all, presented a thoroughly Eastern scene, very beautiful. Nor were the high castellated and ornamented ramparts of Hyderabad, towering above the armed men, and crowded with figures similar to those below, calculated to render the picture less curious.”

Through this shouting and gesticulating throng the procession moved slowly past the armed gates to the palaces of the Ameers.

“They arose and helped me to rise, which my lameness rendered difficult, and seated me on the right hand of Nusseer

—a large, fat man, not handsome, yet not ill-looking. . . . They would all try on my spectacles, were puzzled by them, and repeatedly asked if I was very happy and very comfortable. In return my interpreter continually asked if they were very happy and very comfortable. This was the more incumbent on me, as having just written a *billet-doux* to them which could by no means add to their comfort or happiness; it was to request they would not break treaty by levying tolls on the river, and hinted that if they did so my next visit would be less welcome."

He was off again the next day on his way to Sukkur. The sight of the rich banks of the Indus, as he sailed past them, filled him with a longing to set to work, as in the old Cephalonian days, to turn the wilderness into a garden.

"What immense produce might burthen this running sea! Civilisation would soon bridle this mad river. The Dutch control the rude northern seas, and a few dams run obliquely down the stream would restrain the vagaries of the Indus. Would that Sehwan were mine; quickly it should defy the river, and have quays and agriculture for 20 miles around, while vast canals should carry the waters through the land. Science would play with the Indus; but it cannot be controlled by misery, poverty, ignorance, and a tyranny calculated to destroy the earth and man."

At Sukkur his political work began. The excitement among the Ameers created by our late reverses was at its height, and the position of General England's force, retreating on the Indus through the Bolan Pass with most of General Nott's incumbrances, made the situation a critical one. In the middle of September Napier writes: "My position here is very ticklish, but danger from war none. My difficulty will be to act with judgment as chief political agent. I believe Lord Ellenborough's intentions are just and honourable,—I know my own are,—but hell is paved with good intentions, and both of us may have difficulties

to encounter. Still I feel neither diffidence nor hesitation ; my plan is formed, so is Lord Ellenborough's, and my belief is that they are alike."

There seems little doubt that, after reading Lord Ellenborough's instructions, which reached him at Sukkur, and after what he had himself seen and heard from Outram and others, he had made up his mind that the practical annexation of Scinde by peaceful means was inevitable and not very far distant. On 8th October he writes to Outram : "The Ameers are, like all barbarians, ignorant and cunning. They will get on the rocks ; however, the length of their tether is the treaty, and they have been given to understand that they shall not go an inch beyond it ; if they do, they must take the consequences. I know what that would be were I master, and suspect what it is likely to be." The Governor-General's instructions were that any Ameer or chief convicted of having evinced hostile designs during the late disastrous events should be visited with a signal punishment to deter others, but the proof of such guilt must be absolutely clear and convincing. He added his conviction that any report Napier might make would be such as he could safely act upon. This despatch was founded on Outram's reports, and was in accordance with the intention the Governor-General had already announced of punishing all acts of faithlessness to the treaties made with his predecessor, which, in face of the perilous military situation, he felt bound to insist upon, however much he might disapprove of the policy which had dictated them.

The first complaint against the Ameers was that they were levying tolls, in violation of Pottinger's treaty. Their explanation was that they levied them on their own subjects, to whose complaints we were bound, by the same treaty, to give no attention. "Verily your Highnesses speak truth," replies Napier (Journal, 7th October), "and

I will not listen to a word your subjects may say against you; but the treaty says no tolls shall be levied. It is not your subjects, therefore, but we who complain." A week later he writes again: "My mind is made up that we ought to enforce the treaty and set commerce free on the Indus. I am not an admirer of commerce, God knows, when it is to be favoured and all rascality practised towards the poor to forward its progress; but here our interest and that of the Scindian people are on this point one. Wherefore I avow wanting only a just pretext for forcing the Ameers to do right for their people, and for themselves. The Ameers won't fight, my force is too strong, and this is the moment to do the job; because, being strong, it could be done without bloodshed, could be done with my pen! Major Outram is of my opinion, and I like him much, for that reason probably, for I confess not to like those who differ in opinion with me. I may love and respect them, but do not like them as companions."

A much more serious breach of the treaty, however, was discovered in the shape of negotiations with neighbouring tribes for an offensive alliance against the hated British, whose power was supposed to have received a crushing blow in Afghanistan. Both Roostum of Khyrpoor and Nusseer of Hyderabad were detected in a secret correspondence with other tribes. The list of charges brought against Nusseer embraced also the assembling of troops to attack Shere Mohammed of Meerpoor, upon a boundary dispute which had been referred to British arbitration; exacting tolls, and otherwise obstructing the navigation of the Indus; opposing the free supply of the bazaar at Kurachee, and exciting the chief of the Bhoogtee tribe to attack British troops on their retreat from Afghanistan. In addition to these transgressions, Roostum and Nusseer concluded a secret treaty of alliance, and were sending

messages to prepare for war to their feudatories and to the chiefs of the hill tribes. In view of these facts General Napier drew up an exhaustive report on the political situation, of which the following is a somewhat condensed version. It must be borne in mind that the correspondence touching Pottinger's negotiations had not then been made public, so that he could not do otherwise than assume that the Ameers had voluntarily entered into the treaties which he was directed to see enforced.

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

"The English occupy Shikarpoor, Bukkur, and Kurachee, by treaties which, if rigidly adhered to by the Ameers, would render those princes more rich and powerful, and their subjects more happy, than they now are. If sticklers for abstract right maintain, as no doubt they will, that to prevent a man from doing mischief is to enslave him, it may be called hard to enforce a rigid observance of these treaties. But their evident object is to favour our Indian interests by abolishing barbarism and ameliorating the condition of society; by obliging the Ameers to do, in compliance with those treaties, that which honourable civilised rulers would do of their own accord. It is necessary to keep this in view, because, though the desire to do good would not sanction breach of treaty, it does sanction the exacting a rigid adherence to treaty from the Ameers.

"By treaty, the time for which we may occupy our present camps is unlimited; but there is such hostility to us on the part of the Ameers, such a hatred of the treaties, and such resolution to break them in every way; there is also among their people, Scindees and Hindoos, not Beloochees, such a growing attachment to British rule, that the question arises, Whether we shall abandon the interests of humanity and of

the British Government, which in this case are one, and at once quit Scinde, or take advantage of existing treaties to maintain our camps permanently? But, if we evacuate the country, future events will inevitably bring us back to the Indus. If we remain our camps will quickly grow into towns, and the people within them will carry on a transit trade along the Indus to the exclusion of the Ameer's people without.

