

and his staff rode forward under a heavy fire from the enemy's guns:

"A village called Kotree covered the enemy's right, and was filled with matchlock-men; there was no weak point there, but on their left a flaw was detected. Observing the wall enclosing the shikargah, the General rode near, and saw it was about 10 feet high, and that some matchlock-men, who were astride on it, disappeared suddenly. Riding nearer he found there were no loopholes, and, still approaching an opening in it, he looked behind, and saw there was no scaffolding. Then, with the inspiration of genius, he instantly thrust a company of the 22d into the space, telling their captain, Tew, to block the gap and die there, if necessary; his orders were obeyed, Tew died, but the gap was maintained, and thus 6000 men were paralysed by only 80! It was, on a smaller scale as to numbers, Marlborough's game at Blenheim repeated.

"The main body advanced in columns of regiments, the right, passing securely under the wall, were cheered and elated by the rattling of Tew's musketry, now reinforced by a gun. The left was meanwhile refused, to avoid a fire from the village of Kotrec, which Clibborne's grenadiers were directed to storm. The 22d, when within a few hundred yards of the Fullaillee, opened into line, and all the columns formed in succession, each company, as it arrived, throwing its fire at the top of the bank, where the faces of the Beloochees could just be seen, bending with fiery glances over their levelled matchlocks. But the British front was still incomplete, when the voice of the General, shrill and clear, was heard commanding the charge. Then arose the British shout, four guns were run forward, and the infantry, at full speed, closed on the Fullaillee, and rushed up the sloping bank. The Beloochees, sternly quiescent, with matchlocks resting on the summit, let their assailants come within 15 yards before they delivered their fire, but the steepness of the slope inside, which rendered their footing unsteady, and the rapid pace of the British, falsified their aim—the execution was not great.

The next moment the 22d were on the top of the bank, thinking to bear down all before them, but staggered back at the forest of swords waving in their front.

"Thick as standing corn and gorgeous as a field of flowers were the Beloochees in their many-coloured garments and turbans. They filled the broad deep bed of the Fullaillee; they were clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords, gleaming in the sun, and their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder as with frantic might and gestures they dashed against the front of the 22d. But, with shrieks as wild and fierce, and hearts as big, and arms as strong, the British soldiers met them with the queen of weapons, and laid their foremost warriors wallowing in blood. Then also the few guns that could be placed in position on the right of the 22d, flanked by Henderson's small band of Madras sappers, swept diagonally the bed of the river, tearing the rushing masses with a horrible carnage. Soon the sepoy regiments, 12th and 25th, prolonged the line of fire to the left, coming into action successively in the same terrible manner.

"Now the Beloochees closed in denser masses, and the dreadful rush of their swordsmen was felt, and their shouts, answered by the pealing musketry, were heard along the line, and such a fight ensued as has seldom been told of in the records of war. For ever those wild, fierce warriors, with shields held high and blades drawn back, strove with might and valour to break through the British ranks. No fire of small arms, no sweeping discharges of grape, no push of bayonets could drive them back; they gave their breasts to the shot, their shields to the bayonets, and, leaping at the guns, were blown away by twenties at a time, their dead rolled down the steep slope by hundreds; but the gaps were continually filled from the rear, the survivors pressed forward with unabated fury, and the bayonet and sword clashed in full and frequent conflict.

"Thus they fought, never more than five yards apart, often intermingled, and several times the different regiments

were violently forced backwards, staggering under the might and passion of the swordsmen. But always their General was there to rally and cheer them."

More than three hours this storm of war continued, until nearly every European officer was killed or wounded. Tew's company still held the gap in the wall manfully, though their leader had fallen; but, on the left flank, Clibborne was still skirmishing with his grenadiers instead of carrying the village by storm.

"Such was the state of the field, when that inevitable crisis of every battle which offers victory to the ablest General arrived at Meeanee. Clibborne's error was grave, the right was sorely pressed, and there was no reserve save the cavalry, which was in a manner paralysed by the village of Kotree; yet the battle must be won or lost within twenty minutes! The General could not quit the right, so thick and heavily the Beloochees pressed on, so stern and dreadful was their fighting, so wearied and exhausted were his men; but his eye caught the whole field, and on his left he saw victory beckoning to him. Wherefore, urging his men by his voice and example firmly to sustain the increasing fury of their foes, he sent Colonel Pattle orders to charge with the whole body of Bengal and Scinde horsemen on the enemy's right. It was the command of a master spirit, and with fiery courage obeyed. Spurring hard, the Eastern horsemen passed the matchlockmen in the village, and galloped unchecked across the small nullahs and ditches about it, which were, however, so numerous and difficult, that fifty of the troopers were cast from their saddles at once by the leaps. But, dashing through the Beloochee guns on that flank, and riding over the high bank of the Fullaillee, the mass crossed the deep bed, gained the plain beyond, and charged with irresistible fury. Major Storey, with his Bengal troopers, turning to his left, fell on the enemy's infantry in the loop of the upper Fullaillee; while the Scindian horse, led, though not commanded, by Lieutenant Fitzgerald, wheeling to their right, fell on the

camp, thus spreading confusion along the rear of the masses opposed to the British infantry. Then the barbarian swordsmen, whose fury could scarcely be resisted before, abated their fighting, and looked behind them. The 22d perceived this, and, leaping forward with the shout of victory, pushed them backwards into the deep ravine, there closing in combat again.

"The battle was now lost for the Ameers, and slowly their gallant swordsmen retired, not in dispersion, nor with fear, but in heavy masses, their broad shields slung over their backs, their heads half turned, and their eyes glaring with fury. The victors followed closely, pouring in volley after volley. Yet those stern implacable warriors still preserved their habitual swinging stride, and would not quicken it for a run though death was at their heels! All were now in retreat, but so doggedly did they move, and seemed so inclined to renew the conflict on the level ground, where the British flanks were unprotected, that the General, unwilling to provoke a second trial, recalled his cavalry, and formed a large square, placing his baggage and followers in the centre."

Such was the battle of Meeanee, fought on the 17th of February 1843. Twenty British officers, including four field officers, went down in the battle—six killed—and with them 250 sergeants and privates, of whom more than fifty were killed. The loss of the Beloochees was between 6000 and 8000 men! No quarter was given or taken. The General, seeing a 22d soldier going to kill an exhausted chief, called out to spare, but the man drove his bayonet deep, exclaiming, "This day, General, the shambles have it all to themselves!" The Beloochees, on the other hand, fought with the fury of fanatics. At one moment a soldier of the 22d drove his bayonet into the breast of a Beloochee; instead of falling "the rugged warrior cast away his shield, seized the musket with his left hand, writhed his body forwards on the bayonet, and with one sweep of his keen blade avenged himself: both fell dead together!" That

the British troops with all their desperate valour were able to hold their ground at all was due to the generalship of their leader, which had made him attack the enemy where they could not avail themselves of their overwhelming numbers; and still more to the flash of inspiration which bade him send the heroic Tew and his company to fill the gap in the wall and hold 6000 of the foe at bay!

General M'Murdo, who was on the staff until his horse was killed, and then plunged with his regiment—the 22d—into the thick of the fight, has supplied me with some admirable notes of the points in the battle that came under his personal observation. His description of the enemy's fighting recalls so many incidents of the late brilliant achievements of our soldiers in the Soudan, that it will be read with interest by those who have paid attention to the many tactical questions which have been under discussion during the war in that country.¹ As to the conduct of the men on both sides he says:—

“The behaviour of our men (22d), when they charged to

¹ A critic of the “square formation” says, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, May 1884, “At Meeanee the British force numbered 2200 men, all told, of whom 700 were cavalry, and *only* 800 were Europeans. All were armed with the old ‘Brown Bess’ musket. Sir C. Napier, who had twelve guns, advanced to attack the enemy in *échelon* of battalion lines from one flank, the 22d leading. In that formation he utterly routed the Beloochees after three hours’ hard fighting, killing and wounding 6000 of the enemy, and himself losing 20 officers and 250 of other ranks. The causes of his success are not far to seek, and they are these: the General had confidence in his own skill, and every musket was brought to bear. Here is a different picture: At the battle of Tanasi, 4500 British troops, *all Europeans, all armed with breechloaders*, of whom 750 were mounted troops, with twelve guns and six machine guns, encountered 10,000 savages, a very small proportion of whom had firearms, the remainder swords and spears, and they had no artillery. Yet, with all these advantages, the British force was disposed in two cumbrous squares, the effect of which was to impede their mobility, and to reduce the front of fire to one-fourth of what it might have been.”

the edge of the bank of the Fullaillee, surprised me exceedingly; but as the fighting went on I saw that they had judged rightly; and their example was implicitly followed by the native regiments on their left. The line recoiled some six or eight paces, and there remained deaf to all orders and entreaties to renew the charge: the men advancing only to deliver their fire into the thick masses of the enemy in the river bed, and returning to load; this mode of fighting was continued for the greater part of one hour. The behaviour of the Beloochees was equally strange and unexpected; but perhaps equally natural under the circumstances. Their fire, beaten down in volume by our rolling musketry, was only sustained in a desultory manner. They could not make any impression upon our line beyond forcing it back a few paces. They could not retreat, because they were pressed upon from behind by the masses of which they formed the front rank. Driven desperate by the unceasing musketry the masses frequently charged with sword and shield over the bank; but as these rushes were not made in concert along their line, our men were able to lap round their flanks and hurl them back over the edge."

With respect to the weapons of the combatants General McMurdo's remarks on some of the peculiarities of the old musket will sound strangely to those who have known nothing but the breechloader. After about half an hour's fighting, "I observed," he says, "along the line what I judged to be about ten per cent of the men engaged constantly with their locks; either in wiping moisture from the pan, or in chipping their blunted flints; and I saw some even change them for new ones! thus involving quite a mechanical operation with the screw of the hammer. But in doing these things the men did not fall out to the rear, as on parade, but stood their ground in line with their bayonet points to the enemy. One other observation I made at this time. I saw the men dispense at last with their ramrods; the cartridge of the old smooth-bore fitted

so loosely in the barrel that the weight of the ball, accompanied by a sharp stroke of the butt upon the ground, was sufficient to send it home."

After remarking on the superiority of the musket, with all its defects, to the matchlock, he continues: "I am unable to assign the same superiority to the bayonet over the sword and shield in circumstances of individual fighting. The dexterity of the Belooch in parrying with his shield the point of the bayonet; the difficulty of thrusting it home when it did take effect, because of the ample folds of the cummerbund protecting the body almost to the armpits (in some instances the bayonets were twisted by the resistance); and lastly, the quick swinging cut of the sharp curved sword: these made the Belooch no mean antagonist for the single soldier; but in the *mêlée* of a charge, or even where two or three soldiers were together, the superiority of the bayonet was unquestionable."

