

MIR RUSTAM KHĀN OF KHYRPORE,

# DRY LEAVES

FROM

# Y O U N G   E G Y P T .

BY AN EX-POLITICAL.

"And how did these monsters destroy their own children? First they gave potions, called *odalisques*, to procure abortion; if these failed, they sometimes chopped the children to pieces with their own hands immediately after birth; but more frequently placed them under cushions and sat down, smoking and drinking and jesting with each other about their hellish work, while their children were being suffocated beneath them."

CONQUEST OF SINDE, part ii., p. 348.

"There are many statements of history which it is immaterial to substantiate or disprove. Splendid pictures of public virtue have often produced their good if once received as fact. But, when private character is at stake, every conscientious writer or reader will cherish his 'historic doubts,' when he reflects on the facility with which calumny is sent abroad, the avidity with which it is received, and the careless ease with which men credit what it costs little to invent and propagate, but requires an age of trouble, and an almost impossible conjunction of opportunities, effectually to refute."

GRATTAN'S HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS, vol. ii., p. 242.

THIRD EDITION.

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TO  
LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES OUTRAM, C.B.,  
IN ADMIRATION  
OF HIS LOFTY AND CHIVALROUS SPIRIT,  
OF HIS RARE DISINTERESTEDNESS, AND SINGLENESS OF  
PURPOSE, AND OF HIS  
UNTIRING ZEAL FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE,  
THESE  
BRIEF SKETCHES OF EVENTS,  
IN WHICH HE PLAYED SO PROMINENT A PART,  
AND OF A PEOPLE  
WHOSE CAUSE HE HAS SO POWERFULLY PLEADED, ARE  
GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY  
INSCRIBED, BY  
THE AUTHOR.

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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It will be seen from the first line of this Memoir, that it was commenced three years ago, soon after the Vakils of the Amīrs of Sindh had been repulsed in all their attempts to obtain redress in this country. I began to write in the hope of shewing that the unfortunate Chiefs of Khairpur were, from the outset, treated by us with intolerable harshness; and that, therefore, as we were the first aggressors, we ought not to have persecuted them as we have,—even had their hostility to us been earlier evinced, and more clearly proved than it is in the Blue Book. A consciousness of inability to do justice to the case, made me throw away the pen, but now that information has been received of the deaths of our once firm friend and ally, Mir Sobdār Khān, his mother, and his eldest son—caused partly by anguish of mind, and partly by the (to them) unhealthy climate of Bengāl,—there seems to be a fit opportunity for making another appeal to public opinion in behalf of the

surviving prisoners. I have ventured, therefore, to add my feeble candle to the broad light which has already been thrown on the subject by men like Outram and Sullivan. If I succeed in recalling the attention of any of the former supporters of the fallen Amīrs to their cause, my object is gained;—for the rest

*Μέλει τῆς ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς δόξης.*

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE late lamented Lord —, the Leviathan of critics, in a letter which he addressed to me after the publication of “Dry Leaves” — a letter only too laudatory of my poor performance—says, “The extirpation of your Amirs may have been a questionable enough proceeding either for its policy or its justice, but we must all now accept it, I fancy, as a *fait accompli*; and I must fairly confess that I grudge to be so often interrupted in following your graphic and entertaining delineations of scenes, characters, and individual adventures, by the perpetual revival of questions that have been so long practically settled, and on the merits of which I suspect that even well-informed persons are far from being agreed.” Thus it is that even the best among us often dispose of the tales of suffering and of injustice that reach us from the Colonies. Many an amiable person, who would be scandalised at the slightest infringement of the people’s liberties in this country, sits down placidly after hearing of the most startling

outrages of all law and justice in our colonial possessions, with some such observation as Colonel Dixon, in his "Mairwarrah," tells us the present Rājā Mān Singh uses on similar occasions, "Thik! Thik!" "Just so! quite true!" The fact is, the public do not know where to look for the truth. Take for instance the case of Sindh. Here we have the statements of Sir C. Napier and of Colonel Outram diametrically opposed to each other. Both were in Sindh—both are men of great abilities—both are quite decided in their statements—and both are what the world in general would regard as well-informed persons. With such contradictory testimony, who can decide? who will even take the trouble to read the evidence? The evidence, alas! is long; and even of those whose duty it is to read it, how few will do so; and of those, how few are qualified to appreciate it thoroughly! Grant all this—what then? Is the public at liberty to dismiss the matter? Is a thing not to be inquired into because there are two sides to it? Why, the very circumstance that there are contradictory statements about it, proves that it ought to be investigated. Here are a dozen men, some of them of high official rank—men whose integrity has never been called in question, cognizant of all the circumstances, who declare that the Amirs of Sindh were foully wronged—that their country was taken from them on false evidence. Well! the greatest of all truths had not at first more witnesses. There must be something surely in this. So many men



are not likely to be deceived. One, two, or three men may take up a weak case, may bring forward as facts what are only misapprehensions, but a dozen persons can scarcely be mistaken about things they saw and heard. When we say that Mir Rustam Khān was wronged, we do not, like Sir W. Napier, assert a thing at second-hand, on hearsay. We know it. We saw this wrong committed with our eyes—we heard it with our ears—and what is more, can prove it. If the House of Commons were to appoint a Committee of Inquiry to-morrow, it could, would, and should be proved before that Committee that the English have inflicted wrongs on the Amīrs and people of Sindh, and that there are at this moment a number of men, women, and children (I say nothing of the height from which they have been hurled into the very dust), who are suffering a wrongful imprisonment and exile at our hands, when the injustice done them is patent to any one who will take the trouble to peruse the proofs. Nay, without laying ourselves open to the charge of presumption, it may be said that the hand of Providence is apparent in the recent discoveries that have been made of Āli Murād's treachery. Had that Prince not invaded our interests, it may be doubted whether the unhappy Amīrs would have ever had their innocence declared. As long as it was our interest to be deceived, we were but too willingly duped; but now that our own rights have been assailed, we have been compelled to elicit

facts which demonstrate the entire guiltlessness of the Tālpurs, and the wrongs we have done them. What those facts are, the reader may, in some measure, learn from the last chapter of the book now before him; but he may be quite sure that, however strong the representations there given may appear to him, they are, after all, but a faint delineation of the truth.

As to any ill-feeling that the truthfulness of my sketches may excite, I am indifferent. I have had a duty to discharge, and I have performed it without intending any personalities. I have endeavoured to mention as few names as possible where blame is imputed, but in some cases it has been unavoidable. All that I have said I have the most solemn conviction is true; and I suppose, in this free country, no one will find fault with a man for telling the truth.

With reference to the present edition, I have to return my sincerest thanks to Colonel Outram, Colonel Dickinson, the Nawwāb Suraju'l-Mulk Minister of H. H. the Nizām, Āli Muḥammad Khān, and other English and Indian gentlemen who have taken an interest in it. I have also to acknowledge the obligation I am under to Mr. Grant, the celebrated artist of Calcutta, for several portraits of the Amīrs, executed with wonderful spirit and fidelity.

One word as to minor matters. A kind anonymous friend has suggested to me the expediency of changing the title of my book. I confess myself wrong in giving

a name to my sketches which the general reader would not understand, but I do not see how it can be altered at this eleventh hour. Another and more serious charge will be brought against my manner of writing Oriental names. This demands a short answer, and I will endeavour to reply to it as concisely as possible. I suppose, in the first place, that there is no one who would not think it desirable to have a uniform system adopted in the matter of anglicising Oriental words. Few would not wish to see *e. g.* one way of writing the name of the Prophet of Islām, rather than—

1. Mahound (Old Ballad).
2. Mahomet (Prideaux).
3. Mahomed (Orme).
4. Mahommed (Dow).
5. Mohamed (Napier).
6. Mohammed (Mill and Sale).
7. Mohammad (Lane).
8. Muḥammad (Johnson).

It is evident that if every Englishman, whether acquainted with the languages or not, is to spell Oriental names according to his own notion, this would give rise to inextricable confusion. How much greater will be the obscurity if every European nation is to have its own system. If any Englishman doubts what would be the result of such a license, let him try to find out a proper name in D'Herbelot's Biographical Dictionary, and be sure, unless he has had previous practice, it will take

him weary hours before he lights on his quarry. We want, therefore, some uniform system. But of all languages, the English has the least pretension to uniformity. The simple fact is, in English any vowel may be sounded any way. It is all a delightful jumble: "u" stands for "a," "i" for "e," "o" for "u," and anything for anything. Take the vowel sound represented by "i" in "pique" for example, and we will spell it any way you like.

- 1, with "i" in "pique."
- 2, with "ie" in "mien."
- 3, with "ei" in "receive."
- 4, with "e" in "equal."
- 5, with "ee" in "meet."
- 6, with "ea" in "meat."
- 7, with "æ" in "Ægis."
- 8, with "eo" in "people."
- 9, with "œ" in "Œsophagus."
- 10, with "ey" in "key."
- 11, with "ieu" in "Lieutenant."
- 12, with "ue" in "guerilla."
- 13, with "ui" in "guitar."

For this reason Dr. Latham has very properly rejected the English vowel system, or rather no-system, in spelling foreign words. We want uniformity, and since it is to be found in the mother language of the Japhetic tongues, in the Sanskrit, why waste time in seeking elsewhere? In Sanskrit every letter has one sound, and but one. The

vowel system is simple, and easily understood. We have

Six vowels—

ă	....	ā
ĩ	....	ī
ũ	....	ū

Four diphthongs—

ă	+	ĩ	=	e
ă	+	ũ	=	o
ā	+	ĩ	=	ai
ā	+	ũ	=	au

Now these symbols will be found sufficient to express the vocalization of all the Indian languages, as well as of the Persian and Arabic, and why then should they not be adopted? In the matter of consonants, the question is simply this, How are we to express letters for which we have no exact equivalent in the European languages? For instance, the first “h” in Arabic is a more powerful aspirate than our “h,” and we have, therefore, no alternative but to use a symbol for it, and what better symbol can there be than our own “ḥ” with a dot under it? Again, we have the  $\xi$  in Arabic, for which there is no European equivalent—nothing which even approximates to the sound. In this case it is clear that we cannot use a better symbol than the letter itself. To substitute, as some do, an apostrophe for it, as in  $\text{عذر}$  'uzr, is to introduce an ambiguity. The mark (') would then have three uses—it would superadd to its use as a stop, and as an apostrophe that of representing the  $\xi$ . Surely it

is better to adopt the letter itself rather than a symbol, already compelled to answer two purposes. But it may be said that all this gives trouble. The English reader, before he could read a foolish book of Indian travels, taken up for mere amusement, and not worth the perusal (the one before him, for example), would be subjected to that loss of temper and exacerbation consequent upon having certain ill-looking foreign characters submitted to his notice. This must be admitted to be a grave fact; but on the other side, observe what results will spring from a little trouble rightly bestowed. Carry out this system fully, and we shall have no more absurd blunders; routes laid down in India in the Quarter-Master-General's Department which are not to be found in the map; and *vice versâ*. Who knows, in these times of progress, whether we might not thus arrive at one universal language for places. The Frenchman would cease from mangling Regensburg into Ratisbon, and the Englishman from hardening München into Munich, while the Anglo-Indian would suffer the soft-sounding Gangā to be at peace, and Al Kāhirah to triumph over its vulgar and unmellifluous substitute, Cairo. That this consummation, devoutly to be wished, may soon arrive, is the sincere hope of

THE AUTHOR.

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## APPENDIX I.

RANGE OF THE THERMOMETER IN MAJOR DOWNING'S HOUSE  
(OPEN) AT ABŪ, IN THE MONTH OF APRIL, 1840.

DATE.	Sunrise.	Noon.	3 P.M.	Sunset.	REMARKS.
16	72	76	79	77	Clear sky. Light winds.
17	do.	do.	do.	do.	Ditto. Winds higher.
18	76	80	83	81	Ditto. Ditto.
19	78	82	85	82	Ditto. High winds.
20	80	85	88	86	Ditto. Cool, and light winds.
21	82	86	90	88	Ditto. Ditto.
22	82	88	90	87	Ditto. Ditto.
23	82	do.	do.	do.	
24	80	86	88	86	
25	81	87	91	86	Ditto. Moderate winds.
26	80	88	91	88	Intermittent.
27	79	87	89	84½	Ditto. High winds, at night stormy
28	78	83	86	82	Ditto. High wind.
29	74	82	83	79	Ditto. Wind cool and constant.
30	73	81	84	81	Ditto. Light winds.

*Note.*—For these Tables and for the view of Abū, I am indebted to my friend Mr. William Strachey, late assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in Rājputānah.

RANGE OF THE THERMOMETER IN MAJOR DOWNING'S HOUSE  
(OPEN) AT ABŪ, IN MAY, 1840.

DATE.	Sunrise.	Noon.	3 P.M.	Sunset.	REMARKS.
1	76	83	84½	85	Violent winds. Clear sky.
2	83	88½	91	87	High and warm winds.
3	89	89	92½	89½	Change of moon. Warm winds.
4	79	86	89	86	Wind cool and pleasant from E.
5	76	83	84½	82	Wind becomes damp.
6	72	83	86	84	Cool and smart breezes from E. & S.
7	75	82	86	83	Cool breezes, steady.
8	73	80	82	80	Cool breezes from E. and S. with a little rain.
9	72	81	84	83	Violent wind. Thunder storm at night.
10	75	85	86	82	Smart showers at 5 o'clock.
11	74	87	89	86	Morning still. Breeze about 10 o'clock.
12	77	89	89	87	Close morning. Breeze in afternoon.
13	80	90	91	88	Intermittent W. wind.
14	81	89	90½	87	Ditto. Ditto.
15	79	86		78	Atmosphere cooler.
16	75	84	85	82	
17	73	84	86	82	Pleasant breeze.
18	73	82	85	82	Cool and pleasant breeze.

RANGE OF THE THERMOMETER IN MAJOR DOWNING'S HOUSE  
(OPEN) AT ABŪ, IN MAY, 1840, (CONTINUED.)

DATE.	Sunrise.	Noon.	3 P.M.	Sunset.	REMARKS.
19	71	81	84	81	Cool and strong S.W. wind.
20	71	80	84	81	Ditto ditto.
21	69	80	83	81	Ditto. Horizon cloudy to S.W.
22	68	81½	84½	83	Strong W.S.W. winds.
23	69	81	84	81	W.S.W. wind, intermittent, but strong.
24	69	80	85	81	Ditto, but less violent.
25	73	82	85½	83	Morning calm; towards noon W.S.W. wind.
26	74	84	86	83	Slight earthquake at night.
27	73	82	86	83	Not much wind.
28	73	82	86	83	Pleasant S.W. breeze.
29	78	82½	84½	83	
30	75	78	82½	80	Cold S. wind.
31	72	79	82½	80½	

## RANGE OF THERMOMETER AT ABŪ, JUNE, 1840.

DATE.	Sunrise.	Noon.	3 P.M.	Sunset.	REMARKS.
1	73	79	82½		Cold S. wind. Cloudy.
2	do.	do.	83		Ditto, less wind towards evening.
3	do.	84	86½		Partial S. wind lulls, and westerly towards evening.
4	76	82	84		Close morning. Thunder at noon. Evening cooler.
5	78	85	86		Close day. Thunder at noon.
6	do.	86½	90		Ditto.
7	80	89	92		Light W. winds. Cloudy for some hours.
8	83	89	92½		
9	81	do.	90		Wind fresher from W.S.W.
10	80	86	88		Squall and smart shower, after which thermometer sinks 10 deg. at once.
11	75	82	83½		Calm day, but cool. Squally again at 9 p.m., and rain all night.
12	72	77	do.		Cloudy morning, cool, and throughout the day.
13	72	77	79		Leave Abū at 5 p.m., and on arriving at Sirohī, in the plains, thermometer rises, as noted, to 96, being 17 deg. higher than at Abū.
14		94	96		

*Mem.*—There is usually about 6° Fahrenheit between the temperature of a tent at mid-day and that of an open house. For 59 days at Abū, in 1840, as shown in this Register, the mean minimum of the thermometer was 76½; the mean maximum 86; the mean range being 9½. This season was unusually hot, and cannot, therefore, be taken as a fair criterion of the climate; but, at all events, it is fifteen degrees cooler than the climate of the low country.

REGISTER OF A THERMOMETER (FAHRENHEIT) KEPT AT THE NAKKI TALAO, ABU, IN THE SUMMER OF 1841.

N.B.—The afternoon observation was taken at 3 or 4 P.M., and is generally the maximum temperature of the day. The night observation was made about 9 P.M.

APRIL.

DATE	Sunrise	After-noon.	Night.	REMARKS.	DATE	Sunrise	After-noon.	Night.	REMARKS.
8		78·7	76·5		20	69	76·7	73·3	Ditto.
9	72	81·5	76	Hazy.	21	1½ a.m. 76	78·5	76	Dense clouds, thunder, and a little rain.
10	75	97·5	74	Ditto.	22	*	75·5	72·7	Gale from E.
11	71·5	78·5	75·5	W. wind.	23	71·5	70	66·3	Stormy. Thunder.
12	71·2	77·3	73·7	Wind E. Cloudy. Shower at 11.	24	8 a.m. 72·5	*	71·5	
13	69·5	74·8	70·8	Cloudy.	25	69·5	77	74·8	
14	67·5	75	72·5	Ditto.	26	71	*	75	W. high wind.
15	67·7	76·2	72·5		27	68·5	76·5	75	Ditto.
16	72·5	79	76	Wind E. Cloudy.	28	*	74·7	74·7	Ditto.
17	71	76·7	73·3		29	71	74·3	71	Dust storm from W. at 2 p.m.
18	*	75·7	71·7	W. wind.	30	68	*	73·3	Cloudy. E. wind.
19	68	75·5	72	Little or no wind.					

MAY.

DATE	Sunrise	Afternoon.	Night.	REMARKS.	DATE	Sunrise	Afternoon.	Night.	REMARKS.
1	68	*	76		17		85		W. wind. Hazy. Shower at 2 P.M.
2	72.3	78.8	77.8		18	77	85		No wind.
3	*	79.5		High W. wind.	19				
4	71	*	75.3		20	75	83.5		W. wind.
5	*	79			21	77	84		
6	*	*	*		22	76	83		Wind E.
7	*	78	*		23	78	81		Damp wind from S. E.
8	69.7	*			24	73			
9	74.5	80.5	80.5		25				
10	76	*			26				
11					27	71.5	80		Very damp E. and S. wind.
12		82.5		High W. wind.	28				
13	75	81.3		W. changeable.	29				
14					30				
15	76	81.6		Clouds. Little wind.	31	77	83		
16									



JUNE.

DATE	Sunrise.	After-noon.	Night.	REMARKS.	DATE	Sunrise.	After-noon.	Night.	REMARKS.
1					16	77	80.5		
2	75	82.5			17				
3	73.5	88			18	71	79		
4	77.5	83.5			19				
5					20	70	79		
6					21	70	79		
7					22	72.5			
8					23				
9					24	02	80		
10					25	74	73.5		Windy showers.
11		78.5			26				Incessant rain and high wind.
12	73	80			27		69		Incessant rain and high wind.
13					28		74		High wind.
14	74	82			29		76.5		Cloudy.
15	73.5	81.5			30				Cloudy.

