



that they themselves were quite conscious of their inability to oppose our power; that they had no serious intention of the sort; and that nothing but the most extreme proceedings and forcing them to desperation would drive them to it.

‘On my arrival at Sakhar on the night of January 3, I was much distressed, therefore, to learn that Sir Charles Napier had actually marched some days previously to depose Mir Rustam . . . induced thereto by the subtle acts of Mir Ali Murad, who, in the first place, had promulgated reports of the hostile intentions and preparations of the other Amirs . . . and led the General to address them in a strain to which they had not been accustomed. . . . At the same time their fears were promoted by the misrepresentations of Ali Murad as to the General’s real intentions towards them, he pretending to keep well with us . . . to save them, but really playing his own cards to their ruin. Accordingly Sir Charles having written to Mir Rustam and the others to disperse their troops and disarm their followers . . . Ali Murad led Mir Rustam to believe that . . . our intention . . . was to seize his person and family. In that supposition the old chief was induced to fly in one direction; Mir Nasir Khan and Muhammad Husain in another; and Mir Muhammad Khan to his fort in the desert, Imamgarh; all these parties being represented as in hostile array. Rustam’s party was said to number upwards of 2,000 warriors, daily increasing; Nasir Khan’s about 8,000; and Mir Muhammad’s fort to be garrisoned by 500 men. On the flight of Mir Rustam . . . the Amirs of Upper Sind were directed to obey Ali Murad as Râis, to whom was to be given over also the fourth shares of their territories, or the customary support of the chiefship. This, in addition to the cession of Sakhar, Bakhar, and Rohri, and all the territory on the eastern side of the Indus above Rohri, which had been previously required by the new treaty. . . . Such was the



state of affairs when I joined Sir Charles Napier at Diji, about 30 miles SE. from Sakhar, on January 4. I found the General preparing an expedition to proceed against Imamgarh, for which we marched the next night with a detachment consisting of about 350 men of H.M. 22nd regiment, mounted on camels, two 24-pounder howitzers of the camel battery, and 60 of the Sind irregular horse, and accompanied by Ali Murad and a few mounted followers.

At Diji, Outram took the opportunity of submitting to Sir Charles Napier his views as to what were the real objects of the Amirs in pursuing the shuffling practice for which they had become distinguished, and especially in the intrigues and self-seeking of Ali Murad. The general, on his side, discussed with Outram the course which it seemed most advisable to approve for the better government of Sind in the future. He inclined to the belief that a single chief would be preferable to the oligarchy under which the province had groaned for so many years. Outram, while admitting the advantage of a powerful and undivided rule, doubted the wisdom and dwelt on the injustice of subverting, impoverishing, and rendering hostile to ourselves the feudal chiefs as then acknowledged; and had no confidence in the measures which Ali Murad would introduce if placed at the head of affairs. But let us revert to the pages of the journal:—

‘We marched from Diji at 2 A.M. on January 6. While riding with the advance shortly after sunrise, we met a man on a camel, whom I recognised as an attendant of Mir Rustam, and who, on seeing me, immediately dismounted and threw himself at my feet. I took him aside and asked him why his master had fled. . . . He replied that, having heard of my arrival, the Amir had sent him to seek me to represent his miserable state, and to beg my kind offices with the General. Having ascertained from the man that the Mir’s camp was



situated only a few miles off our line of march, I went back to Sir Charles, told him what I had learnt, and begged to be permitted to go myself to Mir Rustam to communicate the messages of assurance which he (the General) had transmitted through Ali Murad previous to the Amir's flight, but which I was sure the latter had not honestly delivered. . . . Sir Charles allowed me to go: I took with me Captain Brown A. D. C. (at his own request) and two horsemen. Having to pass Ali Murad as I diverged from the road, I was necessitated to inform him where I was going, and to avoid showing mistrust invited his minister to accompany me. Luckily there was no time to precede me with any false reports to Mir Rustam's camp; otherwise the old man would have again, doubtless, been scared away by representations that the British troops were coming to attack him, it being Ali Murad's object to prevent any direct communication between us and his victims, and to promote the belief that Mir Rustam was only bent on hostility. We came upon the Amir's camp, at the distance of about ten miles, pitched on an elevated spot in the midst of jungle. On our approach being seen the utmost consternation was observable in the shouting and hasty assemblage of the armed followers, while the chiefs themselves mounted their horses to fly on the supposition that we were the advance of a *chuppaio*. My name being called, however, I was gratified to see confidence immediately restored: the chiefs dismounted and came to meet me, at the same time keeping back their somewhat excited followers. I was embraced by them all most cordially, and taken into their principal tent, a single fly not twelve feet square, in which and a few wretched routies they and their families had been exposed during the late heavy rains. I was distressed to observe that Meer Roostam, who is seventy-two years old, looked very much older and more broken than when I last saw him; he had been, and still was unwell,

caused, doubtless, by exposure and anxiety, the evidences of which were plainly traceable on his benign and venerable countenance. The poor old chief freely disclosed, in the presence of Ali Murad's own minister, how basely he had been deceived; how he had been driven by his brother (Ali Murad) to fly in dread of seizure and transportation; further, how Ali Murad had pledged himself to watch over his interests whilst he himself stayed with the British General. I gave the old man, who expressed anxiety to go in person to Sir Charles, every comfort that it was in my power to offer; but not wishing to expose him to the heat and fatigue of the journey in his then weak state, I said it would suffice to send the eldest of the other chiefs to receive the General's assurance in his behalf, and recommended that he should go back with his family and followers to Khairpur, there to await in quiet and shelter our return from the expedition on which we were engaged—the object of which I told the chief in order that he might see that we had not been in pursuit of himself. After conversing a short time and drinking sherbet with the Amir, I took a cordial farewell of all the chiefs old and young, and proceeded to the spot fixed on for Sir Charles's encampment, accompanied by Mirs Ali Akbar (second son of Mir Rustam), and Dost Muhammad (brother of Mir Nasir Khan); we arrived at about 3 p.m. In approaching the General's quarters we had to pass through Ali Murad's camp, who seeing the chiefs with me, came forward and embraced them with an affected cordiality, and desired them to visit him on their return from the interview with Sir Charles. Meeting his visitors outside, the General took them into his tent, where we all sat together on the carpet in the absence of chairs. The chiefs delivered their message, setting forth that Mir Rustam Khan had previously signified his acquiescence to the new treaty, and was ready to sign it, and to submit to any condition that might be imposed; that he had



hed in consequence of its having been represented that, notwithstanding the General's assurances, transportation was to be the lot of himself and family; and more to the same effect. Sir Charles replied, through the Munshi, in kind words, but in the decided tone and terms which would be addressed to European rebels. The chiefs evidently considered the matter less than the manner, and remarked moreover, that the General neither referred to, or spoke to them through me, which was further calculated to weaken their confidence. I endeavoured to remove this impression by suggesting to Sir Charles, after he had finished, to proffer them his hand, with a view to show his sincerity; and this he very readily did. Before returning to Mir Rustam the chiefs unfortunately went to Ali Murad, who had a long conference and secret interview with them—which ended, I was afterwards grieved to learn, in buying them over to his interests against those of their own father. They saw Ali Murad's power established, and that of Mir Rustam gone, and the ingrates gladly secured to themselves the pledge of the continuance of their own possessions, with an increase thereto from the rising sun: consequently (as I have to-day ascertained through a spy I sent into Rustam's camp for the purpose of watching proceedings) so far from giving any confidence to the poor old Mir, his scheming deputies described the angry tone of the General, and conveyed only, as his orders, that they were all to proceed with their families to the fort of Diji, and there remain under Ali Murad's protection. They also dwelt on the obviously little influence I had with the General, and argued, therefore, that no dependence could be placed on my doing anything for them. Thus was effected Ali Murad's object in preventing the return of Mir Rustam to his own home at Khairpur . . . where it had been appointed that all parties were to meet me for the arrangement of the details of the treaty and settlement of all differences. . . . He sought to



drive the other Amirs to commit themselves either by acts of aggression, or by keeping "out," so as to induce the General to confiscate their lands and make them over to him—the rapacious man not being content with the whole power, and upwards of half of their remaining possessions which had already been assigned to him.