Many are the anecdotes of desperate valour and heroic devotion shown by all ranks; but when the General, emerging scatheless from the fight, exclaimed, "The enemy are beaten! God save the Queen!" the army with one shout hailed him the hero of the day. His escape was indeed miraculous. He had maimed his hand before the battle, and was in such pain that he could hardly hold the reins; but from the time that the 22d first recoiled from the edge of the river bed to the end of the battle he walked his horse slowly up and down between them and the enemy. "I held my life as gone," he said, "for, as to escaping, all idea of that vanished when I saw the 22d giving way, and was obliged to ride between the fires of two lines not 20 yards apart. I expected death as much from our men as from the enemy, and I was much singed by our fire; my whiskers twice or thrice so, and my face peppered by fellows who, in their fear, fired high over all heads but

mine, and nearly scattered my brains." At one moment he saw a chief advancing towards him with long strides. "My hand having been broken, I could not cope with such a customer, but held half my reins, with great torture, in the broken hand, designing to give Red Rover a chuck that should put his head between me and the coming blow. The Belooch was only four paces from me when Lieutenant Marston, on foot, passed my right side and received the swordsman's blow on his shoulder-strap." At another time he was alone for several minutes in the midst of the enemy; they stalked round him with raised shields and scowling eyes; but, apparently affected by some superstitious feeling, none lifted sword against him, and he emerged unharmed. At midnight, when all the camp was buried in sleep, he rode once more alone amidst the heaps of slain, and called aloud upon the Deity to absolve him.

In a letter to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, dated two days after the battle, after stating his conviction that the enemy's numbers would have been doubled if he had retreated or even refrained from attack, he continues: "If my conduct be approved of by the Duke, Lord Hill, and yourself, it will fully reward me for my great anxiety to do right. The Duke's letter on Colonel Monson's retreat decided me never to retreat before an Indian army. If I have done wrong abstractedly success like charity covers sins, and it was the great master led me into error; but my conviction is that I am right, and that my admiration and study of his deeds and words as rules for war have caused this victory."

The morning after the battle it became known that the "Lion of Meerpoor," Shere Mohammed, was a few miles off with 10,000 men. So confident had the Ameers been of victory, that this chief had purposely kept aloof, to avoid swelling the triumph of his rivals. He was now undecided what to do; wherefore Napier resolved at once to attack

him, having first summoned Hyderabad to surrender. To the Ameers' vakeels, who came to ask the terms, he replied, "Life, and nothing else. Decide before midday, for the dead will then be buried, and my soldiers will have had their breakfasts." Six Ameers forthwith issued from the citadel, and laid their swords at his feet. Napier instantly returned them. "Their misfortunes are of their own making," he wrote to Lord Ellenborough; "but as they were great, I gave them back their swords." He was now in a position to make a dash at the Lion before the latter had recovered from his astonishment at the news of Meeanee; but unhappily Major Outram was still disposed to think that there was no really hostile intention, and that if he were allowed to write a letter, all could be peaceably arranged. Once more the General, in his anxiety to avoid bloodshed, consented to forego his advantage, and delay his march, saying, "Write, then, what you like, and I will sign it." The result was that the Lion, thankful for a respite, retreated upon Meerpoor, found himself in a few days at the head of 25,000 men, and rekindled the war.

Sir Charles Napier was now in a position that called forth all his powers. His force was greatly reduced, the thermometer was over 110° in the shade, and rapidly rising, and Hyderabad, in which he was obliged to place a garrison of 500, was too far from the Indus to serve as a base or *dépôt*, as he had no carriage. To move in the heat against Shere Mohammed, who had a desert fastness, called Omercote, to fall back upon as well as Meerpoor, he felt to be too great a risk. He knew that Amcer to be the best soldier of his race, but without much wealth; therefore he resolved to give him time to recruit his army with the Beloochees who had been beaten at Meeanee, and were now flocking to Meerpoor, calculating that a large army and a

diminished treasury would compel the Lion to attack the British camp, and so save the troops from long marches in tropical heat. Immediately after the battle he had sent to Sukkur for all available troops to come by river; three regiments of infantry, Chamberlayne's Horse, and the 3d Bombay Cavalry, had been despatched from the Upper Sutlej, and a third body was being sent by Colonel Roberts from Sukkur by land. Meanwhile Napier entrenched a camp close to the Indus and a strong fort on the other side of the river to protect his steamers. In the camp he placed his hospitals and stores, and then, with every appearance of excessive caution, in strange contrast to his previous tactics, he sat down to wait. His use of the moral forces of war during this time of inaction was very subtle; for, while promulgating stories of his own fears and weakness in order to increase the Lion's confidence, he ridiculed his defensive works before his own men, and made them camp outside in contempt of the enemy.¹ This wary conduct elicited a magnificent eulogium from his hero and master, the Duke of Wellington. "Sir C. Napier gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a position in which he was not again likely to be attacked. Not only did he secure Hyderabad and the portion of the Indus which lay in his rear; he brought up a reinforcement, and placed himself at the head of a stronger army than that which he commanded before the battle. He manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations of war."

One most serious difficulty attending these operations was unknown to the Duke. The Ameers, having been

¹ "At Meeanee those of my troops who had seen service before had all been defeated by natives, and none of them knew me. This told against me."

deposed by the Governor-General's proclamation, were detained as prisoners of war in a large and pleasant garden of their own near the entrenched camp. They had every luxury, an unlimited number of attendants, and free intercourse with the city and the country. Their women remained in the zenanas which formed part of the fortress of Hyderabad. They were scrupulously respected; but it was discovered that the Ameers had left with them, under the name of attendants, 800 Belooch warriors fully armed, who were constantly going to and fro between the garden, the city, and Shere Mohammed's camp. In the garden the attendants, 500 in number, were also warriors. These men were constantly spying out the condition of the English camp, and sending the result of their observations to Shere Mohammed. They openly boasted that the British General would be "*Cabuled*"—a prediction which was cheerfully echoed by the Bombay press. Sir C. Napier, feeling that his liberal treatment of his captives was being abused, went with his staff to remonstrate with the Ameers; the whole garden was crowded with armed men, who behaved with such rudeness that the staff drew close together, expecting violence; but the Ameers calmly professed ignorance of any but their ordinary Hindoo attendants being there. This determined the General to disarm the attendants; and when this measure, coupled with repeated remonstrances, failed to stop the Ameers' intrigues, he was finally compelled to confine them on board a river-steamer until they were sent to Bombay.

As the hot March days wore on, the waiting game began to show promise of the issue that had been predicted.

"15th March.—All well. Shere Mohammed comes nearer, he is but 12 miles off, and lately sent an insolent offer to let me quit the country if I liberated the Ameers and restored what we had taken. Just as his messengers delivered this

letter the evening gun was fired. 'There,' said I, 'do you hear that?' 'Yes!' 'Well, that is your answer!' Off they went, and the Ameer will now in his pride lay plans to cut off my column from the north."

The next day he received a shocking proposal to assassinate the Lion, made by the intended victim's brother! He instantly sent a messenger to warn the Lion of the intended treachery, but at the same time adding: "If you do not surrender yourself a prisoner of war before the 23d instant, I will march against you."

All interest now centred on the movement of Major Stack's column, which was marching down the bank of the Indus from Sukkur. The junction was looked for on the 22d, but the Lion's army lay between the column and the camp. On the 21st Stack reached Muttaree, and received orders to force his marches. The Lion, wishing to intercept him, moved the same evening with his whole force to Dubba. Major Clibborne, who had charge of the intelligence department, and was aware of this movement, sent a messenger to Stack with the following message in a small quill, "Halt, for God's sake! You will be attacked by at least 40,000 men to-morrow." Stack, greatly perplexed, sent on the message at once to the General, and asked for positive instructions. The General received the message while entertaining a great body of officers in his tent. Being uneasy about the bad moral effect, he read it aloud, and then added in pencil, "Clibborne's men are all in buckram. Come on!" Thus amended, he sent it once more to Stack. The joke ran round the camp, and confidence was restored. "I was by no means sure," he wrote, "Clibborne's information was not true, but he had no business to send it to Stack; for whether 20,000 or 40,000 were there, I was watching them as a cat does a mouse." Still the situation made him very anxious. There were

three places where the Lion could fall on Stack with advantage—Muttaree, Meeanee, and Loonar. Napier's combinations depended on his forecast of the enemy's choice. He did not hesitate. "Muttaree is distant, the plain of Meeanee is covered with the bleaching bones of chiefs and warriors; the Beloochees are superstitious, they never will go there. Loonar will be the place of action; there I will march." Meanwhile he sent Captain M'Murdo with 250 Poona horse to try the road to Muttaree, and, if he found it open, to join Stack; this M'Murdo effected on the morning of the 22d. Jacob and the Scinde horsemen then followed on the same road, and shortly after him went the General with the Bengal Cavalry and some guns, supported at a short interval by the infantry. Stack marched on the morning of the 22d from Muttaree, and, as the General anticipated, crossed the field of Meeanee without seeing the enemy. Knowing that he was now only 4 or 5 miles from the head of Napier's column, he began to press on to effect the junction of forces with a careless haste that nearly proved disastrous. On his left flank lay a thick wood skirting the banks of the Follaillee, and affording a secure place of concealment for the enemy. His baggage should therefore have been well in advance on the reverse flank, and his troops compact and well in hand; instead of which, the guns were pushed on, and the baggage left straggling behind. No sooner had the baggage-train reached Loonar, than the enemy issued from the wood in large masses and opened fire. Happily M'Murdo was in the rear, and with only six Poona horsemen kept the enemy's skirmishers at bay until Stack was able to call up his troops. The baggage being for the moment secure, Stack resumed his march, upon which the danger once more became so menacing that M'Murdo obtained leave to bring back two guns from the front, with which he opened a flanking fire upon the

Beloochees, which checked their advance until the arrival of Jacob's cavalry. The baggage then closed up, and the column finally joined Napier at midnight, after a most exciting and harassing day's work. Had the Lion vigorously attacked the baggage, nothing could have saved it. His forbearance was due to his chivalry. Seeing a great number of women with the train, he said, "The English General treated our women very generously at Hyderabad, and I will not let his women suffer now."