JULY.

DATE	Sunrise.	After-noon.	Night.	REMARKS.	DATE	Sunrise.	After-noon.	Night.	REMARKS.
1	69	75		Cloudy.	7	9 A.M. 72	77		
2	69	75		Wind W., clear sky.	8	72			
3	71.5	76		Wind W., clear sky.	9				
4	71	65		At Gurusikr, the highest point of Abū.	10				On arriving this day at Sirohi, in the low country, the Thermometer reached 94 at noon, in the house, shewing a difference of 17 degrees above Abū.
5		75.5							
6	71	76							

*Note.*—The Thermometer at Sunrise, in the open air, stood usually about 6° lower than one in the house. The wet bulb Thermometer was generally 10° lower than the dry one till the beginning of June, from which time till the 8th of July scarcely half that difference was perceptible.

The height of the Barometer at the foot and summit of Abū was found to be as follows:—

	Barom.	Ther. attached Fahr.	Do. detached Fahr.
April 8th, at Anādura village, at the foot, mean of four observations ... ..	28.967	90.1	90.9
April 9th, at Nakki Talão (the lake) mean of four observations ... ..	28.237	78	78
July 5th, at Gurusikr, the highest peak ... ..	24.480	75.5	75.5
July 4th, at Nakki Talão, mean of three observations... ..	28.042	75.5	75.5

The Barometrical height at the sea level being taken to be—Bar. 29.908; (Att. Therm.) 84°; Det. Therm. 84°.

The altitudes of the various places above the sea will be—Anādura, 968 feet; Nakki Talão, 3336, or 2868 feet above Anādura; Gurusikr, 5621, or 1785 above the lake.

Nakki Talão was found to be about 15° cooler than Anādura in April, which shows a decrease of one degree of temperature for every 191 feet of ascent. Gurusikr is 10° cooler than Nakki Talão, being one degree of decrease for every 178 feet of ascent. Urea and Achalgarh appear to be about half way in altitude and temperature between the Nakki Talão and Gurusikr. The distance between these two latter places is about seven miles.

## APPENDIX II.

WILL any one who takes the trouble to peruse the following correspondence, inform us what course Indian Princes are to pursue, who either have, or imagine they have, wrongs to complain of? We will suppose that it is *possible* (so much surely will be conceded) that false evidence, or prejudice, or some other one of the innumerable things which pervert Man's judgment, might lead the highest Indian authority to decide harshly with regard to an Indian Prince. Suppose, too, that those who are confessedly the best judges on Indian affairs, *videlicet* the Court of Directors, should express "with much regret that they could not, consistently with their duty, approve of the general course of proceedings" towards that Indian Prince. Suppose that the officers first deputed to the Court of that Prince, and who had resided there longest, should be unanimous in his favour. Will any one say that there ought not to be some Court of Appeal, in which such a case might be re-considered? or that it ought to be added to the already over-grown business which is thrust upon Parliamentary committees? The fact is, the Court of Directors themselves are the proper Court of Appeal, and the less they are *controlled* the better.

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—We would hereby beg to represent, for your information and that of the public, that, having been deputed by the Ex-Amīrs of Sindh to seek redress in this country for the wrongs of those unfortunate fallen Princes, who, having several times in vain represented their case, and made every effort in India for justice, were at last driven to the extremity of sending us hither, we, on our arrival, addressed Sir Robert Peel, the Board of Control for the affairs of India, and the Court of Directors, from all of whom we received a direct negative reply, without the least inquiry into the details of our case, and are therefore now necessitated to return to India from want of funds to support us in England, but should wish, before our departure, to represent, through the medium of your paper, to the public in general, the correspondence between us and the authorities, not only here, but in India also, and sincerely trust you will judge the merits or demerits of our case with candour and impartiality.

---

*Copy of a Letter from the Amīrs to the Governor-General of India.*

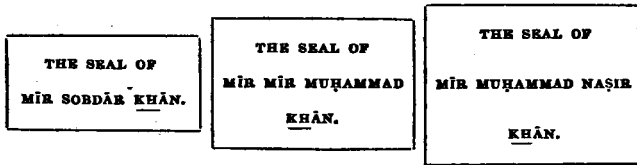
[TRANSLATION FROM THE PERSIAN.]

May the rose garden of the state and of prosperity, the exalted of high degree, the asylum of pomp and splendour, the phoenix of the age, the nawwāb of great titles, Sir Henry Hardinge, Bahādur, Governor-General of the various provinces of India, whom God preserve, be refreshed with the rain of Divine grace. After many compliments, let it be impressed upon your Excellency's mind that in consequence of your happy arrival we were in expectation of being gratified with an interview with your Excellency, but as some time has expired without that pleasure, we now take the liberty of requesting the favour in question, which will afford us great delight. The oppression which has been exercised towards us, who were

in amity with the English Government, by Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier is, we presume, well known to your Excellency. From the length of time during which we have been confined, we have experienced great depression of mind, but we entertain great hopes from the kindness of the English Government.

May your Excellency's days be prolonged.

The 25th of the month of Shābān, in the year of the Hijrah, 1260, corresponding with the 9th of September, 1844.



*Re-translation of a Persian translation of a Letter from F. Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Governor-General of India, to Captain M. F. Gordon, Superintendent in charge of the Amīrs of Sindh.*

In reply to your letter I am directed to write and say that the Governor-General does not see the necessity of granting the Amīrs an interview at Barrackpur. It is the purport of this to point out to you the expediency of clearly explaining to the Amīrs, that the Governor-General has not a single word to say to those Princes, which might possibly be the means of benefiting or changing their condition. If, however, the Amīrs, after having had this properly explained to them, should still be desirous of obtaining an interview, the Governor-General will appoint a day for that purpose.

*From the Amīrs to the Governor-General.*

[TRANSLATION FROM THE PERSIAN.]

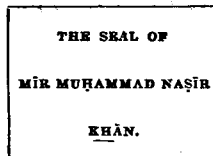
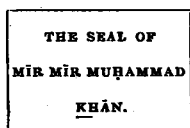
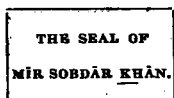
May the rose garden of the state and of prosperity, the exalted of high degree, the asylum of pomp and splendour,

the phoenix of the age, the nawwāb of great titles, Sir Henry Hardinge, Bahādur, Governor-General of the various provinces of Hindūstān, whom God preserve, be refreshed with the rainy clouds of Divine grace. After many compliments, &c., let it be impressed on your Excellency's friendly mind, that with reference to the letter which we took the liberty of transmitting to your Excellency, through Captain Gordon, to which a reply was sent by Mr. Currie, and translated by Captain Gordon's Munshī for our information, we learn that your Excellency has not a single word to say to us, which might be the means of either benefiting us, or changing our condition. Although we are aware that your Excellency is well acquainted with every particular of the tyranny and injustice which have been exercised towards each of us, as a return for the friendship we entertained for the English Government; yet, inasmuch as your Excellency has no power to interfere in our behalf, why should we trouble your Excellency with any further details of our misfortunes, which involve such extraordinary acts of the most despotic oppression? The only remedy which seems left to us for the attainment of redress is, that two or three of our number should be allowed to proceed to London, in order to lay the whole of our case before Her Majesty the Queen, the Ministers of State, and the rest of the nobles of the kingdom; therefore, our hope is, that your Excellency, being made acquainted with this our request, may be pleased to comply therewith. Had your Excellency power to interfere in our behalf, you would have gladdened our hearts by restoring us to our rights, without the necessity of our proceeding to England, since your Excellency has been made acquainted with all the particulars of our case, we have every reason to believe you would have rendered us every redress possible. Now that our lives, and property, and honour, are all in the hands of the English, we sincerely trust that your Excellency will not prohibit our proceeding to London. We have been separated from all we held dear. The condition into which we have been thrown, is the recompense of the services we always rendered to the English Government;

which we little deserved. We here beg leave to write the fact, that, according to British laws, no one, whether innocent or guilty of the most heinous crime, is punished without a hearing, since he has the right always of stating the merits of his own case in open Court, and when the gentlemen of the Court (the jury) have well weighed and considered the case, it is then known whether the person in question is innocent or guilty. Until we hear the decision of our case in London, we shall consider that we have right on our side; therefore we solicit your Excellency will grant our request, and when the permission shall be given, we will submit a paper to your Excellency, in which the names of the two or three of our party who will proceed to London shall be written.

May your Excellency's days be prosperous.

On the 26th of the month of Ramazān, in the year of the Hijrah 1260, corresponding with the 10th of October, 1844.



SEALS OF THE AMĪRS.

*Re-translation of a Persian translation of a letter from F. Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Governor-General of India, to Captain M. F. Gordon, Superintendent in charge of the Amirs of Sindh.*

Your letter, dated the 15th inst., with enclosures (letters) from the Amirs to the Governor-General, requesting that two of them might be permitted to proceed to England for the purpose of laying before the Queen in Council a statement of their grievances, has been received.

I am directed to say, in reply, that the Governor-General in Council cannot comply with the request therein made.

You are directed to acquaint the Amīrs with the following circumstance which has recently occurred:— The Emperor of Delhi has lately sent a personage to communicate certain of his Majesty's affairs to the English Government, but the individual in question, not having been sent with the sanction or through the channel of the Established Authorities, was not received by the Court of Directors, nor was he allowed to be heard.

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*Copy of a Letter from Sir Robert Peel, in answer to one from the Envoys of the Amīrs of Sindh.*

Sir Robert Peel presents his compliments to Ākhūnd Ḥabību'llāh, Diwan Miṭhārām, and Diwān Dayārām, and begs leave to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which they have addressed to him, bearing date the 3rd inst.

In conformity with official usage, Sir Robert Peel has transmitted that communication to the Earl of Ripon, the Minister of the Crown who presides over the Department for the Affairs of India.

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*Copy of a Letter from the President of the Board of Control for the affairs of India, in answer to one from the Envoys of the Amīrs, and one from the Amīrs themselves.*

INDIA BOARD, APRIL 7TH, 1845.

GENTLEMEN,—I am instructed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which, on the 3rd inst., you addressed to the President of this Board, stating that, as the Vakīls of Mīr Naṣīr Khān, Mīr Mīr Muḥammad Khān, and Mīr Sobdār Khān, Amīrs of Sindh, you transmitted the credentials which you have received from your masters, and solicited an early opportunity of submitting to the President the objects of your mission to this country.

I am directed to return to you, with the seal unbroken, the packet purporting to contain those credentials; and to inform you, that any representations connected with the



Government of India, which it may be thought right to submit to the authorities in England, ought, in regular course, to proceed through the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,  
 Your most obedient, humble Servant,  
 (Signed) J. EMERSON TENNENT.

*Copy of a Letter to the Court of Directors from the Envoys  
 of the Amirs.*

To the Honourable the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of  
 the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

HONORABLE SIRS,— We, the undersigned Vakils of  
 their Highnesses Mir Mir Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān, Mir  
 Mir Muḥammad Khān, and Mir Sobdār Khān, of Sindh,  
 beg, through you, to lay before the Honourable the Court  
 of Directors of the East India Company a copy of a letter  
 received last evening from Mr. J. Emerson Tennent, on  
 the part of the Earl of Ripon and her Majesty's Com-  
 missioners for the Affairs of India, together with the cre-  
 dentials referred to in the communication, and we humbly  
 pray the Honorable Court to transmit the same, and fa-  
 vourably to represent the case of the Amirs of Sindh to  
 Her Majesty's Government.

We have the honour to be, Honorable Sirs,  
 Your most obedient and humble Servants,  
 ĀKHŪND HABĪBU'LLAH,  
 DĪWĀN MĪṬHĀRĀM,  
 DĪWĀN DAYĀRĀM.

19, HARLEY-STREET, CAVENDISH-SQUARE,  
 APRIL 8TH, 1845.

*Copy of a Letter from the Court of Directors in answer  
 to the above.*

EAST INDIA HOUSE, 18TH APRIL, 1845.

GENTLEMEN,—Your letter to the Court of Directors of  
 the East India Company, presenting your credentials as

Vakils of the ex-Amirs of Sindh, and requesting permission to make a representation in their behalf, has been received and laid before the Court of Directors.

In reply, I am commanded to acquaint you that the Court feel themselves precluded from receiving any representation on behalf of the ex-Amirs of Sindh except through the Government of India, and I have, therefore, to return to you your credentials.

I am, Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient humble Servant,  
(Signed) JAMES MELVILL.

ĀKHÜND ḤABĪBU'LLĀH,  
DĪWĀN MĪṬHĀRĀM,  
DĪWĀN DAYĀRĀM.

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*Copy of a Note from the Envoys to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

Ākhünd Ḥabību'llāh, Diwan Mīṭhārām, and Dīwan Dayārām, Vakils from the Amirs of Sindh, present their compliments to the Chairman of the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and will esteem it a favour to be informed when it will be convenient to honor them with an interview.

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*Answer to the above, received together with the communication from the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

The Chairman of the East India Company presents his compliments to Ākhünd Ḥabību'llāh, Diwān Mīṭhārām, and Dīwān Dayārām. They will perceive from the official answer to their letters to the Directors, that the Chairman is precluded from receiving them, as requested in their note.

EAST INDIA HOUSE, 18TH APRIL, 1845.

*Copy of a Letter to the Earl of Ripon, from the Envoys of  
the Amīrs of Sindh.*

Ākhūnd Ḥabību'llāh, Dīwān Mithārām, and Dīwān Dayārām, Vakils of the Amīrs of Sindh, have the honor to transmit to the Earl of Ripon, copies of a letter sent by them to the Court of Directors, in accordance with his Lordship's instructions communicated to them by Mr. Emerson Tennent, and of another addressed by them to the Chairman of that Court, and also the reply thereto, signed by Mr. Melvill.

The Vakils would express their earnest hope that his Lordship will not permit these small points of form, with which, as strangers, they are not conversant, to prevent that full consideration of their case, to which its hardship fairly entitles them.

19, HARLEY-STREET, 30TH APRIL, 1845.

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*Copy of the Answer to the above.*

INDIA BOARD, APRIL 30TH, 1845.

GENTLEMEN,—I am desired by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to acknowledge the receipt of the note which you have this day addressed to the President of the Board, inclosing a copy of the correspondence which you have had with the Court of Directors of the East-India Company.

The Board command me to inform you that the letter which was sent to you on the 18th instant, by order of the Court of Directors, received the previous sanction of this Board.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

J. EMERSON TENNENT.

*Copy of a Petition from the Envoys of the Amirs of Sindh  
to the House of Commons.*

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain  
and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of Ākhūnd Ḥabibu'llāh Dīwān  
Mīṭhārām, and Dīwān Dayārām, on the part of  
their Highnesses the Amīrs of Sindh,

SHEWETH,—

That your humble petitioners having come from a distant country, which the Almighty has placed under the sway of the British Government, and having been deputed to represent the wrongs of the Amīrs, entertain the most fervent hope that your Honourable House will intercede with Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, to grant the Amīrs justice, and show some regard to the chiefs of an ancient race, who have fallen from the pinnacle of happiness and prosperity to the lowest abyss of misery and distress.

The Creator of the world has given power to some nations to use it for the benefit of their fellow-creatures; if this power be abused, and the complaints of the poor and unfortunate are listened to with apathy and indifference, God will come to the assistance of his afflicted servants, and deliver them from the affliction they suffer.

That your petitioners respectfully represent that the climate of Bengāl is not congenial to the health of the Amīrs, who, when brought away from Bombay and Pūnā, remonstrated urgently; but still they were forcibly taken to Calcutta, and the consequence has been that His Highness Mīr Naṣīr Khān—through imprisonment and through grief—has rendered his soul to his Maker, and the rest of the Amīrs are constantly indisposed, and, if compelled to remain, will lose their lives. They therefore earnestly pray your Honourable House to cause them to be removed from Calcutta either to Bombay or Pūnā, where they have experienced the climate and found it congenial to their health.

That the ladies and families of their Highnesses may be permitted to join them, and that, in order to give them

confidence, Mir Ābbās Āli, Mir Muḥammad Āli, or any of the younger Amīrs, may be sent to escort them, and, as they have never endured the fatigues of a sea voyage, that a steamer may be placed at their disposal to convey them to the Amīrs, or, if they choose to travel by land, that they may enjoy all the privacy, comforts, and protection due to their rank and helpless situation. The misery of these bereaved ladies is manifest from the following Petition confided by them to our hands, which, we trust, some friend of the unfortunate will make known to Queen Victoria.

May the shadow of Queen Victoria increase, the pure and the magnificent as Balkīs (the Queen of Sheba).

It is about two years since Sir Charles Napier came to Haidarābād, in Sindh, with an army and artillery, and plundered our habitations of all our money, ornaments, jewels, and of everything of value, and at the same time he took from us our husbands the Amīrs, and our children, and sent them to Hindūstān as captives. Now as to us helpless women, who are devoid of power, and were, when Sir Charles Napier arrived, seated in our houses,—what manner of custom is this, that he should enter our dwellings and plunder us of our valuables, leaving us not sufficient for our support? And two years have elapsed since he tore us from our houses and native city, and compelled us to dwell in huts like the destitute, allowing us not enough for our support, so that in one week we consume what he gives. God knows the hardship we suffer for our food and raiment; and through our separation from the Amīrs we endure such distress and despair that life is distasteful to us. That one should die, when God wills it, is no calamity, but we endure with each successive day the torment of a new death, wherefore we cherish the hope that you yourself being a Queen, as we were once, and being able to sympathize with us, will take compassion on us, and cause restoration of those things of which Sir Charles Napier has robbed us; and since our hearts are lacerated by grief at being separated from the Amīrs and our sons, by which, indeed, we are brought to the brink of despair, you will

remove this cause of distress, otherwise we should reckon it the greatest boon to put an end to our existence. May your days be lengthened.

Written on the 27th of the month of Shawwāl, 1260 of the Hijrah, at Haidarābād, in Sindh.

Signature of the Bigam of MĪR KARAM ĀLĪ KHĀN.

Signature of the Bigam of MĪR MUḤAMMAD NAṢĪR KHĀN.

Signature of the Bigam of MĪR NŪR MUḤAMMAD KHĀN.

Signature of the Bigam of MĪR MĪR MUḤAMMAD KHĀN.

Signature of the Bigam of MĪR SOBĎĀR KHĀN.

Your petitioners further pray,—

That as the allowances granted to the Amīrs are quite insufficient for their support, and the support of their faithful servants who have followed them into exile, these should be increased according to their rank and station; and that proper dwellings should be assigned to the Amīrs and their families in accordance with the customs of their country.

That the jewels and private property seized and taken away from the Amīrs and their wives be restored to them, and that Sir Charles Napier be commanded to restore the private papers, and lists of articles, in order that their Highnesses may recover their property according to those papers.

That all the Amīrs imprisoned at Pūnā, Surat, Hazārībagh, and Calcutta, may be allowed to live together, and not be kept under such strict restraint.

That the ladies of the late Mīr Karam Ālī Khān had some jaghīrs, of which Sir Charles Napier has deprived them; that as many Biluchī chiefs have received back their jaghīrs, these revered ladies, the heads of the Tālpur family, may have their ancient possessions restored to them, together with their jewels and private property.