"This produces another question, Can such things long continue? A Government hated by its subjects, despotic, hostile alike to the interests of England and of its own people, —will not such a Government maintain an incessant petty hostility against us? I conceive such political relation cannot last; the more powerful Government will, at no distant period, swallow up the weaker: would it not be better to come to that result at once? I think it would be better, if it can be done with honesty. Let me then consider how we might go to work on a matter so critical.

"Several Ameer's have broken treaty in the various instances stated in the accompanying 'Return of Complaints.' I have maintained that we want only a fair pretext to coerce the Ameer's, and I think the various acts recorded give abundant reason to take Kurachee, Sukkur, Bukkur, Shikarpoor, and Subzulcote for our own; and for obliging the Ameer's to leave a trackway along both banks of the Indus, stipulating for a supply of wood: at the same time remitting all tribute and arrears of tribute in favour of those Ameer's whose conduct has been correct. Finally, to enter into a fresh treaty with one of those princes as chief."

After enlarging on the military and commercial importance of Shikarpoor, he continues:—

"I have drawn up this memoir entirely on my own consideration of the subject, but, since Major Outram's arrival, which was just as the last paragraph was finished, he has given me every possible assistance. He concurs in all I have said, but has added to my knowledge, and in justice to the Ameer's I must, with this increase of knowledge, enlarge on

what has been stated. The Ameers say they did not understand Article XI. to prohibit the tolls on their own subjects. This may be, and I would willingly, if possible, suppose they really did conceive the treaty gave them tolls on their own subjects; but they have attempted to levy on the boats of Bhawulpoor, which the treaty assuredly does not give a right to do; and they have fired into the boats of Bhawulpoor merchants.

“The second point Major Outram has drawn my attention to is a very strong one. He tells me the tribes on the river, above that part possessed by the Ameers, do levy tolls, and that there is no treaty or public document forthcoming in virtue of which we can call on the Ameers, even of Upper Scinde, not to levy tolls on their own subjects. It is evident, therefore, that to call upon the Ameers of Hyderabad not to levy tolls, and to allow the tribes above to do so, would be unjust—that is to say, it would be unjust to allow the others to levy tolls, but not unjust to prevent the Ameers.”

Lord Ellenborough sent back the draft of a new treaty, based on the report, but required the very strictest proof of Nusseer Khan's letter to Beebruck Bhoogtee inviting him to arm against the British, and of Roostum's letter to the Sikh Maharajah. This despatch was preceded by instructions to Napier to effect a sweeping reform in his political staff just when he was most in want of it. “If I have not been worked, no matter. Lord E. first sent for my views on our position in Scinde. Why, I have hardly been in Scinde! However, by labour, my letter of the 17th, finished on the 27th, went, and rest was really required after reading quires of written paper. Well, my letter had just gone, when down comes Lord Ellenborough's order to abolish, at one slap, the whole of the political agency! One hundred and fifty people in this house alone turned out, without warning or thanks! And Outram, who has worked like a horse, at the head of them!” Rest, however, was not to be thought

of. The first task was to prove the Amceers' letters. Writing to Lord Ellenborough on the subject, he says: "Major Outram, Major Clibborne, Lieutenant Brown, and my confidential moonshee, hitherto employed in the political agency, agree that the seal is that of Nusseer Khan." But this was not enough to satisfy the General; he had recourse to his compasses, and found that, on measuring the details of the suspected seal with authenticated seals of the Amcer, "they do not exactly coincide in size and distance between the letters. They agree in all other respects I am told by those who can read Persian, and the discrepancy is accounted for thus: it is notorious that the Amceers have two seals—one to be used for secrecy, that, if discovered, they may deny it, and adduce their ordinary seal in proof, pointing out the want of coincidence. I have been trying to get one of these secret seals through the same people who intercepted the letter, but they have been unable to obtain one. This is very strong presumptive proof that the letter is not a forgery of theirs, because the object of a first forgery would be secured by a second, and the instrument would be in their hands."

The very next day, however, he writes: "I have procured not only a seal similar to that of Nusseer Khan, but on the cover of the letter it is attached to is writing known to be that of Chokram, the Amcer's confidential moonshee." The next point was the authenticity of Roostum's letter to the Maharajah. With regard to this he says, "There are doubts on Major Outram's mind as to his being privy to this letter; but of its having his seal, and being written by his minister, Futteh Ghoree, there is no doubt. Is the doctrine to be admitted that, if a prince gives his signet and power blindly to his minister, such folly is to excuse him from the consequences?"

While waiting for Lord Ellenborough's decision the

General had an important interview with Ali Moorad, a younger brother of Roostum, and to whose sincerity and trustworthiness Major Outram had borne emphatic testimony. Ali Moorad wanted the promise of the "turban," which was the sign of supreme authority among the Ameers. Napier's answer was, "Your Highness is brother of Roostum Khan, who now wears the turban; while he lives you cannot hold the chieftaincy; but you are by law his heir to the puggree, and, as the treaty binds us to support each Ameer in his rights, you shall be supported in yours." Roostum also made an appointment, but broke it; and when the General refused in a very peremptory manner to meet him at another spot, he broke up his camp and retired to his castle. Napier moved at the end of November to Shikarpoor, the march only bringing more forcibly before him the natural wealth of the country and the iniquity of the Government. "I am gathering up my reins, my feet are in the stirrups, my hand is on my sword, and if I do not put these chaps to rights with vigour, and without rigour, great is my mistake. It will be Lord Ellenborough's fault, not mine; but I think he will support any blow struck by me to free these poor people. They live in a larder and yet starve! The robber is master! The Ameers rob by taxes, the hill tribes by matchlocks. . . . Almost every man I met this day bore sword and shield, for all are inclined to rob, and all have life to lose, if nothing else." In fact, his surroundings might have made him a little uncomfortable, but for his guard of thirty irregular Scinde horse, who were all "adepts in throat-slicing, and looked it; never were seen more picturesque figures; with their wild locks of thin matted hair, matchlocks on shoulder, sabres and shields slung on their back, and their loose yellow tunics and turbans of bright scarlet. These fellows would have all died round me sooner than let me be looted; yet

at the holding up a finger they would have sacked the village with delight."

