



both in Sind and Bombay; and, when about to leave Sind, he had placed before Sir C. Napier a full and clear statement of our relations with those princes. After his arrival in England, some of his Indian friends kept him *au courant* of local events. Among them Major Gordon forwarded from time to time an account of the captive Amirs, over whom he had been placed as superintendent at Sasur, noting the affectionate manner in which they spoke of 'Outram Sahib' as their best friend. Mirs Sobdar and Nasir Khan, and the old Mir Rustam Khan of Upper Sind, all took advantage of Major Gordon's correspondence to address their old acquaintance, detailing their griefs, and assuring him, in their own handwriting, of their kindly remembrance and regard. He had, therefore, always at hand, the case of the Amirs of Sind up to the latest dates; and, in imparting freely to the Home Government his information and opinions, he laid himself open to no charge of secret or inconsistent action. He was advocating a cause which he had before openly espoused in India, and attacking a policy from which he had already publicly dissented in the same quarter. That the difference of opinion with his temporary chief, admitted at first in so friendly a spirit by Sir Charles Napier, should have become aggravated into a serious rupture, must be attributed to the excitement of the times and the introduction of new elements of discord as the controversy progressed—elements aggravated by the intervention of partisans whose bitter pens revelled in paper warfare. Ample evidence has been recorded on both sides to guide the impartial reader to a correct judgment; and if he wade through all the volumes that have been printed on this one subject only, he will hardly fail to regret the time spent and energy wasted by the litigants on an argument which would better have been debated by professional pleaders in the law court or council chamber. Whichever view he take, we have no fear that the ability.





integrity, or honesty of purpose of the subject of this biography will suffer in his estimation. As regards the sentence of history, Time, the great soother of contention and often the fairest discriminator between public controversialists, has already, in part, pronounced its judgment; and the full decision will follow in due course. One of those incidental revelations which afford pregnant 'materials of history' has recently laid bare to us the secret councils of the powers that were in 1843. An article by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in the 'Contemporary Review' of November 1876, *apropos* of Russian proceedings in Asia, contains the following most remarkable passage:—

A notable example occurred in 1843, when Sind was conquered by Napier, under the auspices of Lord Ellenborough. 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 that time. But the ministry were powerless, inasmuch as the mischief of retaining was less than the mischief of abandoning it, and it remains an accomplished fact.

Under the unexpected light which thus breaks upon an otherwise shrouded page of our annals, we see the Bayard of India stand more than justified in his riskful championship of the helpless Amirs. But the contest proved a long and costly one for him. Allies able and not uninfluential took up the cause with him, and eventually he emerged from the struggle, firmer in the saddle than ever—scathed, injured, and weary, but with his modest scutcheon brightened rather than blurred. For years the uncongenial paper warfare dragged on, the incubus of a life—each day of which brought its full burden of public care—and the source of misrepresentations, misunderstandings, and aspersions peculiarly trying to a sensitively honest nature.

For ourselves, long and close experience with the chiefs and people of Sind under British rule has not shaken our





faith, acquired at first sight, in the justice of Outram's argument. It shall now be our business, in these pages, to give as much as possible an incidental character to this phase of the Sind question. In the excellent spirit which has guided a comparatively recent biographer in his allusions to it,<sup>1</sup> we see a precedent and a model which may well and wisely be followed as closely as circumstances permit.

There is one passage, however, in the book under reference, which we may not leave quite unnoticed. We do not revert to it so much on account of its pertinency to our own biography, as from the wish to complete a deeply interesting correspondence which cannot but reflect lustre on the memories of those between whom it arose. No reprint of already published letters, or summary of their contents, will now be given. The consciousness that certain feelings, though essentially human, are too sacred, in some sense, for repeated expression, forbids us to retrace, in any but the faintest outline, the following occurrence of the year 1858. The elder Mrs. Outram, then an octogenarian, wrote a letter, full of sorrowful reproach, to General Sir William Napier, in correction of a too hasty statement on his part as to the death of her son Francis, which had caused her much pain. To this appeal the General sent a short but touching and noble reply. We have now to add that this reply was forwarded with a copy of Mrs. Outram's generous acknowledgment. James Outram, then almost at the zenith of his fame. Upon receipt, he addressed to his mother the following letter, from which few portions have been omitted, lest the force of the original should be impaired. It must have

<sup>1</sup> *Life of General Sir W. Napier, K.C.B.* By H. A. Bruce, Esq., M.P., vol. ii. p. 165:—'This painful controversy, which thus arose between the two brothers . . . and a man who has gained the respect and admiration of thousands, and who possessed in a very remarkable degree the quality of conciliating the warm affection of those about him, is here dismissed.'





been written—and the text bears evidence of the accuracy of the date—on the very day that its writer, at the head of the 1st division, retook the Residency, during that brilliant series of operations which resulted in the final capture of Lakhnao by Sir Colin Campbell:—

‘As you did not send me a copy of your first letter I can only infer its substance and tone from the very meagre allusions you make . . . and from the manly and touching acknowledgment it drew forth from one who—may God forgive me for the harsh and unjust judgment—I believed incapable of acknowledging an error. Your reply to this brief but affecting note was worthy of yourself, my noble-minded mother, and due to your correspondent. And *his* concluding note was worthy of a brave and good man.

‘I was *very much* affected when I read these documents, and my first impulse was to write a letter to Sir William Napier expressive of the emotions their perusal had awakened—and venturing a hope that there might henceforth be a cessation on his part of all bitter *feelings* towards your son. But, on reflection, I abandoned the idea. For our controversies have been so numerous, and so complicated, that I could not, without writing a volume, have explained to him how thoroughly he and his brother had misunderstood my feelings and misinterpreted my conduct to the latter. Nor could I have satisfied him how innocent I was of those unworthy innuendoes and unmanly sarcasms which their over-zealous partisans had persuaded Sir William and Sir Charles to discover in my writings. And I feared, moreover, that he might attribute my communication to wrong motives—to a dread of future attacks—or to a sneaking anxiety to get him to modify, in future editions of his books, what he has already written. But I am not even yet satisfied that I ought not to have written to him. If to write was my duty, as a Christian,





no consideration of the trouble it would involve and no fear of misconstruction, ought to have prevented my performing it. Think over the matter, dear mother, and give me your opinion. If *you* think that I ought to write, I *will*; even though my doing so were to bring down on me fresh attacks from his powerful pen—though it is most ungenerous to suppose that such would be the case. It would be a satisfaction to me, situated as I now am—of whom it may emphatically be said that in the midst of life I am in death—to feel assured that *others* were at peace with me. But it most concerns me to be certain that *I* am at peace with *them*, and if I know my own heart, I can solemnly declare before that great God at whose judgment-seat I may in half an hour be called to stand, that I do, from the bottom of my soul, forgive Sir William Napier all the harsh, and, as I believe, utterly undeserved, epithets he has lavished on me, all the monstrously untrue statements regarding me which his ardent temperament led him to believe without due inquiry, and his fraternal affection to record as history—and all the injury to my worldly interests and advancement which has resulted from his own and his brother's hostility towards me. As regards his brother, few have even heard me *speak* harshly of him. All who have been much with me can testify to the warmth with which I ever dwelt on his noble and generous qualities, even when he was most bitterly assailing me. *You*, mother, know the intensity of the love that I ever bore that man. *You* know how deep the pain which the severance of our friendship cost me. *You*, at least, know how little I imagined that I was preparing for its severance when—impelled by a sense of the duty I owed my ward,<sup>1</sup> and giving effect to an intention of which I had apprised Sir Charles, and of which he *seemed* to approve—I implored Lord Ripon

<sup>1</sup> The Sind Amir, Husain Ali, consigned to Outram's charge by his father Mir Nur Muhammad, on his dying bed.





to show that mercy to him, and the other Ameers, which I thought it cruel in Lord Ellenborough to withhold. And you know that when Sir William accused me of seeking to injure my late chief—to intercept the gratitude of Parliament, and the favour of his sovereign from one whom it was then my *proudest* boast to call my friend—he accused me of that which (though doubtless he believed it) was as utterly the reverse of true, as that I was under pecuniary obligations to mercantile firms connected with the Indian Press, or any of the other egregious fictions which he and Sir Charles were persuaded to accept and promulgate as facts. It was not in human nature not to feel indignant when misrepresented. It was too much in consonance with fallen human nature to regard and treat the misrepresentations as *intentional*—to repay harsh words and unkind imputations with harsh and unkind rejoinders—to return railing for railing. All this I did; but long ere Sir Charles was called away, I often bitterly, and with a deep sense of humiliation, deplored the loose run I had given to my irritated feelings, and the licence I had allowed my pen. And when the grave closed over him, I had, from the bottom of my soul, forgiven him in respect of all I had thought he had done requiring my forgiveness. Once, and once only, since then, have I spoken of what I considered the wrongs he had done me. This I did in the excitement of a speech delivered at a dinner given me at Calcutta, just at the time his posthumous work appeared. And the words—such as they were—were hardly uttered ere they were repented of. But this is too painful a subject to dwell on longer. I have said enough to satisfy you as to the state of my own feelings. Advise me as to whether I should write to Sir William. If so, suggest to me what I should say—and I will act on your suggestions.'