That a suitable residence may be provided for these unhappy widows (their former residences being in the hands of Sir Charles Napier); and that they may be

permitted to stay in Sindh, and not be compelled to pass their few remaining years in a strange land, afar from their own country.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

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*Copy of a Petition.*

To Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

May it please your Most Gracious Majesty,

We, Ākhūnd Ḥabību'llāh, Dīwān Miṭhārām, and Dīwān Dayārām, the accredited envoys of their Highnesses the deposed Princes of Sindh, beg to represent to your Most Gracious Majesty in Council, that the Almighty having made sovereign princes the greatest of his creatures, and given them the thrones of the earth, has placed in their hands the reins of government, and made them directors of the affairs of men, to the end that they should protect the creatures of God, and not suffer one man to oppress another. Having been subjected to the most unparalleled oppression and injustice by the servants of the British Government, we have come from a far country to this city for the purpose of obtaining redress for the wrongs we have received.

We beg to state, for the information of the enlightened throne, that from the year 1809 to 1839, the various treaties entered into by the servants of the East-India Company with the Court of Sindh, have been successively violated by them, and harder conditions imposed on their Highnesses, to which, from necessity, they were obliged to submit, and in no instance can it be shown that our liege princes have ever swerved from duly observing their compacts.

Sir Charles Napier having arrived in Sindh sent a new treaty to our princes from Sakkar, which is in our possession. We humbly solicit your Majesty in Council will deign to cast a glance at the treaties in question, in order

to ascertain which of the parties have really violated those compacts.

With reference to what has been advanced by Sir Charles Napier, that he had obtained certain letters bearing the seal of the prince Mir Muḥammad Naṣir Khān, written to one of the leaders of the Būgtīs Bībarak (Bilūch Mountains), and Diwān Sāwan Mall, the Governor of Mūltān, in consequence of which he declared himself justified in the excesses which he committed, we beg respectfully to observe that one of our number, Diwān Mīṭhārām, was the very individual sent by Muḥammad Naṣir Khān to Sir Charles Napier, at Rohrī, to enquire into the truth of this pretended seizure of letters, to whom Sir Charles Napier positively said, "I know nothing about the letters; perhaps the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, may know something about them; like yourself I am a Vakīl (deputy or delegate) of the Governor-General, and whatever instructions he chooses to send I must obey." After this, when our liege princes saw Major Outram, the political agent at Haidarābād, they asked to be shown the letters and seals which Sir Charles Napier said he had obtained. Major Outram, in reply, said he knew nothing about them, and referred the matter to Sir Charles Napier. Some time after this, when the princes were imprisoned at Sasūr, they spoke of these alleged letters and seals to Captain Gordon, who said he was well aware they were with the Governor-General. After their arrival at Calcutta they again asked Captain Gordon for the letters and seals, which he had said were with the Governor-General, and they urgently impressed upon him their desire that the truth or falsehood of the suppositious letters which so implicated them should be proved. "I will make the necessary enquiry respecting them, and inform your Highnesses of the same," was his reply. Two days afterwards, however, he came and said that Lord Ellenborough had sent them to the authorities in England. Shortly after this Lord Ellenborough was re-called, and his successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, arrived at Calcutta.

To his Excellency the Prince addressed a letter,



soliciting him to take their case into consideration, to which he briefly replied, that it was out of his power to do anything for them. Thus, being refused redress in every shape in India, our princes have been driven to the necessity of deputing us to this country. Now that Lord Ellenborough is at present in England, may we be allowed to entertain the hope that a reference will be made to him for proofs of the truth of the alleged letters and seals, in order that the fidelity of our princes may be tested, and the extraordinary oppression committed upon us by Sir Charles Napier, may be clearly seen. We have written to the Earl of Ripon, President of the Board of Control, and to the Court of Directors, but they refuse to listen to anything we have to say ; our resource, therefore, is in the mercy of the throne, and we most humbly solicit that your Most Gracious Majesty in Council will deign to hear our prayer, and grant that an inquiry, with a view to forward us redress, may be instituted in our case.

With prayers for your Most Gracious Majesty's long reign and happiness, we beg to subscribe ourselves,

May it please your Most Gracious Majesty,

Your most humble and faithful Servants,

AKHŪND HABĪBU'LLĀH.

DĪWĀN MĪṬHĀRĀM.

DĪWĀN DAYĀRĀM.

LONDON, 19, HARLEY STREET,

30TH MARCH, 1845.

## APPENDIX III.

WE, Ākhūnd Ḥabību'llāh, Dīwān Mīṭhārām, and Dīwān Dayārām, the accredited envoys of the Amīrs of Sindh, solemnly declare that we have never, on any occasion, acquiesced in the truth of the charges against our masters the Amīrs. We believe, and we affirm it in the most solemn manner, that the letter said to have been written to Bībarak Bugtī, by Mīr Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān, was a forgery. We believe, before God, that the Amīrs are wholly innocent of the charges brought against them.

Signatures of

ĀKHŪND ḤABĪBU'LLAH.  
DĪWĀN MĪTHĀRĀM.  
DĪWĀN DAYĀRĀM.

19, HARLEY STREET,  
 15TH AUGUST, 1845

## APPENDIX IV.

*Translation of a Statement of the Case of the Amirs of Sindh, drawn up by Divān Mithārām, under the express orders and direction of the Amirs.*

FIRST, Lord Minto, in the month of August, 1809, made a treaty with the Government of Sindh; and, after him, Governor Lord William Cavendish Bentinck concluded two treaties; one in the year 1832, the other in 1834, through the agency of Sir Henry Pottinger. In these it was stated that the friendly feelings of the English Government towards that of Sindh would remain unaltered from generation to generation till the Day of Resurrection, and that the English Government would never covet one foot of the territory belonging to the Amirs of Sindh.

After this, Sir Henry Pottinger arrived in Sindh as Envoy from the Governor-General, and requested a free passage for traders and trading vessels through Sindh, and up and down the river Indus. The Rulers of Sindh, instigated by the desire of cultivating the friendship of the British Government, which had been promised to them in perpetuity, assented to the above request, and permitted merchants inhabiting the dominions of the British Government to carry on their traffic in and through Sindh, without molestation or annoyance. Once more, Sir Henry Pottinger made his appearance in Sindh, and represented to the Amirs that the English troops would march through Sindh towards Kābul and Afghānistān. The Amirs consented that the forces of the English Government, with all their baggage, etc., should be landed in Sindh. Thereupon the Amirs were required to give orders to their superintendents to supply boats, camels, timber, and other

necessaries for the English army. Although no mention of such requirements were to be found in the treaty, yet the Amīrs, with a view to the increase and permanence of that friendship which had been promised to them by the English Government in perpetuity, provided the boats, camels, grain, timber, and all other necessaries of which the English army stood in need for their expedition to Khurāsān. The Bilūch tribes, however, were in nowise pleased with the conduct of the Amīrs in supplying the English army with necessaries; and, moreover, the Amīrs, on the same account, exposed themselves to the resentment and hostility of the Afghān nation. Notwithstanding, with the view to the perpetual friendship of the British Government aforesaid, the Amīrs issued their commands to the Bilūch tribes to abstain from all opposition to the English forces, and denounced punishment to all who should in any way impede or harass English troops. In accordance with which commands the Bilūch clans remained perfectly quiet, and gave no molestation to the English army.

Upon the arrival of Sir John Keane at Jharak, which is twelve cos distant from Haidarābād, he, in violation of the treaty, forwarded to the Amīrs, by the hands of Captain Eastwick, a memorandum of complaints, in which it was stated that three of the Amīrs should henceforward pay three lacs of rupees annually to the British Government towards defraying the expences of the English troops to be stationed in Sindh, and that they should, moreover, pay twenty-one lacs for the immediate expenses of the English army, otherwise war would be declared against them by the British Government. Though such demands were calculated to cause much distress to the Amīrs, and were both unjust and wholly inconsistent with the friendship aforesaid promised by the English Government; yet, as no choice was left for them, the Amīrs yielded to the above requisition, and paid the sums unfairly demanded of them by Lord Auckland. The same sums were paid by the Amīrs from their own private treasures. Moreover, when Sir John Keane had departed for Kābul, the Amīrs, as

Lieutenant Postans and other officers can well testify, opened the roads for the passage of supplies, and permitted the English steamers to ascend and descend the Indus with stores and troops without hindrance. And had the Amīrs not aided the English Government in the said manner, it cannot be doubted that the Kābul expedition would have been greatly hindered, and its success rendered altogether doubtful. It was with a hope of being suitably rewarded by the English Government that the Amīrs performed these services, not under the idea that they were to be plunged into the calamities into which they have been cast.

But to resume, after the departure of Sr John Keane, Sir Henry Pottinger brought another treaty on the 11th of March, 1839, with the seal and signature of Lord Auckland. Therein, as in the previous copies, it was stated that this treaty also would be firm as the boundaries of Alexander, and that it would remain in force, generation after generation, to all eternity. Meantime, Sir Henry Pottinger departed for China, and Major Outram became the Resident in Sindh. The Amīrs submitted to be guided in all matters by the advice of the new Resident. After some time Major Outram departed to Bilūchistān, and Mr. Leckie became his deputy at the Court of Haidarābād. The latter officer was informed by Mir Muḥammad Naṣir Khān that he, the Amīr, desired to send an Envoy to the Court of London to state certain grievances. Mr. Leckie replied through Munshī Mādḥū, a servant of the English Government, that the Envoy of the Amīr intended, perhaps, to bring forward complaints against the Company, in which case the Company would be rendered hostile to the Amīr. In this way the Amīr was compelled to lay aside his intention of sending an Envoy to London. Shortly afterwards Mr. Leckie fell sick and went to Karāchī, and Mr. Mylne took his place at Haidarābād.

After this, in the year 1842, Sir Charles Napier first arrived at Karāchī, and was detained there some time by sickness, after which he visited Haidarābād. The Amīrs prepared all things requisite for receiving him with honour;

they despatched a palanquin ornamented with gold for his conveyance, and dromedaries equipped with gold and silver furniture for the officers who attended him, and sent Mir Ābbās Āli Khān and others from among the principal nobles to meet him. Attended by this state and pomp, Sir Charles had an interview with the Amīrs, and returned to camp, and the next morning embarked in a steamer and departed to Sakkar.

After some time Captain Stanley arrived at Haidarābād from Sakkar, bearing another treaty and a letter from Sir Charles Napier. The Amīrs, on beholding a new treaty, and Sir Charles Napier's letter, were filled with astonishment, and twice despatched Vakīls to Sir Charles to inquire what was meant by the infliction of this new treaty, which was full of articles pregnant with loss and ruin to the Amīrs and the country they governed. Sir Charles replied that he knew nothing of the matter; that he did but obey the orders of Lord Ellenborough. "I," said he, "am but a Vakil like yourselves, and dependent on others for my instructions." After this, Sir Charles Napier, with troops and cannon, marched against Khairpur, and in time of peace ignominiously expelled Mir Rustam Khān from his hereditary dominions, insomuch that he, during rain and severe weather, was driven out, with his wives and little ones, into the desert. Meantime, Major Outram arrived at Sakkar from Bombay, and joined Sir Charles at the Fort of Dijī. Upon this Sir Charles advanced upon the Fort of Imāmgārh, which was the residence of Mir Muḥammad Khān, the nephew of Mir Rustam, and destroyed it, plundering it of its magazines of grain, etc. From this Sir Charles advanced, stage by stage, upon Haidarābād. The Amīrs, hearing of his approach, sent to him, stating that they had, against their wishes and by reason of his menaces, consented to the new treaty, and inquiring wherefore he advanced with an army and cannon against Haidarābād. The Vakīls whom the Amīrs despatched with these remonstrances were Mirzā Khusrū Beg and Yūsuf Khidmatgār, and they reached Sir Charles Napier's camp at Naushahra, which is between Khairpur and Haidarābād.

On their arrival they handed over to Sir Charles the seals of the Amīrs which they had brought for the confirmation of the new treaty. Sir Charles, instead of allowing the seals to be affixed, delivered a letter to the Vakils, and ordered them to return with it to the Amīrs, and provide for the execution of the injunctions contained in the said letter. The letter was to the effect that the Amīrs should send for Mīr Rustam to Haidarābād, and that Major Outram would proceed to Haidarābād and settle the affairs of Mīr Rustam Khān, and see that the seals of the Amīrs were affixed to the treaty. The letter went on to say that though Sir Charles had fully intended to advance with all haste on Haidarābād, yet, for the present, he would suspend his march, and that unless Mīr Rustam met Major Outram as directed, he would be treated as an enemy. Accordingly, Mīr Rustam and the two vakils, and Major Outram, met at Haidarābād, on the 8th of February, 1842. As soon as Major Outram arrived, he sent to the Amīrs, desiring that they would ratify the treaty which, as no choice was left them, they, notwithstanding its injustice, consented to do, and sent their seals accordingly. The next day, the 9th of February, Major Outram had a meeting with the Amīrs, who informed him that the Bilūchīs were much excited by hearing of the continued advance of Sir Charles Napier, and reminded him that they had the day before sent their seals to ratify the treaty. The Amīrs further requested Major Outram to appoint some officer to go to Sir Charles and entreat that he would halt and suspend his march on Haidarābād. To this request Major Outram assented, and at eight o'clock the same evening sent an officer to Mīr Naṣīr Khān, who was immediately despatched by the Amīr to Sir Charles, on a swift camel. The said officer reached the English camp, and, on the 12th of February, the camel-rider who took him brought back to the Amīrs a letter from munshī Mullā Rām, who was, by their orders, present in Sir Charles' camp, stating that the instant the English officer reached Sir Charles he broke up his camp and continued his march on Haidarābād. The Amīrs sent to acquaint Major Outram with this intelligence.

The latter officer, on the same day, the 12th of the aforesaid month, at two o'clock, came to the Amīrs, and required them to set their seals to the treaty, and stated, that on their complying, he would give them a letter from himself, which they might forward by one of their own officers to Sir Charles, who would, on the receipt of it, retire towards Upper Sindh. The Amīrs were compelled to assent to this requisition, and signed and sealed the treaty. At the same time Mir Naṣīr Khān said to Major Outram that it was hard to drive out Mir Rustam in his old age; that Sir Charles Napier had taken Mir Rustam's best land, viz., that from Rohri to Sabzalkoṭ, and that he ought to give back to him the rest; that, moreover, Sir Charles had written to say that a settlement of Mir Rustam's affairs should be effected when Major Outram reached Haidarābād. To this Major Outram returned a flat refusal, declaring that no arrangements could be entered into with Mir Rustam. At the same time a retainer of Haiat Khān Marri arrived in the Fort of Haidarābād, and made known the fact that Sir Charles Napier had seized Haiat Khān, as he was coming to Haidarābād, and made him prisoner. The Bilūchīs, hearing of the cruel treatment of Mir Rustam and the seizure of Haiat Khān, and seeing that all hopes of coming to terms with Sir Charles Napier were at an end, determined to fall upon Major Outram, as soon as he should leave the Fort. The Amīrs getting information of this intended attack on Major Outram, commanded the Bilūchīs to abandon their design, and conducted Major Outram in safety to his camp, under the protection of several of their principal chiefs. The Major then forwarded to the Amīrs the letter he had promised, which was to stop the General from advancing. The said letter was forthwith transmitted by the Amīrs to the General, and the messenger who conveyed it returned with the intelligence that as soon as Sir Charles received it, he instantly broke up his camp, and moved on with all expedition towards Haidarābād. The Amīrs, on receiving this news, forwarded a letter of their own to the General, inquiring why he continued advancing on Haidarābād, notwithstanding their compliance with all the vexatious demands



which had been made upon them? The Amīrs further demanded to learn whether violence were intended, as in that case they would abandon the city, and take up their abode in the desert, and from thence despatch a Vakil to London to obtain redress. To these representations Sir Charles Napier returned no answer. Meantime, a body of Bilūchīs, whose numbers did not amount to more than five thousand (5,000), being convinced by the rapid advance of the English General and his seizure of Haiat Marri, that in spite of the Amīrs' acceptance of the disadvantageous treaty forced upon them, Sir Charles would not retire, but really intended the ruin of the Amīrs and their Bilūchī Chiefs, assembled outside the city of Haidarābād, and said, "Let Napier slay us, and after that let him plunder our houses, which shall not be accessible to the spoiler but over our bodies." On this, Mir Naṣir Khān, believing the violence of the Bilūchīs would end in their destruction, sent a message to Major Outram by Mādihū, the munshī, to the effect that he (the Amīr) would go and soothe the Bilūchīs, and that he intreated Major Outram to leave the Agency and embark in the steamer, lest, while the Amīr was gone to speak with the Bilūchīs, who were bent on attacking Napier, another party should fall on the Agency, which would bring disgrace on the Amīrs. A letter also to the same effect as the verbal message was sent by the munshī to Major Outram. Accordingly, on the morning of the 15th, Naṣir Khān induced the Bilūchīs to abandon their intention of marching against Sir Charles Napier, and purposed to send another Vakil next day to Sir Charles, and to endeavour, by every concession, to avert the impending attack.

At noon, however on the 15th, a body of Bilūchīs made an attack on Major Outram's camp, and Mir Muḥammad Khān, who was in the fort of Haidarābād, was apprised of it, and immediately sent off Dilāwar Khidmātgar to call off the Bilūchīs, and prevent them from carrying out their violent intentions. The said Dilāwar hastened to place himself between the Agency and the advancing body of Bilūchīs, and as he passed near the Agency, the guard of

sipāhīs, who were with Major Outram, fired a volley upon his party and killed one of them. Dilāwar, however, placed himself between the Agency and the Bilūchīs, and endeavoured to make them desist—but in vain; both parties began to fire on each other, and two Bilūchīs and one of the Resident's guard were killed. After a short action, Major Outram and those who were with him retired from the Agency and embarked in the steamer, and the Bilūchīs made two European soldiers prisoners—one of whom they took to Mīr Naṣīr Khān, and the other to Mīr Muḥammad Khān, who gave the prisoners meat and drink and set them at liberty; Mīr Muḥammad sending his prisoner on a fast camel to Jharak, where he was released, after having been ferried across the river to Jharak in a boat. After this, Mīr Naṣīr Khān was on the point of despatching another Vakil to the English camp, when, meantime, Sir Charles Napier fell in with and attacked the Bilūchīs, and the sound of the cannonade reached the ears of all. The engagement lasted until many Bilūchīs being slain, the others fled. Mīr Naṣīr Khān, deeply distressed at this calamitous event, which had taken place without his wish, entered the Fort of Haidarābād, and there a force of twelve thousand Bilūchīs, chiefly from the vicinity of Haidarābād, assembled. Mīr Naṣīr Khān forbade them to fight, and dismissed them. On the 18th, Mīr Naṣīr Khān, of his free will, rode into Sir Charles Napier's camp, unbuckled his sword, and surrendered it to the General. The General, with his own hand, returned the sword, and put it on the Amīr again, and said some words of encouragement to the effect that in twenty-five days the Amīrs' affairs should be settled to their satisfaction, and that they should retain their country as at the first. This interview took place, and these words were said, in the presence of Major Outram. Next morning Sir C. Napier advanced and took up his position at the Residency, and set a guard over the Amīr. After two days, Major Outram departed to Bombay; the day after his departure, munshī Ālī Akbar brought a message to the Amīrs from the General that he wished to inspect the Fort, and that the Amīrs should send some of

their men with him. Accordingly, Mir Naṣir Khān sent Akhūnd Bachal and Dīwān Miṭhārām and Bahādūr Khidmatgār to attend the General; Sir C. Napier then, with Colonel Patten and other officers, entered the Fort with two regiments of cavalry and infantry, and two guns. After this, — Ṣāhib, accompanied by other officers and sipāhis, went to the ladies' apartments of the deceased Mir Karam Āli Khān, and took Mirzā Khusrū Beg by the throat and ill-treated him, and ordered him to deliver all the valuables that were in the apartments of the ladies of Mir Karam Āli to the amount of fifteen lacs (150,000*l.*). The ladies of Mir Karam Āli, on beholding this spectacle, sent a message to — Ṣāhib, to beg he would provide them with palanquins, and allow them to take three changes of dress and quit the city. — Ṣāhib refused, and forced his way with munshī Āli Akbar into the ladies' apartments, and plundered them of all the female ornaments and vessels of gold and silver, dresses, etc., that they contained, and tore off the ornaments that the ladies wore on their legs and feet. The unhappy ladies, overwhelmed with shame and terror, fled from the city, and reached Kahtar, which is five kos from Haidarābād on foot. And — Ṣāhib, and — Ṣāhib, and — Ṣāhib entered the ladies' apartments of the Amir Mir Nūr Muḥammad Khān, and plundered them in like manner, so that the ladies were similarly compelled to fly from their home, and travel on foot to Kahtar.