‘I represented this to Sir Charles, and suggested—with a view to convince Ali Murad that he would gain nothing more by persecuting his brethren further, and that, therefore, his best policy would now be to obtain for himself the merit of appearing a mediator in their behalf—that it should be distinctly intimated to that chief that, should the other Amirs drive the British Government to confiscate their estates, they would not devolve on him, but be attached by the British Government. Sir Charles, whose kind heart always induces him to adopt the most humane course, readily acceded to this, and wrote to Ali Murad accordingly; but unfortunately here, where a decided expression would have convinced that chief, the whole effect of the measure was annulled by the termination of the letter thus:—‘at least I think that would be done,’ or some expression to that purport, which, encouraged as Ali Murad is by the uniform kindness with which the General always treats him, while it gave the Amir an idea of our object, left him the hope of still effecting his aim. Indeed he had now the assurance to write a long letter, advocating the advantage of giving him the entire control of the property of the State, as well as its government—all the other Amirs and chiefs to rely on him for support.

‘These discussions occurred during our march to Imamgarh, where we arrived on January 11. Mir Muhammad Khan, who never had an idea of opposing us (as had been represented), of course fled on hearing of our march from Diji, leaving nothing in the fort but a little grain, and a large quantity of powder which had apparently been stored



there for years, and which, although a very inferior stuff, and caked like hard mud, came into play in blowing up the fortress. This, as a stronghold to which the chiefs of Sind might hereafter have recourse in the event of rebellion, it was a good measure to destroy; for although we had made good our march with a detachment of artillery, infantry, and horse, sufficient to take the place when it got there, it was very evident we might very easily have been prevented reaching it, by filling the few scanty *cutch* wells at our halting places in the desert. The demolition of this fort will also destroy the confidence of the chiefs of both Upper and Lower Sind in their other desert strongholds, such as Shahgarh, Umarmot, and others.

‘The distance from Diji to Imamgarh measured very nearly eighty miles, which we had made in seven marches—the first three through thick jungle, and a not very bad road, the remaining four through an ocean of loose sand hills sometimes very high and steep, over which we had much difficulty in taking the guns (two 24-pounder howitzers of the camel battery). Fatigue parties of infantry were constantly required to drag these up the ascent, although sometimes 25 camels were yoked to each besides. During the 13th, 14th, and 15th, the detachment halted, while the sappers were occupied in blowing up the fort, in utterly destroying which all the powder found in the place (7,000 pounds) was expended.

‘During our stay at Imamgarh a confidential Munshi arrived from Mir Rustam, charged with a last appeal to the General (as he communicated to me verbally on the evening of his arrival, when too late to present him). During the night Ali Murad’s minister, Ali Husain, got hold of the man, and bought him over to his master’s interests. Next morning I ascertained that they were occupied together for upwards of an hour: the result was the delivery of a letter



of a very different purport, more calculated to irritate than to conciliate, the fictitious document having been substituted for the real one by inserting it within the cover to which Mir Rustam's seal was attached. Fortunately I had obtained a clue to the villainy that was going on, and warned Sir Charles of it prior to the receipt of the letter, which accordingly he estimated as it deserved.

‘On the night of the 15th, I departed from Imamgarh for Diji, *en route* to Khairpur, to prepare for the meeting of the chiefs of Upper Sind, and Wakils of the Amirs of Lower Sind, which had been fixed for the 25th, and determined to make one more effort to save Mir Rustam. I made a *détour* to his camp (which still continued where I had left it) and arrived there about 10 A.M. The old chief and all about him received me very civilly, and appeared grateful for the trouble I took on their account, but their confidence in me was evidently much shaken. The corrupted Munshi (who had returned from the General's camp) had doubtless aided those previously in Ali Murad's interests in misrepresenting my real feelings—and their suspicions, consequently, that I was insincere in my friendly professions, were further confirmed when I declared to the Mir, in order that no unfounded hopes should be raised, that it was not in my power to alter the arrangements which had already been decided by the Governor-General, i.e. the terms of the new treaty, and the elevation of, and pledges to Mir Ali Murad; but I said it was my desire to settle all details, and the arrangement of the territory that remained, as much as possible, fairly towards all parties. The Amir then remarked, “What remains to be settled? Our means of livelihood are taken;” adding, “Why am I not to continue Ráis for the short time I have to live?”

‘He gave me a sort of vague promise to follow me in two or three days to Khairpur, but at the time appeared so



dejected and despairing, that I had little expectation he would do so. He parted kindly from me, however, as did the others, and I continued my journey to Diji, which I completed on one camel (upwards of 90 miles in consequence of the *détour* I had taken) by six o'clock on the evening of the 16th. My only escort through this "hostile" country was a couple of Baluch horsemen.

It was, perhaps, in the brief interval after meeting at Diji, and before setting out for the desert-fort at Imangarb, to which we have already referred, that the marked difference of opinion on Sind politics between Sir Charles Napier and Major Outram first found expression; and that the germs appeared of a controversy which, to whatever extent developed in later years, was unfortunately never, at any subsequent time, exhausted in manuscript or printed volumes. Amid the many statements and counter-statements addressed to the public by the principals in this paper-war and their advocates, there might be no serious difficulty in seeking out the main issues, but no material object would be gained in the process, and there is manifest harm in needlessly reviving an ungracious theme. Nothing could have been of brighter augury than the first impressions mutually derived at Sakhar in the autumn of 1842. 'Our acquaintance has been very short,' then wrote Sir Charles to the younger officer, with that generous frankness for which he was remarkable, 'but I trust it will continue long. I assure you that the high opinion which I everywhere heard expressed of your character before I had the pleasure of your acquaintance, has been more than confirmed in my mind during the few days we have served together; and I only regret that we did not meet at a more early period and in the field. Believe me when I say that wherever you may be, my best wishes and sincere respect and friendship will follow.' Outram's openly avowed admiration of the General has been already noted in



the preceding chapter. But his letter to his mother dated January 12, 1843, is more to the point still. It was addressed from Imangarh, at the close of the week's march they had had together over a desert country; and after that each must have opened his mind to the other in personal conversation on the nature of the work they had undertaken:—

‘You will not know where to look for the place whence this is dated . . . so I must explain that it is a small fort, situated in the midst of the desert, about 100 miles a little to the eastward of south of Khairpur, the capital of Upper Sind—a stronghold where the chiefs of Sind are in the habit of taking refuge when in rebellion or pressed by foreign invasion. . . . I found, on joining the General, that he had been led into the field by hostile indications on the part of the Amirs, and that he had been encamped in the neighbourhood of Khairpur some days before my arrival. . . . I had ascertained sufficiently on my voyage up the Indus, however . . . and by previous experience of these people, that they were instigated to feeble attempts to arm by mistrust of us, and with a view to defence rather than any idea of acting offensively: and, as my duty is peace-maker, I hope I shall have the happiness to be instrumental towards preserving amity. My present chief, Sir Charles Napier, is fortunately so good and kind-hearted a man that he never would drive the Amirs to extremity so long as he could prevent bloodshed, and I myself am satisfied that all will be quietly settled . . . he and I are equally anxious to prevent warfare. We shall be back at Khairpur about the 20th instant, when, I doubt not, the chiefs will combine to arrange matters amicably. . . . After arranging with the Upper Sind Amirs I shall have to go to Haidarabad to effect a settlement with those of Lower Sind: so I fear my calculation of going home in the March steamer is wrong, and that I cannot, at any rate, get away before April. In the meantime I am very un-

comfortably situated, having brought nothing up with me but a few suits of clothes, in the determination not to stay in this country. My position as subordinate, where formerly I was supreme, is very grating; but of course I must suppress all such personal considerations in a sense of public duty; neither do I complain, or work less zealously than if I were as formerly. Indeed it would be most ungrateful to Sir Charles Napier were I to do otherwise; for he is most kind and considerate.'

On January 20, Outram proceeded to Khairpur, and there he found the Wakils of the Lower Sind Amirs; but no representative on the part of those of Upper Sind was in attendance except Ali Murad's minister, who had accompanied him. That Amir himself remained with Sir Charles, and must have been well pleased to be rid of an English officer who, with full knowledge of Sind affairs, had such good cause to suspect and scrutinise his acts. We need not now pause to inquire to what extent the non-fulfilment of Outram's wish to bring about an interview between the General and Mir Rustam is to be attributed to the scheming of this ambitious younger brother. Certain it is that the old chief, impelled to destruction, under some strong and secret influence, fled, and became confounded with our enemies. January 25, the last day allowed to the fugitive Amirs for submission, passed away without the appearance in the British camp of any of the parties, either personally or by proxy.