Assuredly, the seal has now been set to a controversy





so ill according with the heart-spoken sentiments of the controversialists.

Armed with a letter from the Duke of Wellington to the Commander-in-Chief in India, Colonel Outram left England for the second time, bright with the sentiments of loyalty, cherished from his boyhood, but in far more serious mood than on first setting out. He contemplated returning by an early steamer from Bombay, should no prospect of immediate service offer: and it is probable that a communication from Sir Charles Napier, which only reached him at Malta, confirmed him in this intention. It was now evident that, owing to his statements to the Board of Control, and other official quarters in London, aggression was threatened at home, requiring measures of self-defence: and there would at the same time be a hostile influence to counteract in India. Writing from the outward-bound vessel near Aden, on the last day of the year, he begged Mrs. Outram to form no plans for joining him until she had received his letters, or heard definitely of his movements, by the mail of February 1.

By that opportunity, though he had no positive information to impart of his prospective movements, he could show that a return to old associations had worked a change in his way of thinking. Disembarkation on Indian soil had had, for the moment, something of the effect of the trumpet-sound upon the war-horse. He now stated his resolution to remain for a time in India. That resolution was made at the instigation of men on whose judgment and friendship he could rely, and its wisdom was evident, inasmuch as withdrawal from the land of his professional career because he could not find active service there, or employment to his liking, would have been to avow himself an aggrieved man. A letter addressed to his wife on January 23, told of his arrival at Asirgarh, *en route* to the Governor-General's camp





at Gwalior. The battles of Panniah and Maharajpur had been recently fought, and were still the subject of current conversation at Indian mess-tables. To Outram's mind it was not clear whether the result of those victories might not rather encourage than discourage the Sikhs to face us, believing themselves, as they did, greatly superior to the Marathas. He could say nothing of his own chances of field service until reaching Sir Hugh Gough's head-quarters; but the Bombay friends with whom he had held personal communication since his return, were not sanguine of his success in the teeth of opposition from an authority higher than that of the military chief. A still deeper cause of distress to him was the indifference expressed by so many of his brother officers on the annexation of Sind, coupled with subversion of the native rule in that province—a proceeding which he looked upon in the light of usurpation. His rate and mode of travelling at this time were not such as to soothe his temper, or lead him to forget his cares. Bearers could not be procured to carry him at all stages, and between Aurangabad and Asirgarh he had to ride on village tattoos, putting his palankeen in carts. From Indore he anticipated having recourse to camels.

Three weeks later, he thus wrote to his mother from Fathpur:—‘Fancy my being in the same camp yesterday with Lord Ellenborough, to whom I proffered my attendance as in duty bound, and to show I did not shun to meet his Lordship, after all I had done at home. He, however, . . . declined the interview, unless I would state my reasons in writing; so we did not meet,<sup>1</sup> and now he is on his way to

<sup>1</sup> The draft of a letter to Mr. Melvill on this subject is more explicit, and may here be quoted:—‘With a view to lay my proceedings in England before Lord Ellenborough, if allowed the opportunity, and to show the respect due to the Governor-General, being in the neighbourhood of his Lordship's camp, I proceeded there to solicit the honour of an audience, intimating to the private secretary that I had no *official* objects, but that I was ready to display all that



Calcutta, having previously sent me the offer of an appointment.'

The inferiority of this post,<sup>1</sup> political charge and revenue management of Nimar, an appendage to Indore, compared with the offices which he had previously held, certainly gave a warrant to the supposition that its refusal was anticipated; but Outram had the good sense, acting under the advice of Colonel Barnewell and others, to conquer his personal objections, and accept the offer. He thus describes the scene of his impending labours:—

'It is situated on the banks of the Narbudda, on the road between Asirgarh and Mhow, called Mandlesir. There we shall have a good house and garden, a doctor and his wife, and one or two officers. A detachment of troops is always stationed there; it is a pretty place also . . . but there are jungles to pass between it and Khandesh, which are not safe till January. . . . I had fully made up my mind to return home for another year, when I found there was no chance of anything to do in the Punjab, and in the supposition that I should never be restored to the political department during Lord E.'s *régime*. Having now been replaced in it, however, I trust he will see the necessity . . . of raising me to my proper position, a year or two in which will enable

I had advocated or communicated at home relative to Sind before the Governor-General, if required to do so. The interview was declined on the ground that no private audiences are granted, except under certain rules (with which, by the bye, I had already complied) . . . His Lordship having previously objected to my joining Sir Hugh Gough, a situation was then offered to me of a very inferior nature to what I had held (an *assistantship* under Indore), but which under my peculiar circumstances, and denied military service—with which view I had returned to India before the expiration of my furlough—I was necessitated to accept, and did so, I trust, in sufficiently submissive and becoming language.'

<sup>1</sup> Both in salary and importance, it was less than that which he had held ten years before. Thus, the whole of his services since leaving Khandesh in 1835, as political agent in the Māhi Kānta, political agent in Lower Sind, and political agent in Sind and Baluchistan, became, as it were, annulled.





me to return to you, for I declare I am determined to do so in two or three years at furthest.'

His journey from Bombay to the Upper Provinces, and back to Mandlaisir, occupied a period of nearly two months. This, for a part of the country where there were no facilities for locomotion, was considered quick travelling. He reached his new destination on March 10, having seen Gwalior and the Taj at Agra—'which alone,' he wrote, 'would repay the journey'—and having 'met with much civility and attention from everybody except Lord Ellenborough.' We obtain some insight into his daily life after a fortnight's experience of his Nimar head-quarters, in a letter again addressed to his mother:—'I go to office at sunrise, stay there till 10 o'clock, receiving petitions, and transacting business personally with the natives; breakfast at 10; then remain in my office at home, doing official correspondence, &c. till dinner at 4; ride out after dinner; then have tea, and read till bed-time.' He was in anxiety at this time about Mrs. Outram's health, and desirous of ascertaining through his mother whether she would be strong enough to join him in India after the rains, so as to guide his own prospective movements. As to the position which he had advisedly accepted, he comes philosophically to the conclusion that he is 'banished in this quiet corner until Lord Ellenborough goes home.'

His craving for active service may in a measure have been abated by the consciousness that his military rank was insufficient to obtain for him high command in the field; but he could not shut his eyes to the fact that, had his good work already performed met with the reward bestowed on his comrades for far less brilliant achievements, this obstacle would not have existed. 'I can scarcely hope,' are his words in a draft letter to Mr. Melvill, written during his first



month at Mandlaisir, 'that I may be so fortunate as to obtain the honour of a Queen's A.D.C., but the sooner you do confer it on some of your lieutenant-colonels, the better, to afford a few active officers sufficiently high in army rank for the secondary commands in the field. . . .'