On the 22nd of February, 1843, Mir Mir Muḥammad Khān was brought from the Fort and kept a prisoner in the British camp, while another private suite of apartments belonging to his ladies was broken into and plundered. The ladies of Mir Sobdār were next deprived of all they possessed, and fled on foot to Hosri. — Ṣāhib demanded of Fateḥ Āli Khān, the son of Mir Sobdār, two costly armlets, which were accordingly given. One of the females of Mir Sobdār's household had tied a few rupees in her girdle. In her flight some of these dropped out, when she was immediately seized, her girdle cut, and the rupees taken away. Each female was then taken aside, and the ornaments from her arms and legs, ears and nose,

removed. Access to the Fort was now forbidden, and the ladies of the late Mir Nūr Muḥammad Khān, and of Mir Naṣir Khān, who were still in the Fort, were kept almost entirely without water for two days. Mir Husain Āli Khān, and Mir Ābbās Āli Khān, the sons of Mir Naṣir Khān, who were prisoners in the Fort, sent a person to — Ṣāhib for water, and received for answer that it was Sir Charles Napier's order that if any one wanted water, he or she must come and drink it in the *banglā* of the officer commanding the guard. At last, after the greatest difficulty, one skin of water was obtained for five hundred persons, composing the household of the ladies of the Amīrs above-said, so that each could but moisten her throat, without removing the anguish of her thirst. Shortly after, — Ṣāhib, and — Ṣāhib, with a party of *sipāhīs*, came to the doors where the said ladies were, and broke them open with axes, and demanded all the ornaments of those ladies, who were accordingly obliged to strip themselves of everything in the shape of ornament. The next day, — Ṣāhib entered the room and removed all the rest of the effects. One female, who tried to make her escape, happened to have on a pair of silk trousers; she was stopped by the *sipāhīs* at the door of the Fort and stripped of her clothes. The lady, the widow of the deceased Mir Nūr Muḥammad Khān, had given a few clothes to a female attendant to sell, that she might buy food for the said lady. Munshī Muḥammad Husain, the *munshī* of — Ṣāhib, seized the woman, beat her, and took away the clothes. Afterwards, two women were brought and placed at the gate of the fort, who searched every female who passed out. In a word, every article of property that belonged to the Amīrs was taken—they were plundered of all! Mir Sobdār Khān was then brought out and placed a prisoner in the English camp, and two swords, that had been the first day given to the sons of Mir Naṣir Khān, were taken from them. The house of Mirzā Khusrū Beg was then plundered, and himself carried prisoner to the camp, whence he was again taken to the Fort, and there beaten with such severity that he remained insensible for a

long time. When he recovered his senses, he was bound and carried back to camp and there confined.

After a short time the Amīrs were conveyed to Bombay, and thence to Sasūr, where they were imprisoned ten months. After that they were taken to Calcutta. Then Lord Ellenborough thought fit to confine them in Hazārī Bāgh, which is uninhabited. The Amīrs wrote to Lord Ellenborough and complained of this removal, on which Lord Ellenborough flew into a rage, and separated the son of Mīr Naṣīr and Ḥusain Ālī, the son of Mīr Nūr Muḥammad Khān, and two brothers of Mīr Naṣīr and Shāh Muḥammad, the son of Mīr Shāh Muḥammad Khān, from the other Amīrs, putting them in Hazārī Bāgh, while he intended to thrust the elder Amīrs into another desolate place. In the meantime he was dismissed from being Governor of Hindūstān and set off for London.

After this the unfortunāte Amīr Mīr Naṣīr Khān, broken down by grief, and overcome by this new calamity—the having his darling son torn from him—spent his days and nights in tears till death released him from his sufferings. After the dismissal of Lord Ellenborough, Sir Henry Hardinge became Governor-General. To him the Amīrs addressed a letter petitioning for redress, and the favour of an interview. In reply to their letter, the Secretary (Mr. Currie) wrote to Captain Gordon, in charge of the Amīrs, stating that the Governor-General had no word of encouragement for the Amīrs, but if, after fully understanding this to be the case, the Amīrs were still desirous of an interview, the Governor-General would appoint a day for it. The meeting accordingly took place on the 30th day of September, 1844, at Barrackpur, whereat Sir Henry Hardinge openly averred that he was aware an injustice had been done to the Amīrs, but that he had no power to assist them. The Amīrs then twice wrote to Sir H. Hardinge, stating that if it was not in his power to redress their wrongs, they entreated he would, at least, suffer them to send some of their number to the Queen. To this, the Governor-General returned a refusal through

Mr. Secretary Currie; whereupon, having no other resource, the Amirs raised a loan, and sent Vakils to England. These Vakils have sought an audience in vain from Lord Ripon, the Vazir of Hindūstān, from the Court of Directors, and from the Queen; and have now been compelled, by want of funds, to return to India,—where they will never cease to send up their prayers to Heaven for justice, in the hope that God will grant what man refuses.

Written on the 2nd of August, on Saturday, by Dīwān Mīthārām.

## APPENDIX V.

*In Thornton's "History of India," vol. ii., p. 440, we find these words:—"Of the details of the battle little can be gathered." To supply this deficiency of information the following Account of the Battle of Miāni,\* with a Plan, by an Officer present at the engagement, is published.*

ON the afternoon of the 16th February, 1843, after a fatiguing march of twenty-one miles from Halla, the British force, about 3,000 strong, under Major-General Sir C. J. Napier, K.C.B., encamped near the village of Mattara, seventeen miles north of Haidarābād.†

Mattara lies within a mile or two of the Indus; and Major Outram, who had been ineffectually negotiating with the Sindh Amīrs, now landed here from the "Planet" steamer, accompanied by his escort, the Light Company of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment.‡ He confirmed the report, already received by the General, at Halla, of his having been attacked on the preceding morning at Haidarābād. It appeared that the Residency, which lies on the left bank of the Indus, three miles S.W. of the city, had been surrounded by a large body of cavalry and infantry, headed

\* Miāni is the name of the district between the Indus and Phuleli rivers.

† This force was about 3,000 strong, comprising 1,100 cavalry and twelve field pieces, viz., 9th Regiment Bengal Light Cavalry, detachment of Pūna Irregular Horse, Sindh Irregular Horse, Bombay Camel Battery, nine pounders, Bombay Horse and Mule Battery, six pounders, detachment of Madras Sappers, Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment of Foot, 1st Grenadier Bombay Native Infantry, 12th Bombay Native Infantry, 25th Bombay Native Infantry.

‡ Commanded by Captain Conway.

by one of the Amirs, Mir Shāhdād Khān. A gallant defence had been made by his escort during four hours, when, ammunition failing, they had been compelled to retreat to the river. Here they were received on board the two steamers, "Planet" and "Satellite," which conveyed them to Mattara, as above stated.

Major Outram brought with him the intelligence that the Bilūchis had assembled in great force, and posted themselves in the shikārgāhs,\* which intervene between Mattara and Ḥaidarābād. It was thought that by setting fire to these woods, the enemy would be driven to the plain; and a party of 200 sipāhīs was embarked the same evening, with Major Outram and other officers, on the two steamers, to co-operate with the sailors in carrying this scheme into effect. The design, however, failed, for, though the woods were partially fired, the scene of action on the 17th was too far distant to be affected by this stratagem. The Bilūchis, it was said, had shifted their ground during the night; but it is more probable that we were mistaken as to the position of the shikārgāhs which they occupied.

At four o'clock on the following morning, 17th February, the troops again marched; the Sindh Horse, under Capt. Jacob, leading. They were followed by the Sappers, under Captain Henderson, with a working party of 100 sipāhīs, to prepare a passage for the guns. The numerous canals which intersect this country, had made the arrangements for crossing them a nightly work of great labour, and much impeded the progress of the artillery. We usually cut down the banks of the canals, and threw the earth into the middle; but as camels cannot pull up hill, it was necessary to make the ascents very gentle. On this morning a delay of more than an hour occurred in forming the road over two large canals not far from Mattara. Beyond these, however, it was found that the Amirs had

\* The shikārgāhs are forests enclosed for the preservation of game.



anticipated our labour, the roads being already prepared for the passage of their own artillery.

A march of seven miles brought the advanced guard to the Phulelī, which is a small branch of the Indus, filled during the inundations of that river, but at this time of the year dry. Along its eastern bank the road continued for a couple of miles, passing in quick succession several small villages interspersed with groves of trees. Near the second of these the silence of the march was first broken by the sound of a distant cannon. Sir Charles instantly formed up the infantry of his advanced guard behind a small canal, disposing the Sindh Horse in the bed of the Phulelī, and unlimbering the two nine pounders which accompanied him. Shortly afterwards a squadron of the Sindh Horse was despatched across the Phulelī to skirt round a shikārgāh on the opposite bank, while the remainder was sent to the front to reconnoitre. It was soon ascertained that the enemy was certainly in the latter direction, and the General again moved on, till he arrived at a village where the road to Haidarābād leaves the bank of the river.\*

Close on the General's right at this time was the dry bed of the Phulelī, having its course nearly south; and as far as the sight could reach in that direction, its further bank was enclosed by a mud wall, which bounded a dense shikārgāh. Directly to his front rose the last of the string of small villages before mentioned, Zāhir Bahirchy Kā Goṭ. Half a mile again beyond that, another vast enclosed shikārgāh extended at a right angle from the near bank of the Phulelī about a mile, and overlapped his left flank.

Two squadrons of the Sindh Horse, under Captain Jacob and Lieutenant Russell, meanwhile continued their advance, turning off obliquely to the left, till they found themselves within half a mile, or less, of the enemy's guns. Here they drew up in line and were afterwards joined by the squadron which had been detached to examine the

\* These roads are merely beaten tracks, and the bed of the river is as much used as any other.

shikārgāh on the other bank of the Phuleli. In this position the whole of this gallant corps remained, observing the enemy's movements and exposed to his fire, till the final advance of the British line.

The General again moved forward for a thousand yards or so along a beaten track, which appeared to lead round the left skirt of the shikārgāh in his front. Here, finding himself in sight of the enemy and within long range of his artillery, he decided on waiting for the main column of his force. This column was far behind, as the guns had been much impeded in their progress by accidents arising from the badness of the road\* The delay thus caused was considerable, and gave time to examine attentively the enemy's position.

Immediately in our front the top of the shikārgāh wall was thickly studded with matchlock men, more particularly at its eastern or receding end. Extending from this to the enemy's right was seen a dense mass of his infantry surrounding two conspicuous flags, and supported by large bodies of horse in its rear, while in front of it were posted numerous pieces of cannon. Some of these more advanced than the rest had been firing on the Sindh Horse and now directed their shot,† though from a great distance, on the General and his advanced guard. The right of the enemy's infantry rested on groves of trees which concealed a village, and the whole of this chosen ground was occupied in great strength.

Such was the formidable position taken up by our yet untried adversary, and which the slow approach of the British column allowed ample time to observe and discuss. It was generally thought that about 8,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry were at this time visible from the General's station,—as yet distant nearly a mile from the eventual

\* The store-carts of both batteries had had pintle eyes broken this morning, and a waggon of the camel battery had been upset.

† These balls were of beaten iron and weighed five or six pounds each. The Amirs artillery was under the direction of an Englishman.

scene of action. But the full strength of the Bilūchīs was not manifest from this place of observation, for it could neither be seen, from thence, that he held on his right a village strongly protected by trees and canals and walled enclosures, nor that along and behind the whole of his line ran the bed of the Phulelī river, at right angles to its former course.

At length the arrival of the main column enabled the General to advance. The same order of march was preserved and following the direction of the beaten road which edged off to the left, the column was not halted till within 300 yards of the shikārgāh wall. This wall, as before-mentioned, had been studded with Bilūchīs, but was deserted on our approach, after some distant discharges of matchlocks, and, as it was eight feet high without loopholes or banquette, it afforded in fact no advantage of offence to the enemy, though it screened him from our fire.

The head of the column, which arrived left in front, was directed on the first distant tree standing to that flank, nearly at right angles with the road, and as soon as it had taken up sufficient ground, the column was again halted and wheeled to the right into line. The whole of the guns under Major Lloyd—four nine and two six pounders, two twenty-four and two twelve pounder howitzers, with the sappers, were placed on the right of the infantry, towards the shikārgāh. Behind the right the 9th Bengal Cavalry, 350 strong, was in reserve. The Sindh horse, about 500 sabres, were in the position which they had occupied for the last hour, 300 yards in advance of the left of the infantry line. They now formed column near the shallow green bed of a dry watercourse, bordered by scattered trees, and leading directly forward to the village of Saiyid Sulṭān Shāh Kī Wastī, or Katri,\* which flanked the enemy's right. From right to left the order of the infantry regiments was as follows: First, Her

\* Katri is more properly the name of the district.

Majesty's 22nd Regiment; next, the 25th and 12th Regiments N.I.; and last, the 1st. Grenadiers, N.I., mustering altogether, when joined by their details from the advanced guards, 1,350 bayonets. The Pūnā Horse, under Captain Tait, with 200 of the Grenadiers and two six pounders, had been left as a rear-guard and did not come into action.

Before the British line there now lay a narrow plain, dotted with low sandy hillocks and camel bushes; and extending in front to the Phulelī a distance of 1,100 yards. Bounded on the east by the shallow green Nālā, the trees and the village before described, and beyond these by an impassable canal;\* it was shut in on the west by a continuation of the shikārgāh wall, which, taking an abrupt turn from its N.E. corner, ran thence for a distance of 600 yards to the Phulelī, in a S. by E. direction. The front of this contracted space measured, in a straight line, only 700 yards from the shikārgāh wall to the village, and this was to be the field of battle. The enemy had selected it with judgment, for while the abrupt banks of the Phulelī afforded him a strong entrenchment, the British Artillery and Cavalry were greatly embarrassed by want of room, as will appear in the sequel of this account.

As soon as our line had been carefully dressed, and skirmishers thrown out, the guns moved forwards 200 yards, and our first fire (of round shot) opened on the enemy's batteries at a little before eleven o'clock. Her Majesty's 22nd formed upon the left of the Artillery, and the remaining regiments were placed in *echelon* to the rear at twenty paces distant. Our guns being found too distant to silence the enemy's batteries, were again advanced about 250 yards, and the enemy's fire, which, though briskly kept up, had not been very destructive, now evidently slackened under the rapid and well-directed discharges of the British Artillery. At this time an opening was seen

\* This canal was dry; but the sides had been recently scarped, probably in the process of cleaning it.

in the shikārgāh wall, close to our right flank, and the Grenadier Company of the 22nd Regiment, under Captain Tew, was detached to clear the wall. This was done by entering the shikārgāh, the jungle, for some distance from the wall, being thin and open. Captain Tew was almost immediately shot dead and the Company otherwise suffered, but the skirt of the shikārgāh was cleared for the time by these brave men.

A third halt was made at 300 yards from the Phulelī, and while some of the British cannon swept the outside of the shikārgāh wall with grape shot, and others kept down the enemy's fire, and, at last, silenced it, the infantry line, still formed in close *echelon* of regiments, was dressed in preparation for its final advance.

The word to advance was given. Her Majesty's 22nd—our only European regiment—led the *echelon*, and, as the bugles sounded, moved on in the most perfect order. A galling fire from numerous matchlocks was received with firmness, and, in due time, returned, though at first without much effect. Sheltered by the steep bank of the Phulelī, the Bilūchīs rested their matchlocks and took deliberate aim. In its turn the 25th Regiment N.I. became engaged, and then the 12th and Grenadiers. On this flank the enemy was even more strongly posted than on our right, for the watercuts and walls of the village protected him. His guns, meanwhile, had been abandoned when the British troops advanced, and were most of them already in our possession. But, as the distance lessened, the more daring of the Bilūchīs, fresh and impatient for the fight, put aside their matchlocks. With sword and shield in hand, they rose from their hiding places, and, in more than one impetuous onset, shook and forced back the British line.\* Twice or three times were the 12th N.I. beaten back, and as often were they nobly rallied by their officers. Brevet Major Jackson, of that regiment, dismounting from his horse, thus sacrificed his life. Advancing to the front,

\* Commanded by Major Reid.

followed by only two havāldārs, this lamented officer, after a short combat, fell beneath the sabres of the enemy. The 1st Grenadier Regiment,\* driven back with the 12th, fell into some confusion, and appears to have taken but little share in the action. Major Teasdale, commanding the 25th, was killed while animating his sipāhīs, who gave ground in an alarming manner before their fierce opponents.† Lieutenant Colonel Pennefather, commanding Her Majesty's 22nd, was shot through the body, and Major Poole succeeded to that command. Even his stout Europeans could not keep their ranks unmoved under the furious attacks of the Bilūchīs. Defending themselves more skilfully with their bayonets than the sipāhīs, they yet swerved back from the sharp sabres of their desperate foes, many of whom were excited with bhang,‡ or opium. Lieut. M'Murdo, assistant quarter-master-general, his horse having been shot under him, killed a Bilūch chief, hand to hand, and made prize of his gold-handled sword. Still our brave officers and soldiers continued to fall;§ and now Sir Charles Napier, seeing the obstinacy of the fight, and doubtful of its issue, pushed his horse through the ranks of Her Majesty's 22nd, and waving his cap, cheered on that gallant regiment. In the same manner, regardless himself of danger, he encouraged the 25th N.I. to advance. At this time it was no doubt the General's wish to drive the enemy from the bed of the river by a vigorous charge, but his intention was not carried into effect. The bayonet was but little used, except in defence, and it shortly became evident that the fire of the matchlock and the

\* The 1st Grenadier Regiment mustered less than 200 bayonets, with its colours.