Next day he was back at Sukkur, and was met by the news that the Ameers had again broken the treaty by levying tolls on a Bhawalpoor merchant. Having ascertained that Roostum was the offender, the General despatched a stiff letter to him, insisting upon the repayment of the tolls and the expenses to which the injured merchant had been put, under pain of being treated as an enemy. "They shall have a leaf out of Oliver Cromwell's book. I forced from them a command to their agents on the river not to levy more tolls; they have levied one since, and it was by me passed over, contrary to Lord Ellenborough's orders, which were to enforce the matter rapidly. Now they have got together 20,000 or 30,000 men—it is even said 60,000; they know my camp is sickly, that 500 men are down with fever, and they say they can sweep away the Feringhees as the Afghans have done." Roostum paid up the money promptly, but, according to the General's spies, he at once summoned a secret durbar, and said the British should have all the money they asked for, even to the women's jewellery; but if they did not leave Scinde he would collect his troops and drive them out. From another quarter came news that the Beloochee chiefs were to meet in arms on 7th December. But on 30th November came positive orders from Lord Ellenborough that the new treaty, based upon Napier's report, was to be at once enforced.

The presentation of the treaty produced strong remonstrances from both Khyrpoor and Hyderabad. "Now, then, what is my position?" writes Napier; "these people will try to spin out the cold weather in negotiation, and then we cannot put our noses out of the shade: this shall not be. Their remonstrance shall go to Lord Ellenborough, but meanwhile the districts of Subzulcote and Bhoong-Bara

must be occupied, unless they state some very staggering arguments to hold my hand, which cannot, I believe, be done." Hearing rumour that the Ameers were planning a surprise of his camp at Sukkur, he wrote a letter to Roostum warning him of the consequences: "Your subjects, it is said, propose to attack my camp in the night-time. This would, of course be without your knowledge, and also be very foolish, because my soldiers would slay those who attack them; and when day dawned I would march to Khyrpoor, transplant the inhabitants to Sukkur, and destroy your capital city, with the exception of your Highness' palace, which I would leave standing alone as a mark of my respect for your Highness and of my conviction that you have no authority over your subjects." This letter was speedily followed by assurances from Upper and Lower Scinde that the treaty would be accepted. On 15th December the British troops commenced the passage of the Indus in order to occupy the territories mentioned in the treaty. This act practically closes the period of negotiations, and we must now turn to the military aspect of the situation.

The anxiety and labour which his diplomatic functions entailed had not been allowed to interfere in any way with the command of the 6000 men encamped at Sukkur. "The military have been all at sixes and sevens,"—*Journal*, 18th November;—"and it requires vigour to pull the jokers up, but it shall be done. It is a very fine force—fine officers, fine men; but they have had no commander, the camp is full of suggestors, who would make a mob of the force in a week." One of the "jokes" most in need of correction was the furious riding of young officers through the camp and bazaars; it was put a stop to by a general order, which is a delightful specimen of the combination of humour and authority which made him the idol of his soldiers.

"Gentlemen as well as beggars, if they like, may ride to the devil when they get on horseback; but neither gentlemen nor beggars have a right to send other people to the devil, which will be the case if furious riding be allowed in the bazaar. The Major-General has placed a detachment of horse at the disposal of Captain Pope, who will arrest offenders and punish them, as far as the regulations permit. And Captain Pope is not allowed to let any one escape punishment, because, when orders have been repeated and are not obeyed, it is time to enforce them—without obedience an army becomes a mob, and a cantonment a bear-garden. The enforcement of obedience is like physic—not agreeable, but necessary."

The necessity for organisation and discipline was pressing; for, though Napier fully expected to execute Lord Ellenborough's policy without bloodshed, the time in which military operations, if necessary, could be safely carried on was very short. "I have calculated upon the average of the thermometer being under 80° till April, when it will rise: the mean heat last March was 71°; the average maximum only 83°. Therefore we have weather for military operations till 1st April, and even April would not be very dangerous." At the same time he tells Lord Ellenborough that within certain limits nothing would be lost by delay:—

"Because one cannot be too cautious in securing firm moral ground to base the defence of whatever events may arise. The Ameers also grow weaker, delay exhausts their treasury, and they cheat their soldiers, who of course leave them. This also is the season of fevers along the banks of the Indus, and if the Ameers' pride should produce hostilities I should have a large hospital on my hands in a few days. If obliged to move on Hyderabad, I must do so by the road along the river or that through the desert; and to supply

comforts for the sick along the last would be difficult, perhaps impossible. That along the river would quickly double the size of my hospital!

"Should the Ameers take the field, my mind is made up to cross the Indus and march on Hyderabad by land. For— (1) The water is so low that boats get along with difficulty, even when not heavily laden; (2) If filled with troops, guns, ammunition, they would not only ground, but stick for days. I do not think I could float above 1000 men with guns, etc., and half might stick in the mud within reach of matchlocks; (3) Nothing would be gained here by rapidity, though all went down stream without accident, for the enemy has no positions to fortify, no works he can strengthen, no stronger place to retire to. It is, therefore, the same to go in three or thirteen days; and by land we march compact, to beat or be beaten all together: slow and sure is an adage suited to my position. Moreover, by land I take Khyrpoor at once, and can throw myself between the northern and southern Ameers."

According to the reports of his spies and agents, the Ameers had various bodies of armed men moving about the country, to the number of 20,000 or 30,000, or, according to some, even as many as 60,000. The total British force in Scinde numbered 8000, of whom about 2000 were at Kurachee, while a considerable portion of the remainder were Bengal troops, which were shortly to be sent to Ferozepoor. Lord Ellenborough offered to let the Bengal troops remain, and to send up the Bombay troops under General Nott, but both offers were declined. On 6th December Napier writes to Sir G. Arthur, Governor of Bombay: "It is said the Ameers have 60,000 men. I cannot believe they have so many in one mass; but, though it be so, this division would go headlong on them with their bayonets, for my men are young and mad for service. I have secret information that if the Ameers go to war, they

mean to harass us night and day, till we call out, 'O God, what have we done that thou shouldst let loose such devils upon us?' This passed in their durbar, and a very good plan too. They also propose to assemble a large force at Sehwan, ready to march on Sukkur the moment I march on Khyrpoor; this also is sensible, but pays a poor compliment to my forecast; they may, perhaps, find men at Sukkur, and we may perhaps fight like devils as well as pray! I suspect the most fervent prayers in camp are that we may fight, and that I am the only one who prays that we may not."