We have already stated that Outram's precautionary memorandum, left in the hands of the authorities in London, was returned to him in January 1844. Let us now add that the option of withdrawal was part of the same procedure, and that the honest-hearted soldier, ignorant of coming blue-books, and of publications more or less condemnatory of his views and actions, did as his masters at home evidently wished him to do, and cancelled the *pièce justificative* which was so soon to reappear as an essential instalment of after volumes. And what was the bitter sequel? In his comparative seclusion the news reached him that Parliament had discussed the affairs of Sind and its Amirs, the debaters having been guided by the light of incomplete despatches and papers wholly unaffected by his anticipatory comments, although these, in some instances, had the full force of counter-statements. This was a severe blow to him, and hard to bear. He had foreseen that the fate of the deposed chiefs was sealed; and he daily became more sensible that neither could voice be raised, nor pen or brain exercised with any practical success on their behalf. But the manner in which his efforts to benefit them had been received at home, and the little regard paid to his Sind experiences and long Indian service in the acceptance of a decision which ought in fairness to have been directly influenced by both, disheartened and hurt him. His personal character, was, moreover, involved; and to remain silent looked to him like admission of error. Yet, while he felt in possession of ample material wherewith to establish his ase, and defeat his opponents, he was de-





barred from defending himself without official permission; and he doubted whether such permission would be granted in compliance with any request on his part.<sup>1</sup> Write an appeal, however, he must to the Secret Committee. If not to get abroad, it might, he reasoned, be placed among the secret archives: and he consoled himself with the reflection that his heir might extract it thence at a time when his own contemporaries had passed away from the busy world around. Meanwhile he would submit in silence to the injurious condemnations to which he had been subjected, and to the ruin which he not unnaturally, if somewhat impulsively, conceived had befallen him as a public man.

The residence at Mandlaisir was not of a protracted character, nor were the duties of the post which kept him there calculated to draw out the high qualities of the holder. Yet if it be regarded for him as an episode of repose, the notion must be restricted to the exigencies of official routine, for beyond giving due attention to local requirements, his mind was busy and 'perplexed in the extreme.' In his home and Indian correspondence the tone is less buoyant than of old; and the mood is occasionally the reverse of cheerful. He goes so far as to complain that his friends forsake him in his difficulties; he laments the waste of days in the, to him, inaction of Nimar life. That this gloomy picture was mainly that of a harassed isolation we may judge from the many letters of the period addressed to him from various quarters in terms of evident affection. Friends and advisers, such as Colonel Barnewell, and Messrs. Tucker<sup>2</sup> and Melvill

<sup>1</sup> Permission was solicited for publication of his letter to Sir Charles Napier, in reply to one which that officer had published, but the request was declined by the Government of India.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. St. George Tucker, the well-known Director of the India Company. Outram, hearing that one of this gentleman's sons (St. George), a young civilian, had been wounded in a gallant encounter with Dacoits, about the time that he himself was going to the Governor-General's camp in 1844, posted more





in England, and Mr. Willoughby in India, showed that he possessed the sympathy of the old Company's best and truest servants. Mountstuart Elphinstone always expressed an interest in his career, and at this period of it, as before and after, proved himself his sincere well-wisher. But he dreaded for him the threatening paper-warfare. 'If he were sure of complete success,' he wrote to Colonel Barnewell, 'it would be no compensation for devoting himself to a life of obscure controversy, instead of going on in his career and forcing people to acknowledge his former services by fresh instances of his zeal and ability.' The distinguished statesman, however, who gave such sound counsel, would never have lent his sanction to the confinement of his *protégé* to the obscure limits of an assistant-political's duties at Mand-laisir. Out of the circle of civilians and his 'native infantry' companions, he found a valued correspondent in his old acquaintance, Major Orlando Felix, whose shrewd, cheery letters have in them much of solace and sunshine.

Lord Ellenborough's recall in May, and the succession of Sir Henry Hardinge to the Governor-Generalship, did not restore his equanimity or fill him with new hope. He had reason to believe that his name had been favourably mentioned to the latter; but he was conscious at the same time that the endeavours of his friends might succumb to a powerful hostile influence. On September 10, 1844, the day on which he had completed a six months' service at Nimar, Outram resigned his appointment, and proceeded to Bombay with the intention of returning to England. The resignation had been contemplated from the time of his acceptance of the office, but the resolution to go home was sudden. It had not been mentioned in his August letter to Mrs. Outram, on the arrangement for whose outward passage he had then

than 100 miles out of his way to visit him and offer a twofold tribute of condolence and congratulation.





written at length. Had the application for leave been answered in time from Calcutta, he would have left by the mail in the beginning of October; but delay in the receipt of the reply<sup>1</sup> necessitated his waiting for that of November 1, when he would take leave, in the first instance, only to Egypt—afterwards, to Europe or not, according to circumstances.

The detention proved a fortunate one, for, meanwhile, an outbreak in the Southern Maratha country, or that part of Western India which is situated within the coast line between Bombay and Goa, had assumed a greater importance than had originally belonged to it in the eyes of the local government. A detachment of troops under Colonel Wallace of the Madras army, sent from Belgám for the restoration of order, had been checked in an attempt to take from the Garhkaris (or hereditary occupants) the strong fort of Samangarh on September 24; and, two days before, the troops of the Kolapúr Rajah had been driven away from the fort of Budargarh by a bold sally of the rebel garrison. The British commander was awaiting reinforcements and battering guns; alarm was spreading throughout the disturbed tract; and fears, in some cases amounting to panic, were entertained for the stations of Ratnagari, Vingorla, and even Belgám itself.<sup>2</sup> As might have been expected, Outram, with alacrity, placed his services at the disposal of Government. They were accepted: he was put on 'special' duty; and on October 11, he appeared in Colonel Wallace's camp.<sup>3</sup> On the morning of

<sup>1</sup> By notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated September 24, 1844, Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, C.B. Assistant in charge of Nimar, obtained permission to resign his appointment, preparatory to applying to the Government of Bombay for permission to proceed to Europe on furlough on urgent private affairs.

<sup>2</sup> *Calcutta Review*, No. 7, Article 7, Volume iv. (1845).

<sup>3</sup> He had left Bombay in a *patamar*, or large native boat, disembarking at Vingorla, whence to Samangarh, he describes his journey to have been a very unpleasant one, 'in a deluge of rain the whole way.'





the 13th, he was present at the taking of Samangarh; and in reporting that event the next day to division head-quarters, the officer in command of the troops wrote thus: 'I cannot conclude without giving expression to the feelings of pride and gratification I could not but entertain when an officer of Lieutenant-Colonel Outram's high character, well-known gallantry, and established fame, placed his services at my disposal, not only during the storm of the Fort of Samangarh,<sup>1</sup> but during the subsequent operations on the same day of the wing of the 5th light cavalry, under Captain Græme, against a large body of the enemy. On both these occasions Lieutenant-Colonel Outram's services were valuable; and I have requested Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, C.B., in this day's orders, to accept my best thanks and grateful acknowledgments.' The despatch from which this is an extract, was supplemented by Captain Græme's report, expressing his sense of the obligations under which he felt himself to Colonel Outram, who had accompanied him 'throughout' the cavalry affair noted, and to whose 'experience and guidance' he attributed much of the success obtained.

The fall of Samangarh was, however, by no means the termination of these disturbances. A few days prior to this event, the detachment from Belgām became a part only of the force brought together to crush the rebellion against authority, which now threatened to spread far and wide; and Major-General Delamotte, commanding the southern division of the army, had been placed at the head of the troops in the field. Outram had reported himself, as in duty bound, to the General; and we are told that he joined his camp 'in a political capacity.'<sup>2</sup> But this definition of the

<sup>1</sup> There is good authority for stating that he was the first man in at the assault, and, for several minutes, stood alone among the enemy

<sup>2</sup> *Calcutta Review*.