† Captain Jackson, brother of Major Jackson, of the 12th, took command of the 25th, on Major Teasdale's death.

‡ Bhang is a decoction of hemp seed.

§ Killed: Captain Meade, and Lieut. Wood, of the 12th N.I.—Wounded: Major Willie, Assistant-Adjutant-General; Captain Conway, Lieut. Hardinge, Ensign Pennefather, and Ensign Bowden, of Her Majesty's 22nd; Ensign Holbrow, of the 12th N.I.; Lieut. Phayre, Quarter-Master, and Lieut. Bourdillon, of the 25th N.I.

glancing of the keen sabre were less and less frequent, while the continued and destructive roll of musketry delivered from the edge nearly of the river bank, levelled every living being before it.\* For upwards of an hour did this mortal struggle endure; and when at last the British line descended into the river, it was but over crowded heaps of dead and dying. The pouches and cotton clothes of nearly all these men had taken fire, probably from their lighted matches, and their scorched and writhing bodies presented a shocking spectacle. Many Bilūchī corpses, too, lay on the bank above, mingled with those of their enemies, mute witnesses of their desperate valour. Quarter was not asked or given. The wounded were shot or bayoneted by our exasperated soldiers, disdaining to yield, and striking at our men with their sabres to the last.

Meanwhile, neither Artillery nor Cavalry were idle, nor was their aid unimportant in deciding the fate of the day. So contracted was the last position of the guns, that only four of them could be brought into action. One † of Captain Hutt's guns, with the assistance of the Sappers—who also broke down part of the wall—was brought round to bear on the shikārgāh, and did great execution there, while the remaining three swept the Phulelī to the right and front with a continued deadly discharge of grape shot and spherical case.

During the heat of the fight, orders were sent to the Cavalry to force the enemy's right. The 9th Bengal Cavalry had been previously crossed in support of the left of our line, and formed immediately in rear of the 1st Grenadiers. By some misconception of an order, the men

\* The bed of the Phulelī is an excavation, produced by the current of a river in an alluvial soil; the bank here spoken of being simply the edge of that excavation. The elevated bank alluded to in the official despatch, was confined to a small portion of our front. Below the edge of the bank was a double step or ledge, which was heaped with the bodies of the slain.

† Captains Whittie and Hutt commanded the Camel and Horse Batteries.

of the latter regiment faced to the right about, and retreated some distance before their officers could rally them. The Bilūchīs showed themselves at the same time in numbers from the village enclosures and ravines. Lieut.-Colonel Pattle, of the 9th Cavalry, second in command, had not yet received the General's order to advance, but, seeing the necessity of checking the enemy's movements, and partly—as I am informed—on the urgent representation of Captain Tucker, he, after some hesitation, permitted the Cavalry to act. The moment certainly appears to have been critical, when the third squadron of the 9th Cavalry—led by that gallant officer—advanced at a trot, passing between our Infantry and the village, and driving the enemy into and along the bed of the Phuleli. A body of Bilūchīs, drawn up in rear of the village, made a stout resistance, from which this brave squadron suffered severely. Captain Tucker received six shots and fell,\* but Captain Bazett, succeeding him, completed the dispersion of the enemy in that direction. The 3rd Squadron was followed by the 2nd, under Captain Garratt, which supported Lieut.-Colonel Pattle in an attack on the village, while the 1st, under Captain Wemyss filing between the Grenadiers and 12th Native Infantry, crossed the Phuleli, dispersing the enemy on the opposite bank. Brevet Captain Cookson, the Adjutant, was at this time killed, and three other officers were wounded.† Lieut.-Colonel Pattle, with a few men of the 3rd Squadron, had gallantly attacked the inclosures of the village, and, being afterwards supported by the 2nd Squadron, succeeded in partially clearing them. It was the fire from these and the neighbouring canals and gardens which caused the heavy loss of the 9th Cavalry. The Sindh Horse, after an ineffectual attempt to get round the outside of the village, in which they were stopped by a deep canal occupied by

\* It is gratifying to record that this gallant officer recovered from his wounds.

† Wounded: Brevet Captain Smith, Lieut. Plowden, and Ensign Frith, Quarter-Master, of the 9th Bengal Cavalry.



the enemy, also descended into the river between our Infantry and the village, and rode direct to the enemy's camp.

The Amirs had already abandoned it and fled to Haidarabad, but many brave men were still found there who defended themselves obstinately, and were not cut down without loss to their pursuers. Captain Jacob had his horse killed under him, and deputed Lieut. Fitzgerald to continue the pursuit, which he did for some distance, till, coming on a large body of Horse, who had not been engaged, that officer was obliged to retire. The Sindh Horse were about the same time recalled to defend our baggage, and a detachment of the Bengal Cavalry held possession of the camp, which was afterwards burnt and evacuated by order of the general.\*

When the British troops crossed the river about half-past one p.m., the battle may be said to have ended, but the firing did not altogether cease, and multitudes of the enemy still hovered about, nor was it till our guns had been crossed and opened both up the Phuleli and on the village and neighbouring enclosures, that the insurgents gradually dispersed. The general formed his camp on the field of battle, with the baggage in the centre of a hollow square, and the troops slept on their arms.

Thus closed this eventful day. Seldom, perhaps, has the determined valour of the Bilūchīs on that occasion, been surpassed. The Europeans behaved steadily and bravely, and were, no doubt, much inspired by Sir Charles' brilliant example. The sipāhīs were sustained and rallied by their officers, whose conduct was marked by a noble self-devotion,—without them they would hardly have recovered themselves as they did, after being more than once driven back. The artillery and cavalry did their duty well, but their action was in a great degree paralysed by the confined field to which they were

\* 30,000 or 40,000 rupees were found in the camp; the Amirs were said to have brought some lakhs of rupees with them.

chiefly restricted. It must be admitted, however, that the advance of our cavalry on the enemy's right had probably an important effect in deciding the battle.

Our loss in this engagement was severe, considering the small number of our troops engaged,—62 killed and 194 wounded, of whom 19 were officers (6 killed and 13 wounded\*). The enemy left upwards of 400 dead in the bed of the Phuleli, and there were probably as many more in different parts of the field and the shikārgāh, killed by the artillery and cavalry. As quarter,† with a few exceptions, was not given, it may be doubted whether the number of wounded who escaped much exceeded the number of the killed. The statements of the Bilūchīs make their loss much greater, but are probably exaggerated. At the lowest computation, however, the loss of the Bilūchīs must have been six times that of the British—a surprising disproportion when we consider their advantage of position, and a plain proof of the superiority gained by discipline, and especially by one of its results—a rapid and well-sustained fire.

The whole of the enemy's guns, fifteen in number, the standards, ammunition, baggage, tents and some treasure, fell into our hands, and the immediate results of the battle were most important. On the two following mornings six of the Amīrs surrendered themselves prisoners, and shortly afterwards Haidarābād‡ was taken possession of, and Lower Sindh declared a province of the British Empire.

\* The number of horses killed on both sides was considerable. The enemy's cavalry was not much engaged, but many of the Bilūchīs dismounted to fight, picketing their horses in the bed of the river.

† It must be noted that the Bilūchīs, not expecting quarter, defended themselves to the last, making it nearly impossible to spare them.

‡ Haidarābād was not taken possession of till the 21st, after Major Outram's departure. It was said that there were two millions sterling of public treasure in the fort; if so, a great part of it must have been removed during this delay. The prize money found was about one quarter of that sum.

## APPENDIX VI.

## NARRATIVE OF MĪR NAṢĪR KHĀN, OF HAIDARĀBĀD.

## PART I.\*

*Containing a genealogical notice of his family, descended in an unbroken line from Ālī, the fourth Caliph, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad.*

WE, the Amīrs of Sindh, are Bilūchīs—not of the tribe known in Persia as the Kach Bilūchīs, for our origin is Arab, and we trace our descent from Amīr Ḥamzah, the son of Ḥāsham the son of Ābdu'l-Munāf, though some say that Amīr Ḥamzah was the son of Hazrat Ālī.

When, for the spread of the Moslem faith and arms, the army of Ḥajjāz, the son of Yūsuf, had bent its steps to Sindh, and conquered in its course the country of Kech and Makrān, our ancestors remained in possession of the new conquests, while the rest of the invading army continued its route to Sindh.<sup>(1)</sup> Their numerous progeny came to be distinguished as Bilūchīs. In the course of time some of them, moving into the country of Derah Ismāil Khān and Derah Ghāzī Khān, fixed their residence at Chotī, or the summit of the mountain. About this time Miān Shāhal Muḥammad Kalora, known as the Ābbāsī, from being the descendant of Ābbās, the son of Ḥāsham, employed himself in agricultural pursuits in Sindh, which

\* Translated from the original, at the Amīr's request, by Mr. James Corcoran.

was then under the government of the Chughuttā Kings of Delhi. His posterity, however, by degrees became masters of the soil they only farmed before. They were of the Shīāh belief, and disciples in religion of Saiyid Mirān Shāh of Jaunpur.<sup>(2)</sup>

Our great-grandfather, Mir Shāhdād Khān the elder, disagreeing with his paternal uncle, Mir Sobdār Khān the elder, left him, and took service with the Kalora, whose religious principles he also embraced. As he was a chief of the Bilūchīs, great numbers of them followed him into Sindh, where his uncle soon after joined him with the rest of the tribe. This was the period of the first establishment of the Bilūchīs in that country.

Mir Sobdār Khān, the elder, considering a life of celibacy absolutely necessary for a proper devotion in the service of God, never married. His piety and his generosity were extreme. His nephew, the Mir Shāhdād just spoken of, succeeded him on his death.

Until the invasion of Nadir Shāh (A.D. 1739), the viceroy of Sindh was a noble of the Delhi court, but after his assassination (A.D. 1747), Miān Nūr Muḥammad Kalora<sup>(3)</sup> became Šūbahdār of the province and sent tribute to king Aḥmad Shāh Afghān.<sup>(4)</sup> The viceroy dying, his son Muḥammad Murād ascended the masnad.<sup>(5)</sup>

Just at this time, Mir Shāhdād Khān the elder, died. He had four sons, Mir Jamindā, Mir Chākar, and Mir Bahrām by one wife, and Mir Khairu by another. The first having been taken away by Nādir Shāh as a hostage, along with the sons of Nūr Muḥammad Kalora, died at Mashhad. Of all the sons of Shāhdād Khān, the most wise and good was Mir Bahrām Khān, who succeeded his father as chief of the Bilūchīs.

The excesses of the viceroy, Muḥammad Murād, having rendered him obnoxious to the Kalora nobles, they leagued with Bahrām Khān for his expulsion, and throwing him into confinement, placed his brother Miān Aṭṭar Khān on the throne.<sup>(6)</sup> Their choice having deceived them, they dethroned and confined him also, and conferred the crown upon Miān Ghulām Shāh, the third son of the

Kalora.<sup>(7)</sup> In him their expectations were not deceived, for he brought the whole country under complete subjection, and built the fort of Haidarābād. On his death (about A.D. 1771), Mīr Muḥammad Sarafrāz, his eldest son, succeeded him.

Mīr Bahrām Khān, chief of the clan Bilūchī, had two sons, Mīr Bijjār Khān and Mīr Sobdār Khān. During the absence of the former, who, on account of some family disagreement had gone on a pilgrimage, Muḥammad Sarafrāz put his father and brother<sup>(8)</sup> to death; for Bahrām Khān was of an enterprising character, and Sarafrāz dreaded his influence and ascendancy.

Upon learning this event, the Kalora nobles, leaguering with Mīr Fateḥ Khān, threw the murderer into confinement, and placed Muḥammad Khān, the second son of Ghulām Shāh, on the throne; but the Rājā of Likhī, a powerful Kalora noble, dethroned and imprisoned him, and placed the kingly sceptre in the hands of Ghulām Nabī, the fourth son of the deposed Muḥammad Khān.<sup>(9)</sup>

Just at this crisis of affairs, Mīr Bijjār Khān returned from pilgrimage, *viâ* Maskat, Goādar, Kach, and Makrān, and arriving at Khilāt, went to Naṣir Khān Brāhūī, and solicited a military force to avenge the iniquitous death of his father and brother. This being refused, he proceeded directly to Sindh, and was, on his arrival, joined by most of the Bilūchīs, with whom Ghulām Nabī was unpopular, as he had been placed on the throne by the Rājā of Likhī. Eventually a battle ensued, in which Ghulām Nabī was slain. To the victor, Mīr Bijjār, however, it was evident that though Muḥammad Sarafrāz had iniquitously murdered his father and brother, none other of the Kaloras beside him were fit to reign. They had played together, moreover, in childhood, and were friends from their earliest years. Influenced by the memory of early associations and the love of his country, Mīr Bijjār commissioned the principal Amīrs to proceed to Muḥammad Sarafrāz's prison, and after releasing him therefrom to bring him in state upon an elephant, in order that the crown might be restored to him. But it was too late to carry

these generous intentions into effect, for Ābdu'n Nabī, the brother of Ghulām Nabī, and the fifth son of the Kalora, hearing of Mīr Bijjār's intention, had all the royal prisoners, Muḥammad Murād, Miān Āttār Khān, and Muḥammad Sarafrāz, with his son Miān Nūr Muḥammad, murdered in prison. After this cruel tragedy, Mīr Bijjār Khān reluctantly conferred the crown, though nominally, upon Ābdu'n Nabī, but he retained the reins of government in his own hands.

Soon after these events, Ābdu'n Nabī, already bathed in the blood of his own relations, meditated adding another victim to his cruelty. He privately dispatched a messenger to the Rājā of Jodhpur, promising to reward him with the Fort of Amīr Koṭ if he would be instrumental in the destruction of Mīr Bijjār Khān. To these terms the Rājā agreed, and despatched twelve Rājput̄s<sup>(10)</sup> on this murderous errand. Arriving at Mīr Bijjār's court in the assumed character of ambassadors, they sent him word that their master had entrusted to them certain good tidings which they desired to communicate to him personally and in private. Mīr Bijjār Khān, although he had been forewarned by the Walī of Jeselmīr and others of the bloody intent of the Rājput̄s, was nevertheless induced to admit them to his presence, fearing that by a contrary line of conduct his reputation for courage might suffer. This foolhardiness did not go unpunished, for the assassins cut him down in the midst of protestations of eternal friendship. After the murder, Ābdu'n Nabī Kalora proceeded to Mīr Ābdu'llāh, the son of Mīr Bijjār, and to Mīr Fateḥ Khān, the son of Mīr Sobdār,<sup>(11)</sup> and so exonerated himself, to them, of any participation in the deed, that he prevailed upon them to accompany him as guests to the royal palace.<sup>(12)</sup> His perfidious intention, however, was to murder them on the very first opportunity. Mīr Fateḥ Ālī Khān, and Mīr Suhrāb Khān, the son of Mīr Chākar, seeing through the villain's scheme, warned the others of their impending danger; but, on their despising the friendly and timely caution, the Mīrs Fateḥ Ālī and Suhrāb rode off in the heat of the mid-day

sun, abandoning Mir Âbdu'llâh, Mir Fateh Khân, and Mirzâ, to their fate. Their prediction was soon after verified<sup>(13)</sup> by the murder of all three. When this event came to be known, the Mirs Fateh Âli Khân, and Suhrâb Khân, raised an army, and, after many hard-fought battles, succeeded at length in driving the monster Âbdu'n Nabî out of the country.

Thus ended the dynasty of the Kalora rulers of Sindh.

Mir Fateh Âli Khân and Suhrâb Khân then assumed kingly power,<sup>(14)</sup> and sent offerings (Nazarânah) and tribute to Shâh Timûr, of Delhi, who, in return, conferred on the first the title of King.<sup>(15)</sup> He reigned eighteen years,<sup>(16)</sup> and died, leaving Mir Sobdâr Khân, his son, but nine days old.

Mir Fateh Âli Khân had three brothers, Mirs Ghulâm Âli Khân, Karam Âli Khân, and Murâd Âli Khân. These were, during their sovereign brother's lifetime, his especial confidants and advisers.<sup>(17)</sup>

Upon his death (A.D. 1810), his brother Mir Ghulâm Âli Khân ascended the throne.<sup>(18)</sup>

Muhammad Sâdik Dâudputrâ, having ill-used Mir Suhrâb Khân, the latter sought for redress from Mir Ghulâm Âli Khân, who, taking up his cause, compelled the offender to take refuge in the Fort of Dîrâwar; but, on his submission, the victor crowned him King of that country and imposed upon him a yearly tribute of fifteen thousand rupees. He, however, retained to himself the Fort of Sabzal, and after obliging the Dâudputrâ to make a treaty with him on the Kû'rân took his son, Bhâwal Khân, away with him as a hostage, but a year after this event he sent the boy back to his father with suitable honours. He reigned ten years, and died (A.D. 1811), leaving a son Mir Mir Muhammad eighteen years old.

Mir Murâd Âli Khân succeeded on his brother's death.<sup>(19)</sup>

Though Mir Karam Âli was senior to Mir Murâd Âli, the former yielded the crown to his younger brother, who entertained for him the greatest affection and respect. Mir Karam Âli Khân lived twenty-nine years after this,

leaving, at his death, his brother sole master of the throne. This was my father, who declared himself independent, and never paid tribute to any. He included all Sindh, Sabzal, and Shikārpur in his dominions. He ever mourned the loss of his brother Mir Karam Āli Khān, and a pain he generally had in the region of the heart was ascribed to this grief.<sup>(20)</sup> After a prosperous reign of seven years more he died, leaving me and my brother, Mir Nūr Muḥammad Khān, his two sons, joint rulers of the kingdom of Sindh.

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PART II.

*A Narrative of the Recent Events in Sindh.*

Shortly after our accession, Colonel Henry Pottinger forwarded for our conformation the treaty that had passed between our late respected father, Murād Āli Khān, and Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, because, being sons of the deceased, we were included in the terms of the treaty in question. It is necessary here to remark, that by this treaty a free passage was granted, by our father, to English merchants and traders of the Company's territories for commercial purposes. It is, however, a known fact that, in granting this permission, my father had been principally influenced by myself; for upon Colonel Henry Pottinger's coming to Haidarābād, on the part of the Governor-General, for the purpose of obtaining my father's sanction to the measure, he was extremely reluctant to comply, and would have withheld his consent altogether but for my intercession. Let it be understood that this was not the only instance in which I had exerted my influence with my father in behalf of the English Government; for before the passing of this treaty, when Sir Alexander Burnes, on his way to Lahore, had repeatedly



written to my father from Karāchī, requesting a free passage through the pleasant river of Sindh (Indus), it was my persuasion and interest alone which brought about a compliance with his wishes. Alas! when I was thus forward in the exercise of my influence and interest in the cause of the English Government, I little thought that that Government would reward me for it in the manner it has since done! But to return.