As soon as his plans were matured and his troops well in hand the new treaty was presented to the Ameers, the Bengal troops were pushed across the Indus, and Roree was occupied. Then came the remonstrances from the Ameers, followed quickly by assurances of submission. These, however, were only meant to gain time, as was proved by an intercepted letter from Nusseer to Roostum, complaining that the Ameers Sobdar and Hussein were, like Ali Moorad, in the British interest, but all the chiefs of tribes and of the armed men were with him, and if Roostum was ready the sword should be drawn. In addition to this, the Ameers' agents at Sukkur attempted to corrupt the soldiers, and the Boordee tribe was excited to attack the Bengal troops on their march to Ferozepoor. "On one side there was," says Sir W. Napier, "the strong warrior armed in steel, brandishing a heavy but sheathed weapon in warning, for his desire was peace; on the other a crouching savage, urged by fury and hatred, troubled by fear and doubt, yet constantly creeping forward, knife in hand."

On 15th and 16th December the main body of the troops crossed the Indus from Sukkur. Napier fixed his headquarters at Roree, where, with his right resting on the river and his left on the desert, he barred the Ameers from

Subzulcote and Bhoong-Bara, which were taken possession of by the Bengal troops. Thus the objects of the treaty with Roostum were gained without quitting the defensive; the position at Roree was very strong, and could be reinforced by the Bengal troops. The Beloochees could only pass his flank by the desert, and could be intercepted by a short movement. Sukkur, indeed, was exposed to the attack of a strong body of the enemy at Larkhana, on the right of the Indus, but it was strongly entrenched, and contained enough men to resist heavy odds. The passage of the river, though difficult, was effected without accident. "The baggage of an Indian army is an awful affair," wrote Napier, whose mind, already burdened with the anxiety caused by the political situation, was further troubled by the illness of a favourite nephew, John Napier, who was on his staff.

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

At last even the baggage was settled, his nephew grew better, and he had time to reflect on his position. His journal shows what those reflections were:—

"*Roree, 21st December.*—10,000 fighting men and their followers are encamped here at Alore, a town built by Alexander the Great. My tent overlooks this most beautiful encampment. The various sounds, the multitude of followers—I suppose 20,000—the various costumes and languages, and the many religions, produce a strange scene that makes a man think. Why is all this? Why am I, a miserable little wretch,

supreme here? At my word all this mass obeys—multitudes superior to me in bodily and mental gifts! A little wretched experience in the art of killing, of disobedience to God, is all the superiority that I, their commander, can boast of! My God! how humbled I feel when I think! How I exult when I behold! I have worked my way to this great command, and am gratified at having it, yet despise myself for being so gratified! Yes, in the depth of my soul I despise myself. Not as feeling unworthy to lead, for I am conscious of knowing how to lead, and my moral and physical courage are equal to the task; but I despise my worldliness. Am I not past sixty? A few years must kill me; a few days may! And yet I am so weak as to care for these things. No; I do not. I pray to do what is right and just, and to have strength to say, ‘Get thee behind me, Satan!’ Alas, I have not that strength! there was but one Being who could say that. All that I can do is to feel that I cannot say it; the weakness of man and the pride of war are too powerful for me, or I should not be here. He who takes command loves it!

“Well, this comfort remains—with a wish for war, and having the power of bringing it on, I have avoided it studiously. These Ameers deserve everything; but I have not done aught to draw down war on them: so ends my soliloquy. I must go to work, but will first walk out, to see all the camp fires sparkling on their long line. Oh, what a magnificent sight! If we had but an enemy in our front!”

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONQUEST OF SCINDE.

WHILE the new treaty was being presented and acted upon, important communications had passed between the General and Roostum of Khyrpoor. That aged Ameer had determined to resign the Turban; and his turbulent sons, who had been for some time gathering together bodies of armed men, were anxious to secure the succession to one of themselves, to the exclusion of Ali Moorad, who had a better legal title. Roostum, terrified by the violence of his family, made a secret offer to enter the British camp. The General, in reply, advised him to seek the protection of his brother, Ali Moorad, but at the same time offered the British camp as an alternative refuge. This answer was sent with the utmost secrecy; but for the benefit of the unruly sons a public letter was also written, complaining of robbery of mails, and calling for the instant disbandment of all armed bodies. Roostum took his advice, and fled with his wives and attendants to Ali Moorad's fortress of Dejee. This step most effectually disconcerted the hostile designs of Roostum's family. Ali Moorad became all-powerful in Upper Scinde, and more firmly attached to the British cause, for the sake of securing the succession to the Turban. "Now," writes Napier, "having complete power over the brother (Moorad), we have power over all, without any chief-making, and without apparent interference, or any disturbance of the order of succession. The result is a fair

prospect of a permanent and peaceful state in Scinde without maintaining a large force."

On 26th December he felt himself strong enough to send away the Bengal troops; but, as Roostum's sons had taken refuge in the desert, and their armed bands had not yet dispersed, he resolved to strike a blow where it was least expected, and teach the Ameers at once that not even in their deserts were they beyond the reach of his arm.

"*Journal, 25th December.*—My present project is this: All the malcontents have congregated under the son-in-law and nephew—he is both—of Roostum, at Emaum Ghur, which is 100 miles in the desert. I cannot take my two 12-pounder iron guns nor my two 8-inch mortars, the depth of sand and the want of water and forage are too great; but, leaving those guns, the 136 camels carrying the heavy shot and shells will be available for water and forage and the supply of my guns and 12-pound howitzers, and these twelve good pieces shall take Emaum Ghur. But why take it? For this reason: It is so far in the desert the Ameers believe it invulnerable, and not to be reached; they believe they can harass us by petty warfare, and, if we assemble a large force, that they can fall back on Emaum Ghur and the bank of the Narra, where we cannot follow. While this feeling exists they will always think themselves independent and safe; but I think Emaum Ghur may be reached, and they be taught that they have no refuge from our power, no resource but good behaviour: Scinde will then be quiet. I know I shall do it, but the risks are very great. The last 25 miles will be in deep sand, a regular succession of hills, steep, and without a drop of water!"

Before this daring plan could be executed news arrived which considerably modified his ideas. Roostum, having resigned the Turban in favour of Ali Moorad, fled to join his family, who had contracted a close alliance with the Ameers of Hyderabad and had collected a large force at

Dhingee, which was further reinforced by about 15,000 more from Larkhana, where they had been waiting an opportunity for falling upon Sukkur; while about 2000 held the forts of Shah Ghur and Emaum Ghur in the desert.