About this period, Outram was informed through Sir Charles Napier that the Governor-General had fixed his salary, as 'Commissioner' in Sind, at 1,500 rupees (150*l.*) per mensem. He acknowledged the intimation in the following non-official letter:—

'My dear Sir Charles,—I have to-day received your letter forwarding that from Government fixing my salary at 1,500

rupees per mensem. So far from murmuring at the amount, (although less by 200 rupees than I received as political agent in Guzerat years ago,¹ from which I was transferred to Sind on no suing of my own) I really do not consider that I deserve so much, for, in fact, I have been unable to effect anything as commissioner as yet, and see little prospect of doing more.

‘Whatever may be my private objections to receiving what possibly might be construed as a pecuniary favour,’ I must, without reference to any personal feelings whatever, abstain from accepting public money which I have not earned. I beg you will not be annoyed with me, therefore, for declining to take advantage of the authority to draw salary as “Commissioner,” or rather the salary assigned to me personally not being that which commissioners in India enjoy.

‘Pray do not suppose that I purpose officially objecting to receive the money, or that I purpose taking any notice whatever of the matter: I merely purpose allowing the half-sheet of Government foolscap to remain a dead letter—or, rather, I have destroyed it, that I might not be tempted hereafter to make use of it.

‘I shall simply draw my Captain’s pay in the field to which I have an undoubted right without being beholden to any. I am too glad of the honour of your friendship and confidence to require or wish for further advantage so long as I continue with you. I shall defer sending this letter, however, until you dispense with my services, lest it should induce you to do so one day sooner than you otherwise intended.

‘I am, &c. &c. &c.

‘(Signed) J. OUTRAM.’

¹ The political agent’s monthly salary in Sind and Baluchistan was 3,250 rupees (325*l.*)

² The following note was Outram’s own on the record:—‘This has no allusion to my dismissal from office of course, but to an accusation from his Lordship of political dereliction from veracity which was not withdrawn, although the refutation was received, and was unanswerable.



The writer of this letter, delivered to the General on February 20, was, however, influenced by other motives than here expressed, in acting as he had done. Foreseeing the utter ruin of the Khairpur chiefs, he dreaded lest they should involve in the same calamity their cousins of Haidarabad, men towards whom he was attracted by the recollection of a lengthened friendly intercourse, and he had solicited the General's permission to remove to the city of that name, in the hope of adjusting matters by personal interference. In another letter to Sir Charles Napier, bearing the precise date of that declining the salary, will be found the following passages :—

‘I am sorry to confess myself unable entirely to coincide in your views, either as respects the policy or justice of, at least so suddenly, overturning the patriarchal government to which alone Sind has been accustomed. . . . I say *patriarchal*, for, however we may despise the Amirs as inferior to ourselves, either in morality or expansion of intellect, each chief certainly lives *with*, and *for*, his portion of the people; and I question whether any class of the people of Sind, except the Hindoo traders . . . would prefer a change to the best government we could give them. . . .

‘The specific I advocated was, affording protection to the trading classes who should seek to locate in the bazaars of our cantonments, and refuge to the serfs as cultivators in the proposed Shikarpoor farm (obtained on fair terms of purchase). I was sanguine that the mere force of example, which the prosperity of our bazaars and flourishing state of our farm must have afforded to the neighbouring chiefs, would have caused them, from motives of self-interest, similarly to promote trade—consequently to cherish their Hindus and foster agriculture—and consequently, again, to improve the state of the serf. The facility of obtaining protection under British

laws in the heart of Sind, must have compelled the rulers so to govern their people as to prevent their seeking our protection : thus our object would have been gained without either the appearance or reality of injustice.

‘It grieves me to say that my heart, and the judgment God has given me, unite in condemning the measures we are carrying out for his Lordship as most tyrannical—positive robbery. I consider, therefore, that every life which may hereafter be lost in consequence will be a murder, and I cannot but think that the sudden revolution we seek to effect is as little called for by necessity, as unjustifiable in fact. . . .

‘Until we entered Sind, I verily believe all classes in the country were as happy as those under any government in Asia. The amity with which four rulers at Haidarabad, and four at Khairpur, acted together, was dwelt upon by all who visited these countries with wonder and admiration. Although every chief ruled his own people, each brotherhood had one head, or “Rais,” for the conduct of the foreign relations of the State, and whose power interposed in internal quarrels. I do not justify our location in Sind under the terms of the former treaty (my objections to which, stated to Colonel Pottinger at the time . . . I submitted to you), and undoubtedly our coming here has been the cause of much misrule. For instance, we destroyed the ruling head of Lower Sind where now six chiefs have equal powers ; and we undermined the power of the “Rais” of Upper Sind to his ultimate destruction. I am, therefore, very sensible that it is our duty to remedy the evils which we have ourselves caused, and my idea as to the mode in which we might have done so I have stated above. . . .

‘You observe that I myself had pointed out Ali Murad’s previous consistency of character, and advocated his claims to the “Rais”-ship. I did recommend that his claims to that



dignity, *when it became vacant by Rustam's death*, should be admitted, as consonant with the customs of the country, and as politic, because Ali Murad never would have submitted to the domination of any of his nephews, and in any struggle with them would have been victorious . . . and because Ali Murad is personally a more able man, as far as we can judge, than any of the others, and, under our strict control and guidance, might be prevented from misusing his power; but I never contemplated conferring the chiefship on him *before* the demise of Mir Rustam—a usurpation which must turn all classes against him, who otherwise would have been as ready to support Ali Murad as any of the others . . . I never had any idea of dispossessing *any* of the other chiefs of *any portion of their territory* to uphold Ali Murad's power, which is sufficiently secured by our countenance . . . I consider that the superior share of territory assigned to the Ráís by Meer Sohrab, was for the maintenance of troops necessary to protect the State against foreign aggression which, as I before remarked,¹ is no longer required under British protection. . . .

Had I been in your position, of course I must have obeyed; as it is, I consider myself fortunate that I am here as your subaltern . . . for I know you will never order me to do what my conscience condemns; and if I find it impossible to arrange details which the parties spurn, and you are satisfied that I have honestly exerted myself to the utmost of my ability, I hope you will allow me to depart—which I shall do, I assure you, with a heavy heart, for it is my most earnest desire to serve you usefully, in gratitude for the extreme kindness I have ever experienced from you.

'I fear I can be of no manner of use here now, but still hope I may possibly do something at Haiderabad, both with the Upper and Lower Sind Amirs, should you send me there.

¹ Appendix G.

‘I make no excuses for the freedom with which I have expressed myself, because you asked my sentiments, and, I know, would expect me to give them without disguise. . . .

‘I cannot close this without expressing my sorrow that you should have such a very low estimate of the Amirs personally. I call them “children” merely in reference to their puerile dealings with us and foolish suspicions, but they are much like most Oriental princes, and, in my opinion, equally able to manage their own affairs. . . .

‘It is with very great concern I write what may possibly cause you annoyance, or presume to differ from you in opinion, my dear Sir Charles, but you would consider me unworthy of your esteem did I hesitate to express my sentiments when you call for them.’

In restricting our extracts, we have omitted very much valuable matter; but the object of selection has been rather to show the general views of the writer on the question with which he had to deal, than to instruct the reader in the very intricate details of Sind history and politics, a thorough comprehension of which must be acquired out of the range of biography. It is but fair to add the General’s brief but genial reply:—

‘My dear Outram,—Your long letter, and dinner, came in together, and I only write just to say I have not read it—*ergo*, can’t answer it. I went to the end just to see if you had heard aught of the Vakeels, and see a few words about giving me annoyance. My dear friend, you cannot do that; a man that can be annoyed at a friend who tells him frankly his opinions, even had they not been asked and are honoured, has neither good sense nor good feeling; and I assure you, you may trust that I have enough of both to avoid such weakness.

‘Whatever your letter contains, whether we agree or



not, nothing can affect the sincere regard with which I am, always,

‘Yours, &c., &c.,

‘(Signed) C. NAPIER.’

