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# SINDHI CULTURE



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~~HISTORY.~~

OF

GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S

ADMINISTRATION OF

S C I N D E,

AND

CAMPAIGN IN THE CUTCHEE HILLS.

BY LIEUT.-GEN. SIR WILLIAM NAPIER, K.C.B.

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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*Note.*—The perspective views were drawn to illustrate Sir C. Napier's campaign in the Cutchee hills, by Lieutenant Edwards, an officer on his staff. A love of art led that gentleman to aim too much at agreeable pictures; and the austerity of the region has not been adequately rendered. The defiles threaded by Major Beatson, sketched by another officer, more truly depict the savage desolate nature of the grags amidst which the hillmen were warred down.

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*Note.*—The rivers and streamlets marked in the Cutchee Hills, are but beds of torrents without water, except in heavy rain. The Teyaja alone flows continually, but at Deyrah it was only a yard wide during the campaign, and the whole region is inexpressibly arid.

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# APPENDIX.

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## I.

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

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

November, 1844.

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

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*Extract from a Report of the Hyderabad Collector and  
• Magistrate.*

November, 1844.

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



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

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

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## II.

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

July, 1845.

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

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

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

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

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

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### III.

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

August, 1845.

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

The water here is drawn from wells, and is strongly

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

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

To Sir HENRY HARDINGE, &c.

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

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#### IV.

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

Sukkur, 19th December, 1844.

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

Paragraph A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

## V.

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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## VI.

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

December 29, 1844.

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

1°. Because, where no criminal jurisdiction exists the

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## VII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Paragraph A.

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

APPENDIX VIII.

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

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

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

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VIII.

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

Hyderabad, 18th May, 1843.

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

*The Camel.*

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

1°. He is extremely delicate in his constitution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *Ill-treatment of the Camel.*

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

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

2°. He is never sufficiently nourished.

3°. He rarely gets sufficient rest.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

## IX.

### *Extracts from a Letter to Lord Ripon.*

Bhoogtee Hills, 7th February, 1845.

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

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

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

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

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## X.

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

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

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

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## XI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Private William Lovelace—Reached the top—Killed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Sepoy Ramzan Ahier—Did not quite reach the top.

## XII.

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

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

## XIII.

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

Kurrachee, 13th August, 1845.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.

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

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

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

The GOVERNOR of BOMBAY  
in Council.

*Extract of a Letter to the Governor-General.*

16th November, 1845.

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

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

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

## XIV.

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

3rd August, 1845.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

## XV.

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

7th November, 1845.

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

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

9th September, 1845.

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

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

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

Nusseer Khan, and the other, a handsome man, is supposed to have been Shadad's. \* \* \* \* \*

I thought it right to return the articles as not becoming in government to doubt the generosity of their highnesses for *such favours*, or to go into an examination of such matters.

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

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

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

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

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## XVI.

### *Letters to the Widow of the Ameer Noor Mohamed.*

17th October, 1846.

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

C. NAPIER, GOVERNOR.

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28th October, 1846.

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



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

Madam,

Your most obedient humble servant,

C. NAPIER.

## XVII.

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

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

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

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

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

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### XVIII:

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

*Observations by Captain Rathborne.*

Hyderabad, 30th July, 1850.

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

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

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*Continuation of Observations by the same.*

Hyderabad, 15th August, 1850.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

September 5th, 1851.

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

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

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## XIX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

See Plan 2.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## XX.

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

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

*Meer Roostum Khan to his Son Meer Mahomed Hussain.*

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

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

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

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

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

(True translation.)

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

*Sukkur, 4th May, 1850.*

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

(Signed) JN. YOUNGHUSBAND.

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

25th June, 1843.

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

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

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

\* The son of Meer Roostum.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER.

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

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