A few days after Colonel Henry Pottinger had forwarded to me the aforementioned treaty for confirmation, he himself paid us a visit of condolence on account of our father's demise. He then went to Kach, and forwarded to us a letter, under the seal of Lord Auckland. This letter went to say, that as the Governor-General regarded us as friends, and well-disposed towards the English Government, his Lordship would never, on any plea or excuse whatsoever, cast an evil eye upon our country or Government. The receipt of this communication gratified us assuredly not a little. We had no suspicions left in our minds for the future safety of our country; little conceiving at the time what the pen of destiny had inscribed on the forehead of our fate!

After this we held a meeting and consulted together on the expediency of inviting a Vakīl (ambassador) from the English Government to reside at our court. Accordingly we addressed Colonel Henry Pottinger on the subject; his answer was, that although he saw no necessity for an ambassador residing with us, yet, as we had made the request, he would make known our wishes to his Lordship, and forward to us the reply for our information.

Shortly after this, the Colonel again requested an interview. We felt highly gratified at the request, and immediately despatched some of our nobles to escort him to Haidarābād, where we met. At this meeting, the Colonel suggested to us the expediency of permitting the English army a passage through our territories, both by land and water, on its expedition to Kābul. On this request of the English Government becoming public, all the Amīrs and Bilūchis, with one accord, set their faces against it, saying

that, by acceding to these small requests, we might thereafter find ourselves involved in some inextricable difficulty. But being ourselves of ingenuous minds, and having a corresponding opinion of others, I and my brother unhesitatingly resolved upon complying with Colonel Henry Pottinger's request, and by dint of perseverance and persuasion brought the Bilūchis to consent to the measure. The required permission was accordingly granted, but we did not omit to inform Colonel Pottinger of the difficulties we had encountered before his wishes could be complied with. After this Colonel Pottinger quitted Haidarābād, and having encamped by the margin of the river, ordered the English troops from the port of Bombay to proceed to Kābul through Sindh. Indeed, many were the reproaches we had to combat for the permission we had granted—a permission so much opposed to the wishes of our countrymen; but we thus acted in the hope that we should secure to ourselves the aid of the English in the event of an invasion of our territories by any enemy. Experience, however, has exhibited to us the reverse of what we had contemplated! When the English army reached Bārī Gāra, we were required to furnish supplies and camels for the troops, and fire-wood for the steamers. How I complied with this requisition it is unnecessary for me to detail. The manner in which I served the British on these exigencies has to this day been equalled by no other potentate in India.

When the English army encamped at Jharak, fourteen kos from Haidarābād, Sir John Keane, contrary to the terms of all existing treaties, demanded of us, for the expenses of the troops, the payment of twenty-one lakhs of rupees in specie, and three lakhs of rupees annually. With this demand also we complied. It is an established custom with the English Government, in their treaties with the Indian powers, to include the term "generation after generation," but the truth is that they limit the duration of a treaty to the extent of their own convenience: the sad effects of this I have bitterly experienced.

After this a new treaty was sent to me for signature,

containing twenty-four articles, and to which I also acceded; but scarcely had the ink of my signature dried, when Major-General Sir Charles Napier entered Sindh with his army, and forwarded for my approval another treaty. As a compliance with its too humiliating terms, would, in effect, have been an absolute subscription to our downfall, we despatched a Vakil to Sakkar, to the Major-General, to represent to him the case in its true colours, but he plainly told the Vakil that he had not come there to talk;—that he was only acting under the orders of Lord Ellenborough, and that if we did not immediately accede to the treaty he would forthwith enkindle the fire of destruction. He then, having crossed the Sakkar river, encamped at Lahori, and demanded of Mir Rustam Khān, the Chief of Khairpur, the immediate surrender of that place, for otherwise he should attack it on the following morning, when he could not answer for the Amīr's private dwelling against the invasion of the soldiery. This poor man, helpless and weak, not knowing what might be the consequence, and intimidated by the threat, withdrew himself from Khairpur, and passed into Bajī, thence to Nar, and from there to Kothra. His only alleged offence was this: a letter had been stolen from the post belonging to some of the English army, and it was suspected that some villain of Khairpur had committed the theft.\* Sir Charles thereupon demanded of Mir Rustam Khān the seizure and delivery to him of the thief. But Mir Rustam, being unversed in the *art of divination*, was unable to discover the unknown offender; whereupon the Major-General pronounced him unfit for the rulership, and ejected him from his Government. The entreaties and solicitations of Mir Rustam Khān were unavailing; the Major-General would hear him not, and as his only consolation, directed him to proceed to Haidarābād, where he would himself also go and decide his case.

Finding the General bent upon hostility, we informed Major Outram of the circumstance. The Major immedi-

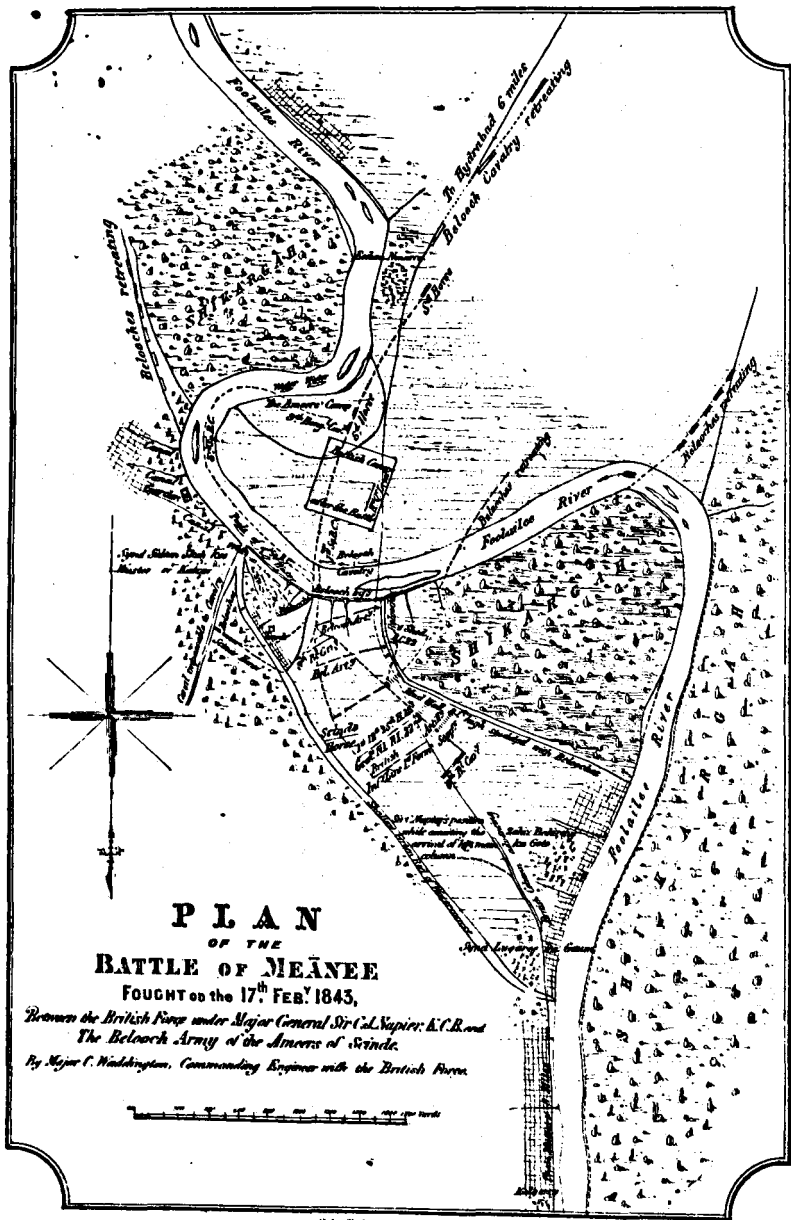
\* Since proved to be the act of Āli Murād, in order to effect the ruin of Mir Rustam.

ately came from Khairpur to Haidarābād, and informed us by letter that without our attestation to the treaty forwarded to us by Sir Charles Napier, we should obtain no hearing. We did as the Major desired. On the 9th of February, 1843, he visited us, and being satisfied on hearing our explanation of the particulars, said, that he would that night send to us an European whom we were immediately to despatch on a fleet camel to Sir Charles Napier, in order that the ingress of the approaching force might be stayed. We did as we were desired; but on the 11th of February, the *Shutursawārs*, (camel-riders), who had accompanied the European, returned and reported that immediately on his arrival Sir Charles Napier had struck tent and marched towards Haidarābād. We conveyed this intelligence to Major Outram, who immediately came over to us in the fort and assured us on oath that Sir Charles had no hostile intentions towards us, if we but put our seal to the treaty, and on my sealing and delivering it he said—"Now rest satisfied: I will forthwith despatch the treaty to Sir Charles with a letter from myself, and am confident that on its receipt Sir Charles will immediately withdraw the forces." The Major then gave me a letter, with the treaty, which I instantly despatched by a camel-rider to Sir Charles. On the 14th, the camel-rider returned, saying, that that letter also had effected nothing. I lost no time in conveying this intelligence to Major Outram, but he took no further notice. Upon this the whole body of the Bilūchis became disaffected. For my sake they had, in the first instance, permitted the English army a passage through the country on its expedition to Kābul; for my sake they had agreed to the immediate grant of twenty-one lakhs of rupees, and the payment annually of three lakhs more; and, lastly, when the English, infringing one treaty, had violated another, and a third, it was for my sake alone, that they had tamely submitted to remain quiet; but when they saw that, notwithstanding all these concessions and considerations shewn to the English, they were yet bent upon hostility, their indignation becoming irrepressible, and

predominating over their judgments, they no longer paid regard to my orders.

When they heard that Sir Charles Napier had, without a cause, imprisoned Haiāt Khān, they determined upon revenging themselves on Major Outram. The moment I was informed of this I directed Jahān Khān and Hājī Ghulām Muḥammad to take twelve chosen armed men with him to escort Major Outram in safety to his place, and protect him against any attempt upon his person by the infuriated Bilūchīs. He was thus conducted unmolested to his quarters, although clusters of Bilūchīs were here and there seen lurking with the full determination of revenge. But the men whom I had selected for the Major's escort were of a character to overawe them. Eventually, when the Bilūchīs had resolved upon attacking the Residency, I conveyed timely notice to the Major, and am satisfied that that gentleman owed his safety entirely to the precautionary measures I had thus adopted. This circumstance alone is sufficient to evidence my good feeling towards the English.

When, on the 14th, the camel-rider returned and reported that the Major General, heedless of all the interdictions, was in full march upon Haidarābād, and bent upon hostilities, the Bilūchīs, in number about five or six thousand, marched out of Haidarābād with the intention of resistance. Upon hearing this I followed, and explained to them that they had needlessly put themselves in hostile position, because I was assured that the Major-General would not be the first to manifest hostility towards an ally. I myself had gone with no intentions to fight. Had I entertained any such feelings I should have manifested them at the onset instead of waiting to do so until the eleventh hour. This circumstance is, of itself, sufficient to evince my innocency,—that after the persuasion of two days and a night, I induced the Bilūchīs to desist from all indications of hostility. They said that they consented to all that I required, but would not quit their ground so long as the English army were advancing. Eventually they agreed to my sending a Vakil to the General to say, that we were yet friendly to the English.

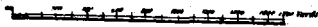


**PLAN**  
OF THE  
**BATTLE OF MEANEE**

FOUGHT on the 17<sup>th</sup> FEB 1843,

Between the British Force under Major General Sir C. Napier, & C. B. and  
The Belooch Army of the Amers of Swinde.

By Major C. Waddington, Commanding Engineer with the British Force.



Published by Messrs. Colver & Co. London.

By dawn of the morning of the third day the General's forces opened upon us their guns, and the Bilūchīs in despair fired in return. Thousands were, upon our side, killed, and the rest dispersed. With eighteen men I alone remained upon the field, but when I saw that all had fled, and that the English were bent only upon oppression, I returned to Haidarābād.

The turn which affairs had thus taken grieved me in the extreme. My own people began to upbraid me, saying, that if at the commencement I had not permitted the English to enter the country they would not that day have been thus oppressed. Had I felt a desire to fight, it is clear I should have quitted Haidarābād and retired to the mountains, from whence I might have commenced hostile operations, but having no such intentions I the next day, voluntarily, went to the English camp, and delivering my sword to the Major-General, said,—“Why did you commence hostilities when I was ever ready to do as you desired?” The General returned me my sword and with a smile said, “Do not be uneasy, within twenty-five days I will settle your affairs;” and added, “dismiss your troops that are near, and send for Mīr Rustam Khān, as I wish to see him.”

When I had dismissed the troops, and Mīr Rustam Khān had arrived, he with myself and Mīr Shāhdād Khān, who was with me, were imprisoned. Sir Charles then sent Major Reed and other English gentlemen into the Fort on the plea of seeing it.

The wise who will hear this will become astounded, and will bite the finger of regret with the teeth of sorrow. Such was the state of things there while we were imprisoned. On the plea of seeing, they captured the Fort, and carried plunder and devastation to such a pitch, that from under the arms of the soldiery, gems and jewels were falling like grains of sand.

Three days after the entry of the English into the Fort, Mīr Muḥammad Khān was imprisoned, and on the following day Mīr Sobdār Khān was brought out of the Fort, and likewise imprisoned. After this, Mīr Fateḥ Ālī Khān and Mīr

Muḥammad Āli Khān (sons of Mīr Sobdār Khān), and Mīr Ḥasan Āli Khān and Mīr Ābbās Āli Khān (my own sons) were also brought from the Fort to the place where I was. My sons in particular came so denuded that they had neither their sashes nor their swords; and the horses on which they came, with the golden saddles, were taken away; and although great anxiety was shewn by the youths for their restoration they were not returned. All the gold and valuables were shut up and sent to Bombay. After a few days Mīr Ḥusain Āli Khān, with Mīr Muḥammad Khān, and Mīr Yār Muḥammad Khān, were sent to Bombay. The plunder amounted in value to nearly eighteen krores of rupees.

It is useless to detail the extent of our sufferings. Our mattresses, quilts, sheets, and wearing apparel were all taken away. Even the books which we had retained for our amusement were we deprived of by the English gentlemen. That which was written in our fate, the same has come to pass. I do not complain of Lord Ellenborough, or Sir Charles Napier, or any other English authority, for such was my destiny. It was inscribed in my fate, that those whom I should befriend the same would become my enemies. Praise be to God! I might go on lengthening this narration, but it is unnecessary to do so. It will suffice to say that we were first sent as prisoners to Bombay, then to Sāsūr, from whence Mīr Shāhdād Khān alone was sent to Surat. After a year passed there we were brought to Calcutta.

It cannot be otherwise than matter of astonishment that, beside the Governor of Bombay, no one from this Government has ever come to enquire who we were, and what we had done to merit the fate which has befallen us.



## NOTES TO PART I.

<sup>(1)</sup> Ninety-two years after the epoch of the Hijrah (A.D. 677) the Khalīphahs of Baghdād, incited by the combined motives of zeal for the Muḥammadan faith, and desire to revenge an insult that had been offered to their dignity by the idolaters (Hindūs, so termed by Muḥammadan writers), of Sindh, despatched an army against that kingdom by the same route that the Macedonian hero had selected on his return to Babylon, nearly 1,000 years antecedent.—*Pottinger's Travels in Bilūchistān and Sindh.*

<sup>(2)</sup> The house of Calora (Kalora—Kalhoura) claimed a lineage from the princely blood of Ābbās, the uncle of the prophet; but its greatness in Sindh is traced to Adam Shāh, a native of Bilūchistān, who gained a high influence from the reputed sanctity of his character, and as the chosen disciple and delegate of a famous Muḥammadan preacher, in the middle of the fifteenth century of our era, and whose descendants, inheriting the holiness of their ancestor, succeeded to his spiritual power, and were revered as saints till about 1705, when they were honoured with a title and a jāgīr by the great Aurangzīb. With temporal rank thus added to religious veneration, the grandeur of the family rapidly increased, and in a few years their glory reached its zenith by the issue of a firmān under the Emperor's signet, installing their representative in the viceregal government of Ṭhaṭṭhā.—*A Visit to the Court of Sindh, by Dr. J. Burnes, K.H., page 13.*

<sup>(3)</sup> Who may be styled the flower of the race.—*Ibid.*

<sup>(4)</sup> Upon Nādir Shāh's invasion of India, Miān Nūr Muḥammad would appear to have been already Governor of the Šūbah of Ṭhaṭṭhā, a post in which he had been confirmed by Muḥammad Shāh, the Mughal King. According

to the same authority, Nādir Shāh also, after his conquests, restored him to the Government of Sindh, with the title of "Shāh Kūli Khān," taking as hostages for his good behaviour his three sons, referred to in the Amīr's narrative, namely, "Murād Yār Khān, Āttār Khān, and Ghulām Shāh Khān." Upon Nādir Shāh's assassinations they returned to their father's Court.—See *Pottinger and Postans*.

In explanation of the passage, the Amīr stated that upon the death of Nādir Shāh, Miān Nūr Muḥammad took possession of the country as *his own*, though tributary to the Afghān.

<sup>(5)</sup> Murād Yab Khān. Query, "Yār Khān, the hostage of Nādir Shāh?"

<sup>(6)</sup> According to *Postans*, Murād Yab Khān was succeeded by Ghulām Shāh Khān, who after being deposed by his brother, Āttār Khān, finally regained and maintained his power.

<sup>(7)</sup> Memorable for his heartless persecution of the Rājput̄s of Kach. "Disappointed in the hope of adding a province to his dominions, and enraged at the obstinate valour of a nation fighting for independence, he resolved, by a refinement in persecution known only to Asiatics, to inflict upon it a novel and most signal act of vengeance, the disastrous effect of which should remain as a monument of his wrath to future ages. With this view he commanded an embankment to be thrown across the eastern branch of the Indus within his own territories, and dug canals for the purpose of withdrawing the waters of that river entirely from Kach; and, by this master-stroke of implacable resentment, he had the stern gratification of depriving his adversary of nearly half his revenue, blasting the hopes and expectations of a thousand families, and transforming a valuable district of rice country into a gloomy and unproductive waste. The injury has indeed proved irreparable; for, from the influx of the tide, the tract alluded to has become a dreary salt marsh, and the principality may be said to have declined ever since.—*Dr. J. Burnes*, p. 13.

<sup>(8)</sup> Sobdār Khān.

<sup>(9)</sup> Captain Postans' narrative states that Miān Muḥammad Khān proving incapable, was displaced to make room for a nephew of Ghulām Shāh. Judgment, however, being again at fault in the selection, Ghulām Nabī Khān was, about the year 1778, raised to the masnād.

<sup>(10)</sup> Two assassins.—*Burnes and Postans*.

<sup>(11)</sup> And grandson of Mir Bahrām Khān.

<sup>(12)</sup> This is at variance with the statement in Captain Postans' and Dr. Burnes' narratives, in which the murder of Bijjār Khān is followed by an immediate and general rise of the Tālpurs — Ābdu'n Nabī's flight — reinstatement under aid from the Afghān power — his murder of Ābdu'llāh Khān, and final flight. He ended his days in obscurity,—"an exile in poverty and contempt."

<sup>(13)</sup> ——— "carried away by revenge, or blinded by fatality, he perversely and unjustly put Mir Ābdu'llāh Khān Tālpur to death, three days after renewing his allegiance."—*Captain Postans*.