Sir Charles Napier did not long tarry in the deserts around Imamgarh. Having shown that this isolated stronghold was not inaccessible to his troops, and having destroyed its more material defences, he thought it well to abandon the uninviting locality. On January 18, he was within reach of provisions and water in abundance. Four days later he was at Pir Abu Bakar, a station near Diji. Here, agreeably to his report to the Governor-General, he was to be joined by the remainder of the force, with which he would advance towards Haidarabad, should the negotiations which Major Outram had undertaken not progress satisfactorily. We have shown that nothing had been done up to January 25. On the 28th the General wrote from Halani, about twelve miles from the Indus, and on the high road between Khairpur and Haidarabad, that the Lower Sind Amirs had all sent *wakils* with full powers to Major Outram. Those in Upper Sind having made no sign, had been addressed by a special proclamation extending the time for appearance up to February 1. Military operations, it was stated, would go forward; but the persons of the chiefs would be respected, and all considered as friends up to the specified date. Outram himself was, in accordance with his request, ordered to Haidarabad; but the letter of instructions miscarried, or was treacherously withheld, and he did not leave Sakhar until February 4, reaching his destination by steamer on the 8th idem. Sir Charles was then at Daulatpur, about 90 miles north of Haidarabad.

Amid the clouds and smoke of controversy in which this particular passage of history has been enveloped, we discern



and may safely lay down as fact that, while the General officer who exercised civil and military control in Sind was, in accordance with his own views and under the thorough sanction of the Governor-General in India, hastening to bring about a crisis which he believed to be both excusable and imperative, his Commissioner was in the false position of one acting against his judgment and conscience, but under a sense of inexorable duty.

On the day of his arrival at Haidarabad, and on the day following, Outram held conferences with the Amirs. At these were present Mir Nasir Khan and sons, and Mir Muhammad Khan, representing the ruling chiefs of Lower Sind, and Mirs Rustam Khan and sons, Mir Nasir Khan, and Mir Muhammad Khan of Khairpur. The Commissioner pressed upon them the acceptance of the new treaties; but the resistance displayed was of a determined character. It was argued by the Amirs that, having never broken the old agreements into which they had entered with the British Government, there was no necessity to impose upon them new and objectionable terms as punishment for an offence which they had not committed. In the light of free agents, they declined them *in toto*. There was one condition, however, on which they would be induced to submit: that was, the restoration to Mir Rustam of the turban of sovereignty. They further begged that the march of the British troops might be delayed; otherwise it would be impossible for them to withhold the Baluchis from aggressive operations. On the afternoon of February 9, deputies from the Haidarabad Amirs waited on Major Outram, and applied the seals of their Highnesses to a written pledge to sign the new treaty. Three days afterwards, a further conference was held, at which the Persian copies of the draft treaties were produced, and a formal request made to the Amirs, both of Upper and Lower Sind, to affix their seals in the presence of the British



Commissioner. The meeting was so far satisfactory that the Haidarabad Mirs, also Mirs Rustam and Muhammad of Upper Sind, did as required, and Mir Nasir Khan of Khairpur promised compliance on the following morning. But it was evident, from the signs out of doors, that the Baluchis meant mischief, and, notwithstanding the precaution taken by the chiefs against outrage, one of the British officers of the escort was struck by a stone. On the following afternoon, confidential agents from the Amirs waited upon Major Outram to ask for assurances on behalf of Mir Rustam, whose rights the Baluch Sirdars had pledged themselves to uphold. As it was impossible to give these, the deputies expressed themselves to the effect that there was little hope of allaying the excitement of the people. The Commissioner, they urged, had demanded that the Amirs should control their soldiers and subjects, and had promised that the General would carefully consider their alleged grievances. If any replies on these points were to be made they would bring them that night. Otherwise it was to be taken for granted that their masters could do nothing further. The messenger did not return that night. Sir Charles Napier was then sixty miles from the capital, at Sakarand, where he had halted three days in compliance with Major Outram's request.

On February 14, Outram saw cause to believe that open hostility was intended by the Amirs. Independently of appearances in his immediate vicinity, our seizure of certain men of the Marri tribe, reported by the General, would, he thought, bring matters to a crisis. He wrote to Sir Charles accordingly, and addressed a request to the officer commanding H.M.'s 41st regiment, then *en route* to Karachi, to halt at Thatta, or the former place, pending further orders for its disposal. On February 15, he wrote his now historical despatch to the General, describing the attack upon the British Residency near Haidarabad. It was characteristic of the



writer that he desired the officer in command of the escort to report the brilliant affair. Sir Charles Napier, however, returned Captain Conway's despatch, insisting that as Major Outram's diplomatic functions had ceased with the first shot fired, it was his duty to report, as senior officer present. To this Outram was only reconciled by the General's assurance that his representation of Captain Conway's gallant service would most benefit the latter. The official account is brief: but we curtail it in order to add a few particulars heretofore unpublished:—

My despatches of the last few days will have led you to expect that my earnest endeavours to effect an amicable arrangement with the Ameers of Sind would fail; and it is with much regret I have now to report that their Highnesses have commenced hostilities by attacking my residence this morning, which, after four hours' most gallant defence by my honorary escort, the Light Company of Her Majesty's 22nd regiment, commanded by Captain Conway, I was compelled to evacuate, in consequence of our ammunition running short.

At 9 A.M. this morning, a dense body of cavalry and infantry¹ took post on three sides of the Agency compound (the fourth being defended by the 'Planet' steamer, about 500 yards distant), in the gardens and houses which immediately command the inclosure, and which it was impossible to hold with our limited numbers. A hot fire was opened by the enemy, and continued incessantly for four hours; but all their attempts to enter the Agency inclosure, although merely surrounded by a wall varying from four to five feet high, were frustrated by Captain Conway's able distribution of his small band, and the admirable conduct of every individual soldier composing it, under the gallant example of their commanding officer and his subalterns, Lieutenant Harding and Ensign Pennefather, Her Majesty's 22nd regiment, also Captains Green, of the 21st regiment native infantry, and Wells, of the 15th regiment, who volunteered their services, to each of whom was assigned the charge of a separate quarter; also to your aide-de-

¹ Ascertained, afterwards, to have amounted to 8,000 men under the command of Mir Shahdad Khan, his cousin Mir Muhammad Khan, Nawab Ahmad Khan Laghari, and many principal chiefs.



camp Captain Brown, Bengal engineers, who carried my orders to the steamers, and assisted in working her guns and directing her flanking fire. Our ammunition being limited to forty rounds per man, the officers directed their whole attention to reserving their fire and keeping their men close under cover, never showing themselves or returning a shot, except when the enemy attempted to rush, or showed themselves in great numbers. . . . Our hope of receiving a reinforcement and supply of ammunition by the 'Satellite' . . . being disappointed, on the arrival of that vessel without either, shortly after the commencement of the attack, it was decided at 12 A.M., after being three hours under fire, to retire to the steamer while still we had sufficient ammunition to fight the vessel up the river; I requested Captain Conway to keep the enemy at bay for one hour, while the property was removed, for which that time was ample, could the camp followers be induced to exert themselves: accordingly, after the expiration of another hour (during which the enemy, despairing of otherwise effecting their object, had brought up six guns to bear upon us), we took measures to evacuate the Agency. Captain Conway called in his posts, and all being united, retired in a body, covered by a few skirmishers, as deliberately as on parade, carrying off our slain and wounded.

So far the official report. We add a supplementary statement from a source not less authentic.¹ It should be premised that the Residency, as already shown, was situated in an enclosure or compound, the wall of which was from four to five feet high. This wall was built more or less parallel to the then river bank; its length—roughly N.W. to S.E.—was probably 300 yards, and its breadth 200. Included herewith were two smaller enclosures on the N.W. face, in which the doctor and his assistants had houses. At the S.E. end was a village, with bazar and orchard appertaining. The gate was on the N.E. side, the direction in which lay the city of Haidarabad.

¹ An original draft in Outram's handwriting, which has had the advantage of supervision by an officer who bore the chief part in the honourable and notable exploit narrated—Captain, now Major-General, T. S. Conway (C.B.).



The position for the first three hours is thus described:—

To the westward an approach by the bed of a *nullah* was watched by a party of fifteen men under Lieutenant Pennefather, guarding the wall.

To the front,¹ four scouts watched a body of horse, and occasionally fired shots to keep the assailants at a distance.

Twenty men, under Captain Wells, manning part of the wall, watched the gate: some ten men more being placed in reserve under cover of the cook-house, in readiness to repel any sudden rush to this quarter.