Though Stack's conduct might have involved the loss of the baggage, the General was disappointed at finding it had not provoked the Lion to attack the troops, as the Beloochees would in that case have speedily found themselves between two fires. As it was, nothing but the fatigue of Stack's men prevented Sir Charles attacking on the morning of the 23d, without waiting for the reinforcements that were on their way down the river from Sukkur, and up from Bombay and Kurachee. But his star was now in the ascendant. While he was sitting at breakfast with his staff on the 23d, he suddenly exclaimed, "Now, my luck would be great if I could get my other reinforcements from Sukkur, from Kurachee, or from the mouth of the Indus; but it cannot be, they will not be here for a week, and I will not let the Lion bully me any longer, I will fight him to-morrow." Scarcely had he spoken, when an officer called out, "There are boats coming up the river!" All rushed out, and there was the aid from Bombay! "There are more boats—a fleet coming down the river!" cried another, and as he pointed, they turned round, and lo! there were the troops from Sukkur! By seven in the evening the whole force was drawn up in front of the camp to give men and officers a lesson, and accustom them to their posts and duties, for the brigades were under majors, the regiments under captains, and the staff were all young

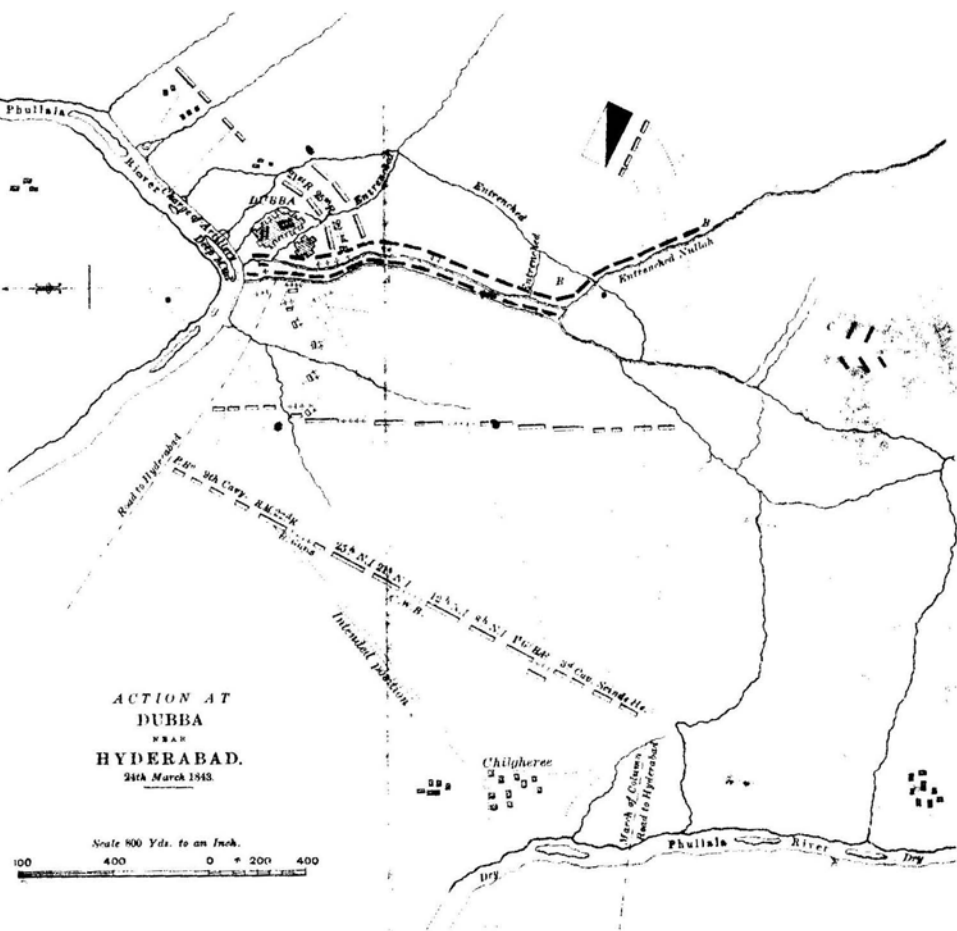
men. Just as the line was formed, envoys came from the Lion with a final summons to the British General to surrender. Silently he led them along the front, and then told them to report what they had seen. Then came another envoy, and they adjourned to the General's tent and kept talking till two in the morning trying to discover his intentions. At that hour he dismissed them, and lay down "finished with fatigue." In two hours more he was in the saddle again and marching straight upon the enemy. Another happy omen greeted him as he set out. "The Governor-General's letters, thanking us for Meeanee and promising rewards, reached me just six hours before battle, the only letters that did come, the others were all cut off."

The march was directed diagonally in front of Hyderabad upon Dubba, which was 8 miles north-west of that city. For 10 miles they pushed on in a compact body, through a country so covered with houses, gardens, nullahs and forests, that 50,000 men might have been awaiting them undiscovered within a mile. At last came news that the enemy were 2 miles to their left. The direction of the column was at once changed, the irregular horse pushed forward, and the General, galloping out, found himself in sight of the enemy and the field of battle. About 26,000 men and fifteen guns were drawn up against him. Two lines of infantry were entrenched, and a heavy mass of cavalry was in reserve. Their right rested on the Fullaillee, and could not be turned, as there was a large pond of soft mud in the bed, while the bank was clothed with dense forest. In front was a nullah 20 feet wide, 8 deep, and scarped. Behind this obstacle the first line of infantry extended for 2 miles to another wood which appeared to be the left flank of the position; in reality, however, the left wing prolonged the line behind another nullah, which sloped off in a diagonal direction to the rear. All the

cavalry were massed on the left, and behind the right wing, close to the river, stood the village of Dubba filled with men. The enemy's second line and guns were behind another nullah running parallel with the first for about a mile, and prepared in the same manner to resist attack. The position was in every way admirably chosen and utilised; it was held by at least 26,000 men armed with matchlocks and supported by guns, while the attacking force numbered 5000, 1100 being cavalry, with nineteen guns, five of which were horse artillery.

"I could not, before attacking"—*Journal*, same day—"see the second ditch, the village of Dubba was on their right and rear, and I thought, as did every one, that it was not occupied; their line did not seem to reach there, and my hope was to gain their right flank by rapidity at the intervals. Hence, ordering the horse artillery from right to left of the line, I advanced by *échelon* of battalions, the horse artillery leading, but having in support two cavalry regiments resting on the Fullaillee, which ran perpendicular to the enemy's position.¹ Then the Beloochees closed at a run to their right, and the village was already full of men. My reasons for the *échelon* attack were two: First, there was a large wood away on our right out of which several enemies had come singly, apparently to watch us, and my strong expectation was that a column would issue on our flank when we attacked. If so, my right, being in *échelon*, could have been thrown back and present a defensive front, having also two regiments of cavalry on its right, ready to sweep down on the left of the attacking enemy. Second, my troops were all young, but half-drilled, and had scarcely been together in brigade. Had they advanced in a long line of eleven regiments they would have wavered to and fro, like a sea, and got into confusion before the nullah was

¹ This plan is a remarkable instance of the value of the habit of constant study, which Napier ever practised and preached. The plan was formed while he was exposed to a heavy fire; yet in explaining it to his brother he says, "Blenheim came into my mind, where something of the kind happened."



reached ; but in single battalions they did it well, even beautifully."

The battle began at nine o'clock, the horse artillery opening a raking fire from the junction of the first nullah with the river, and doing terrible execution, while the infantry were pushed on towards the village. It was soon discovered that neither the village nor the nullah in front of it had been neglected. The 22d, who led the way, as at Meeanee, were met by a destructive fire, and the General, for the first time, discovered the existence of the enemy's second line. The struggle that ensued is splendidly depicted by Sir William Napier (*Conquest of Scinde*, p. 233):—

"Now the General saw that he had undervalued the Lion's skill, and that the rush of men towards the village had been a fine military impulse to strengthen that flank. He had neither time nor means to countercheck them, and as generally happens even with the greatest captains, had to remedy his error by courage. Hence with the foremost of the 22d he rode, meaning in person to lead the charge, when suddenly came a horseman from the right, to tell him all the cavalry of that wing was charging. Then concluding that the wood was vomiting forth its ambushed warriors, and that his flank was turned, he desired Major Poole of the 22d to lead the attack on the nullah, and went at full speed to the right. The report was correct. The cavalry of the right wing was madly charging across the minor nullahs covering the enemy's left, not because the Beloochees from the wood had moved, but that, seeing numbers of the enemy still hurrying in apparent confusion towards the centre, the horsemen, thinking it a panic, had gone headlong down upon their left wing. Stack had thus uncovered the flank, and exposed the whole army to a defeat, if the wood had really been filled with the Belooch division appointed for the counter-stroke."

"It was a great error, but could not be remedied. The whole body of cavalry was at full speed, dashing across the smaller nullahs, the spurs deep in the horses' sides, the riders pealing their different war cries, and whirling their swords in

gleaming circles—there the fiery Delamain led the gorgeous troopers of the 3d Cavalry, there the terrible Fitzgerald careered with the wild Scindian horsemen, their red turbans streaming amid the smoke and dust of the splendid turmoil. For a moment the General gazed, at first with anger, then with admiration, and seeing no indications of mischief from the wood, while the redoubled thunder of his artillery recalled him to the left, trusting all to fortune and courage he went back with such speed as to reach the 22d at the moment it was rushing to storm the first nullah. Riding to the first rank he raised that clear high-pitched cry of war which had at Meeanee sent the same fiery soldiers to the charge. It was responded to with even greater ardour, for here no check occurred, though the danger and difficulty was greater. Lieutenant Coote first gained the summit of the bank, and tearing a Belooch standard from its bearer, waved it in triumph, while he reeled along the narrow edge, fainting from a deep wound in his side. Then with a deafening shout the soldiers leaped into the midst of the swordsmen.

“Murderous was the fire of the British guns and musketry, and the bayonet clashing with the sword bore back the bravest and strongest Beloochees, or levelled them in the dust, until the struggling crowd was forced into the second and deeper nullah, where with desperate fury the fight was renewed, as if the previous struggle had been as nothing. But still with conquering strength, and wasting fire, and piercing steel, the 22d forced its bloody way through the dense masses, being well supported by the sepoys of the 25th, who, striving on its right, kept pace and stroke in this terrible conflict. Soon the victorious troops passed the second nullah, pressing with undiminished fury on the rear of the retreating swordsmen until they reached the village of Dubba, where the Lugarees and Nizamanees, two of the most warlike tribes of Scinde, were well entrenched in the houses, and once more contended for the victory. The two regiments, thus opposed, immediately lapped round the nearest point of the village, while the cavalry of the left wing turned the place, partly by the bed of the Fullaillee, partly by passing the nullahs.”