<sup>(14)</sup> According to Captain Postans' authority\* Mir Suhrāb, the nephew of Fateḥ Āli Khān, and Mir Tārā, the son of Fateḥ Khān, renouncing the authority of Fateḥ Āli, settled respectively at Lohrī Town and Shāh Bandar, where, remitting revenue to Timūr Shāh, they became independent; thus dividing the country into three distinct principalities or sovereignties. By Lieut. Pottinger, Fateḥ Āli Khān is said to have "made over large tracts of country to different branches of his own family," amongst whom Mir Suhrāb and Mir Tārā shared on the largest scale. On referring this as a question to Amir, he confirmed the correctness of the latter version. The Jāgīr of Shāh Bandar was granted to Mir Tārā. The capital of the dominions of the former is Khairpur.

\* Or primarily that of Mr. Crow, who "collected the materials on the spot at the beginning of the present century from native records or oral tradition."

<sup>15</sup> Nominated by Timūr Shāh to the supreme authority in Sindh.—*Lieutenant Pottinger.*

Confirmed in his Government by a sanad from the Kābul king.—*Captain Postans.*

<sup>16</sup> An hiatus which may be found filled up with much matter of interest in the more complete and voluminous history given by Captain Postans.

<sup>17</sup> On his own elevation this prince liberally resolved to admit to a participation in his high destiny, his three younger brothers, Mīr Ghulām Āli Khān, Karam Āli Khān, and Murād Āli Khān; and the four agreed to reign together under the denomination of the Amīrs, or Lords, of Sindh. While they all lived, the strong and unvarying attachment they evinced for each other, gained them the honourable appellation of the *Chār Yār*, or “the four friends.”—*Dr. Burnes.*

<sup>18</sup> Mīr Ghulām Āli was killed by the charge of a buck when hunting deer in 1812.—*Pottinger.*

<sup>19</sup> Though Mīr Fateh Khān bequeathed all his territory (except such portions as belonged to Mīrs Suhrah and Tārā, which included the Khairpur and upper provinces), to his three brothers, thereafter termed the “Amīrs (or Lords) of Sindh,” a seniority was observed. The bequest was in the proportion of two-fourths to the elder (Ghulām Āli) and one-fourth to each of the others. The principal Mīr was invested with additional authority.

<sup>20</sup> — nor do the present potentates of Sindh, now no longer Bilūchī barbarians, appear unworthy of comparison with their predecessors, in the one grand redeeming virtue of the Tālpur family, to which it owes its prolonged power and existence,—their attachment to each other,—else how can we account for Mīr Naṣīr Khān’s moderation under the greatest temptations. This chief, now in the prime of life, is still the universal favourite—liberal, intelligent, and cheerful; he has become extremely fond of the society of Europeans, and has much in his power for good or evil, yet his whole energies and influence are directed to the support of the joint government, and the two brothers have

been lately described to me, by an officer serving on the frontier, as "devotedly attached to each other." From their characters, Mīrs Muḥammad Khān and Sobdār Khān are less prominent; but it is in the power of both, and especially of the latter, who has always had a strong Bilūch party in the country, to give loose to ambition, and the fact of their not having done so is corroborative of the opinions which have been expressed in this volume.—*Dr. J. Burnes, April, 1839, Preface, page 9.*

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MĪR MUḤAMMAD KHĀN.

Mīr Muḥammad Khān, the son of Mīr Ghulām Āli, is the next in rank to the chief Amīrs. He is about the age of thirty, and a handsome man, though somewhat disfigured by a hare-lip. He inherited from his father great wealth and political consequence in Sindh. For some time he took his seat on the masnad with his uncles; and, in common with them, he enjoyed the honour of a salute from the ramparts of Ḥaidarābād, when he appeared abroad. Being, however, of a mild and unambitious character, he has renounced, apparently without regret, all this semblance of dignity, together with the most substantial part of his property, of which he has been despoiled on various pretences, by Mīr Murād Āli and his favourite servants, from an inability to control them, or to manage his own affairs. He is singularly good-natured, quite indifferent to state or parade, and much liked by his immediate retainers, many of whom have made large fortunes in his service. Mīr Muḥammad Khān has no family.—*Dr. Burnes, April, 1839, page 57.*

MĪR MUḤAMMAD NAṢĪR KHĀN.

Mīr Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān is the second son of Mīr Murād Āli, and is by far the most engaging and popular of the reigning family of Sindh. He is twenty-five years

of age, of handsome figure, though rather corpulent, with much dignity of manners, and a noble expression of countenance, undisfigured by the least resemblance to his father or brother. The dissimilarity, fortunately, is as complete in character as in personal appearance. Mir Naṣīr Khān is as generous as they are sordid, and has lavished the treasures which were allotted to him with profuse liberality; a quality which, whether a virtue or a vice, has ever been known to receive general praise and approbation, particularly in Asiatic countries. \* \* \* \*  
*page 59.*

He is the author of some works entitled the “*Diwān Jāfari*.” “If they are really his own composition they do him infinite credit.”

Mir Naṣīr Khān has ever expressed a favourable feeling towards the British Government. He has been unremitting in his civilities to our native agent at Ḥaidarābād; and, during my residence there, he was even more attentive to me than the others. He is the darling of the soldiery, from excelling in all manly exercises, and the most likely of the younger branches of the family to attain that pre-eminence which some one or other will probably in the end acquire. He does not appear a very determined or aspiring character; but it is impossible to foretell how his disposition may be influenced by a fair field for his ambition, particularly as the stream of public opinion is so decidedly in his favour.—*Ibid*, *page 60.*

#### MĪR SOBDĀR KHĀN.

Mir Sobdār Khān, as already stated in the Amīr’s narrative, is the son of Fateḥ Ālī Khān, the chief to whom the Tālpur family owes its greatness, and was born a few hours before the death of his father, who had only time to entreat the kindness of his brothers to his infant before he expired. For many years he was the adopted child of Mir Karam Ālī. He is represented by Captain Postans to be a man of quiet inoffensive character,—an opinion which his present appearance and manners—being an

invalid, a sufferer since childhood from epilepsy—would serve to strengthen. Nevertheless, though he “had been consigned to neglect, and appeared till within a few months of Dr. Burnes’ visit as an humble attendant in the train of the chief Amīrs” (Murād Ālī and Karam Ālī), he shortly after raised himself by a successful rebellion to almost an equality with them. Escaping to the Fort of Islāmkoṭ in the desert, he was joined in the course of five or six days by the conspirators and their followers, amounting to 15,000 men, and marched direct on Haidarābād. “The principal Amīrs were taken perfectly unawares at the boldness of the undertaking, and prudently settled matters by a compromise; consenting to grant Sobdār a share of the country and a participation in the Government.” His elevation was highly satisfactory to all the other chief members of the family.

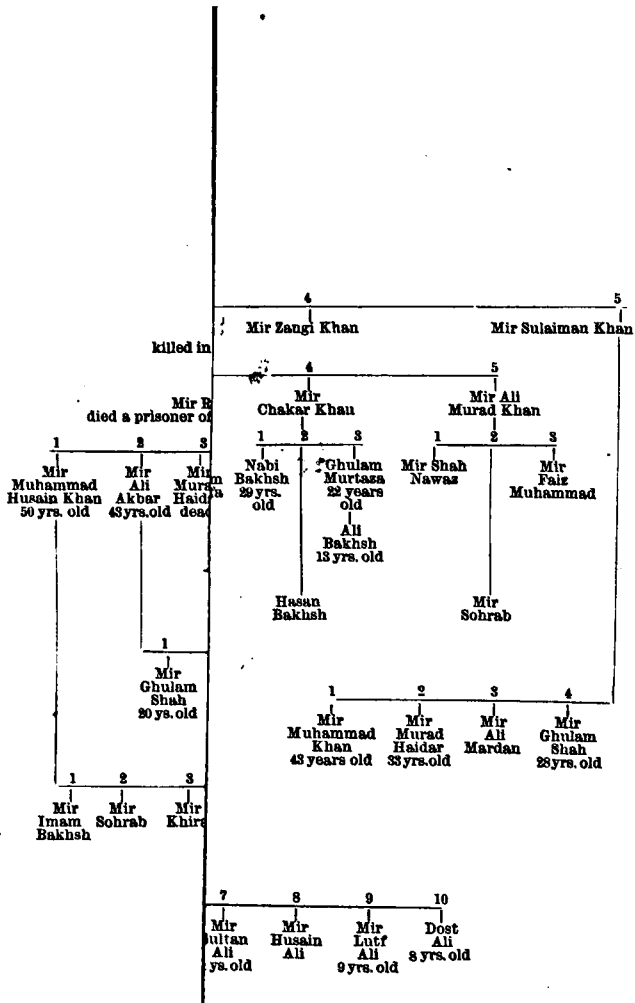
A SUMMARY OF THE SINDHIAN HISTORY AS FAR AS  
AS IT IS RECORDED.

(*Extracted from Capt. Postans' "Personal Observations  
on Sindh."*)

Ruled by Brāhmans until conquered by Muḥam- madans .....	A.D. 711
A possession of the <u>Khalif</u> of the Ummiād dynasty...	750
Conquered from them by Mahmūd of Ghaznī.....	1025
Sūmrah tribe attain power.....	1054
Sūmahs overthrow the Sūmrāhs.....	1351
Conquered by Shāh Beg Arghūn.....	1519
Humāyūn Pādshāh places the country under con- tribution .....	1540
Tirkhans obtain power.....	1555
Annexed by Akbar to Delhi.....	1590
Nūr Muḥammad Kalora obtains the sūbahdārship ...	1736
Nādir Shāh invades Sindh.....	1740
Becomes subject to the Afghan throne.....	1750
Kaloras overthrown by Tālpūrs.....	1786
Conquered by the English.....	1843

Thus presenting eleven changes of dynastics in exactly as  
many centuries.

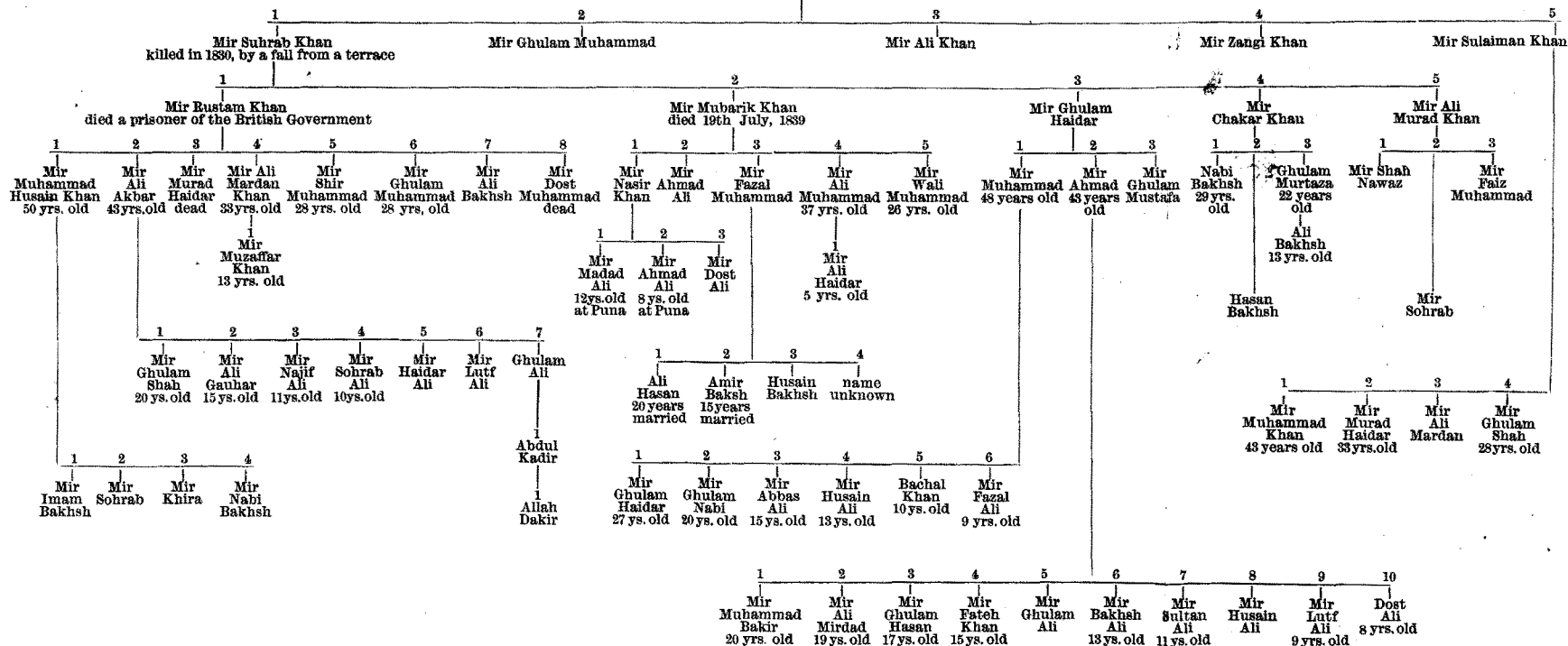




APPENDIX VII.

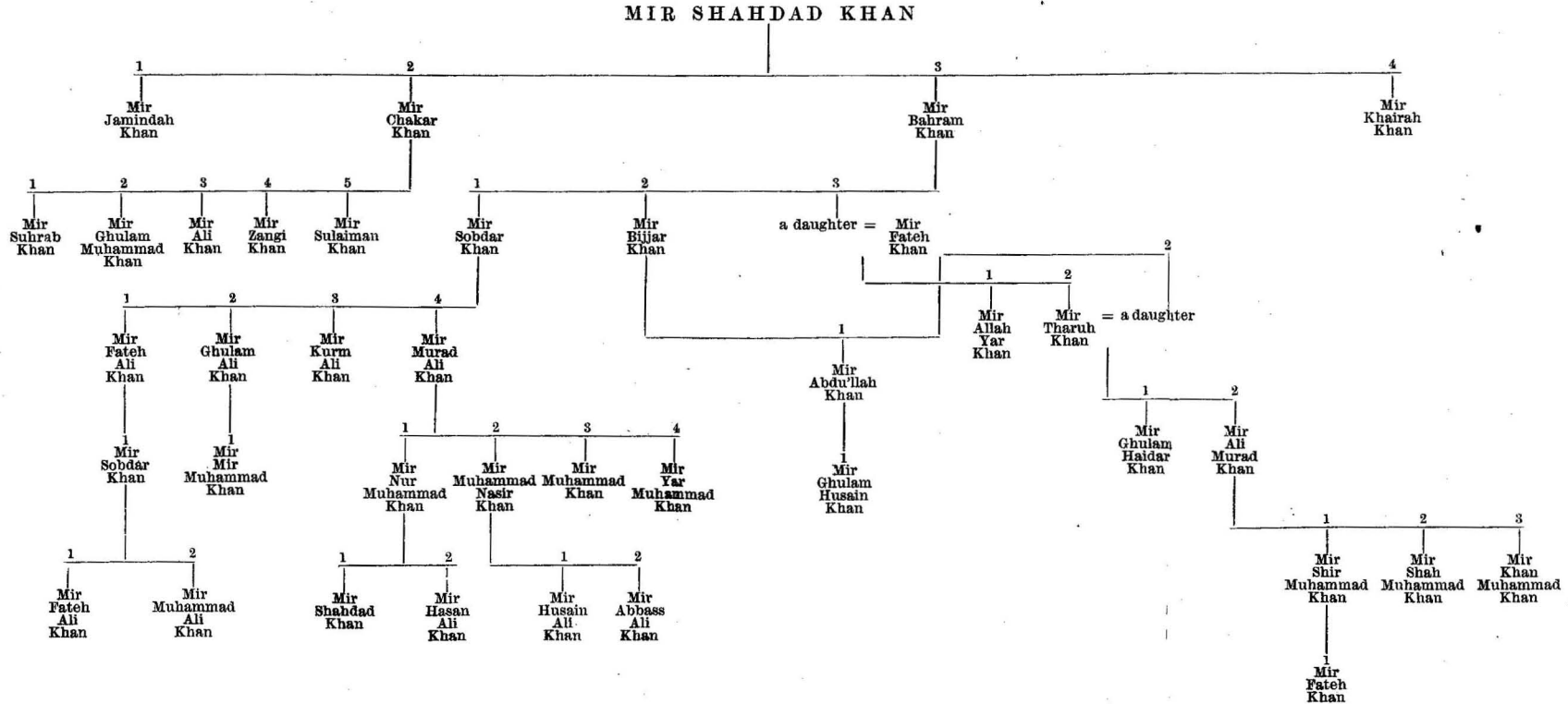
FAMILY OF THE AMIRS OF KHAIRPUR.

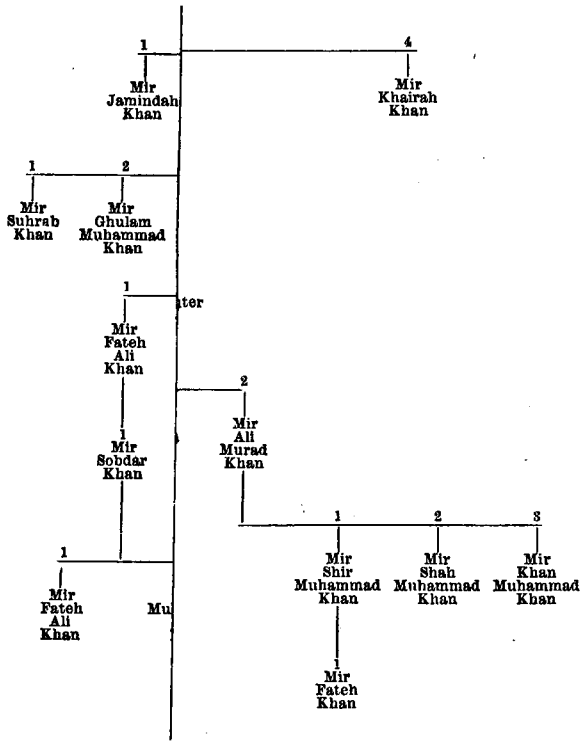
MIR CHAKAR KHAN.



APPENDIX VIII.

FAMILY OF THE AMIRS OF HAIDARABAD.





## APPENDIX IX.

REPLY TO THE OBSERVATIONS OF MAJOR-GENERAL  
SIR WILLIAM NAPIER, ON MAJOR WADDINGTON'S  
ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF MIĀNĪ.

ADEN, 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1849.