Twenty men under Lieutenant Harding manned another part of the wall. The whole were obliged to lie very close in consequence of the commanding fire from the flat-roofed upper-storied houses in the neighbouring compounds; and never showed their heads above the wall, except when the enemy threatened a rush at the gate, or to surmount the wall on the opposite side. Each man bored a hole with his bayonet, through which to watch the enemy, and to fire at every favourable opportunity.

There was also a party of thirty men to watch the enemy occupying the adjoining village, outbuildings, and detachment lines, in dense masses. Of this party a corporal and three men were posted in a convenient building to prevent the enemy surmounting some flat-roofed stables available. One particular position, considered the most important, was occupied by Captain Conway himself, although from time to time he visited other posts. Conductor Keily, with a commissariat guard of a Naigne and three *sipahis*, kept the entrance from the bazar.

A flat-roofed office of considerable elevation was held by Captain Green and fifteen men—stationed at the windows, or wall, and on the roof. This position commanded the bazar square and communication with the vessels, and prevented

¹ The gate-side—i.e. looking towards the city—is the 'front.'



the enemy showing himself outside the orchard wall; he was, moreover, kept in check by the fire from the 'Planet' steamer.

At the expiration of three hours—when it was decided to withdraw after one hour more, and the enemy were bringing up their guns, not before observed—it was resolved, as a preparatory measure, to abandon the front positions of the compound. Accordingly, at a preconcerted signal, the parties posted there fell back to the Residency, which then became the front line of defence.

The hour allotted for carrying off the baggage having terminated, the retreat was sounded, on which all posts except one were abandoned, and the men closed in double march at a gate appointed. When formed, Captain Conway marched the party by sections to the river front of the still guarded post, and then marched in column directly down to the steamer, the march being the signal for the last batch of defenders to drop from the windows, and cover the retiring column by skirmishing to the rear in extended order.

About the period of the second formation, Captain Brown, having observed the enemy preparing a battery behind the embankment of a *nullah*, transferred himself from the 'Planet' to the 'Satellite' steamer, which had then arrived, and took up a position in her, so as to rake the *nullah* and prevent the enemy placing three guns they were bringing up against us—and which were afterwards used in position to annoy the vessels in their upward passage. While the 'Planet' was occupied in bringing off the 'flat,' three guns were brought through the Agency compound, and placed in battery under the trees in front of the gate where our soldiers had last formed. Their fire was met, and almost entirely kept under, by the 'Planet's' single twelve-pounder; and the detachment was embarked without loss—the wounded and corpses of the slain having been previously removed on board.



The first object being to secure the fuel depôt at the village of Kotri, about three miles up the opposite bank of the river, ere yet the enemy had time to destroy it, the 'Satellite' steamer was immediately despatched for its protection, until a sufficiency of wood to enable both vessels to pursue their course up the river had been laid in. The three guns formerly alluded to as having been withdrawn, which in the meantime had been brought into position higher up the river, opened their fire as the 'Satellite' passed. She returned the fire, and by her good practice dismounted one gun.

The next point was to carry off the large flat which was moored to the shore immediately opposite the enemy's guns, to effect which the 'Planet' remained. The flush decks of the river-steamers affording no protection from shot for those on board, the officers commanding them had prepared bulwarks, previous to the embarkation of the troops, by piling up every movable article. Under this cover all except those employed in working the vessels were well protected; but the removal of the unwieldy flat was an operation which obliged all hands belonging to the 'Planet' (and especially her commander, Mr. Cole) to expose themselves much. That they did so with impunity is extraordinary, because they were under a very hot fire for more than twenty minutes. The enemy, emboldened by the departure of the 'Satellite,' sought to approach the remaining vessel across the dry bed of the river; and only fell back to the 'long shot' position after examples had been made among the more venturesome of their number. Three times did the 'Planet' fail to attain her object: and three times had she to return and go round before bringing off her charge in tow from under the hostile guns. During this proceeding the soldiery on board had kept their fire in reserve, as heretofore, only opening as opportunity was afforded by the increased audacity of their opponents.



The 'Planet' then followed the 'Satellite,' running the gauntlet of the artillery, and the fire of the enemy from every hollow which afforded cover, with no loss. Large bodies of the enemy kept company with her for about two miles up the river, when they departed. The 'Planet' having delayed at Kotri on the right bank, while the 'Satellite' was completing her fuel, both vessels continued their upward course until sunset, when they anchored for the night about ten miles above the Agency. On the 16th they pursued their voyage at daylight, and at 9 A.M. anchored opposite to and about a mile from Matári, where, shortly afterwards, the advanced guard of the army arrived.

Outram wrote that in the operations above described, the loss on our side was only two killed and eleven wounded; while there were, on the side of the enemy, more than sixty killed, and 'probably the usual estimate—quadruple of that number wounded.' This extraordinary disparity he attributed to the 'judicious disposal of our men, and their steady maintenance of their posts, to draw them from which all attempts of the enemy failed—except to the extent of springing up,' whenever the latter tried to close, 'delivering their fire, and again squatting, before the enemy had time to take aim or even fire.' Thus it was, he continued, that the assailants 'became momentarily less daring, and were at last obliged to bring up six guns to force an imperfect low-walled enclosure of 200 yards square, defended by only one hundred men against countless numbers possessing commanding positions and cover up to our walls on three sides.'¹

¹ In the rough memorandum written by Outram, from which the above account is taken, it is added that when the army reached the Residency on February 19 (four days after the assault), three of the guns were found still on the river bank. The other three had broken down on the road between the Residency and town, in the attempt to take them back. The official report gave two men killed of H.M.'s 22nd regiment and one camp follower; ten



He joined his chief at Matári, a town situated only sixteen miles north of Haidarabad. Between the two places was the village of Miáni—a name common in Sind to the abode of fishermen; and around Miáni were gathering the available forces of the Sind Amirs.¹ From Matári, on the day of his joining, it was arranged that Outram, in company with Captain Green, Lieutenants Wells, and Brown, his co-defenders of the Residency, and 200 convalescent *sipáhis*, should be despatched on a night expedition. The object was to attain a position which would enable them, at an early hour of the morning, to burn the Miáni and neighbouring *shikárgáhs*, or forest, in which it was expected the enemy would collect, and from which, when collected, their dislodgment would be difficult. That the proposal was Outram's own may be certified on perusal of his report of arrival at the Matári ferry, addressed to the General before the latter had reached the town of Matári, and had pitched his camp between it and the river. But the necessity of clearing the *shikárgáhs* by some means, whether by land or water, was obvious to Sir Charles Napier, who had, moreover, reason to suppose that the enemy's left flank was posted in them, and that an army of 22,000 men was in position at Miáni! In Outram's diary of February 16, the entry is as follows:—‘At 12 . . . force arrived at Matári, and encamped about a mile from the steamer. Visited Sir Charles Napier, who instructed me to take two hundred men next morning to burn the *shikárgáhs* which skirted his line of march, while he should continue his advance to within a few miles of the city, where I was to join him.’

wounded, among whom were Mr. Conductor Keily, Mr. Carlisle, the agency clerk, two of the steamer's crew, four men of H.M. 22nd regiment, and two camp followers, and four camp followers missing.

¹ Outram's belief that there was really ‘no preparation’ for hostility on the part of the Amirs, will be readily reconciled with this aggregation of armed chiefs and retainers hastily brought together. Such Oriental local armaments are commonly procurable at a very short notice; and in the then temper of the Baluchis, a summons to arms would be rather anticipated than awaited.



On the 17th we read :—‘ Occupied all day in endeavouring to destroy the *shikārgāhs*, in which we had to traverse many miles. There being no wind, the woods burned very slowly and partially. We only saw one body of about 500 of the enemy, who made off on observing our approach; we heard firing in the direction of the army, which continued till 1 P.M. I proposed to take our detachment round the *shikārgāh*, so as to fall upon the retreat, towards the city, of the enemy, who would doubtless have retired before Sir Charles. The officers, however, considered their men too much knocked up to attempt an enterprise involving a further march of some miles. We returned to our vessels about sunset, and shortly after learned from the natives the severe action which had taken place. I decided on making my way to Sir Charles’s camp with 100 men, to be in time to partake in the advance on the fortress, which we considered would take place next morning.’