In a few more minutes Dubba was completely encircled by the infantry, while the cavalry and horse artillery were repeatedly charging the retiring masses in the plain beyond. No one fled. "They cannot," said their conqueror, "escape when beaten, but as to running, devil a bit! they lounge off, as at Meeanee, slowly, and indifferent to your musketry, though volleyed into their backs at 5 yards' distance. They are most determined fatalists, and most terrible swordsmen; they cut through everything. Heads fly off at a blow! it has been repeatedly done, and it is the same with an arm." So furiously, however, did the cavalry press upon them, that Fitzgerald and Delamain on the right actually got sight of the Lion's elephant and camel; in a few moments he would have been taken or slain, but Colonel Pattle, second in command, thinking the dispersion of the cavalry too great, stopped further pursuit. The battle, which had lasted three hours, was now over. The General, after leading the storm of Dubba, and pursuing with the cavalry on the left for some miles, returned to be greeted with ringing cheers by the infantry. Five thousand of the enemy lay dead, while his own loss amounted to 270 men and officers, of whom 147 were of the 22d Regiment. When it is remembered that he led that regiment in person at the most critical moments his own escape was not less extraordinary than at Meeanee. His orderly's horse was struck down behind him, and the hilt of his sword was struck by a ball. "No Beloochee assailed me personally," he says, "though several came near, and one I covered but did not shoot, having great repugnance to kill with my own hand unless attacked, which by some fatality was not the case." Towards the end of the battle a field magazine, left by the enemy, blew up and killed all around the General, he alone remaining un hurt, although his sword was broken in his hand and his clothes singed. Fortune owed him com-

pensation for Coruña and Busaco. The moral effect of Meeanee was powerful on all sides. At Meeanee the men had shown hesitation and wonder. "At Dubba they were like cucumbers. As to myself I felt a different man, my confidence in the soldiers and in myself being complete; I felt at ease, and could have changed my whole order of battle in the fight if it had been wanted."

The fruits of the victory had still to be gathered. Having arranged for the transmission of the wounded to Hyderabad, written his despatch, and reorganised his army, in eight hours he was marching on Meerpoor.

"The desert was before him, the Lion's force was still four to one, and it had two fortified towns, Meerpoor and Omercote, on which to rally. The mercury stood at 110° on the day of the battle, and the heat was hourly augmenting. The troops had marched 12 miles to find the enemy, had fought for four hours and only rested eight, if that can be called rest when they had to gather the wounded, to receive fresh ammunition, and to cook within the time. But all this was disregarded by their General when he found himself greeted with cheers wherever he moved, and remembered Cæsar's saying that 'nothing was done while ought remained to do.' Nor were his hopes baffled by his men's weakness, for, notwithstanding their fatigue and the withering heat, they advanced 20 miles without a halt" (*Conquest of Scinde*, p. 237).

The 27th March saw them at Meerpoor, unopposed, for the rapidity of their advance had given the Lion no breathing space. Abandoning his capital, he fled with his family and treasure to Omercote. The Scinde Horse and a camel battery were at once laid on his traces, but the General remained at Meerpoor. New dangers were arising. The time for the inundation of the Indus was at hand, and, if it arrived with unusual rapidity or violence, it would be difficult or even impossible to regain Hyderabad. On the other hand, Omer-

cote was strongly fortified, and had eleven guns mounted, besides an ample garrison. A messenger was sent after the Lion to offer him the same terms as before the battle, while, at the same time, the irregular troops were pushed rapidly forward, supported cautiously by a succession of detachments of artillery and infantry, so as to enable him to recall the whole force as rapidly as possible in case of inundation, or to press on to the assault of Omercote if that course were thought advisable. Reports from both sides were discouraging. The Indus was said to be rising before its time, and with unusual rapidity, and Omercote would not open its gates. Reluctantly he ordered a retreat. The order reached the officer farthest in advance when he was 20 miles from Omercote, and had just received news of the evacuation of that place. He halted and sent back Lieutenant Brown for instructions. That young officer rode 40 miles under the burning sun, reached Meerpoor at noon, received his orders, and rode back in the afternoon on one of the General's horses without stopping for rest. On 4th April, ten days after the battle of Dubba, the troops entered Omercote, though it was 100 miles distant and in the heart of the desert.

“These operations” (*Conquest of Scinde*, p. 241) “could not have been successfully conducted without astonishing exertions and resolution, illustrating the character of the troops. On one of the long marches, which were almost continual, the 25th Sepoys, nearly maddened by thirst and heat, saw one of their water-carriers approaching; they rushed towards him, tearing away his load, with loud cries of ‘Water! water!’ At that moment some half-dozen exhausted soldiers of the 22d came up and asked for some. At once the generous Indians forgot their own sufferings, and gave the fainting Europeans to drink. Then they all moved on, the sepoy carrying the 22d men’s muskets for them, patting them on the shoulders, and encouraging them to hold out. They did so for a short time, but soon fell, and it was found

that those noble fellows were all wounded, some deeply ! Thinking there was to be another fight, they had concealed their hurts and forced nature to sustain the loss of blood, the pain of wounds, the burning sun, the long marches, and the sandy desert, that their last moments might be given to their country on another field of battle ! ”

The war was now virtually over. On 8th April the General was back at Hyderabad, having in sixteen days, with 5000 men, defeated more than 26,000 in battle, captured two great fortresses, and marched 200 miles under a Scindian sun. Shere Mohammed, however, was still at large, and as the conquest could not be said to be complete until his final downfall, it will be better to give a rapid sketch of the military operations which deprived him of his army before turning to consider the measures taken for the pacification and government of the conquered territory.

After the fall of Omercote the Lion fled northwards with a few followers. “There,” said his conqueror, “he may wander for a time, he may even collect another force, but he cannot base a warfare on sand ; he must come sooner or later to the cultivated districts, where he will be met by the British.” It was now that the real importance of the destruction of Emaum Ghur was manifest. He could only hope to prolong his resistance (1) by retiring far away to Shah Ghur on the borders of Jessulmeer, whither Roostum’s son had retreated ; (2) by passing through Scinde and across the Indus, where his brother had a small force, and where he might rouse the hill tribes ; or (3) by plunging boldly into the Delta and collecting the predatory bands which had been ravaging that district since the battles. The weather was becoming almost fatal to Europeans, and if the Lion were left during the summer months to gain adherents on both sides of the Indus, the whole work of conquest might have to be repeated in the follow-

ing autumn. Sir Charles Napier, under these circumstances, resolved to brave the dreadful sun, and once more take the field. He immediately put into operation a scheme for the capture of his most dangerous foe. On the north side Chamberlayne's Horse moved from Roree to support Ali Moorad, and prevent the Lion passing through to the Sikh country, or to Shah Ghur by that route. Colonel Roberts was ordered to bring a column of all arms down the right bank of the Indus from Sukkur to Sehwan, and to destroy all boats on his way, so as to prevent the Lion from crossing to the tribes on the right bank, and the tribes from joining him on the left. Connecting posts were established between Meerpoor and Hyderabad, so as to shut him out from the Delta, while Napier himself was at Hyderabad ready to pounce on the victim as soon as he made known his whereabouts. To give an idea of the distances embraced by these combinations it may be stated that Sukkur was 160 miles from Sehwan; from the latter to Hyderabad, 80 miles; from Hyderabad to Omercote, 100; while Shah Ghur and Deessa were respectively 100 and 200 miles from Omercote. Yet the troops were moved to their stations and the circle completed round the Lion without his discovering his danger. That prince was driven by want of water to Khoonhera in the end of April. He passed his family over the Indus, whence he had received promises of an army of 20,000 hillsmen. Soon reports came that he was moving nearer the Indus, and had ensconced himself in the waste of jungles and nullahs somewhere between the four points of Sukkurunda, Khoonhera, Hyderabad, and Meerpoor. The General at once prepared to close upon him and drive him to the Indus, but was prevented from executing his plan by the caprices of the Indus, which twice overflowed its banks, and, contrary to all calculations, subsided again. Until it was known how far the waters would

spread he dared not advance into an unknown country. This uncertainty lasted until 22d May, when news came that the tribe of Lukkees were preparing to cross the Indus. Lieutenant Anderson was at once despatched with 100 Sepoys by river, and was successful in destroying all the enemy's boats. On the 29th Colonel Roberts reached Sehwan with 1500 men, thereby cutting off the Lion from all intercourse with the western bank of the river, and making the first stage of the combination complete. His orders were to cross to the left bank of the river on the night of 9th June, and march towards Kboonhera, upon which point also Jacob was to move from Meerpoor, and the General himself from Hyderabad, while Ali Moorad and Chamberlayne's Horse were moving down towards Lower Scinde. But before Roberts crossed he took prompt advantage of a piece of luck that fell in his way.

"Roberts has done a famous job. The Lion's brother must, forsooth, move his 3000 men within 15 miles of Sehwan to see what Roberts is about, and have credit for driving him away when he shall cross the river. It is dangerous, Master Shah, for beasts to go near an old huntsman. Roberts got wind of him, turned, and surprised him at day-break, killed a hundred of his men, burnt his camp, and took himself; and here is Shah Mohammed a prisoner in Hyderabad!" On the 9th Roberts crossed, and the following day Jacob and the General moved from Meerpoor and Hyderabad in the direction of Shah-i-Khanta, 16 miles north of Ali-ka-Tanda. The Lion had been at the former place, but was in retreat up the river. The circle was now rapidly contracting. On the 13th Napier was at Ali-ka-Tanda, and heard that the Lion, having for the first time become aware of the existence of Roberts' force, had suddenly returned to Shah-i-Khanta. Thither Sir Charles made a night march with cavalry and guns; but the Lion

had again moved eastward, though it was evident from his uneasiness that he knew every outlet was guarded. Although these marches were made by night, the troops resting by day with wet cloths on their heads, yet as many British soldiers succumbed to the sun as would have sufficed to win a battle. Even the General's good destiny could not preserve him scathless. He had left Hyderabad with a fever on him, and to illness and anxiety about his combinations was added the labour of dealing with the accumulated correspondence of four months, which, owing to delays in the mail, reached him in a mass while he was on the march. On the morning of 15th June Jacob's guns were heard to the east, but the sound ceased so suddenly as to suggest that he was overwhelmed and the circle broken. Napier's anxiety was painful.

“Journal.—I cannot go to the east; it is too sandy and too hot. My Europeans could not stand it; our livers are on the simmer now, and will soon boil. The natives cannot stand it, and I have been obliged to take Red Rover into my tent, poor beast, where he lies down exhausted and makes me very hot. I did not bring a thermometer. What use would it be to a lobster boiling alive!”

The booming of the guns made him too anxious to write more. He walked to the door of his tent, stepped out, and instantly fell from a sunstroke. “Forty-three others were struck, all Europeans, and all dead within three hours except myself! I do not drink! That is the secret. The sun had no ally in the liquor amongst my brains. Unable to walk, I flung myself on a table, and luckily one of my staff came in, I think M'Murdo. He called the doctors; two were with me in a twinkling; wet towels were rolled round my head, feet in hot water, bleeding, and two men rubbing me. I was so drowsy as to be angry that they would not let me sleep. Had they done

so it would have been hard to waken me!" In another place he says, "Just as they bled me, a horseman came to say Jacob was victorious and the Ameer's force dispersed. I think it saved me; I felt life come back." The news was true. The Lion, at last finding that he was in the toils, had made a dash at Jacob, who received timely warning and marched to meet him. The Lion's force had suffered so much by desertion that he could only muster 4000, with three guns in line. The memory of Meeanee and Dubba was too strong. There was a brief cannonade, a cloud of smoke and dust, and the Beloochees were gone. The Lion escaped to his family beyond the Indus, and, after taking refuge with the Beloochees of Khelat and the Afghans, rendered all hopes of return to Scinde impossible by taking part in the devastation of some villages in company with the predatory tribes of the Cutchee hills. Finally he took refuge at Lahore, and ended his life in fatuous sloth.