‘special duty,’ on which his official designation showed him to be authoritatively employed, would give but a faint idea of the work he had actually to perform. The term, be it said, is a vague one at all times, and is not unfrequently used in the case of officers whose zeal and intelligence in responsible positions are more trusted by Government than are the judgment and capability of its own secretariat in providing them with distinct instructions. It is, moreover, convenient in its very vagueness, for while allowing to the ruling powers the full merits of an agent’s success, it saves them from a too direct responsibility in the event of failure. In the present instance, irrespective of a distinction in grade, Outram’s duties were practically those of a joint special commissioner with Mr. Reeves, the recognised commissioner or political agent for the Southern Maratha country: for the two officers advised together, or acted independently, according to circumstances. He was also an improvised chief of the staff, or head of the intelligence department, to the General commanding, careful to take advantage of his military *role* to join in all active operations in the field. It was the intention of Government to set aside the civilian ‘*inter arma*,’ and place him under Colonel Outram; but to this the latter objected, in recollection of many a well-contested ‘first spear’ in pig-sticking days long gone by; and he was accordingly appointed in conjunction with his old friend. While the detailed tactics of the British authorities and their native opponents at this early stage of the *imbroglio* are not without interest, they involve too complicated a story to be here repeated. A glance at the main incidents will suffice to illustrate generally the part taken in the campaign by Outram until his return to Bombay in December. We learn from a distinguished and trustworthy writer, reviewing the events in the year following their





occurrence,<sup>1</sup> that this officer 'wherever employed, threw into all proceedings that moderation, energy, and ability which have everywhere so strongly marked his career;' that he and Mr. Reeves offered at a fitting opportunity, and with certain exceptions, 'an amnesty to all who would willingly return to their allegiance,' but that 'few, if any, accepted the terms: a strong presumptive proof that the unfortunate men had real grievances.' Further, that 'the day after the capture of Samangarh, Colonel Outram, with Colonel Wallace and 500 men of his brigade, proceeded to Kaghāl, one march from Kolapur, to procure the release of the minister,' a certain Daji Pandit, whose training in an Anglo-Indian *kachchhari* may have rendered him obnoxious to the Rajah's refractory subjects; but that it was not until October 24, when the detachment had been strengthened, that the prisoner was set at liberty from the strong fort of Panāla, on which occasion, 'the young Rajah of Kolapur, with his aunt and mother and the majority of his chiefs, left the city, and joined the British camp.' The real leader of the rebellion, Babaji Ahirakar—who had imprisoned the minister, usurped the government, and instigated a raid into British territory, with the robbery of a local treasury—absconded at the head of 500 Kolapur troops to the fort of Budargarh, whence, on the subsequent surrender of the place to the general commanding, he again found means of escaping to Panāla. Six days afterwards, Colonel Ovans, the British resident at Satāra, who had been appointed special commissioner in the Southern Maratha country, and would, on joining, have taken the place of the joint commissioners, was captured on a *dâk*

<sup>1</sup> *Calcutta Review*. The article is attributed to the late Sir Henry Lawrence. The reviewer prefaces his remarks thus:—'The tone of our remarks upon Colonel Outram may savour of partial panegyric to those of our readers who have not followed Outram's career as we have done; but no personal feelings can mingle in our praise of a man whom we have never seen, and whom we know only by his public acts.'





journey from Satára to Kolapur, and carried prisoner to the same Panála stronghold.

A few words of comment are here necessary. Colonel Outram had been just a fortnight in camp when Sir George Arthur wrote to offer him the appointment of political agent in the Southern Maratha country, subject to the confirmation of the Government of India, explaining that the situation contemplated was 'a post of honour, the duties of which required great decision and vigour, combined with discretion.' Knowing, however, his strongly-expressed intention to take advantage of his unexpired furlough, unless required for particular service, the Governor considerably stated that if that intention were still unchanged, he need not, of course, consider himself under any obligation to remain in the Southern Maratha country. The wound was now re-opened; Outram respectfully declined the offer; not on the ground surmised, but from a sense of self-respect. Pleading the unremedied wrong, he briefly drew attention to the particulars of his treatment in Sind, and since his last return to India. He had been 'removed from one of the highest and most responsible situations under the Government of India—the political charge of Sind and Baluchistan,' notwithstanding the expressed approval of his services in it by authority, and he had accepted an inferior position to his zeal and loyalty. Circumstances had occurred to the necessity of his return home; but, on completing work in hand, he would be grateful for permission to regimental duty. 'I do hope,' he wrote, 'that I shall have restored quiet, and have placed matters in this

<sup>1</sup> His friend, Colonel Barnewell, wrote strongly to dissuade him from this step, and he had reason to believe that the appointment of Resident might be offered to him if he remained. This he could accept with some kind of compensation for his late treatment at the Government. Above all, Mrs. Outram's health had so much improved that she proposed joining him very shortly in India.





on such a footing that they can be satisfactorily transferred to any person whom you may appoint permanently to the office, I may be allowed to join my regiment, there to remain in humble repose after the incessant wear and tear of body and mind which I have had to undergo for so many years past; for I consider that by accepting permanently any situation inferior in rank, importance, and emolument to what I have heretofore filled with—I presume to think—advantage to the State, although the contrary to myself, I should sign my own admission of the justice of the treatment to which I allude.’ Upon receipt of this reply, intimation was made to Outram that Colonel Ovens, Resident at Satára, had been appointed special commissioner for the settlement of the Kolapur state and territory, on whose arrival he was requested to return to Bombay.

It is important that these facts should be clearly understood, because the proceedings of the special commissioners, Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram, were not all approved by the Bombay Government, and the impression may have been left on the minds of some persons, that this disapproval had to do with the nomination of Colonel Ovens. As to the particular acts which elicited adverse comment, it appears that objection was taken to the division of forces at Kolapur, to the concentration had been desired; as also to the move to the ...; but above all to the proclamation of the amnesty, of which mention has been made above, and which the authorities erroneously inferred had been so worded as to ... all the leaders. The responsibility for these measures was not merely accepted, but actually claimed by ... More characteristic of his chivalry than illustrative

... subsequent despatch of the Court of Directors, dated September 17, ... the whole proceedings in the states of Kolapur and Savant- ... factorily explains Colonel Outram's conduct, and attributes the ... of his measures to the imperfect information obtained on the ... the local government.





of his worldly wisdom, was the reply to the despatch which first communicated the doubts of Government on the propriety of the action of the joint commissioners. He therein says:—‘Had the responsibility . . . rested avowedly with me, I should have left the result to prove the policy, but as my immediate superior, Mr. Reeves, has alone incurred the displeasure of Government for those proceedings, I feel myself bound to say that if blame is merited, I at least ought to share it; for I cannot but be conscious that I advocated the course which has been thus condemned; and, under the circumstances in which I was placed, when I so advised, it is possible that that gentleman may have been somewhat influenced by my opinion.’ He then continued an elaborate defence of the line of conduct pursued by himself and his colleague, which eventually brought upon him the severe strictures of the Governor-General, as well as of his own immediate superiors. The tendency to justify his acts was displayed on this occasion in so marked a manner, that we can hardly wonder at the sequel; and explanations of his boldness, if it be not indiscretion, must be looked for in the circumstance that the chief blame had been laid on other shoulders than his own, and that he was rather censured by implication than directly.

But, however open to question was the decision of error in judgment passed upon the joint commissioners, the unexpected seizure and imprisonment of Colonel Ovans on November 16 kept them for some time longer in their responsible posts. It was not until December 1 that Colonel Ovans was released by the Gadhkari on the reduction of their stronghold; and Outram did not take his departure from camp before the 17th of that month. In the interim he had won fresh laurels in the field, as we find from the following extracts.

Lieutenant-Colonel Poole, of H.M. 22nd regiment, re-





porting to Major-General Delamotte, on November 29, 1844, the capture of the Pettahs near the gate on the north side of the Forts of Páwanganh and Panála, writes:—

‘On ascending the hills, the enemy, who were in considerable numbers, commenced firing on us from behind rocks and other cover, and were immediately driven into the Pettah by the skirmishers. The main body of the party were there halted under cover on the edge of the Pettah, the advance parties, half European and half Native, moving on under Ensign Budd, H.M. 22nd regiment, and Ensign Black, 2nd grenadiers, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, and attended by Captain Clarke, 2nd grenadiers acting brigade-major. The enemy were speedily driven into the Fort of Panála; the party then passed close under the gate of the Fort, enabling Colonel Outram to make a full and satisfactory reconnaissance; then, moving on, took post under cover just below the neck of land connecting the two Forts, whence Captain Clarke was despatched by Colonel Outram to the main body, which was conducted by that officer, under Colonel Hickey’s orders, through the whole of the Pettahs in succession to the spot where Colonel Outram was posted, the enemy during the whole time keeping up a heavy fire of artillery and matchlocks from the walls.’

Lieutenant-Colonel Brough, of H.M. 2nd regiment, reporting, on December 2, the storm of Panála on the previous evening, remarks:—

‘The heroic Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, C.B., was in his accustomed place, the front rank.’