"You will see that I am threatened from four points"—Napier to Ellenborough, 29th December.—"The impossibility of getting camels obliged me to leave three regiments and a hundred cavalry behind at Sukkur, also four field-pieces. Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, an officer selected for the command there, is well able to hold his own against the Larkhana force and against the Shah Ghur force; the 8th N. I. garrison Roree, and I have halted Colonel Wallace 20 miles off; he can, in one march, reach Roree. My rear is therefore safe, even should Ali Moorad be a traitor, which I have no reason to believe, but calculate upon nevertheless. I cannot tell you what the Ameers are at, but believe they mean to fight at Dhingee. My intention of marching direct on Emaum Ghur is therefore changed. I will march upon Laloo, about five marches, and when there my spies will have brought intelligence of the intentions of the Ameers, and their strength at Dhingee and Emaum Ghur. This intelligence will make me move to either flank, or direct on Hyderabad."

The march into the desert, besides its moral effect, was designed to disconcert the hostile force at Dhingee. For, by choosing the desert instead of the ordinary road by the river, the position at Dhingee would be turned and the Beloochees forced to retire southwards upon Hyderabad. Sir Charles had some reason to suspect that the Dhingee force had already retired to Emaum Ghur, and his mind was quickly made up to follow them, or anticipate them, before any considerable force could collect at Hyderabad and take him in the rear. "Emaum Ghur is," he says, "their fighting cock, and before three weeks pass my hope is to take off his spurs."¹ Taking about 3000 men with

¹ Emaum Ghur belonged to the wearer of the Turban for the time

him, Napier left Roree on 26th December, and for the first time fully realised the difficulty of moving an Indian army. Hear him after the first day's march :—

"Oh! the baggage! the baggage! it is enough to drive one mad. We have 1500 camels with their confounded long necks, each occupying fifteen feet! Fancy these long devils in a defile; four miles and a quarter of them! Then there are the donkeys and ponies, and led horses and bullocks innumerable. I think our baggage would reach from this to Pekin; yet all the Indians exclaim, 'Never saw a force with so little baggage!' They say I have done wonders in reducing it so much; but I have done nothing, except appealing to the good sense of the officers and reducing my own baggage." It is said no Indian General ever marched with less than sixteen camels for his own share, generally with several hundreds; Lord Keane had 300; Mr. Ross Bell, the political, 600. I have four camels, and one for my office papers, stationery, etc., which could not be carried in my small portmanteau, for I have but one, and a pair of canteens, with two camp tables, a bed, and a private soldier's tent."

After some delay, owing to the camels not being able to march in wet weather, Dejee was reached (4th January 1843), and a halt made to confer with Ali Moorad and to receive the latest intelligence before plunging into the desert. The fortress of Emaum Ghur was in the midst of the great desert that forms the eastern boundary of Scinde; its exact site was unknown to the General, but it was believed to be about eight long marches from Khyrpoor, over vague, ill-defined tracks; the wells were uncertain as to supply, and so unevenly distributed that some marches would have to be made without a chance of finding them. being. The Turban had been ceded by Roostum Khan to Ali Moorad, and in assisting the latter to recover the fortress from his rebellious relatives Napier was not making war, but fulfilling our treaty obligations. Ali Moorad consented to the expedition, accompanied it, and had a personal share in the final destruction of the fortress.

The emissaries, for whose reports he had halted, drew such a dismal picture of arid sands and empty wells that the General at once abandoned the idea of marching with his whole force. Nevertheless, he resolved to go on with a picked body. "We moved with 350 of the Queen's 22d Regiment, all mounted on camels, two soldiers on each. We have two 24-lb. howitzers, with double teams of camels, and 200 of the Scinde Horse, and provisions for fifteen days, water for four." He and his gallant 300 had many risks to run besides scanty water and uncertain roads. The guide might be false, the wells might be poisoned, or the waterskins cut in the night; they might be harassed by the desert horsemen on the march, and they might meet with a fierce and prolonged resistance from the 2000 men who garrisoned Emaum Ghur itself. "It is rare," says Sir W. Napier, "to see great prudence in war tempering the heroic valour and confidence of a youthful General; more rare to find the sanguine daring of early years untamed by age and its infirmities."

The march began in the night of 5th January 1843, and wonderful was the scene as the sun rose on the desert and discovered to the General his 300 Irishmen taking their first ride on camel-back, and dotted over the sandy plain more like a fleet of herring-boats than a smart British regiment. General Sir M. M'Murdo, K.C.B., then lieutenant in the 22d, who was charged with the duties of Quarter-Master-General to the army in Scinde, has a very lively recollection of the opening scene. He says, "It became clear from the beginning that the camels would be no party to secrecy, for acute differences at once arose between them and the soldiers ordered to bestride them, speedily culminating in an uproar which continued long after the column was in motion; for the mingled bellowings and outcries of quadruped and biped were occasionally

heard in the distance, proving that some refractory brutes were carrying away their riders." The guides could not find the track in the darkness, so they had to wait till the dawn disclosed the plain "dotted in the distance with red specks and dun-coloured camels in every form of contention. But order was soon brought out of these incongruous elements. Colonel Pennefather, who had formerly served in the Dragoons, conquering his first feeling of disgust at the ungainly species of mount assigned to his men, succeeded eventually in mutually reconciling men and camels, and even in training them to certain simple manœuvres."

"Of the great deserts of the world," says the same witness, "that I have seen, none equals the Thur or Great Sandy Desert in its grim aggressive character. The part traversed by the force consisted of a succession of monstrous waves of sand, varying in height from about 40 to 80 or perhaps 100 feet, and in width many miles, uniform in their direction (roughly taken, north and south). Some of them were curled forward at the top, like a wave before it breaks. Our way lay obliquely across this trackless ocean for 80 miles, resting at night in the hollows between the waves."

Twenty-five miles were accomplished in the first march; the second brought them to the springs of Doom. "A short march," says the General, "plenty of water, road heavy, country covered with jungle, but there are trees, and therefore probably a substratum of soil. The upper sand is full of sea-shells, cockles, mussels, and the spiral unicorn's horn-shell. Air delightful, not a man sick." Forage was now so scarce that 150 horsemen were sent back, but the rest persevered.

"*Journal, 9th Jan., Luk.*—A better name than Doom! This march 11 miles, the road hilly, sand deep, but we arrived safe, and are in a punch-bowl, or small plain, without an opening; with rain we should be quickly flooded. I dug

nine wells, good water in all ; had we failed there was plenty on the camels. Our march to-morrow begins with a very steep sandhill, and very deep, so I turned out the 22d soldiers this evening, and they run the guns up it with cheers in five minutes, though from bottom to top is not less than 400 yards ! What fellows British soldiers are ! all laughing and joking, and such strength ! We all thought it such a job that dinner was put off an hour, thinking there would be two of labour ; the faith of the Ameers will vanish ; the spell has been broken in five minutes !”