The war was now at an end. The closing operations had been completed without the loss of a man in action, but more than sixty officers and soldiers died from sun stroke, and a greater number afterwards from sickness. But the conquest was achieved. "We have taught the Belooch that neither his sun, nor his desert, nor his jungles, nor his nullahs can stop us. He will never face us more."

It would not be within the scope of this work to discuss at any length the merits of the policy that culminated in the conquest and annexation of Scinde; nor, on the other hand, can the subject be dismissed without any remark. There were many misconceptions current at the time as to the conduct of the General and the circumstances under which he had taken such decided measures. So great was the opposition to his policy on various grounds that the thanks of Parliament for the victories of Meeanee and Dubba (or Hyderabad as the battle came to be called) were

withheld for a year ; and with regard to one man at least, political differences grew into a personal controversy which was famous at the time, and cannot be explained or noticed here without some general reference to the character of the events in which it originated. The misconception that created the first unfavourable impression is thus noticed by Sir Charles Napier : “—— says, ‘I wish you had not been opposed to men fighting for their independence.’ How they do blunder in England ! Why, we have fought for the liberties of the people ! Even Belooch himself is glad of getting a good master for a bad one.” The Ameers were aliens to the mass of their subjects whom they had ruled for barely seventy years, during which period they had certainly done little to win their affections. “The oppressive nature of their government is positively unequalled in the world,” said Pottinger. “It is an iron despotism,” wrote Sir Alexander Burnes. “They have all the vices of barbarians without their redeeming virtues,” was the observation of Mountstuart Elphinstone. When the Ameers were removed to Bombay, Napier gave their wives the option of going with them or staying behind, and not one was found willing to follow her lord into an exile that was by no means comfortable.¹ How the revolution affected the down-trodden Scindee will shortly appear ; as for the Beloochees, not a single chief remained unreconciled to the conqueror within five months of Meeanee.

The more durable ground of opposition was that the Ameers had fallen victims to Lord Ellenborough’s love of aggrandisement, that the war had been forced upon them by unjust demands roughly backed up by threats of

¹ Sir Charles brought home among his trophies a whip of twisted brass wires which hung ready for application in the zenana of one of the Ameers.

military coercion, and that the Governor-General's unscrupulous policy had found only too willing an instrument in the eccentric war-loving soldier to whom he had intrusted its execution. This argument, replied Ellenborough and Napier, entirely ignores the Scindian policy of Lord Auckland and the disastrous moral effect of the Afghan war. When Sir Charles Napier and Lord Ellenborough arrived upon the scene, the result of Lord Auckland's policy was that treaties had been forced upon Scinde which gave us the right of maintaining a force there, together with the possession of Shikarpoor, Sukkur, Bukkur, and Kurachee; all for an indefinite time, with the exception of Bukkur, which was granted "during the existence of war."

Both Napier and Ellenborough condemned these transactions; but they found themselves face to face with the greatest danger that had yet threatened our Indian Empire—the intense excitement roused by our disasters at Cabul along the whole north-west frontier: an excitement which our subsequent reprisals did comparatively little to allay, as they were necessarily accompanied by our withdrawal from Afghanistan. The affair of Scinde was no isolated event. It was, to use Napier's graphic expression, "the tail of the Afghan storm." It was no time for making concessions. Mr. Gladstone, in a passing reference to Scinde (*Contemporary Review*, November 1876), says: "That conquest was disapproved, I believe unanimously, by the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, of which I can speak as I had just entered it at the time;¹ but the Ministry were power-

¹ The Scinde question is divided into three stages—(1.) Was it right to take advantage of the fruits of Lord Auckland's policy, and further present a treaty to the Ameers for the permanent cession of territory in lieu of tribute? Napier and Outram said yes; Sir R. Peel's Government gave no opinion. (2.) Was Napier justified in using the army as his chief diplomatic instrument after the time

less, inasmuch as the mischief of retaining was less than the mischief of abandoning it." For the same reason the Indian Government accepted the state of things in Scinde as they found it. Outram's disclosures as to the treacherous correspondence of the Ameers and their repeated violations of the treaties convinced Napier and the Government of the necessity for a new treaty, which Outram had already suggested, and for a clear understanding with the Ameers that any further violations of treaty obligations would be sternly punished. Before the new treaty was presented to the Ameers their followers were gathering in considerable numbers. On 14th November 1842 the Governor-General wrote to Napier: "The designs of the Ameers would seem to be of a defensive character only; but I know that the least sign of hesitation on our part would at once convert these defensive preparations into measures of a hostile nature, and that to yield the smallest point in negotiation would have all the effect of defeat in the field."

Up to this point Major Outram and Napier seem to have been in thorough accord, but thenceforward their views rapidly diverged. Outram, with the natural tendency of

first fixed for the acceptance of the new treaty had gone by, on the ground that he believed any other course would imperil his army? Outram said no. Sir R. Peel, in the debate on Lord Ashley's motion for the liberation of the Ameers (7th February 1844), said, "It is my firm belief that but for his (Napier's) personal courage and desperate fidelity to the cause of his country, not one man of the British army would have been left alive. I think he has exhibited not only a noble example of British courage and military skill, but the greatest civil sagacity." In which view Lord John Russell seems to have concurred. (3.) After the battle should Scinde have been formally annexed, or should the Ameers have been kept on the throne and some other *modus vivendi* found? Outram thought the latter. Napier warmly approved of Lord Ellenborough's decision, though it was a complete surprise to him, as he had expected up to the last some sort of veiled protectorate.

the "Political" to be influenced rather by the divinity that hedges princes than by the evils of their rule, fully believed that the Ameers could be gradually induced by his personal influence to accept anything that England could decently demand, and that any indication of hostility was due to a blustering nervousness which might be safely disregarded. The treaty once accepted, he thought the benefits of our Government in the ceded districts would force the Ameers to make corresponding reforms in order to prevent their people deserting to our settlements. Napier could assent to none of these views. He thought things had already gone too far for personal influence. That the Ameers were glad to listen to arguments he did not deny; but he was convinced it was solely with the view of passing the time during which the cool weather would enable us to back our arguments by force. In his utter disbelief in the Ameers' good faith he agreed with Pottinger, who had said in a despatch of 11th March 1839: "There is no nation with whom we have been brought into contact in Asia towards whom I deem it so highly necessary to be undeviatingly firm as the Scindees . . . the good effect of such a principle upon a Government and people who may be said to be destitute of veracity and good faith, as well as of foresight, needs not to be enlarged on."

Whether Napier or Outram had the clearer insight into the Ameers' character and intentions will always remain a matter of opinion. But with regard to indications of hostility, at any rate, Napier seems to have been better informed. Five days before the battle Outram assured Napier that the Ameers had not any armed men about them except their personal attendants. At that moment the army of the Ameers was assembled at Meeanee, only 6 miles from Hyderabad. At the moment he was writing, his house was surrounded by 8000 Beloochees, with

eight pieces of cannon, preparing for their attack on the Residency.

Napier's view of the matter exactly one month before the battle is clearly given in the following letter :—

"16th January 1843.—I found the Ameers and our Government in the position in which a treaty made by Lord Auckland placed them. I had no concern with its justice, its propriety, or anything but to see it maintained. I found that all the politicals had gone on, from the beginning, trifling; sometimes letting the Ameers infringe the treaty without notice, at others pulling them up, and then dropping the matter: in short, I saw it was a long chain of infringement, denial, apology, pardon, over and over. I therefore resolved not to let this, which old Indians call 'knowing the people,' go on; and I wrote to the Ameers saying I would not allow it to continue; they of course continued their game, and I, as I had threatened, reported the infringements to Lord Ellenborough, who agreed with me that their irritating, childish, mischievous, secret warfare and intrigue should not continue. And as letters from the Ameers were intercepted, proposing to other powers to league and drive us out of Scinde, Lord Ellenborough thought, and I think justly, that a new treaty should be entered into, which he sent me. I had laid before him the proposal, and I think my treaty was a more fair treaty, at least a more liberal treaty, than his; but I do not, as far as I have been able to consider it, think his unjust. Mind, I always reason on affairs as Lord Ellenborough and myself found them. I cannot enter upon our right to be here at all, that is Lord Auckland's affair. Well, I presented the draft of the new treaty. The Ameers bowed with their usual apparent compliance, but raised troops in all directions. These I was ordered by the Governor-General to disperse. To disperse irregular troops, they having a desert at their back and 400 miles of river to cross and run up the mountains; and all this with their chiefs swearing they submitted to everything to get me into the hot weather, when I could not move, and thus cut off all our communications at their ease, was no trifle."

The Governor-General, in his despatch to the Secret Committee (13th March 1843), bears witness to the forbearance the General showed in executing his orders. "Sir Charles Napier had my instructions more than three months before the battle of Meeanee. He was during all that period at the head of a preponderating force; but, acting with extreme forbearance, in the true spirit of a generous soldier, he earnestly endeavoured to effect the objects of the Government without using the military means at his disposal. The firmness of the language he adopted, and the energy of his measures, were best calculated to control a barbarous durbar; and, had the Ameers been entirely masters of their own troops, it seems to be doubtful, even now, whether he would not have effected his purpose, and carried the treaty into execution without actual hostilities."

The personal controversy between Napier and Outram seems to have arisen in the following manner:—They had begun work together in Scinde on the most friendly terms. It is well known that it was Napier who dubbed Outram the "Bayard of India" in a speech which is too characteristic to be omitted.

"Gentlemen—I have told you there are only to be two toasts drunk this evening. One, that of a lady—the Queen—you have already responded to. The other shall be for a gentleman. But before proceeding further, I must tell you a story. In the sixteenth century there was in the French army a knight renowned for deeds of gallantry in war and wisdom in council—indeed, so deservedly famous was he, that by general acclamation he was called the knight '*sans peur et sans reproche*.' The name of this knight, you may all know, was the Chevalier Bayard. Gentlemen, I give you the 'Bayard of India,' *sans peur et sans reproche*, Major James Outram of the Bombay army!"