And Major-General Delamotte, in his own despatch of December 3, says:—

‘The difficulty of reaching the walls was very great from





the rugged and steep ascent which led to a ledge or path by which they (the storming party) were obliged to proceed, flanked by a very heavy fire from the walls, and large stones hurled down upon them as they advanced, which they did in the most gallant manner, to the breach. Among the first and foremost I noticed :—

‘Lieutenant-Colonel Brough, commanding the storming party; Lieutenant Graham, leading engineer after Major Peat was disabled; and the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, C.B. I beg now to bring to the favourable notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief . . . Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, C.B., who, on all and every occasion, tendered his services, and from whom I received valuable information and suggestions.’

A Government notification, of December 9, announcing the storm and capture of Panāla, thus recognises the service here alluded to :—

‘The Honourable the Governor in Council begs in particular to offer his best thanks to . . . and to Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, C.B., of the 23rd regiment of Bombay N.I., who volunteered his services and was among the foremost who entered the Fort of Panāla.’

That he had, at this time also, regained the full approbation of Government for his political work may be inferred by perusal of the Secretary’s two despatches to his address, dated December 2 and 12 respectively. The first, referring to his reception of a delegate from the rebel camp, states :—

‘The Honourable the Governor in Council entirely approves of the whole of your proceedings now reported. The letters addressed by you to the Sirdars and to the Gadhkaris of Panāla and Pāwangarh are written exactly in the proper





spirit.' The second bears upon his prolonged detention on special duty :—

'The seizure and confinement of Lieutenant-Colonel Ovans, the officer appointed to relieve you, having still kept you for a longer period than was intended in your position at Kolapur, the Honourable the Governor in Council has much gratification in recording his great satisfaction that you have thereby had an opportunity, during the military operations that have been in progress, of displaying those high qualities as a soldier for which you have been ever distinguished; whilst your subsequent proceedings at Kolapur, more particularly after the seizure of Lieutenant-Colonel Ovans, have generally been marked with prudence and firmness.' Finally, the Government of India thus addressed the Governor of Bombay in a later despatch on the same subject :—'The Governor-General in Council entirely concurs in the opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel Outram's conduct since the capture of Colonel Ovans, and while the latter officer was retained by the garrison of Panāla, as mentioned in the fifteenth paragraph of your letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Outram; and it is with much satisfaction the Governor-General in Council records his entire approbation of that conduct, and his opinion of the temper, judgment, and discretion which have marked Lieutenant-Colonel Outram's proceedings on every occasion subsequent to the occurrence above alluded to.'

During the imprisonment of Colonel Ovans, Outram begged repeatedly that he might, on public considerations, be allowed to take his place, but the former officer would not entertain the idea for a moment. Outram argued that the rebels, knowing how favourably their prisoner was disposed towards them, would readily consent to his release, in the belief that he might, when at large, effect an arrangement in









The truth is that the insurrection had taken a shape that foreboded all sorts of evil consequences, unless the prestige of British power were at once asserted and maintained by strong, decided action. The fugitives from Kolapur had, on the destruction of their forts, and about the time that Outram was relieved from his joint commissionership, sought to avoid the detachments of troops overrunning the surrounding lands by taking refuge in the nearest *jangals*, whence they effected a junction with some two thousand of the Wari people under the Phund Sawant and Anna Sahib. These two chiefs had become notorious by acts of violence and lawlessness, and were then engaged in stopping the roads and laying waste a great part of the Konkan. Their strength was mainly in the difficult nature of the country they occupied; but there were not wanting other obstacles to the successful progress of invaders than inaccessible rocks, im-

‘In his first march from Vingorla,’ according to Murray’s *Handbook of India*, part ii. Bombay, ‘Colonel Ontram had a narrow escape. Riding at the head of the column with Captain Battye, of the 21st N.I., he was observed by a party of rebels posted in trees, and was known by his blue coat to be the *bara sahib*, or officer of the highest rank. A volley was fired at him, but the bullets intended for him struck Captain Battye’s horse, which fell dead, shot through in three places.’





penetrable forests, and impassable ravines. Miasma, which had ceased to affect them, was a powerful element in checking the advance of their foes. Frustrated attempts to reach the more prominent offenders had already given confidence to the rebel forces, in spite of defective organisation and the absence of discipline; while owing to their readiness to scatter on all occasions, it was not easy to assail them with an effective or decisive blow. To an officer directing operations against such an enemy, experience with Bhils, Kális, and even Afghans would not have been thrown away. He of whom we are writing possessed this qualification, and natural gifts besides peculiarly suited to the due accomplishment of his task. 'Never,' says the before quoted writer in the 'Calcutta Review,' 'was the magic power of one man's presence more striking than on Outram's return to the seat of war. . . . From January 14 matters took a different turn; . . . hitherto the three brigades had been playing bo-peep with the enemy. But now, at length, a decided movement was announced for hemming in the rebels in the valley of Sirapur. Twelve hundred men were placed under Outram, with orders to beat up the low ground from Wari towards the forts of Manohar and Mansantosh; Colonel Carruthers, with a brigade, was to occupy the Seevapoor valley on the other side of the ridge on which those forts are situated; while Colonel Wallace was on a given day to descend the Ghats. . . .' The date named was that on which the details of the light field detachment were assembled at Sawant-Wari. On the morning of the 16th their movements had been planned, their marching arrangements completed, and they advanced upon the enemy.

If there has been controversy on the merits of certain commanders engaged in the operations that ensued, and in respect of certain of those operations, there has been no question raised as to the good work then done by James





Outram. If there had been complaints of delay and inactivity in attacking and dispersing the rebels before his appearance on the scene, when he did appear, no such charges could be laid at *his* door. His progress in suppressing the rebellion was rapid: his movements were well considered and well executed; and his success was brilliant. Cutting his way through thick and hitherto unexplored *jungle*; ascending high and steep passes; seeking, where practicable, to co-operate with his brother leaders, but generally compelled to act on his own sole discretion; marching, in one stretch of twenty-four hours, a distance of forty-six miles—in fine, allowing no moral or physical obstacle to be insuperable, he drove the enemy from one stockade after another, occupied their villages, and, on the 8th day after setting out, stationed himself before the fort of Mansantosh. On January 24, disappointed in not obtaining two expected mortars, his energies were restricted to watching the play of the single howitzer which his old friend Captain Pontardent had brought up the previous evening, and was now directing against the stronghold. His own report may be quoted for the proceedings of the next day:—

‘Two 5½-inch mortars, having arrived during the night, were placed in position 600 yards from the Fort, and the howitzer moved up to the same. Having determined on storming the stockades, lest longer delay should enable the enemy to strengthen them still further, I sent Lieutenant Peyton with the company of 23rd regiment to occupy a belt of jungle running up to the scarp of the Fort to the left of the stockades, with orders to ascend till within forty or fifty yards of the scarp, where the cover was sufficiently dense to shelter his men from the stones hurled from the Fort above, or shot from the stockades in flank.’

Here let us explain that Manobar and Mansantosh are





situated on two lofty rocks, perhaps a mile from the foot of the Ghats, and thirty-five miles from Vingorla; they are separated from each other by a profound chasm. The height above the plain is about 2,500 feet.

The lieutenant's instructions were to lay close until the advance for the storming party was sounded, and then to push up and take the stockades in flank while the attention of the enemy was distracted by the assault on their front. A false attack on the neighbouring fort of Manohar, by the pickets on the opposite side, was to be made at the same moment, so as to draw off the defenders of the stockades to that quarter. But the shelling with which the day's proceedings opened had not the immediate effect expected, and the attack was deferred until 11 A.M., a later hour than intended. Then, the advance being sounded, Outram was disappointed at seeing the 23rd skirmishers (his own regiment) rise from their cover at the bottom, instead of near the top of the *jangal* belt. Not being so high up as the head of the storming party, they could not attain, in time, the position requisite to bring about the contemplated diversion.