The firing heard was indeed from the battle-field. The severe action reported by the natives was that of Miani. A struggle had occurred, the result of which, in the words of the Governor-General, ‘ placed at the disposal of the British Government the country on both banks of the Indus from Sakkhar to the sea, with the exception of such portions thereof as may belong to Mir Ali Murad of Khairpur, and to any other of the Amirs who may have remained faithful to his engagements.’

Sir Charles Napier prefaces his despatch describing the victory with a notice of the risks run at Haidarabad by his Commissioner, and of a plot laid to murder Major Outram and his companions which had happily been frustrated; and thus speaks of the attack on the Agency :—‘ The report of this nefarious transaction I have the honour to enclose. I heard of it at Hala, at which place the fearless and distin-



guished Major Outram joined me, with his brave companions in the stern and extraordinary defence of his residence against so overwhelming a force, accompanied by six pieces of cannon.' At the close of the same paper, he reverts to the subject: 'The defence of the Residency by Major Outram and the small force with him against such numbers of the enemy was so admirable, that I have scarcely mentioned it in the foregoing despatch, because I propose to send your Lordship a detailed account of it, as a brilliant example of defending a military post.'

Of the burning the *shikārgāha*, he says:—

'This was an operation of great difficulty and danger, but would have been most important to the result of the battle. However, the enemy had moved about eight miles to their right during the night, and Major Outram executed his task without difficulty at the hour appointed, viz., nine o'clock, and from the field we observed the smoke of the burning wood arise. I am strongly inclined to think that this circumstance had some effect on the enemy. But it deprived me of the able services of Major Outram, Captain Green, and Lieutenants Brown and Wells, together with 200 men, which I much regretted, for their sakes.'

But we left Outram about to rejoin the victorious army. The diary continues:—

'February 18.—At 2 A.M., marched with 100 men for the camp, eight miles distant, which we reached just before daybreak; our road lay along the course of the Falaili. The field of battle, over which we passed, plainly showed, in the bright moonlight, from the heaps of slain covering it, how severely contested the action must have been. We were soon in possession of the particulars of this very sanguinary, at one time doubtful, and finally decisive conflict. Our loss, in pro-



portion to the numbers engaged, was very heavy: 19 officers and 256 men, and 95 horses killed and wounded out of about 2,700 actually in the field. There were many chiefs, and upwards of 5,000 killed and wounded of the enemy.

‘Early in the morning, messengers came into camp to tender the submission of the Amirs. Sir Charles gave them till mid-day to surrender unconditionally; otherwise, our troops would march at that hour on the capital. Before the time specified had elapsed, Mirs Hasan Khan, Shahdad, and Husain Ali Khan, the Amirs of Haidarabad who had led the enemy, came into camp and surrendered unconditionally. The two former were detained as prisoners, but the latter was released by Sir Charles at my intercession, out of respect to the memory of his late father, Mir Nur Muhammad, who, on his death-bed, had consigned the youth to my guardianship. Overtures were also made by the Amirs of Upper Sind, who were informed that no other terms than unconditional surrender would be given.

‘*February 19.*—Marched past Haidarabad to the banks of the Indus, and encamped close to the Agency, now a heap of ruins. Mir Rustam Khan, and one of his sons, and Nasir Khan of Khairpur came into camp, and surrendered as prisoners of war unconditionally. As nothing further can now be done until the Governor-General’s orders are received, and as my functions as commissioner ceased on hostilities breaking out, Sir Charles Napier has granted me permission to return to Bombay, for which I shall embark in the “Satellite” steamer to-morrow at noon, bearing the despatches.’

On the march from Miáni to the site of the Haidarabad Residency, the British commissioner rode side by side with the fallen chiefs. One of them, Mir Nasir Khan, asked him, with some show of curiosity, where he had been during the



action of the previous day? He had looked for him, he affirmed, through his spy-glass, after the rout of his Baluchis, in order that he might surrender to a personal friend; but, failing to recognise him among the British officers, he had gone on his way with the rest. This statement accorded with the testimony of Lieutenant Fitzgerald, of the Sind Horse, who had observed one of the principal Amirs, mounted on a camel, answering to Nasir's description, long hovering about the retreating army, and otherwise acting in an unaccountable manner. On Outram's explaining the cause of his absence from the field, the Amir admitted that there had been an intention, on the part of his people, to occupy the *shikārgāhs*, but that they had changed their minds. It is highly probable that the plan of firing the forests from the rear having transpired before the period of its execution had arrived, the enemy modified his tactics accordingly, and was driven to fight at once in the open—a course which gave the British general the opportunity of bringing the campaign, in a few hours, to a comparative close. Outram gratified Nasir Khan much, by telling him how great credit he had gained with the British officers for the gallant fight he had maintained; and amused him, even in his natural despondency, by turning to Mir Shahdad, also riding near, and stating that *his* failure to make good the assault upon one hundred men with a force of eight thousand, was as much the ridicule as the other's action was the admiration of the English army. The fact is that the treachery of Shahdad, which had become evident, merited severer treatment than conveyed in a roadside rebuff. This chief had asked Outram's permission to bring his followers to the Residency, for the protection of its occupants, on the very eve of the attack upon the place, which it was felt that he himself, to all intents and purposes, had led and instigated.

Taking leave of the General, his companions in arms and



native friends, Outram embarked in the river steamer. It cannot be said that he parted from any with a light heart, or free from cares, as much for others as on his own account. The widow of the late Mir Nur Muhammad had petitioned him on behalf of her sons. Of these, although Shahdad was entitled to little consideration at his hands, the other brother, Husain Ali, was his especial *protégé*. But for the Talpurs generally, he felt a sympathy which few of his brother officers in Sind could quite understand; and he had misgivings on the future, too, of the Amirs and their families, whose unsought association with the powerful foreigner had brought about their ruin. Off Thatta, on February 22, he wrote to his friend, Lieutenant Brown, the following brief letter:—

‘As you are the custodian of the captive princes, let me entreat of you, as a kindness to myself, to pay every regard to their comfort and dignity. I do assure you my heart bleeds for them, and it was in the fear that I might betray my feelings that I declined the last interview they yesterday sought of me. Pray say how sorry I was I could not call upon them before leaving; that, could I have done them any good, I would not have grudged . . . any expenditure of time or labour on their behalf; but that, alas, they have placed it out of my power to do aught, by acting contrary to my advice, and having recourse to the fatal step of appeal to arms against the British Power.’

Before the last day of February, Outram had again landed in Bombay, and been received with kindly consideration and cordiality by the Governor, Sir George Arthur. He had purposed returning home by the steamer of March 1, but the result of his conference with His Excellency made him defer his departure for at least another month. The suggestion that he still might be wanted in Sind had been put to him with new arguments which his own modesty and self-abnega-

tion had not before suffered him to entertain; and he could not brook the bare notion that personal pique in one instance, and mere difference of opinion in another, had caused him to abandon a scene of action in which he might still be exceptionally useful. Instead, therefore, of taking leave of his Presidency friends preparatory to embarkation, he wrote, on the last day of February, a letter to the Governor, enclosing a long memorandum on the merits of the 'Sind question,' but personally, full of excellent feeling. One passage may be extracted:—

'You are so good as to think that although Sir Charles permitted my departure, he might really have wished my stay; and that I might be of use in the arrangement of the details of whatever settlement may have to be carried into effect in Sind. It never occurred to me that possibly Sir Charles, in his kind consideration for my personal convenience, may have let me come away sooner than he otherwise would have wished; and it is with compunction that I reflect on the enormous labour which he certainly will have to go through during the coming hot season, much of the minor details and drudgery of which I might save him from.

'If such is really the opinion of Sir Charles, I would rejoin him with alacrity and pleasure on the footing of an acting aide-de-camp, as which, I should have no voice of my own in the *policy* Sir Charles might adopt, and merely should have to carry out to the best of my ability the details which he might entrust to me, which would be far preferable to me to the situation in which I was formerly placed, when, *having a voice*, I was bound to raise it as my conscience dictated.

'Simply as aide-de-camp to Sir Charles, the *military* allowances of which situation are *defined*, there can be none of the personal scruples which I entertained to receiving his Lordship's bounty on the former occasion, and I should not



grudge the time and trouble that might be incurred in working out the settlement of Sind during the ensuing hot season, so long as I were serving *under*, and *for*, Sir Charles Napier.'