So for eight days the gallant little band pressed on, sometimes finding water, sometimes not, but always cheery and resolute ; and on 12th January Emaum Ghur was reached. “ It seemed,” says Sir M. M'Murdo, “ as if some story of the *Arabian Nights* was about to be realised when the staff stood on one of an amphitheatre of sandhills looking upon a well-built and even handsome fort in the hollow ; sparkling in the morning sunlight, and seeming supernaturally near through the rarefied atmosphere of the desert. But the solitude around, and the complete silence about the place strained the nerves somewhat ; and I longed to order a bugle to sound to break the enchantment. Our own soldiers even appeared to me under a spell, as the camels with noiseless step carried them past, their faces all turned in the direction of the castle, with a curious sameness of expression in the fixed stare at the strange apparition beneath them. Emaum Ghur was indeed evacuated ; and the clatter of our horses' hoofs in the courtyard awoke only echoes from long corridors and empty chambers, with their doors standing open. On the towers we found the cannon loaded, with priming freshly laid ; for the garrison, numbering, it was stated, 2000 men, had marched out but a few hours before !” Thus the impregnable refuge of the Ameers, which no European had ever seen—which they had boasted no European could ever get to see—fell

into the General's hands, without the loss of a single man. The worst effects produced by eight days' hard marching are described in the following letter to Sir George Arthur, Governor of Bombay :—

"*Emaum Ghur, 16th Jan.*—Our eyes are full of sand, ears full of sand, noses full, mouths full, and teeth grinding sand! Enough between our clothes and skins to scour the latter into goldbeater's leaf; one might as well wear a sand-paper shirt. Our shoes are in holes from dryness, and we walk as if we had supplied their places with sand-boxes; our meat is all sand, and, on an average, every man's teeth have been ground down the eighth of an inch, according to his appetite. It is lucky, indeed, we are so well scoured with sand, for there is not a clean shirt in camp! We look on our shirts with the same regret that we do on faded beauty: alas! will she ever be pretty again? Alas! will they ever be clean again? We turn them and turn them, yet all remains dark and dirty. We brought no baggage, and all the dandies look at me as they would at a bad washerwoman."

After three days' rest, during which the captured grain was distributed to the soldiers, the price being first paid to Ali Moorad, twenty-four mines were loaded with gunpowder, and the fortress was blown up. "Princes," wrote the General to Lord Ellenborough, "are not always faithful, and if Ali Moorad should fall off from our alliance this stronghold in the desert might prove vexatious, and require another perilous march to retake it. Meanwhile its existence fosters a false confidence in all the other Ameers, and its sudden destruction will tell on them with sudden effect." Other motives as powerful as these are disclosed in his journal :—

"*15th January.*—Emaum Ghur is shattered to atoms with 10,000 lbs. of powder! The light was grand and hellish beyond description; the volumes of smoke, fire, and embers flying up were a throne fit for the devil! I do not like this

work of destruction, but reason tells me two things : First, it will prevent bloodshed, and it is better to destroy temples built by man than temples built by the Almighty ; second, this castle was built and used for oppression, and in future its ruins will shelter the slave instead of the tyrant. M'Pherson dreamed all night of the explosion. I dreamed of my beloved mother, her beauteous face smiled upon me ! Am I going to meet her very soon ? Well, we shall all meet again, unless this dreadful work of war sends me to hell, which is not improbable."

On the night of the 16th the little band turned their backs upon the ruins of Emaum Ghur, over which the smoke still hung like a pall, and toiled back with their guns over the billowy sandhills. The excitement of expectation gone, the labour seemed harder than ever. "On one occasion," says General M'Murdo, "the General perceived that the Madras Sappers were not doing their best ; and, dismounting from his camel in a rage, he snatched a tool from the nearest man and flung himself upon the work with a vigour of stroke (and language) that astonished them." While on the march Sir Charles received news by a swift rider that the tribes were gathering fast at Dhingee. This determined him to make at once for the Indus, but not by the same route ; for, in order to increase the moral effect of the capture of Emaum Ghur, he resolved to make his retreat from that place an offensive operation, by emerging from the desert by a southerly route even more suddenly and unexpectedly than he had plunged into it, and falling like a thunderbolt on the flank of the tribes.

Once more the march, toilsome though it was for man and beast, was accomplished without the loss of a life. The force at Dhingee dispersed, and the General, ordering supplies to be sent down the Indus, halted for the main body of his troops at Peer Abubekr, whence he could fall, if necessary, either upon the Ameers of Hyderabad or those

of Khyrpoor: thus ended the desert expedition. "The desert march of Marius," says Sir W. Napier, "against Jugurtha's town of Capsa is perhaps the only enterprise of antiquity resembling this exploit of Charles Napier." The judgment of the Duke of Wellington, who knew so well the difficulties of Indian warfare, is still more emphatic:—"Sir Charles Napier's march upon Emaum Ghur is one of the most curious military feats which I have ever known to be performed or have ever perused an account of in my life. He moved his troops through the desert against hostile forces; he had his guns transported under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and in a manner the most extraordinary, and he cut off a retreat of the enemy which rendered it impossible for them ever to regain their position."

Hostile demonstrations in Upper Scinde ceased, and the armed bands made themselves invisible on the sudden reappearance of the little force from the desert; but the new treaties were not yet signed. On the fall of Emaum Ghur Napier had despatched Outram to Khyrpoor as his commissioner, with instructions to issue a proclamation calling on the Ameers of both provinces to appear there in person or by vakeels on 20th January to complete the treaty. Outram, on his way, came upon Roostum, who was moving with 7000 men and some guns to join his nephews at Dhingee. Accepting the Commissioner's invitation to Khyrpoor, he promised to follow him thither the next day, but as soon as Outram's back was turned he marched to the south, and encamped at Khoonhera, on the borders of the desert and of Lower Scinde, where he was within easy communication with the Ameers of Hyderabad. These princes were sufficiently alarmed by the desert expedition to send envoys to Khyrpoor, but at the same time they hastened the gathering of their feudatories, and even charged their envoys to the British camp with secret mess-

ages for the tribes on the western bank of the Indus. As the summons to Khyrpoor produced no effect on the Ameers of Upper Scinde, and only one envoy from Hyderabad had brought sufficient instructions, the time for assembly was extended to 25th January. When this day too was past, the General once more put his army in motion and moved slowly southward. He reviews his position thus :—

“I cannot lose time, the hot season approaches, and these barbarians must not treat the British power with contempt. Their intentions are doubtful, their conduct suspicious; armed men are hastening to them from every quarter; it is necessary to approach near to ascertain their real position and views. If, as it is said, the Ameers of Lower Scinde have refused to make common cause with those of Upper Scinde, or to let them enter their country, the latter will be found on the frontier, where they may be attacked in front, while Jacob turns their right from the desert. The steamboats will be on their left, Hyderabad closed against them; they must win the battle or be destroyed, or submit and sign the treaty. If they fly to the desert no place of refuge is there, Emaum Ghur is destroyed. They must go northward, where they will meet Ali Moorad and other British troops.”