‘Relying, however,’ he continues, ‘on the gallantry of the troops composing the storming party, and feeling the ill effect of further delaying to take the stockades, I sounded to the head of the stormers to throw out skirmishers to the left. . . . Lieutenant Gardiner gallantly led, thus turning the flank of the enemy’s position. The whole steadily ascended the steep ridge, at the top of which a succession of three stone stockades were occupied by about 150 of the enemy, who opened a heavy fire upon the stormers . . . also exposed to showers of stones from the top of the Fort immediately over them. The stockades were carried with little further difficulty than that of climbing the very steep ascent, and the enemy fled the moment they saw their flank





turned. Lieutenant Munbee, of the engineers, who led the advance, and Lieutenant Gardiner, who led the flankers, were the first to enter the stockades, immediately followed by Captain Jacob, 2nd grenadiers . . . also Lieutenant Belfield, H.M. 17th regiment, and Lieutenant Battye, 21st regiment N.I. Those officers then pushed on to the steps leading up to the gate of the Fort, with the few men up with them, and were there awaiting further support when I arrived on the spot.<sup>1</sup>

As the fugitives from the stockades avoided entering Mansantosh, it was doubtful whether serious opposition was to be looked for from behind its walls. Its immediate capture was, in any case, an important object, because its fall would ensure that of Manohar also, and possibly result in the apprehension of the chiefs in both places. Upon the whole Outram thought it well to lend a favourable ear to the step which Lieutenant Munbee gallantly volunteered to take—viz. to apply powder-bags to the gate. Five officers<sup>1</sup> and a few men of H.M. 17th and 22nd regiments, accompanied the directing engineer on this occasion, but the attempt was unsuccessful and some loss ensued.<sup>2</sup> The result was distressing, and circumstances would not have justified any hasty instructions for a second experiment of the kind. Meanwhile, attention was given to prevent the egress of the garrison preparatory to repetition on the following night. One party was left in possession of the steps leading to the gate; a second party was placed under shelter in the gap between the two

<sup>1</sup> Captains Le Grand Jacob, and Hume; Lieutenants Gardiner, Battye, and Schneider.

<sup>2</sup> The return of casualties had not been made up when Outram wrote the report from which the above account is obtained. But he knew that in this attempt, and the previous advance on the stockades, five men had been killed, and five officers and several men wounded. He attributed the check received to the delay in the original attack, which enabled the enemy to collect the piles of stones with which the storming party was overwhelmed.





Forts, to prevent the despatch of succour from Manohar; and the third side of Mansantosh was secured by the occupation of the stockades and a cave at the bottom of the scarp on the west. Outram had had no opportunity of reconnoitring the scarp on the fourth side, which was not within the limits of his charge; but he understood that it was so perpendicular as to prevent the possibility of escape, in the face of the troops co-operating in that quarter, whose mortars had opened fire on the previous day.

Accordingly, at an hour after dark on January 26, Lieutenants Munbee and Schneider, supported by Lieutenant Mardell, who had volunteered his services with some native riflemen, were in position on the steps; but the storming party had miscalculated the time necessary to reach the spot, and did not arrive until the rising moon made their purpose too apparent for successful accomplishment. The enterprise was therefore again deferred for another twenty-four hours, at the end of which time Outram, confident in the secure retention of the garrison of Mansantosh, hoped to see effected a complete investment of Manohar as well, by the exertions of his brother commanders. He was, however, greatly surprised and chagrined to find in the morning that both forts had been evacuated; their garrisons having slipped out on the sides supposed to be watched by the co-operating brigades.

Writing on the date of this unlooked-for event, Outram says:—

‘The escape of the garrisons, including, I believe, the young Rajah and all the chiefs of the rebels, at a time when their capture was so possible, and their escape might have been so easily prevented, is most deeply to be regretted. I hear that they have made their way down the jungle in front of the Menohur gate, and coming over the Sassudroog ridge.





some distance beyond the post which I established thereon (and made over to the other brigades), passed on to the Visla jungles, where they were seen at four o'clock this morning. I shall now direct my endeavours to follow them up.

He *did* follow them up, and there was more fighting in the thick *jungal*, in which some *sipâhis* were killed on our side and much loss of life occurred on that of the enemy. Eventually the resistance subsided, and negotiations were opened with the Portuguese authorities of the bordering State of Goa for the delivery of those insurgents who had sought a refuge there. By the end of April the campaign was at an end. We have attempted no account of it as an historical narrative; but in confining ourselves to Outram's story of his own operations, we have certainly not drawn the reader's attention to the least stirring part of the whole. One or two brief extracts, however, from the 'Calcutta Review' may be added with advantage. It is there stated:—

On January 20, a combined movement was ordered upon the high peak to the west of Munsuntosh. The main attack was to be made by Colonel Carruthers, who, supported by a portion of Colonel Wallace's brigade, was to carry some stockades in his front, and then move up the Dakhan-wari or Sivapur side of the ridge, while Colonel Outram was to make a diversion from the Shirsaji or Gotia valley. This last detachment performed their part; but on reaching the summit of the peak, from which an extensive view was commanded, no sign appeared of either brigade. They saw the stockades which Colonel Carruthers was to have attacked, but which being now taken in flank were abandoned, the enemy flying to Munsuntosh, within 800 yards of which fort Outram established a post. Colonel Carruthers's brigade had been prevented by the nature of the country from taking their full share in the operations of the day. The next morning another combined movement was made on the village of Gotia, immediately below the forts; again the nature of the country favoured Outram, the





advanced guard of whose detachment captured the village with all its stockades, though very strongly situated. . . . Colonel Outram was . . . left unsupported, to carry on operations against Munsumtosh. One of those accidents which no human foresight can obviate, frustrated his attempt to gain that fortress by a *coup de main*. . . . Outram had skilfully thrown out parties to command the debouches from the south and south-west faces of the forts, leaving the remaining portion of the cordon to be filled up by the brigades. — failed on his part, and thus suffered the rebel chiefs, who had all been engaged, to escape over the Sisadrug ridge, close to one of his posts, into the Goa territory. Outram followed hard upon their track, had several skirmishes, took many prisoners, and on one occasion nearly captured the chief. Again he scoured the wild country beneath the Ghats, encouraging the loyal, and beating up the disaffected villages. The nature and value of his services during the operations . . . are not to be measured by the actual opposition experienced or loss sustained, but by the estimate formed by other commanders of the obstacles and enemy to be encountered . . . the promotion bestowed on him amply proves that Government took the same view of his conduct throughout the campaign as did General Delamotte, Colonels Brough and Wallace, and indeed all his comrades.

His proceedings at Goa were distinguished by tact combined with firmness, and a straightforwardness which, though natural and void of effort, was highly effective. In the first instance, Captain Arthur, military secretary to the Governor of Bombay, had been deputed to confer with the Governor of the Portuguese settlement on the best means to be adopted for preventing insurgents from Sawant-Wari finding an asylum in his territory, and for apprehending those already there. Further personal communication becoming necessary, Major Stevens, Outram's able staff officer, was sent. Then Outram himself had to go; and the letters which he addressed at this period to Mr. Secretary Gomez are instructive and interesting, read in connection with his reports to Government. The question under discussion was a delicate one, and all the more so because, independently of British





prestige, the credit of a second European Power was involved in its solution. On April 15, Colonel Outram was enabled to report, for Sir George Arthur's information, that all the objects of his mission to Goa had been satisfactorily concluded by the surrender to that Government of all the insurgent Sawant-Wari chiefs, and most of the inferior leaders in the insurrection. 'The Hon. the Governor in Council has great satisfaction,' wrote the secretary in acknowledging this report, 'in now recording his approbation of the temper, ability, skill, and judgment which you have evinced in all your communications with the Goa Government. I am at the same time desirous to intimate to you that the Governor in Council chiefly attributes to your exertions the present favourable prospects of the immediate restoration of tranquillity in the recently disturbed districts.'

But this was a small part only of the publicly-expressed recognition of services rendered. Official acknowledgments were indeed multiplied. The Governor in Council recorded his opinion that 'the energy, boldness, and military skill displayed by Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, and the rapidity and success which characterised all the movements of his detachment in a particular degree, entitle him, and the officers and men under his command, to the thanks and approbation of Government.' The Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, Sir Thomas MacMahon, expressing the pleasure felt in communicating the praise thus bestowed 'for zeal, activity, skill, and gallantry,' added the words 'which you have so conspicuously evinced on all occasions.' Not only did Lord Hardinge endorse the approval of Sir George Arthur, but the Home Government also; and we learn that Her Majesty's Ministers considered that 'but for the conciliatory policy adopted by Colonel Outram, they might have been involved in a disagreeable misunderstanding with the Government of Portugal.' The despatch on the





subject of the Kolapur and Sawant-Wari disturbances, which reached India from the Court of Directors near the close of the year, was highly eulogistic of the share taken in their suppression by 'this distinguished officer.'<sup>1</sup> As an instance of how universally admitted was his high character throughout India, even at this stage of his career, the Adjutant-General of the Madras army—referring to his favourable notice, for the Marquis of Tweeddale's information, of the services of an assistant-surgeon of that Presidency—writes:—  
'His Lordship receives with much pleasure a testimony of merit from an officer whose praise is so honourable to Dr. Forester.'