Even when Outram left for England after the battle of

Meeanee, although Sir Charles Napier no longer entertained a very high opinion of his insight or political ability, their parting was that of cordial friends. The immediate cause of the rupture was, that Major Outram laid before the Secret Committee of the East India Company his notes of conferences with the Ameers at Hyderabad the week before the battle. The production of these notes created a painful impression. They brought into prominence the protestations of the Ameers, that they had no hostile designs against the British Government, that if the General would only delay his march for a day or two, they could calm their Beloochees, and discuss the terms of the treaty amicably; and that their chief objection to the peace was the wrong inflicted upon the Ameer Roostum. This prince stoutly maintained that he had been made to resign the Turban in favour of Ali Moorad by a mixture of force and fraud, which was the result of an agreement between Ali Moorad and Sir Charles Napier. The impression thus created was intensified when it became known that these notes had been apparently suppressed by Napier, and had never been forwarded to the Supreme Government. What angered Napier in this proceeding was, that Outram, who had so many opportunities of imparting his views to ministers and directors, should have put before them statements of such a damaging nature as those of Roostum, unaccompanied by the General's absolute denial of their truth, and statement of the real facts set out in a letter from him to Outram. Lord Ellenborough demanded an explanation of Napier, which was promptly supplied. "The notes of the meeting with the Ameers on the 12th of February were probably sent to me, but I did not receive them. The notes of the meeting on the 8th of February I received on the 11th. These I could not forward to your Lordship, because, after the 13th, our communications were intercepted; but the enclosed

copy of a letter to Major Outram shows that I intended to do so, although I did not think it necessary, as we were on the eve of a battle, which I knew could not take place if the Ameers were honest, and spoke the truth. After the action the Ameers placed my small force in so much danger by their intrigues with Meer Shere Mohammed, that I never thought more of Outram's 'Minutes' till I received your Lordship's present letter." He then remarks that the value of the notes depends entirely on the weight due to Major Outram's judgment, and on the sincerity of the Ameers. He regarded the notes from first to last as so much waste-paper, because he was convinced, from his knowledge of the warlike preparations going on, that Major Outram was being deceived. The papers captured on the Murree chiefs on 12th February contained orders from the Ameers to bring all available forces to Meeanee by the 9th, as the Ameers had no intention of yielding to the British demands. Consequently, Napier felt no inclination to believe in their sincerity. On this point he says: "The Ameers did not want to have peace, they were confident of victory, and had accurately calculated the day I should arrive at Meeanee—namely, 17th February, and they knew they could not assemble their full force of 50,000 men till the night of the 17th or the morning of the 18th. Therefore all their diplomacy of dissimulation, procrastination, and protestation, was put in force to deceive Major Outram, and obtain a pledge that I should halt, if only for a day."

The quarrel developed rapidly. Lord Ellenborough was at that time the object of the most virulent attacks on the part of the Indian press, and was on no very good terms with the Court of Directors at home. Outram's notes were seized upon as excellent materials for new attacks on the Governor-General. Their purport was so grossly exaggerated and falsified, that Sir William Napier called upon Outram to give

a public contradiction to the falsehoods of the press, on the ground that they were founded on passages in his notes that Sir Charles Napier had shown to be due to a misconception of the facts. Outram refused on the ground that he could not undertake to answer for the opinions of newspapers. Thereupon Sir Charles broke off all intercourse with him. Sir William Napier, ever fiercely jealous of his brother's fame, and rendered irritable by pain and sickness from which he was never free, took up the cudgels, and a fierce war raged for years between him and Outram, both sides finding many partisans. Sir William, when roused to anger, was not accustomed to use very measured language, and harsh things were said and written by him, to many of which Outram's subsequent career was a sufficient answer. But abuse was answered by abuse, and Outram, too, in the heat of dispute, brought many charges against Sir Charles Napier, which he afterwards saw had no foundation. Sir Charles Napier himself, though he concurred in his brother's opinions and found no fault with his way of expressing them, took no part in the controversy. He justified himself to Lord Ellenborough, and he twice appealed to the Indian Government to protect him from the attacks of a junior officer, but otherwise he never once took up pen to defend himself. Writing to his brother William on the subject, he says: "I have indeed been obliged to write a letter to Lord Ellenborough, and send you a copy; it will, I fear, injure Outram, which I regret, but must defend myself, and have told Outram so; do not therefore make use of my letter unless you think defence of my character requires it." And again he writes: "Do not take up my defence, unless I die here. You will then get my letter-books and journal, eight volumes. . . . Meanwhile my public letter to Lord E. will probably be printed, and set me right about Outram; a paid-up revenue, with general

order, and no risings, will defend me in the long run from all others."

There is no need to pursue this subject further ; on the main issue, that the native designs were genuinely hostile, Napier convinced most impartial and capable judges. The bitter personal tone of the controversy is, from beginning to end, matter for nothing but regret, and as such is now gladly dismissed.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SETTLEMENT OF SCINDE—1843-45.

UNTIL the final collapse of the Lion in June, the conquest of Scinde could not be called complete; but the work of pacification and settlement had been vigorously carried on side by side with the later military operations. Lord Ellenborough had made Napier Governor of Scinde after the battle of Dubba, enjoining the abolition of slavery, but otherwise leaving him to deal with the conquered country as he thought fit. "Now my fearful work of settling the country begins,"—he writes, 7th April,—“and the heat is violent. I have to collect revenue, administer justice, arrange the troops, survey the country, project improvements, form civil officers, and appoint proper functionaries. I have to get a thorough hold of a conquered country, and establish a Government; and have really hardly any one to assist me: all is confusion, and the military movements are still going on.” His proclamation to the people was short and decisive. “The Talpoors have been overthrown by the British, and are dethroned—Scinde belongs to them no longer. All revenues paid to the Ameers are now to be paid to the English. Hitherto armed men have been treated as soldiers fighting by the orders of their masters. From this time forward armed men assembled shall be treated as robbers and outlaws. Slavery is abolished throughout the land, and all people are invited to return and live peaceably at their homes.”

‘His first object was to secure the submission of the great Belooch chiefs on either side of the Indus. It was no easy task; at Bombay it was pronounced impossible; Outram, who had seen a great deal of the wild tribes on the west of the Indus, foretold ten years of guerilla war; but by a mixture of generosity and sternness all the chiefs were reconciled in half as many months. To every chief he offered complete forgiveness and confirmation in his possessions. “Exceptions,” he said, “only turn cut-throats into heroes, and I would rather pardon a cut-throat than fight with a hero.” To Wullee Chandiah, the most powerful and respectable of the western chiefs, he wrote: “I honour you for your obedience to the Ameers, but God has decreed that they are to rule Scinde no more. The British Government is now master; serve it faithfully as you have done the Ameers, and honour and respect will be shown to you. But mind what I say, keep your own side of the river. Woe to the mountain tribes that cross the Indus.” The chief was soon after treacherously seized by Ali Moorad, and brought by him to the General, who expressed his regret at what had occurred, and set him free. The interview was a curious one. “He (Wullee) is exactly like an owl, with white hair, long hooked nose, great beard, and two enormous black eyes, which were fixed on me without a move or wink till I had done speaking; then he said to the interpreter, ‘Is it true? May I go?’ ‘Yes.’ Up he jumped, flew out of the room like a bird, and never stopped till he got to his hills. I said, ‘There he goes to make war on us.’ Not a bit. All along the western bank of the Indus he praised me to the skies, and swore neither he nor any of his tribe should lift sword or shield against the Bahadoor Jung again; and he has kept his word.” In a few weeks over 400 chiefs had submitted, and had their swords returned to them as a mark of the General’s con-

fidence, but accompanied by a stern warning. "Take back your sword. You have used it with honour against me, and I esteem a brave enemy. But if, forgetful of this voluntary submission, you draw it again in opposition to my government, I will tear it from you and kill you as a dog." He spared no means of striking their imaginations. One device is described in a letter to his brother William.

"I introduce all the chiefs who come in to Chalon's print of the Queen; if this is forgotten they ask for the Padisha. A curtain hangs over it, and they are told servants, and common people must not look at her. They, however, do not understand a woman ruling, and one shrewd Beloochee said, 'Sahib, she did not beat me at Mecanee, you are everything now.' Another asked, 'How far off is she?' 'So and so.' 'You are next to her?' 'No, the Governor-General.' 'Oh! how far off is he?' 'At Calcutta.' 'I have heard of Calcutta, it is far off, you are at Hyderabad, I am your slave.' I always joke, and tell them what fine fellows they are in battle, and that my wish is to go against the Afghans at their head, and plunder all the way to Persia: this they like, and I am going, if Lord E. agrees, to make all their jaghires¹ their own property. We shall resign all right to turn them out, and exchange their military service for that of assisting to open watercourses, so far as those run through their lands. If I retained the Governor's right to military service, it would continue their right to have armed retainers, and I have forbidden the bearing of arms: not by proclamation though, for that would excite apprehension, but practically, for I disarm every man seen with weapons, giving the latter to the soldiers as plunder."

The next step was the formation of an efficient police. Owing to the disturbed state of the Afghans and Sikhs it was of the greatest importance that the troops in Scinde should be concentrated with a view to strategical effect.

¹ *i.e.* Land held on an uncertain tenure, military services being required of the tenant.

But it was, besides, Sir Charles Napier's firm conviction that the civil and military forces should be kept entirely distinct in their support of Government. "Soldiers," he said, "were instituted to fight declared enemies, not to be watchers and punishers of criminals; they should be, in thought and in reality, identified with their country's glory—the proudest of her sons—and never employed to enforce the behests of the civil administration until the civil power is found too weak." He therefore embodied a police force, the organisation of which was afterwards practically adopted, though without acknowledgment, by the Governments of the Punjab, Bombay, and Madras. The men selected were chiefly Scindians, but as they were still timid from oppression and impatient of discipline, their ranks were stiffened by a sprinkling of Patans, Rajputs, and even minor chiefs who had fought at Meeanee. A military organisation under European officers and a handsome uniform soon gave them steadiness and courage enough to make them valuable auxiliaries in the field. The force, which eventually numbered 2500, was divided into three classes, city, rural, and mounted; the two latter, besides the ordinary duties of police, having to act against marauding parties from the hill tribes, to protect the mails, and guard small stations; they were also trained to be an excellent guide-corps in case of war. One month after the second battle the police were at work, and enabled the General to make a speedy manifestation of his determination to protect the life and property of the humblest of his subjects. "I hanged a Beloochee lately," he writes, "to the astonishment of his chief. 'What? hang a Beloochee for killing a Scindian woman?' The life of a Scindian woman under the 'Patriarchs' was worth about 200 rupees." Another instance of severity created a still greater impression. "Two Beloochees, armed and mounted, plundered and murdered

a merchant on the road ; they were caught, the proof was complete, the crime not denied but thus palliated : ' Our chief ordered us, the goods are in his house.' He was a Lumree chief in the hills ; I ordered his tribe to deliver him to my police, and it was done. He was tried and hanged with his two followers on the same gallows, 60 miles from any soldier save Marston, the chief of the police, who had only 150 policemen, and not a finger was raised ; nay, the poor all approved of the deed. I passed the gallows on my journey here, and could not but pray that my doings were justifiable : murder must be stopped. These men went to death with great indifference ; the rope broke with one, he fell, and his first words were, ' No harm done, accidents will happen, try again ! ' " The result was that the people said, " The Palisha is just ; he kills nobody for himself." And a native, being asked if the country was quiet, replied, " Yes ; if you catch a wasp in your hand it does not sting you ! "