Sir George Arthur, in replying to this letter, generally approved of the course which the writer had pursued in delaying his return. About a week afterwards, Outram himself wrote fully to Sir Charles. Speaking of Sind, he wished to Heaven the General were out of that country, adding:— 'or that if you do stay, I were with you, as a humble military aide-de-camp (not a *political* or *commissioner*) for I cannot but fear you will have a most troublesome time of it, the dangers of which I would with all my heart share with you in that capacity. As I believe Sir George Arthur wrote to you, I have not the presumption to think that I could be of much use in a purely military line, but it would gratify me to share your fatigues and dangers, and I should be no longer called upon to officiate out of that line. . . .

'I am sick of *policy*; I will not say yours is the *best*, but it is undoubtedly the *shortest*—that of *the sword*. Oh, how I wish you had drawn it in a better cause!'

He touched, moreover, on other than official matters: for he had been to see Lady Napier, and her family. Had he had ten times the distance to go, he wrote, he would have been more than rewarded by the outward indications of a happiness which the sight of one who had so recently shaken the gallant general by the hand had afforded.

While at Bombay, the rumour that a second engagement in Sind was imminent, caused him formally to volunteer his services there in a military capacity; and he proposed to accompany a detachment of artillery then preparing to embark. In reply he was informed by the Secretary to Government that with reference to his 'former position in Sind, and distin-



guished services,' considerations existed which induced 'the Hon. the Governor in Council to think it inexpedient that Government should accept the offer.' Independently of his letter to Sir Charles which we have quoted, he wrote twice to his secretary on the subject, using, on the second occasion, these words:—'I certainly did not anticipate any further open hostilities when I left . . . and I shall ever blame myself for having come away when I did if they do take place. I wish I was again with Sir Charles, to share his fatigues and dangers. . . . as his subaltern and a mere volunteer. As such I asked to return the other day, when unfavourable reports were brought down.'

We have alluded to Outram's warm reception at Government House in Bombay. It need scarcely be said, however, that on his return to the Presidency, he had been welcomed in all quarters, official and non-official, with every demonstration of regard and respect. On March 25, a meeting of his friends was held, at which it was unanimously resolved to present him with a sword of the value of 300 guineas, and a costly piece of plate. The copy of the resolutions then passed and forwarded to him was acknowledged with 'feelings of gratitude and pride,' which he expressed himself at a loss to describe. 'I have always felt,' he wrote to Mr. Le Geyt, one of the committee of subscribers, 'that to obtain the applause of my comrades in arms is the highest honour to which I could aspire, but when I perceive men of all classes unite with them in according to me this distinguished mark of approbation, I feel my merits have been greatly overrated, and that it is to their partial estimate of the services I have performed that I am indebted for this splendid token of their approbation.

'I accept with gratitude the sword thus presented to me. It will be my most cherished possession while I live, and, on my death, it shall be bequeathed to my representa-



tive, as the most highly valued gift I can bestow.' There were no fewer than 511 subscribers to this testimonial.

On the sword ran this inscription :—

'Presented to Major James Outram, 23rd Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, in token of the regard of his friends, and the high estimation in which he is held for the intrepid gallantry which has marked his career in India, but more especially his heroic defence of the British Residency at Hyderabad, in Scinde, on the 15th February, 1843, against an army of 8,000 Beloochees with six guns.—Bombay, April, 1843.'

Marked on one side of the blade :—

'Major James Outram.'

On the other :—

'*Sans peur et sans reproche.*'

With further reference to the Bombay meeting, the following letter was addressed to him in whose honour it was held, three or four days later, by Bishop Carr, of Bombay.¹

¹ In fitting contrast to this honourable testimonial from his own church, may be mentioned the award to Major (then Colonel) Outram of a gold medal from the late Pope Pius IX. for services referred to in the following letter, dated from the English College in Rome, January 31, 1850 :—'His Holiness Pius IX. has commanded the undersigned rector of the English College in Rome to forward to you a gold medal ; and he has desired that it should be sent without delay, as a testimonial of gratitude for the kindness displayed by you on various occasions to poor Catholics under your command, or stationed within your Residency. As soon as the Holy Father received information that an English bishop was on his way to Calcutta, he ordered this medal to be prepared and sent by that opportunity to you ; but as the bishop had unfortunately quitted Naples, it was sent to me, and I write by the earliest post to apprise you of this act of consideration on the part of His Holiness, and to ask you whether you wish me to send it to England, to your agent in London, or whether I am to send it by Malta through some other channel.

'Allow me to add that I feel highly honoured in having been chosen by the Holy Father as the medium of communication with you ; and I shall be happy if you ever visit Rome, to present you to His Holiness, and to render you any other service in my power.'



Accompanying it were a Bible and Prayer-book, with these words in the good old prelate's hand writing, 'Thou hast covered my head in the day of battle;' and 'This is Life Eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou has sent':—

Bycullah: March 29, 1843.

'My dear Sir,—Amongst the friends who assembled in the Town Hall on Saturday, in order to offer you a tribute of their respect, there probably was none who felt more admiration of your conduct in the late campaigns, and in your former situation, when you were reducing the Bheel tribes to habits of order, than myself. I felt, however, that I could not consistently take part in the offering of a sword, as it is the object of my office and ministry to keep the sword in its scabbard, and to labour to promote peace. With these views, and with feelings of great respect for the intrepid bravery, ability, persevering activity, and I will add, forbearance towards the weak, which have marked your conduct, I venture to offer you a small tribute of respect, and to request your acceptance of a Book, a blessed Book, in which you may find support in the hour of trial, and consolation at that time when the sword must be laid aside, and when external things must cease to interest. In it, my dear Sir, is to be found a peace which the world cannot disturb. I pray that this peace may be yours, and with sentiments of much admiration and respect, believe me to be, Sir, very sincerely yours,

'THOMAS BOMBAY.'

Outram returned home by the steamer of April 1. Though he was not to reappear in Sind, either in a civil or military capacity, his connection with that country was by no means severed. His acquaintance with its people and



politics would be soon put to a new and crucial test. It would occupy his thoughts in the West, as it had already done in the East. But nearly twenty-four years of unbroken service in India should suffice to complete one section of the career we have undertaken to describe: and a thorough change of scene points to an appropriate division of our subject.



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BOOK II
MIDDLE AGE.

1843-1856.

VOL. I.

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CHAPTER I.

1843-1845.

Home.—Return to India.—Nimar.—Disturbances in Southern Maratha Country.—Kolapur and Sawant-Wari.

ABSENCE from England for a quarter of a century may bring about distaste and unfitness for the climate and ways of the old country; but the sight of home, even after so many years, can hardly prove a matter of indifference to the returning wanderer. In Outram's case this long period had been almost reached: the full vigour of manhood had replaced the undeveloped powers of youth; and there had been much growth and formation of taste in India to dim the colour of boyish association. But family ties and patriotic instincts ever exercised a strong influence over him; and in a letter addressed to his mother from Malta, on his homeward voyage, the old filial affection burns brightly as ever. He thanks heaven that he is 'now on the high road' towards her, and calculates the precise date on which he may be actually proceeding from London to Scotland.