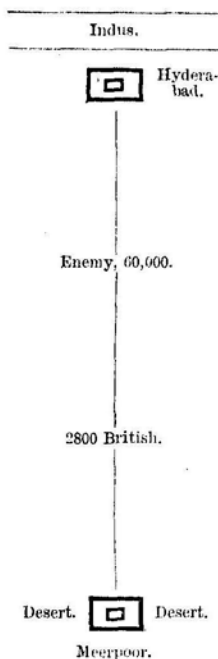
Feeling sure of the military soundness of his position, he was all the more inclined to give way to his natural desire to avoid bloodshed. Outram, at his own request, was allowed to go to Hyderabad, the General writing to him: “I am sure they will not resist by force of arms, but I would omit no one step that you or any one thinks can prevent that chance.” The time for signing the treaty was further extended from 25th January to 1st February, and again to 6th February. Nowshera was reached on 30th January.

“This day,” he writes, “deputies from the Ameers met me when riding ahead of the advanced guard; they knew me by my retinue, but I passed without noticing them, glad they

were there though. For the troops just then appeared, and these Scindian grandees were on a slight rise, and saw the column, which could not have been less than a mile and a half long. We had a long confab; the fat knaves did their best to make me procrastinate, for the hot weather was in their heads and in mine also. However, I gave them six days to bring in the Khyrpoor Ameers, which they said they could not do if I moved. After making a great objection to halting I pretended to yield; my object really being to wait for supplies from Sukkur, and for Outram's arrival at Hyderabad. Now they are gone, convinced that their arts held me back, though able to go on, which on necessity I indeed could, but would rather not. My foundation for defence, if attacked in England, is thus widened, having given seven days beyond the period of right to act vigorously."

Now, leaving Napier at Nowshera, it will be convenient to follow Outram to Hyderabad, where the diplomatic drama was being played out to its inevitable conclusion. Outram reached the city on 8th February, and immediately held a conference with the Ameers, in which he pressed them to accept the new treaty. He was met by the demand that the Turban should be restored to Roostum, and that the march of the British troops should be at once arrested. If the latter condition were not complied with, they said they could not restrain their Beloochees from plundering far and wide: thus admitting that their retainers were actually assembled in arms. But now that the tide of events was running so strongly against the princes, Outram's chivalrous feelings led him more and more to take their part. Their tyranny, profligacy, faithlessness, their tortuous intriguing policy, which none had judged with clearer eyes than he a year or two before, were all forgotten in his sympathy for them in their approaching downfall, which he was striving in vain to avert. This frame of mind, natural as it might be towards men with whom he

had always been on friendly terms, was not well adapted to such an emergency. So unwilling was he to admit the truth of the reports of warlike preparations on the part of the Ameers that Sir C. Napier was greatly perplexed and embarrassed by his assurances that not a man in arms was at Hyderabad, and that the only thing wanting to bring affairs to a peaceful conclusion was that Sir Charles should leave his army and go in person to Hyderabad. Major Outram's great local experience gave such weight to all that he wrote and said that the General would have had great difficulty in rejecting his advice had he not had excellent reason to feel certain that the facts were not as Major Outram believed. The spies reported that upwards of 25,000 men were collected within 6 miles of Hyderabad, 10,000 of the Chandiah tribe were coming down the left bank of the Indus, 7000 of Roostum's men were in the rear of his left flank at Khoonhera, and 10,000 under Shere Mohammed were marching from Meerpoor, while in the mountains, on the right bank of the Indus, thousands were but waiting for the signal to pour down upon the plains. This estimate, which the events of the ensuing week and subsequent information proved to be rather under than over the mark, gave the General and his handful of 2800 a force of 25,000 in his front, and the certainty of seeing that number at least doubled in the course of a few days. But so earnest was Outram in his belief in the pacific intentions of the Ameers, that he not only asked Napier to go to Hyderabad, but to send his troops to Meerpoor. On this proposal the General remarks, "My throat would have been cut, of course, and the troops, having lost their General, and having been removed 40 miles from their line of communication—viz. the Indus—would have been placed as follows:—



On February 9th deputies from the Ameers sealed a written pledge to sign the new treaties. On the 12th Outram and his staff met the Ameers, who, with the exception of Nusseer Khan, signed and sealed the draft treaties with full formalities. But the excitement in the city became more and more intense, and on their way back to their quarters Outram and his retinue were threatened and insulted. The next day two deputies from the Ameers waited on him to say that, as he had given no pledge to restore Roostum to his rights, the chieftains and tribesmen were determined to fight, and the Ameers could no longer restrain them. Even then Outram was not convinced. His despatch to the General, giving an account of the interview, ended with a postscript to the effect that he was told that the

Residency was to be attacked in the night; but he regarded such a threat as empty boasting. On the 14th he at last saw cause to believe that open hostility was intended, and on the 15th the Residency was attacked. Luckily, Napier expected some such occurrence and had sent a few men to his aid. It is well known how Outram and Conway and their gallant band of only 100 men withstood the attack of 8000 Beloochees with six guns for four hours, and finally effected a skilful retreat to the steamers, which bore them off to rejoin the main force.

Meanwhile Napier waited on at Nowshera in spite of the rapidly increasing heat until 6th February, which he had announced would be the ultimate limit to his forbear-

ance. "It was on 18th December that, by Lord Ellenborough's orders, I directed them to dismiss their troops, and to this day I have refrained: my patience has been great, and if I delay longer it will be disobedience of orders, and risking the safety of my troops. Outram is therefore directed to tell them that if their armed men are not dismissed instantly they shall be by force of arms." On 11th February he halted at Outram's request at Sukurunda.