As early as February 3—when intelligence of the events immediately following the evacuation of Mansantosh and Manohar must have just reached Bombay—the appointment of Resident at Satara was offered to Outram by the Governor, through his military secretary. Acceptance having been notified in the interim, the formal nomination was communicated in the following terms:—

'The Honourable the Governor in Council having observed with great satisfaction the gallant and energetic spirit in which your late operations in the Sawant-Wari territory have been undertaken, and the ability with which they have been carried into execution, I am desired to inform you that, to mark the approbation with which these services are regarded by Government, he is pleased to appoint you to the office of Resident at Sattara and commandant of the troops at that station.'

Owing to the work still before him in Sawant-Wari, his orders to join were not issued until May 3, when they were forwarded by the Commander-in-Chief, writing in his own

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.





name to express the satisfaction with which he made the communication. Again did his Excellency avail himself of an opportunity to publish his 'high sense' of the 'zeal, ability, and energy' evinced by Outram throughout his services in the Southern Maratha country and Sawant-Wari—thereby signifying how fairly and honourably the promotion accorded had been earned.

It was now stated that the presence of the new Resident was urgently required at Satára. Handing over, therefore, all necessary papers to Captain Le Grand Jacob, political superintendent of Sawant-Wari, he left for his new destination, and joined his appointment on May 26, 1845.





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## APPENDICES.





## APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A.

GENERAL WASHINGTON AND DR. JAMES ANDERSON, page 7.

The following letter, from a copy found among the papers of Mrs. Margaret Outram, will be read with interest :—

‘Mount Vernon, July 25, 1798.

‘Esteemed Sir,—Your favour of February 8 came safe, and would have received an earlier acknowledgment if anything had sooner occurred worthy of communication. I hope you have not only got relieved of the fever from which you were then recovering, but of the languor with which it had affected you, and that you are now engaged in the literary pursuit of which you gave the outlines; and which, with your pen and arrangement of the subjects, must be curious, entertaining, and instructive. Thus persuaded, if you propose to carry the work on by way of subscription, it would give me pleasure to be numbered among the subscribers. I little imagined when I took my last leave of the walks of public life, and retired to the shades of my vine and fig-tree, that any event would arise *in my day* that would bring me again on a public theatre; but the unjust, ambitious, and intoxicated conduct of France towards these United States has been, and continues to be such, that they must be opposed by a firm and manly resistance, or we shall not only hazard the subjugation of our government, but the independence of our nation also, both being evidently struck at by a lawless, domineering power, who respects no rights, and is restrained by no treaties, when it is found inconvenient to observe them. Thus situated, sustaining daily injuries, even indignities, with a patient forbearance, from a sincere desire to live in peace





and harmony with all the world, the French Directory, mistaking the motives and the American character, and supposing that the people of this country were divided, and would give countenance to their nefarious measures, have proceeded to exact loans (or in other words contributions), and to threaten us—in case of non-compliance with their wild, unfounded, and incoherent complaints—that we should share the fate of Venice and other Italian States. This has roused the people from their slumbers, and filled their minds with indignation from one extremity to the other of the Union; and I trust, if they should attempt to carry their threats into effect, and invade our territorial as they have done our commercial rights, they will meet a spirit that will give them more trouble than they are aware of in the citizens of these States.

‘When everything sacred and dear to freemen is thus threatened, I could not, consistent with the principles which have actuated me through life, remain an idle spectator, and refuse to obey the call of my country to head its armies *for defence*; and therefore have pledged myself to come forward whenever the urgency shall require it.

‘With what sensations, at my time of life (now turned of sixty-six), without ambition or interest to stimulate me thereto, I shall relinquish the peaceful walks to which I had retired, and in the shades of which I had fondly hoped to have spent the remnant of a life worn down with cares in contemplation on the past, and in the enjoyment of scenes present and to come of rural growth, let others, and especially those who are best acquainted with my ways of thinking, decide; while I, believing that man was not designed by Providence to live for himself alone, shall prepare for the worst that can happen.

‘The gardener you were so obliging as to send me continues to conduct himself extremely well; he is industrious, sober, and orderly, and understands his business; in short, I never had a kind servant that pleased me better; and what adds to the satisfaction is, that he himself is content, having declared that he never was happier.

‘My best wishes always attend you; and, with great esteem and regard, I am, Sir,

‘Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

(Signed) ‘GEO. WASHINGTON.

‘Dr. Jas. Anderson, in or near London.’





And again :—

Philadelphia, Dec. 10, 1798.

‘ Esteemed Sir,—Hearing that the ship (“Suffolk”) by which the enclosed letter was sent was captured by the French, who never restore any of mine, I do, to avoid the imputation of inattention to your favours, and the correspondence with which you honour me, send a duplicate, being, with very great esteem and regard, Sir,

‘ Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

(Signed) ‘ G. WASHINGTON.’





## APPENDIX B.

KHANDESH AND THE BHÍLS, page 51.

THE area of Khandesh, roughly estimated in 1833 at 20,000, and in 1843 at 13,000, is recorded in the latest published reports at 10,162 square miles. Official statements make the population 1,070,000; or an average of 105·33 to the square mile. The Trigonometrical Survey, has yet, we understand, to publish the full results of its work for this particular subdivision of Western India; but the unhealthiness of the country at certain seasons, and physical difficulties encountered, have been productive of delay. Much is in progress, or remains to be done on the western side, and something on the south-east of Khandesh to complete the survey.

Khandesh once played an important, if a brief, part in Indian history. At the dawn of the fifteenth century, it became an independent State; and one Malik Raja, son of Khan Jahan, to whose family belonged some of the most respectable of the Delhi nobles, under Allahu Din Ghilzai, is considered by Farishta the first of its thirteen Faruki kings. Entrusted by Firuz Toghlok with the command of 2,000 horse he was afterwards granted by the same monarch the districts of Talnair and Kerind. He was also made Sipah Salár, or chief military commander of the whole province and, the 2,000 horse having been authoritatively raised to 3,000, he found means to increase the number of his mounted retainers to 12,000. On the death of Firuz he invaded Gujrát, laying waste the districts of Nandurbar and Sultánpúr. In 1399 he was succeeded by his son Nasir, and up to the close of the sixteenth century, when the province became absorbed in the Imperial territory, and its affairs were administered by Abul Fadhl, Wazir of Akbar the Great, Khandesh remained a separate State, or, as we read it, kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii., *passim*, Elliot's *History of India*, edited by Professor Dawson.





Low, bare hillocks, sinking gradually to the valley beyond, mark the south-eastern boundary of the 'Collectorate' of Khandesh, which contains sixteen *tālukas*, independently of recent transfers to Nassik. Of these, Sauda, Yāwal and Chopra, on the east, touch the Northern or Satpura hills, while the Chālisgāon district is merged in the Southern or Satmala range. The land revenue is estimated at 40 lakhs (40,000%): total gross revenue about 50. Although Khandesh is stated by Thornton to be a great valley, or basin, traversed throughout, from east to west, by the Tapti, the passage of this river is through the more northern of its territorial divisions, and therefore hardly answers the description of a central line. According to the same authority, the lower part of the Collectorate is in general fertile, 'the soil consisting principally of a rich mould of a dark reddish-brown colour, formed, apparently, for the most part, of the disintegration of the Trappean rock. There is indeed a considerable portion of sand as well as hard, unkindly soil mixed with gravel; yet the better descriptions predominate.'<sup>1</sup>

Farishta, in his account of the Kings of Khandesh, associates the Bhil with the predatory Kūli of Gujrat. According to this historian, they both suffered severely from the famine in the days of Malik Raja, the first king; and had habitually infested the roads and disturbed the peaceable inhabitants of towns prior to the reign of Adil Khan Faruki I., at the close of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Noting the local tendency to limit the term 'Bhil' to lawless and savage men who live separate from their fellows, Captain Graham explains at the same time that it is also given to many who do not acknowledge it. He is of opinion that, irrespective of the common Bhils of Khandesh who vauntingly merge all class distinctions in the one generic name, there are no more than seven clans in the province which merit mention. These are the Tarvis, a fine race of Muslim converts, with the dark, diminutive, and barbarous Nahals in the north-east; the fierce and surly Muhammadan Hindhis in the south-east; the milder Matwaris, Burdas, and Dorpies in the north-west; the wild Khotils of the Satpura mountains, and the unmitigated savages of the Dāng, or Dāngchis, who reside below the Western Ghāts. Mr. Boyd makes three divisions of Bhils only:

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer, under the head 'Candeish.'