Sir Charles Napier's government of Scinde was military and despotic ; and his administration was conducted almost entirely by means of soldiers. He has been, in consequence, much abused by writers on Indian affairs as an advocate of military in preference to civil government, and as entertaining an invincible objection to the employment of civil servants. The able biographer of Lord Lawrence¹ has gone so far as to assert that Napier founded not only a Scinde school of supporters of military as opposed to civil government, but also the policy of annexing Afghanistan and the adjacent regions with a view to defeating the designs of Russia. Napier's opinions on the Afghan question as it had arisen in his time have already been touched upon, and his views on Indian foreign policy will be referred to again ; but it must here be observed that he

¹ *Life of Lord Lawrence.* By R. Bosworth Smith, vol. i. p. 336.

never considered that military government as a permanent form was either possible or desirable. His one object was to render the people of Scinde as speedily as possible capable of receiving the civil institutions which he laboured to found. Having regard to the military and feudal character of the Belooch tribes whose pacification was the most difficult part of his task, he judged a military despotism to be most in accordance with the character and habits of the country. "These people have no idea of the troops being under one person and the civil government under another. These countries cannot be ruled by the mere official arrangements of a civil government." The rulers must be for some years military, and enter into frequent intercourse with the chiefs, forming the best judgment they can of the character of those warlike chiefs and of the mode of dealing with them; and they form a tolerably correct opinion of our characters. Nature simple, and military nature, must be both studied in dealing with barbarians. They will not submit to theoretical arrangements made in the closets of non-military men, crossing their habits and offending their prejudices every hour of the day: to a soldier they readily bow in submission." Such reasoning he believed to be applicable to many parts of India besides Scinde, but everywhere he wished only to make military rule the stepping-stone to a larger amount of self-government than has yet been vouchsafed to India. Before he left Scinde he had gone as far in the appointment of native magistrates as the authorities would allow, and with regard to his hopes for the future of Scinde, he says, "Were power vested in me, a civil government of its own people should be established in Scinde, and in fifty years it would regenerate the people, if not squashed by our government. However, I inoculate them as much as possible with justice and '*amour propre*'; this in time will do good."

Another reason for his preference for military government in the case of a newly-conquered people is to be found in his desire to save them from the ordinary Indian system until they had had time to become in some degree acquainted with British rule. He had the strongest sense of the incongruity of so great an empire being governed largely under the auspices of a trading company, however great and however much accustomed to government. The following picture is too strongly coloured, but by no means devoid of truth.

"To the genius of some Governors-General and some military commanders, and to the constant bravery of the troops, belongs all the greatness ; to the Courts of Directors, designated by Lord Wellesley as the 'ignominious tyrants of the East,' all the meanness. Not that directors have been personally less honourable than other gentlemen, but that they are always in a false position, as merchants ruling a vast and distant empire solely for their private advantage. No man ever seeks to be a director from mere patriotism or thirst for military glory unaccompanied by pecuniary profit ; and hence, when the Court does send out a Governor-General of great mind, which is not often nor willingly done, it treats him as if he were unworthy to possess power at all. This is natural. Their objects are not alike. His will be the welfare, the aggrandisement, the unity of one hundred and twenty millions of people committed to his charge ; theirs the obtaining all profit from the labour of those people. The merchant, unable to distinguish between wars for self-preservation and conquest, objects to both as lessening immediate gain ; and it must be admitted that the former has in India always involved the latter. . . . The truth being, that men momentarily possessed of power at home object to war lest it should diminish immediate profits ; but when the soldier has won new dominions, the successors of those ephemeral sovereigns hastily gather the private advantages."

Such a system, he held, corrupted the civil servants to whom it gave employment ; and, owing to a widely pre-

vailing nepotism, those civil servants were, he maintained, "with splendid exceptions, ignorant of great principles, devoid of business habits, and therefore wasteful of new resources." The "old Indian" he denounced in some vehement sentences which have been unfairly quoted as applied to the whole civil service, whereas they only condemn, and were only meant to condemn, a class which at that time was undoubtedly too numerous. Alluding to Mr. Thomason, the distinguished Governor of the North-West Provinces, he says: "He is not what I call an 'old Indian,'—that is to say, a man full of curry and bad Hindustanee, with a fat liver and no brains, but with a self-sufficient idea that no one can 'know India' except through long experience of brandy, champagne, grain-fed mutton, cheroots, and hookers." Against the theory that Indian human nature was widely different from other human nature he ever rebelled. "Length of residence," he remarked, "and sensual indulgence weaken body and mind, and give only aptness for official details without enlargement of ideas; and most of those persons generalised as 'old Indians' because they have worn out originally vigorous appetites and feeble minds while enjoying large salaries and the adulation of black clerks, who do all their duties, imagine they only know the East. Despising and avoiding the society of the natives, they yet pretend to know the characters of those natives, and call themselves the statesmen of India! There are, however, among those vegetations of a rank soil men who do study the people, who know their customs and their history, applying minds of a high order and powerful energies to their work; and pre-eminent in that class are the uncovenanted servants, whose enterprise has brought them in mature life to India—men who cannot live in luxurious ease, and therefore the most valuable of the Company's dependants."

If the foregoing picture is limited in its application to a

large section of the civil service of that date in the older provinces of India, few people would question its truth. The routine work of the older governments, and the low tone of Anglo-Indian public opinion up to the period of the Afghan war, had greatly demoralised the civil service. The abler and more enterprising men sought employment in the frontier provinces, and it was through their example, and in the force of public opinion from home, which the troubled state of India from 1840 to 1850 aroused, that the civil service was already undergoing its regeneration at the time Sir Charles Napier wrote.

His objections to civil servants were unhappily confirmed by experience, for at the outset he had wished to secure the services of some of them. "I am aware," he wrote to Sir J. Hobhouse, "that inconvenience arises from the extensive employment of military men in civil government; and I have introduced four or five uncovenanted civil servants with good effect, because, with one exception, they have conducted themselves with diligence and modesty; but three covenanted servants sent to me by Lord Ellenborough were quite useless. They were, I have no doubt, clever and gentlemanlike young men, yet a dozen such would have paralysed my government." These young gentlemen, he says in a private letter, are "useless and in despair. They came to shoot, to hunt, to live well, and to sign their names to whatever a host of clerks should lay before them. I give them no clerks and a good deal of work. They are furious at Lord Ellenborough, who 'quite deceived them as to work'!" Such men would have rendered impossible the work to which Napier now applied himself, so he determined to depend for the settlement of the country on the men who had followed him so stoutly to its conquest.

Before settling the form of his civil government, it was necessary to have a clear idea of the various classes and

interests for whom he was about to legislate. They are classified as follows :—

“The money-seeking Hindoo goes about all eyes, and with fingers supple as his conscience, robbing everybody by subtlety as the Beloochee robs them by force. To him the conquest must be as a feast and a blessing of grace.

“The Scindee, strong and handsome, is indolent from the combined effect of heat and slavery ; but he has fine natural qualities, and, his bondage being of recent date, he may be reclaimed and fitted for independence—to him also the conquest is a blessing, and it shall be my business to make it a feast.

“The Beloochee, though fierce and habituated to acquire property by violence, is shrewd, and has a strong though savage sense of dignity and honour according to the customs of his race. A combination of coercion, of respectful treatment, of generosity and temptation, may therefore bend him to better habits, without breaking the chivalric spirit which is now his best quality. He fought desperately for the Ameers, because to fight and plunder was his vocation ; but neither he, nor his particular chief, nor the Ameers, fought from national feeling. The Beloochee warrior loves his race, his tribe, not the general community, which he regards but as a prey and a spoil. The chief's allegiance to the sovereign, being feudal, is slight, and more easily snapped, because the Ameers, personally odious, are captives ; a consideration of weight in all countries, but especially so in the East, where the fealty is to the throne, not the person.

“Strongest of the influences which brought the warriors to battle was their natural fierceness, excited by unbounded confidence of success, and the hope of plundering an army more affluent than that which had been despoiled the year before in Afghanistan. But there was also latent fear. For, conscious of their own ferocious design to massacre every European in Scinde, they thought the English had discovered the project—as indeed they had—and meant to revenge it in kind. With men of this temper a change of dynasty will be little regarded if their own dignities and possessions are

respected, and, as it is a desire to obtain property, and not any abstract love of glory which impels them to war, their contempt for industry may be abated by the attraction of honest gains—when debarred of profit by violence they will seek it in commerce and agriculture, if openings are furnished to them.

“To meet the requirements of these different races in the present circumstances, my policy must be, while fastening on the country a strong military gripe, to apply all softening and healing measures to the vanquished race, all protective and encouraging measures to the liberated populations—to make strong even-handed justice be universally felt—to draw forth the abundant natural resources of the country, and repair the terrible evils of the Ameers’ misgovernment.”

As far as the thing was possible he availed himself of the framework of government that existed under the Ameers. “Make no avoidable change in the ancient laws and customs”—he said to his subordinates—“the conquest of a country is sufficient convulsion for the people without abrupt innovations in their habits and social life.”

Immediately below himself came the Secretary to the Government, Captain Brown, a young officer who had a considerable acquaintance with the country, having been attached to the political agency under Outram. To him were referred all matters relative to taxes and customs for examination and report in the first instance. The whole country was divided into the three districts of Sukkur, Hyderabad, and Kurachee, at each of which was a chief collector, with three sub-collectors and their staffs. The chief collectors sent a monthly statement of receipts and expenditure to the Secretary, who reported on them to the Governor, without whose authority no expense could be incurred. At the end of each month a report was made to the Governor-General; stating the disbursements in gross, the receipts, the balance, the average price of labour, and cost of food for five persons, with explanatory notes. Ap-

pended was a memorandum upon the extent of country newly irrigated, the length of roads made, the progress of public works, and the height of the waters of the Indus.