"13th February, *Journal*.—The Ameers did not sign the treaty on the 11th because it was the last of the Moharum, or holy feast. They are humbugging Outram again. He writes that the Ameers had not yet signed; this was on the 12th. Another despatch at 3 p.m.—they had not then signed! He says, 'Not a man in arms is at Hyderabad.' Why, they have been marching on that place from many directions, and thousands have got there; all our spies are agreed on this. I am puzzled. He prays me not to move. I must move.

"The twenty-five chiefs seized yesterday are all of the great Murree tribe. What luck for me! On their leader, Hyat Khan, chief of the whole tribe, was found an order from Mohammed Khan, the Hyderabad Ameer, who is assuring Outram that there is no intention to resist, directing Hyat to assemble every male able to wield a sword and join his victorious Beloochee troops at Meeanee on the 9th."

"14th—*Syndabad*.—At midnight we march for Hala, where there will be choice of two roads—one by the river, by which we come slap on their front, leaving their rear open; one by my left, through Shaki and Jamalaka-Tanda, which turns their right and forces them to battle with their back to the Indus: to this my inclination bends; but it is dangerous—1st, because 2800 men will be opposed to 25,000 or 30,000, and those are stiff odds; 2d, a reverse would cut me off from the river and my supplies; 3d, a repulse would add 20,000 men to the enemy—for barbarians hold no faith with the beaten, and numbers are now abiding the issue of the first fight. On the other hand, if victorious, I should utterly extirpate the Beloochee army, and I am as sure of victory as

a man who knows that victory is an accident can be. Now for the river road ; it is shorter, and my right flank is secure. If worsted my provisions are safe in the steamers. The nearer the river the more ditches, and, as the Ameers have most cavalry, that suits me best. They have 20,000 horsemen ; mine are but 800, and a victory will not therefore be so decisive ; still I can pursue them with vigour. Yes ! I will march along the river, and trust to manœuvring in the battle for turning their right without losing the river myself."

On the 16th he was at Muttaree, 16 miles from Hyderabad. Towards evening he heard that the enemy were 10 miles off, entrenched in the bed of the Fullaillee. Only 15,000 were said to be entrenched, but from 25,000 to 30,000 would be found there on the 18th, and as many more were on the British flanks and rear. Later in the same evening news came of a fresh accession of strength to the enemy, but the news only confirmed Napier in his determination to fight at once.

The lowest estimate of the enemy's number formed before and after the battle, and adopted by Napier in his despatches, was from 22,000 to 25,000 ; according to some spies it was as much as 40,000. Sir W. Napier, with pardonable pride in his brother's achievements, estimates the number at 36,000 : "The best spies had said they exceeded 35,000, but one spy rated them only at the number adopted ; he was right at the moment, yet two strong tribes had afterwards suddenly crossed the Indus in the night and joined for battle. Charles Napier's rooted dislike of vaunting made him adopt the lowest number ; but subsequently the Ameers' pay-roll was found, and more than bore out the highest estimate of the spies." On the other hand, the General seems to have somewhat overestimated his own strength. The Adjutant-General Wyllie was desperately wounded, hence no morning return of the army was made out, and the General in his despatches

hastily adopted a return of the week before, which gave 2800 men fit for duty; but sickness had reduced them; Outram had gone off with 200 for the purpose of firing the forest on the enemy's flank; 400 men were in charge of the baggage, and less than 500 of the whole remaining force were Europeans!

However it was, the lowest estimate makes the odds more than ten to one, and should suffice for any man's glory. The account of the battle in Sir W. Napier's *Conquest of Scinde*, subject to the above remarks on the possible exaggeration of numbers, is fully worthy of the author of the *Peninsular War*, and is here given with some condensation:—

"Marching on the night of the 16th, his advanced guard discovered the enemy at eight o'clock next morning, and at nine o'clock the British line of battle was formed. Thirty-six thousand enemies were in front; their position was 1200 yards wide, along the bed of the Fullaillee, whose high bank, sloping towards the plain in front, furnished a rampart. Eighteen guns, massed on the flank in advance of the bank, poured their shot on the troops while forming the line, and the Beloochee wings rested on shikargahs, which lined the plain so far as to flank the advance on both sides. They were very large and dense, and that on the Beloochee right intersected with nullahs of different sizes, but all deep, carefully scarped, and defended by matchlock-men. Behind this shikargah the Fullaillee made a sudden bend to the rear, forming a loop, in which the Ameers' cavalry was placed. The shikargah on the enemy's left was covered towards the plain by a wall having one opening, not very wide, about half-way between the two armies. Behind this wall 5000 or 6000 men were posted, evidently designed to rush out through the opening upon the flank and rear of the British when the latter advanced."

To turn or force the shikargah on either flank the General deemed impracticable, and the delay might bring more reinforcements to the enemy.

"To fall on hardily remained, but 36,000 foes were in front, and the British force was reduced by the detachment under Outram to 2400! And from that number a strong baggage guard was to be furnished, lest the enemy should, during the battle, strike at the camp-followers and animals, whose numbers made the fighting men appear a mere handful. There was no village with walls near; and the embarrassment was great; but, with a happy adaptation of the ancient German and Hunnish method, the General cast the mass into a circle close in his rear, surrounding it with camels, which were made to lie down with their heads inwards, having their bales placed between them for the armed followers to fire over."

This improvised fortress was guarded by 250 Poona horsemen and four companies of infantry under Captain Tait, while the order of battle was framed as follows:—

"Twelve guns under Major Lloyd, flanked by 50 Madras sappers, under Captain Henderson, were on the right. On Lloyd's left stood the 22d Queen's Regiment, under Colonel Pennefather. Less than 500 they were, half Irishmen, all strong of body, high-blooded soldiers, who saw nothing but victory. On the left were the swarthy sepoys of Bombay; small men of low caste, yet hardy, brave, and willing."

Of these the 25th Regiment were immediately on the left of the 22d, and next to them the 12th under Major Reid. Finally came the 1st Grenadiers, under Major Clibborne,—the whole in the *echelon* order of battle. Closing the extreme left, but somewhat held back, rode the 9th Bengal Cavalry, under Colonel Pattle. Skirmishers were thrown out in front of the right wing, and the Scinde horsemen, under Captain Jacob, were pushed forward on the left, to make the enemy show their position and numbers. The Beloochees were about 1000 yards off, the last 300 yards having been cleared to give free play to their matchlocks. The order was given to advance, and the General