As it happened, the satisfaction of revisiting his native land had more of alloy for Colonel Outram than falls to the average lot of the Indian officer availing himself of a long-deferred furlough to Europe. Even his richly-deserved honours were not to be matter of pure congratulation. True that the Sind gazettes enabled him to turn his face homewards a brevet Lieutenant-Colonel and C.B.; but this was exactly what he had been officially led to consider himself three years before. How friends and comrades viewed his promotion was well



expressed in the words of the most eminent of the Governors under whom he served. Mr. Elphinstone, in a letter to an East India Director of the day, took occasion to remark that had the honours been received agreeably to original promise, Colonel Outram would then, under ordinary precedent for distinguished military service, have been an aide-de-camp to the Queen and K.C.B.—rewards quite irrespective of exceptional work in the political department.¹ But, personal considerations apart, his mind was full of cares and anxieties concerning the honour of his country and on behalf of the Amirs of Sind; and it was natural that he should wish the home authorities to understand what had been his own share of responsibility in the treatment of the deposed and exiled chiefs and the annexation of their lands. He felt, moreover, constrained by honour and duty to represent the circumstances of these unfortunate princes in the light which, to his appreciation, was that of truth. His own intimate acquaintance with the more prominent members of the fallen dynasty, and especially the legacy of trust committed to him by one of the number on his dying bed, made him keenly sensitive to the necessity of pleading a cause which, without such advocacy, could not obtain a legitimate hearing. In taking this course he knew full well that he once more, and

¹ The exact words may be quoted:—'... two distinctions which had been promised, and more than promised, long ago. Had he received these honours at the time, he would now (on the principle which must have been observed of advancing each officer one step) have been made aide-de-camp to the Queen and K.C.B. All this is written as if Colonel Outram was merely a military officer who had distinguished himself in the Afghan campaign, and who now again shared with many others in the services lately performed in Scinde; but you are well aware how far this is from Colonel Outram's real position. Besides his ample share in the planning and conduct of various military enterprises, his political services for several years have been such as it would be difficult to parallel in the whole course of Indian diplomacy... Considering all these services, and the high station held by Colonel Outram when he performed them, the appearance of his name among crowds of subalterns is rather a humiliation than an honour.'



this time perhaps hopelessly, imperilled both reputation and prospects. Indeed, to initiate at head-quarters an attack upon the policy of the Governor-General and of others high in power and influence might seem deliberate official suicide. He did not at the time anticipate that disinterested efforts on behalf of the Amirs would involve a breach with a man whose friendship he especially valued, and whose character he especially admired—Sir Charles Napier. But no considerations whatever could restrain him from what he believed to be the straight line of duty, particularly when it implied justice to the oppressed, the misrepresented, or the maligned—and such he believed the deposed Amirs to be.

Lord Ripon was at that time President of the Board of Control; but it was not only with that nobleman that his Indian experience and repute placed him in communication. Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, sent for, and received from him a statement of his views on the Sind question; and he had also to meet similar requisitions from the Chairs of the Court of Directors, as well as from the Duke of Wellington through his secretary, Mr. Arbuthnot. He found that most important official documents had never reached the home authorities—such as his notes of conferences with the Amirs; and he was enabled to supply copies, as well as to submit verbal explanations of these. Arrival in London was consequently not immediately followed by departure to join his family in the North. It was on a Saturday afternoon in May. Installing himself at the Burlington Hotel in Cork Street, he proceeded at once to the India Board, where he had to await the coming of the President, who was on a Cabinet Council, and did not appear until 6.30. P.M. too fatigued for new work. There was no remedy but to defer the interview until Monday. On Monday, his Lordship was closeted with the Prime Minister, and on appearance at the office in the afternoon, apologising



for the exigencies of his high position, had to hurry off again to a Cabinet Council. We need not continue these details to explain how it was that days passed before Outram rejoined his family at Cheltenham, which place was fixed upon as a more convenient temporary residence than any part of Scotland. A letter to his mother, dated May 25, may, however, be quoted:—‘The truth is that my going to Edinburgh at all till the next India Mail arrives, is very much against the wish of the Court of Directors. . . . I believe they concede it out of kindness to me; and discussions daily arise from which reference has to be made to information which I have to afford. To-day, for instance, I was closeted with the Duke of Wellington’s secretary two hours, and shall again be required by Lord Ripon to-morrow, and am liable to be so every day till it is decided what has to be done. I feel, therefore, that I should be deserting my post to go away at this moment.’

During his nominal stay at Cheltenham, he was perpetually on the move between that place and London. In the former town he was invited to a dinner to be given to him by the Anglo-Indian residents, but declined the honour. His health was good, although he was annoyed by the remains of an enormous Sind boil on his cheek. This at one time kept him under treatment and, in a note to his wife written from London, he mentions that his face is such a figure he is ‘ashamed to go’ even ‘to the club.’ From Cheltenham he and Mrs. Outram moved to London before the close of the season, and were presented at Court. It was a great pleasure to them in those days to meet with their old friends of Khandesh, Mr. and Mrs. Bax. After the ceremony of presentation, in which both ladies bore a part, Outram ran up to Scotland for a hasty visit of less than a fortnight to his sister Mrs. Sligo at Seacliffe, and his father-in-law in Forfarshire. This absence from London and the



vicinity was the occasion of an unfortunate *contretemps* which he imagined ever afterwards might have afforded grounds for a misapprehension affecting his loyal courtesy--if such a term be admissible. He received an invitation to a State Ball when in Scotland, and having no skilled courtier at hand to point out the command which the honourable compliment implied, he took it as an ordinary civility, and excused himself on the plea of absence from London. Had he understood the true nature of the case he would, of course, have made a point of hurrying up, at any cost, in obedience to the gracious summons. Not only was the fault overlooked, but the great honour was accorded him of an invitation to a second State Ball immediately succeeding the first. This, however, through some mischance, he did not receive until the specified day had passed; and in tendering his explanation he unwittingly fell into the error of preferring it demi-officially, through a personal friend among the nobility, instead of submitting a formal apology, which he vainly regretted he had failed to do when too late conscious of the omission. Those who knew him, and how deep and chivalrous were his loyalty and attachment to the Sovereign, would rightly interpret acts such as these to be mere indications of a camp and 'out-of-door' training--results which men are accustomed to consider the accidents rather than the incidents of a career.

From the lodgings and distractions of London, and the lionising, which he cordially disliked but now found himself subject to, it was decided to move to Brighton. Mrs. Outram preceded him; but he soon rejoined her, having accomplished in the interim his journey to Scotland and back. From Brighton, after a short stay, they crossed to Dieppe and went on to Paris. The dweller among Bhils and Brahûis, Afghans and Sindis, not being an expert in the French language, found little permanent attraction in



Parisian theatres and other amusements; and avoided 'sights,' in the general sense of the term. His mind was full of Sind; and he had already, before coming to the Continent, placed certain papers in the printer's hands and received the proofs for correction—processes which, when once essayed, are seldom restricted to the one occasion. He missed even the frequent official references made to his knowledge and experience by the Directors, or by authorities less immediately connected with India; and he longed again to talk over at the clubs, with men interested like himself in the subject, past and passing events and possible future contingencies affecting the honour and welfare of our still growing British Empire in the East. Accordingly a sudden return to lodgings in Brook Street took place before the end of September; and in London he remained, until quitting England for India on December 1 of the same year. In November, when he had been only six months in the enjoyment of his furlough, intelligence was received in London of the revolution of Lahor and murder of the Maharaja Sher Singh. War with the Sikhs was foreshadowed; and Outram indulged in the hope that his services would be made available in the North-West.

He addressed himself in the first instance to Lord Ripon, expressing his desire to return by the next outgoing mail, instead of awaiting the expiration of his furlough; and solicited his Lordship's good offices to enable him to find employment under Lord Gough in the capacity of a mere volunteer, without encroachment on the General's patronage in respect of personal staff and field appointments. At the suggestion of Lord Ripon, however, the application was transferred (and with success) to the Duke of Wellington, who, as Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's army, both at home and abroad, would naturally have less scruples than a civilian in recommending an officer for military service.



Nor was this the only communication that Outram had to make to the Board of Control preparatory to re-embarkation for the East. Circumstances had transpired to render advisable the submission in the same quarter of a memorandum designed to counteract any injurious misrepresentation of his proceedings in Sind which might possibly reach the Home Government; and this paper was given in, as a precautionary measure, on the eve of his departure. The 'possible' misrepresentations had then, indeed, reached the Home offices, but they were not shown to him whom, personally, they chiefly concerned, nor was he favoured with any intimation of their existence or arrival. Before he could learn anything of them they were to be put before Parliament and the country, a procedure which occurred in March 1844. The memorandum which he had thought proper to prepare by way of precaution had been returned in the previous January, with an intimation that it should have been sent through the Government of India!

Fortunately we need not dwell at length on the painful controversy occasioned by his strictures on the annexation which followed the battles of Miáni and Dabba, the utterance of which at home was but a natural consequence of the situation in which the late political agent and commissioner in Sind found himself placed on leaving Western India. When Outram was at Bombay in March, just before embarkation, the question arose as to the propriety of putting a full exposition of his views on the Sind complication before the Governor-General. Nothing, however, was done in the matter. Sir George Arthur, then Governor, did not think that his Government could express any opinion on the subject, and it was doubtful whether the submission of any individual remarks, without an accompanying letter of comment, might not lead to the writer's detention in India. But his sympathy with the Amirs was well known to the authorities