Below these English officials the Governor adapted to his schemes the official system and *personnel* which had existed under the Ameers. He found the land divided into districts of varied extent, called *kardarats*, over each of which was a *kardar* or headman. The *kardars* had theoretically power to decide small causes, and punish and fine to a small extent; they were also the collectors of the land revenue and customs. In both these capacities they had been guilty of the grossest oppression. Their powers as magistrates they had extended to the infliction of death and torture, while as collectors they had been invariably harsh and extortionate. But Sir Charles Napier recalled the saying of the Duke of Wellington, that one of the greatest dangers from every new acquisition of territory in India was "the throwing out of employment and of means of subsistence all who had previously managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or plundered the country." So he boldly confirmed them in their office of revenue collectors, while depriving them of their judicial functions, and in order to prevent extortion for their own advantage he gave them large fixed salaries, and attached them to the collectorates with a warning that they only held office during good behaviour. If the villagers brought a just complaint against their *kardar*, he was removed and punished. It was not to be expected that such a system would move smoothly at the outset. The *kardars* would not all at once believe that a Government which received its proper revenue would trouble itself to inquire too carefully how it was raised; while the villagers were slow to credit the glad news that the time had come when the complaint of the poor man against his powerful oppressor would be heard

and treated with impartial justice. Many severe examples had to be made, but in the end the system triumphed, and proved, as it was designed to be, a most important contribution to the nourishment of native public spirit and self-respect.

The judicial system was attached to the collectorates, the collector being the superior magistrate, and the sub-collectors and officers commanding certain stations having an inferior jurisdiction. The military magistrate made a preliminary investigation, having native assistance in ascertaining the Mahometan law and local customs, but deciding, where he had power to do so, according to his own judgment. When the property in litigation exceeded 25 rupees the evidence was to be recorded in Persian. Every military magistrate was bound to report once a month to the collector all cases decided by him; and no suits involving the right of property in land could be decided by any save chief collectors or their immediate assistants.

“In addition there are for civil cases what are termed *punchayets*” — *Napier to Sir J. Hobhouse* — “I have made a slight change in these: formerly they had no remuneration; but I give them an allowance, just sufficient to cover their loss of time. They are something like our juries; perhaps courts of arbitration would be a better appellation. Hitherto I have confined their functions to civil cases, reserving the trials of all criminal cases for Englishmen; but my wish is to enlarge the operations of these tribunals, which, under another name, I found existing in Greece, and very useful. The subject demands much consideration, as a cautious mode of gradually inducing the people to take part in the government of their own country; but it is very possible the directors do not think that so advisable and wise as it appears to me.”

In the criminal jurisdiction a number of specified minor offences could be summarily dealt with by the assistant magistrates. When there was no appeal the maximum of punishment was six months' imprisonment, or three months

with hard labour; twenty-four lashes, or a fine of 100 rupees; but only one of these penalties could be inflicted for a single offence.

"Those crimes which are of a deeper dye,"—*Napier to Hobhouse*—"such as murder, robbery with violence, etc., are first examined by the magistrates; and the preliminary depositions on oath are sent to the Judge-Advocate-General. He submits them to the Governor, who orders thereupon, if he judges it fitting, a trial by a military commission consisting of a field-officer and two captains; or, if officers are scarce, a subaltern of not less than seven years' service and a deputy judge-advocate conduct the form of proceeding, but without a voice as to finding or sentence. The minutes of trial go to the Judge-Advocate-General, who makes a short report upon the sentence, and submits the whole to the Governor. If the Court, the Judge-Advocate-General, and the Governor all concur, the last confirms the sentence and orders execution. If the Court and Judge-Advocate-General differ, the Governor's opinion decides. Under this system justice, as quick as I can ensure it, though not so quick as I wish, is administered, and the prisoners have, in fact, the opinion of three courts: (1) the Commission; (2) the Judge-Advocate; (3) the Governor. I read all the trials with great attention, frequently twice or thrice over, especially when the sentence is capital; and never order execution till I have given at least two, often several days' consideration to the matter."

Murder was rife until it was discovered that the General was resolute to hang all murderers. On one occasion a chief asked for pardon for a retainer who was sentenced for wife-murder. "No; I will hang him!" "What! you will hang a man for only killing his wife?" "Yes; she had done no wrong." "Wrong! No! but he was angry, why should he not kill her?" "Well, I am angry, why should I not kill him?" Very similar was the argument by which he suppressed the practice of suttee, which happily was not common in Scinde. When he made known

his intention of suppressing it, the priests came to him to protest on the ground that all nations had customs which should be respected, and suttee was a very sacred one. Napier, affecting to be struck by the argument, replied: "Be it so. This burning of widows is your custom; prepare the funeral pile. But my nation has also a custom. When men burn women alive we hang them, and confiscate all their property. My carpenters shall therefore erect gibbets on which to hang all concerned when the widow is consumed. Let us all act according to national customs."

So much of the work of pacification and settlement as has been described above was conceived and put into operation in the midst of the military movements against Shere Mohammed. "The last alone," he says, "are enough to occupy one mind, and but for young M'Murdo I should hardly get on. I am gradually finding out fine fellows, but there are no great number to select from; I am a stranger to many, and those I am most acquainted with have duties already. It is a fine field to work in, but I am too old, and the climate is not invigorating." By the 1st of June he was seriously ill with fever and dysentery—so ill, in his own words, "as to think I was;" and just as the campaign ended he went down with sunstroke. Of the forty-four men struck by the sun that day he alone survived. He was carried to Hyderabad, yet so unquenchable was his spirit, that in three days he was writing long despatches to the Governor-General, instructing his own subordinates in the civil government, and working off the arrears of a large correspondence! As the heat increased he felt his strength gradually failing, but there was no abatement in work, and even the Journal is as copious as ever. On 30th July he writes:—

"I am very weak, and my legs have fallen away, yet they swell at night, and with a tired feeling hardly bearable, though keeping to my room all day. I have been overworked,

body and mind, under this sun ; I am sinking. However, I have now quieted all Scinde, despite of Outram's predictions of war for ten years. Four months have sufficed for tranquillity. Last week I ordered eighty police, Scindees, to march a man from Kurachee to Tattah, 100 miles, and hang him ; and it was done on the right bank of the Indus, amongst all the mountain tribes, without disturbance ! We shall have peace.

"All my troops are now in cantonments, and I am relieved from much labour. My staff also is now excellent : my nephew William, M'Murdo, Green, Drs. Grey and Gibbon, and last Macpherson, who diversifies my letter-books thus—having to copy 'between Scylla and Charybdis,' he wrote 'between scythes and carabines : ' quite as good. Then Brown, Rathborne, Pope, Blenkins, and young Nixon, are all excellent : the four first rare fellows indeed in their departments ! Meanwhile my brothers' and sisters' affection to me is great, their letters are dearer to my heart than all the honours Her Majesty can give, for which I care not. It is curious that William sent me his speculations, and everything he proposed was done before his letters arrived. What a General England lost by not employing my father ! I am not bad. I have by long experience and some study made myself '*un petit général*,' as Napoleon would call me ; that is to say, a third-rate chap, like Blucher and Marmont and others ; but not a first-rate like Napoleon, Wellington, Moore, and perhaps Soult. I may indeed do amongst some of our Indian Generals, such as —, with his nose full of grog, and heels full of Highland reels, but that is the length of my tether.

"I am, however, so done up that to get through another campaign would be impossible : to mount my horse even is an exertion. I who, ten years ago, did not know what fatigue was, and even at Poona knocked off 54 miles in the heat, am now distressed by 4 miles ! Well, a man must die somewhere and some time, and I am ready. Where my services are wanted, there they must be given, and assuredly they are wanted here : live or die, here I must remain till a successor arrives. He should come soon though, for more fighting is not in me, this last illness has floored me, and

even my mind has lost energy ; yet it is good to die in harness. To see my brothers and sisters once more, and Kennedy, is my wish but not my expectation, and I fear to tell them how ill I am. Prize money before going I hope for, to leave to my wife and children, and to my nieces ; as to myself, money was never cared for by me except for those I love."

Happily the next few days brought cooler weather, arrears of official correspondence were worked through, and the consciousness of the rapid and satisfactory progress of his administrative measures infused a certain amount of vitality into his worn-out frame. Some extracts from a voluminous epistle to Sir W. Napier, covering the whole ground of Scinde affairs, will give some idea of his energy and versatility. The passages referring to the structure of his civil government are omitted.

"My thought is to tell Lord Ellenborough he must find another Governor, yet I feel the cool weather already favourable ; if it proves so, no flinching in spite of doctors ; they want me to go at once, but I am not so easily beaten as they suppose, and absolute necessity only shall make me abandon Lord E. To go just as these Beloochee chaps have knocked under might make them rise again, and a new coachman would have his horses off before he could gather up the reins. If we did not carry matters here with a high hand, John Company would find some of his allies in Hindostan very restive ; we must be everywhere dictators. The Afghan work is not over. Everywhere but in Scinde we are considered beaten cocks, who left Cabul because we could not stay."

After explaining his treatment of the Belooch chieftains, he continues :—

"This is a wonderful land unlocked to civilisation, before unknown, but teeming with resources ; and when we establish barracks and good houses the climate will be healthy ; now we have not proper protection. As to carpenters, smiths, etc., there are none ; the Ameers drove them away. When any one worked, the Ameers took half his earnings, and out

of the other half he had to give a moiety to the tax-gatherer as a present, so all left the land. None but Hindoos could earn bread; but when any of them were too rich to hide their prosperity the Ameers used gentle *persuasion*, according to the value the man put on his nose or ears and other parts, which he had to bid for with his own money! The progress of improvement is slow everywhere, but in this exhausting climate almost hopeless. A man who can live on a handful of grain, and will not work while he can live without doing so, is a hard fellow to deal with. An increased population will increase the price of food, and give a stimulus to exertion; it is in them, and so far as the Scindians were concerned the Ameers took it out of them. The Beloochee struts with sword and shield; the Scindian sleeps till kicked; the Hindoo goes about all eyes, and fingers as supple as his conscience, robbing everybody: to him the English are as a feast. Since we came the Hindoos have grown fat, swelling visibly, like the ladies at the teetotal drinkings, and as we do not interfere with their projections are happy beyond measure.

"A deputation of these Banians tried to turn me to account. They claimed from me a debt, of God knows how many rupees, due by the Ameers; I had, they said, taken all their treasure and ought to pay their debts. 'Your claim,' said I, 'was no doubt just on the Ameers; but I never heard of people fighting to pay other men's debts, and cannot possibly set such an example.' 'But then we shall starve and die.' 'Just what is wanted, for I am making a beautiful burying-ground and you shall be buried there gratis. Set your hearts at rest.' This joke settled the business. The whole treasury would not cover such debts. I collect no taxes due previous to 17th February, and will pay no debts previous to that period. This is certainly a little despotic, but my conscience is quite easy; these money-lenders are only unchangeable rascals, and the whole story is generally believed to be a *lie*.

"I have no time to study antiquities, but strongly suspect, from the formation of ground, that Hyderabad is the site of the ancient Patala. If a little leisure comes I will read what