<sup>2</sup> Briggs: translation of *Farishta*.





i.e. those of the hills, almost all under different chiefs or Naiks; those of the plains and villages; and the Tarvis or Muhammadans in the east. The Nahals and others, he does not consider sufficiently important for separate notice.

With regard to the amnesty generally offered on the inauguration of the humane policy adopted in 1825, there was diversity of opinion as to the degree of blame to be attached to offenders. Some thought the Bhil a victim of treachery and cruelty in the past, and attributed his ruffianism and malevolence to misconception of his fellows: believing that if he could only discriminate between the humanity of the newly-arrived Western ruler and that of the displaced Oriental despot, he would readily recognise in the first a benefactor and friend. Others again were less disposed to wholesale judgment in favour of a white and in condemnation of a dark-visaged administrator, and these naturally threw the onus of misdoing on the Bhil himself, setting down his mistrust and estrangement to his conviction that he deserved no forbearance at the hands of any government under the control of which he might chance to come. This was the view of Colonel Robertson, an able and experienced officer of the old and justly-honoured school of Indian politicians. His opinion on the Bhils may be further quoted with advantage:—

‘They had in general no property, and what they had there is no instance of their having been deprived of. The Government would not, I think, from mere wantonness, have selected this class as the objects of cruel and merciless persecution. . . . To relinquish the life they were leading was a course very far from the wishes of the Bheels. . . . If for the Naiks such a change was unpalatable, it was more so for those who adhered to them; who, comparatively speaking, rioted in the plenty which their leaders’ courses yielded, and who, by forsaking them, returned not only to a listless life, but also to an income not more than sufficient for their support, as well as to a humble station in the community and corresponding duties—none of which would be agreeable to them, after passing a long time in a state of the rudest independence (almost of all restraint)—who, in the hills, beyond yielding a very slight obedience to their leaders, were under no control, and came and went as they chose; they were all equals, and they shared in all that was got by plunder, the extent of which was only limited by their own exertions. We may fancy how unpleasantly the call to return to their proper





station and duties must under such circumstances have sounded to the Bheels in the hills; and how, even if tempted by prospect of a provision their leaders felt inclined to yield, their adherents must have thwarted their intentions.'

The town of Chálisgáon bears the name of a *táluka* or district, containing in 1863 a population of between thirty and forty thousand, and more than one hundred and forty registered Government villages. To the natural advantage of a river on its northern and eastern side, it adds the possession, by artificial endowment, of a railway in its centre.<sup>1</sup> But its contiguity to the Nizam's territory on the south—where a high wall-like range of hills, supporting on their summit an extensive table-land, extends to almost the entire breadth of the district—has made it, even in recent years, a difficult ground for satisfactory settlement: and in the days of which we write, it had none of the benefits of more modern skill and appliances. The revenue commissioner, Mr. (now Sir Barrow) Ellis, in reporting of the locality in question some sixteen years ago, speaks of the 'turbulent characters' of this frontier, whom he would suggest keeping in order by a more effective police supervision than theretofore exercised.

Exclusive of the small nucleus of regulars, Outram's light infantry consisted of Bhils only; the pay of the men being fixed at five rupees monthly, with an additional rupee for outpost duty. Clothing was supplied by Government. At the outset only 4½ rupees was actually paid over, and that in daily instalments of two annas, the balance of twelve annas in a long and ten in a short month being given on the last day when acquittances were taken. The clothing consisted of a *pagri* (*pagiya*), or turban, dyed green; a white *angrikha* (*angarkha*), or vest; and a *gurgi*, a kind of knee breeches, made double and of strong cloth. This was found suited to their tastes, and gave them a respectable appearance. In Outram's report of September 1, quoted in the text, are the following passages, regarding his new levies:—

'They are daily improving in cleanliness, and beginning to ex-

<sup>1</sup> The reader, desirous of becoming acquainted with this part of Khandesh, can do no better than refer to the published papers on the assessment proposed for the Dhúlia and Chálisgám *tálukas* contained in the *Selections from the Bombay Government Records*, No. lxxii., New Series (1863).





pend their surplus pay at the end of the month in purchasing shoes or ornaments. This dress will last about six months, and is well calculated for a *police*, being uniform and looking well with native arms; it is also the cheapest that could be given, the whole expense being  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rupees.

‘I was unable to proceed in hutting more than thirty men, grass not being procurable so late in the season; the rest I have quartered in empty houses in the town without infringing on any prejudice of the inhabitants, who were, at first, very averse to their neighbourhood, and had many causes of complaint against the Bheels, who were then rather disorderly; but latterly such complaints have entirely ceased, and their behaviour is to the satisfaction of everyone.

‘I have, for the present, divided the corps into two classes, the one consisting of the men for general police duties, the other of those whom I hope to train and discipline as light infantry. The latter are selected from the youngest and most intelligent; of this class there are only at present about twenty.

‘The duties I yet exact are light; from the former a daily and nightly guard of a Naick (or lance) and six privates; from the latter whom I wish to attach as much as possible to my person, two orderlies are supplied daily.

‘In pursuance of what I deemed prudent, i.e. exacting early service from them, I detached several parties to recruit. The ill-success of two which were sent to the greatest distance I have already shown, but the fidelity they evinced on that occasion was more gratifying than the most complete success. I have reason to be equally well pleased with all the parties I detached in the neighbourhood, all of which, though meeting with little success, deserved the trust I placed in them, and exerted themselves to the utmost.’

The following interesting particulars from the pen of Sir Bartle Frere came to hand at too late an hour for embodiment in the text, but in time to be here added:—

‘Candeesh is one of the richest provinces of Western India, formed by the basin of the Taptee river, somewhat lower and more sheltered than the general table-land of the Deccan, with better soil and better water. It had been rich and populous during the flourishing days of the Delhi empire; but as that empire fell into





decrepitude, Candeech suffered from being on the great roads leading from the cradle of the Mahratta race in the southern Deccan to the fertile plains and cities of Hindoostan. From the rise of the Mahratta power every year saw the Mahratta hordes advancing northwards to their annual plundering expeditions, or returning with their plunder to the safer recesses of the Deccan and, as the province possessed but few great fortresses between the range of Ghauts on its western border and Asseeghur on the east, Candeech gradually became devastated by passing bands of plunderers to such an extent, that the jungle overpowered the cultivation, and the greater part of the province lapsed into a state of forest—while the few inhabited portions suffered from almost annual inroads of Pindarees or Mahrattas, or from the incursions of Bhils. This wild mountain race had in previous ages been driven to the rocky fastnesses of the ranges which encircle Candeech on all sides; but, encouraged by the distracted state of the country after the rise of the Mahratta power, they plundered what little was left to the defenceless villagers, and perpetuated the desolation caused by the passage of armies.

‘To such an extent had the devastation of the land and the increase of jungle proceeded when the country came into our possession rather more than sixty years ago, that Mr. Chaplain, the first Commissioner who took over that part of the Mahratta Peishwa’s dominion after its conquest in 1817–18, reported that the first year’s police returns showed a total of 30,000 cattle destroyed by tigers within the province. It soon after fell to the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone to arrange for measures required to render life and property secure in Candeech, and to restore its ancient prosperity. He selected for this purpose two men whom he used to name “his sword” and “his plough.” Outram was “the sword,” and Captain Charles Ovens was “the plough,” and to both were allotted young military officers carefully chosen for their enterprise, courage, and other military qualities. I know of only one who still survives, Colonel Patrick French, who assisted Captain Ovens from the first, and subsequently succeeded him as Bhil agent, his business being to make the acquaintance of the wild Bhil tribes, to settle them down to agriculture, train them, and teach them to use the ploughs and cattle which were given them by the Government.