*To the Editors of the "Royal Engineer Professional  
Papers."\**

GENTLEMEN,

As you have admitted into the Tenth volume of the "Royal Engineer Professional Papers" some observations by Major-General Sir W. Napier, author of the Conquest of Sindh, on my Account of the battle of Miānī, published in the Ninth volume of the same papers, I trust that you will allow me the advantage of making my reply to the Major-General's strictures in the next forthcoming volume, as well as in the next number of your "Corps Papers." The latter request I prefer, under the impression that a considerable period may elapse before a sufficient number of contributions shall be collected to form another volume of the "Professional Papers." Major-General Sir W. Napier's deservedly great reputation as an author, makes it of importance to me to shew that my account of the battle of Miānī was carefully composed, and that every particular not coming under my own personal observation, was attested to me by competent eye-witnesses. Some of the discrepancies between the Major-General's

\* As these gentlemen have suffered this valuable communication to remain so long unnoticed, it has been forwarded to me for publication.

statements and mine admit, I am happy to say, of explanation, and will be shown to be only so in appearance. Without further preface I now proceed to notice the Major General's observations in the order in which they occur. After some prefatory sentences, his First specific stricture is as follows:—

“Major Waddington states the British forces to be about 3,000 strong. They were so, perhaps, on paper, ten days before the action, and including sick; but I am assured by Sir Charles Napier that, for the reasons mentioned in my work, not more than 1,700, including officers, were engaged in the battle; and this enumeration is the result of a very careful examination by the Staff of the General, made after the action, to correct the dispatch, which, written in the confusion of the moment, was certainly inaccurate. This result has also been recently confirmed by the assurance of two officers of the 22nd Regiment, and one of the Company's service, who were present in the fight.”

My statement was prepared from information given me at the time by Adjutants and other regimental officers, who had the means of knowing with accuracy the number of their men. As to those who were actually engaged in the battle, I cannot in any way bring down the number to 1,700, as stated by Sir W. Napier, unless the Cavalry are to be struck out of the list. I have not preserved a copy of my memorandum of the strength of the several regiments, but I can from memory state nearly how the 1,350 bayonets, mentioned by me as composing the Infantry line, just before the advance was made, were distributed. Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, which had been joined by its Light Company from Haidarābād, mustered about 470 bayonets. The 25th Regiment N. I. had about 250, the 12th Regiment N. I. about 440, the Grenadiers about 190 bayonets. Here are 1,350 men, exclusive of commissioned officers, and if we take the Artillery-men and Sappers at 150 more, how are we to bring the 700 or 800 Cavalry, which were certainly in the action, within the number admitted by Sir W. Napier?

The statement in my account selected for objection, is that which is given at its very beginning, and which makes the British force on the day preceding the battle 3,000 strong. I have above enumerated 1,500 Infantry and Artillery, and 700 or 800 Cavalry. The latter were 850 strong, according to my information at the time. To these add the Baggage Guard 450, and 200 men detached in the steamers, and we have 3,100 men, from whom are to be deducted the Light Company of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, which only joined us after our arrival at Muttora.

There are two obvious methods by which the actual strength of the force on the day of battle might be accurately ascertained. One of these would be a reference to the Adjutant-General's returns, which, I presume, were Sir Charles Napier's authority for writing in his dispatch, "we formed an order of battle about 2,800 of all arms;" the other is a reference to the Abstract of Prize-money, from which I observe that the number of individuals of all ranks who shared for the battle of Mīānī, was 4,744, ("Bombay Government Gazette," No. 435, 23rd August, 1849). In this Prize Abstract, the actual fighting men who were with Sir Charles cannot be discriminated, but, after making due allowance for the crews of two vessels of the steam flotilla, for the commissariat and medical departments, the sick, and some non-combatants, such as drivers and bheestees, I arrive at the conclusion that the effective force at Sir Charles's disposal the day before the battle, could not have been under 3,000 men, but probably somewhat exceeded that number.

*Second Observation*—"Major Waddington states that the top of the shikārgāh wall was at first thickly studded with matchlock-men, but on the advance of the line was abandoned."—Sir C. Napier writes as follows:—

"The Bilūchīs were not crowded on the wall, which was only a foot thick; one man sat astride on it, firing at us, I believe at me, and that he was a marksman, put there as knowing me. He had only time for three shots or so, for seeing how he fired at me and my staff, I told some of

the 22nd to shoot him, and he fell like a lump of lead on our side. We had seen matchlocks handed up to him; I swept the whole wall well with my telescope before we advanced, and while under the cannonade, and there was not a man but him on it. I saw through the opening A B obliquely, my light passing A to a good way behind B; and I ascertained that there was no scaffolding to enable them to fire over, no loop-holes to fire through. It was this made me think the wall was purposely broken to let them sally out on our rear. When I was satisfied there were neither loop-holes nor banquette, I ordered the advance. I was so particular, that, though my horse, Red Rover, stands steady, I could not satisfy myself while on the beast's back; and I dismounted, and again steadily swept the wall, and examined the breach."

"I did not think of sending on Tew, till we were advancing, and I was thinking of how to deal with them if they rushed out from the wall: many things came like flashes across my mind. I was unsatisfied at this moment; the fire from the matchlocks in front was heavy, and no time to lose. Suddenly the idea came into my head, *to attack them through the wall, as the best check*; and I ordered one company, about 60 or 70 men; I could not spare more. I told Tew he must defend the entrance to *the last*, or, rather, I sent him that order, for the 22nd had got to firing; there was confusion, and matters had put on a very dangerous aspect. Tew beat them back, and he found plenty there, and fell about 60 yards within the gap; but his men *held on*. He could not have gone further; thousands filled the wood, upon whom soon afterwards we opened a nine-pounder through the wall; it told tremendously, and relieved Tew's men, who would otherwise have been sorely pressed; yet I could have aided them with guns had they been driven back."

In the extract given here from Sir Charles Napier's letter, there is a direct contradiction of the statement assigned to me by Sir William Napier. A reference to my account of the battle will show, however, that my real statement differs widely from Sir William's version



of it, and is perfectly reconcilable with Sir Charles Napier's letter. Sir W. Napier has inadvertently altered my expression, "the approach of our column" (of march) into "the advance of the line," and hence the apparently flat contradiction, Sir Charles describes the wall after his line was formed, but before it advanced, and says, "that there was but one man on it." What does my account say? "That before our column reached the ground where it was wheeled into line, the wall was deserted." While we were yet at a distance from the shikārgāh, however, I shall take leave to repeat that the wall *was* covered with armed men, and I do so without fear of contradiction, for the fact must have been notorious. Sir Charles is combatting an imaginary assertion on my part, "that the wall was not abandoned till the advance of our line." I said nothing of the sort. The wall was abandoned long before that. The spot from which we saw the wall studded with Bilūchīs was that marked on my plan as "Sir C. Napier's position while awaiting the arrival of his main column." The spot from which Sir Charles describes himself "as sweeping the wall with his telescope," was in front of the "British Infantry line, 1st Formation," as marked also in the plan. There is a distance of half a mile between the two positions.

In my account of the battle, the episode of the single man who remained sitting on the wall was omitted, but I see that he is mentioned in my journal, written at the time, of which the following is an extract *verbatim*:—

"Opposite to us, but closing to within 900 yards on our right front, and running E.S.E. from the Phuleli for nearly a mile, was the wall of the shikārgāh, about eight feet high, the eastern or receding end of which was covered with armed men, and immediately beyond that were two standards with a dense mass of Infantry, and large bodies of horse in its rear. Here also were their guns. After a considerable delay at this spot (waiting, I believe, for the camel guns) an advance was again made of 1000 yards still in column, and edging off to nearly S.E., so as gradually to approach the shikārgāh wall to

within 300 yards, which, after some discharges of matchlocks, was deserted as we neared it,—one man alone remaining squatted on the top of the wall. The General here fixed on a tree to his left on which to direct his column of Infantry, and as soon as it had taken up sufficient ground, he halted and wheeled it to the right into line.”

*Third Observation*—“Major Waddington would seem to imply, for I am not quite sure of his meaning, that the close fighting did not last more than one hour.”

Upon this point I have consulted the three officers alluded to before, having first requested them to read the Major’s account: they were unanimous that he was mistaken, and gave several strong facts within their own peculiar knowledge in support of their view; and from Sir Charles Napier I received the following remarks:—

“The battle began at *nine o’clock*, and we formed on the opposite bank of the Phuleli at *one*, firing still going on. What the dispatch says was taken from all our watches.”

Now Major Waddington says “the opposite bank was gained at half-past one, thus giving an additional half-hour, and as the lowest calculation gives four hours’ fighting, the greater part must have been spent in the close conflict,—thus confirming my account, which gave three hours and a half of rugged battle.”

It certainly was my intention, in writing my account of the battle, to record my opinion that the duration of the close fighting had been over estimated; and that, in all probability, it did not much exceed *one* hour. I was aware that this was at variance with the General’s dispatch, but that dispatch had necessarily been written in haste, and I trusted that I should incur no imputation of disrespect in assigning, on what appeared to me sufficient grounds, a shorter duration to the actual decisive struggle. The point was by no means easily determined, but I think the conflicting accounts may be reconciled in the following manner:—

Sir Charles writes that “the battle began at nine.

o'clock," the meaning of which somewhat vague expression we learn from his dispatch to be, that he formed his men in order of battle at that hour. Now this was a long operation, for after the line had been formed, it was dressed with unusual care. The Pioneers of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, I recollect, were ordered out to cut down some brushwood which was in the way of the regiment. Skirmishers were thrown out, and Sir Charles describes himself as carefully reconnoitring through a telescope, and again dismounting from his horse for the purpose. At length, when the General's plan of action was finally decided, the word was given to advance from the right in *echelon* of battalions. We advanced 200 yards, halted, and our guns then unlimbered, and opened their first fire on the enemy. At this time I looked at my watch; it was not quite eleven o'clock. Surely we could not have spent two hours in forming and dressing the line, in reconnoitring and in marching 200 yards. Certainly not, but I think it possible, and even probable, that half that time had passed in this manner, which would bring the formation of the line to between nine and ten o'clock. I am the rather disposed to the opinion that the line was formed at some considerable time after nine o'clock, because the dispatch says that "at eight o'clock the advanced guard discovered their (the enemy's) camp, at nine o'clock we formed in order of battle." Now the time which elapsed from the discovery of the enemy's camp to the formation of our line, must, in my judgment, have been nearer to two hours than to one; and if this be admitted, the formation of the line would have taken place at about half-past nine o'clock, which, in common parlance, might be called nine o'clock.

With respect to the time of opening our first fire, I addressed Major Lloyd, the officer who commanded the Artillery, on that point, thinking it likely that he might have noted the time. The following was his reply:—

"My dear Waddington,—The first shot was fired from our batteries a little before eleven o'clock, as you

say. There was a very large canal to cross that morning, which occasioned considerable delay; and we were also delayed that morning by the store cart of the horse battery, and also, indeed, of the camel battery,—one or two of the pintle-eyes having broken, which is always a nasty troublesome business.—Your's sincerely,

(Signed) JNO. LLOYD."

"P.S.—A wagon of the camel battery was also upset, just as we were leaving our encampment that morning, which caused very great delay."

*"To Major Waddington,  
Commanding Engineer."*

Assuming then that our first shot was fired at a little before eleven o'clock, let us bear in mind that after opening this first fire we advanced and halted again twice, each time unlimbering and firing, before we made our final advance to the bank of the Phuleli; and when the distance passed over is also taken into account, it does not appear to me that less than an hour would have sufficed for the three halts and three corresponding advances. This would bring us to the near bank of the Phuleli at a little before twelve o'clock, and as all the fighting then was over by about one o'clock, or even somewhat sooner, according to the time furnished to Sir Charles Napier, I have shewn, at least, how my conclusion was formed—that the close fighting at the river did not last much above an hour. The following is the entry in my journal, written, as before stated, when the impression of events was still fresh in my mind: "I believe that the actual combat, hand to hand, did not last less than an hour."

*Fourth Observation.*—Major Waddington says, "By some misconception of an order, the 1st Grenadiers N.I. faced to the right-about, and retreated some distance before their officers could rally them." Sir Charles Napier

says emphatically, "They went about by Clibborn's order, but there were a thousand causes assigned at the time for their conduct."

I cannot deny that I had heard a report of Major Clibborn's having ordered his men to retire, but I had also heard that this was a mistake, and that his order had been misunderstood. I was, of course, inclined, and indeed thought myself bound, to give the most favorable version of the story.

*Fifth Observation*—Major Waddington says, "Lieut.-Colonel Pattle had not received the General's order to charge, but seeing the necessity of checking the enemy's movement, and being urged by Captain Tucker, of the 9th Bengal Cavalry, after some hesitation, permitted the Cavalry to act."

This statement, qualified by the acknowledgment that it was hearsay, would give all the merit of the conception of that brilliant movement to Lieut.-Colonel Pattle and Captain Tucker, and all the merit of the execution to the 9th Cavalry. Major Waddington, however, only writes, as he says, from the information he received from others; he was, I believe, close to the General all the action, and carried no orders to any other part of the field. He has been misinformed on this interesting portion of the action. Sir Charles Napier informs me he sent three officers one after the other with the order, fearing death might intercept it. Those officers were Lieut.-Colonel McPherson, Captain Pelly, and Captain Thompson; and their letters declaring this fact are in existence, but he had only that of Captain Thompson at hand to send to me; it is given below.

As to the charge being led by the 9th Cavalry, it is true; and, nevertheless, the Irregular Sindh Horse did perform the part assigned them in my work, namely, attacking the enemy's camp, and spreading confusion and terror in their rear after passing the Phuleli; for the Bengal troopers, while in the dry bed of that river, turned a little to the left, and thus the Sindh horsemen passed them, and fell on the camp.

## CAPTAIN THOMPSON'S LETTER.

*“ Simla, 22nd May, 1844.*

“ Colonel Pattle was mistaken when he told you he received no order to charge at Miāni: for you gave the order to me, and I met the Colonel about half-way between the Cavalry and Infantry; he was *riding towards the latter*, and asked me how they were getting on? I made no reply, but told him your order; he said ‘Tell Storey,’ and I rode on. I told Major Storey, and *saw* the 9th Cavalry advance, and remember Garrett beginning to trot, when Storey called out: ‘Gently, Garrett! gently!’ On my return I met McPherson, who asked me if I had given the order; and I think he rode on to the Cavalry; so there can be no mistake about the Colonel having received the order.

(Signed) “H. THOMPSON.”

Besides Captain Thompson's letter, there is one from Lieut.-Colonel McPherson, given in a note by Sir W. Napier, but as it appears from Colonel McPherson's letter that “Thompson had been before him,” and I shall shew that when Captain Thompson delivered his order, a portion of the 9th Bengal Cavalry had already moved, it is unnecessary to copy Colonel McPherson's letter here.

The following are extracts from letters received by me from two officers of the 9th Bengal Cavalry, eye-witnesses of what occurred:—

*Extract from a Letter dated Simla, 18th June, 1843,  
written by Captain Tucker.*

“At that period of the engagement of the 17th of February, when the 9th Bengal Light Cavalry had been ordered up as a “support” to the left of the Infantry Line, we found ourselves some twenty or thirty paces in rear of the 1st Bombay Grenadiers; the left squadron overlapping their left, by about its own extent. Whilst conversing with Lieut.-Colonel Pattle and Captain Bazett, in front of the squadron, we observed the regiment in our immediate front fall into some confusion, and come to the

right about, a bugle was at this time sounding, and for a moment we feared a general retreat was about to take place. The officers of the regiment, however, by their exertions, succeeded almost instantly in getting their men to face round again, and we one and all perceived it was a movement confined to that one corps, and I have since heard was "entirely owing to some misconception of an order." Be this as it may, no sooner had it taken place, than I observed the enemy, at and near the village on our left, and between our position and the bank of the Phuleli, showing themselves in every direction, evidently encouraged by what had occurred, it then became evident that unless some step was taken immediately to check this feeling in the enemy, and to give confidence to our troops, our flank might be turned, and the most serious consequences ensue. The troops on the right, where Sir Charles Napier was commanding in person, were still we saw engaged hand to hand with the enemy, and I urged strongly that the left squadron be allowed to advance, and drive the enemy into the bed of the river; the Lieut.-Colonel for some time hesitated, not from any disinclination to be amongst the enemy, for a more gallant soldier never lived, but in consequence of having no orders to that effect from the General; but on my again representing that, unless something were done, and that quickly, with or without orders, it might be too late, and that Sir Charles, from his position in the hottest of the fight, was probably not yet aware of the state of affairs on the left, the desired permission was given to advance, but *without any specific order*. The squadron advanced at a trot, driving the enemy (who made no organised resistance) into the bed of the river, followed them into it, and was the first portion of the whole force which descended the bank; a considerable number of the enemy were drawn up in rear of the village, and it was whilst dislodging them from a strong position I received five wounds, and shortly afterwards fell, and was succeeded in the command of the squadron by Captain Bazett, who completed the dispersion of the enemy in that direction."

*Extract of a Letter without date, written by Captain Bazett, at Haidarābād.*

“The advance was made without any order to that effect having *reached* Colonel Pattle from the General, on the urgent entreaty of Captain Tucker, who pressed on the Colonel the very critical situation in which our line was, so desperately engaged in most parts, hand to hand at times, and unable to gain much ground, even at times giving way; and the desirableness of a movement threatening their right flank, and probably turning it, which, whilst it would give confidence to our men, would dishearten the Bilūchis, and his conviction that could Sir Charles Napier see the opportunity we had on the left of doing this, he would instantly order it, but he was probably far too deeply engaged in the hottest of the fight on the right, to observe it at that moment. After repeating this more than once, Colonel Pattle took on himself the responsibility of ordering the advance, and we set forward; I heard that an officer came with the order a few minutes later, but cannot say if this is correct, or who he was.”

Nobody, after reading these extracts, will, I think, doubt that the 3rd squadron of the 9th Bengal Cavalry had already descended into the bed of the Phuleli, when Captain Thompson arrived and communicated the General's order to Colonel Pattle. In my account it is said, “The 3rd squadron was followed by the 2nd, under Captain Garrett,” and this is evidently the advance which Captain Thompson describes in his note, and which he was not aware had already been forestalled by the advance of the 3rd squadron under Captain Tucker. I confess, however, that I cannot understand how Sir Charles Napier is robbed by this fact of “all the merit of the conception of that brilliant movement,” for he gave the order in complete ignorance of its having been already partly carried into execution. At the same time, Captain Tucker deserves, in my humble opinion, the highest praise, not only for his spirited representation and his



distinguished bravery, but for his cool judgment, enabling him to take the same clear view of the emergency which had simultaneously prompted the General's order. "There was," says Sir Charles Napier in his dispatch, "no time to be lost, and I sent orders to the Cavalry to force the right of the enemy's line."

*Sixth Observation*—"Major Waddington, speaking of the enemy's loss," says, "the enemy left upwards of four hundred dead in the bed of the Phuleli, and there were probably as many more in different parts of the field, and the shikārgāh, killed by the Artillery and Cavalry."

The officers of the 22nd and Company's service, who read this at my request, were unanimously and decidedly opposed to its correctness; but the following observations by Sir Charles Napier will probably be deemed the best authority, and it is to be remembered that the detailed returns made to the Amīrs by the different tribes of the loss of each in the battle, fell afterwards into the English General's hands, and gave an amount of eight thousand!

"As to the dead, Waddington is decidedly wrong. Two officers, I think Pelly and Fitzgerald, counted *four hundred bodies* within a semicircle of *fifty paces radius*, where I chiefly stood, near the little nullah running into the bed of the river. Now to the *left* of that were all those killed by the 12th Regiment, by the Grenadiers, and by the Cavalry,—a pretty good lot! The ground was covered by the dead! Then again, in the shikārgāh, no one can tell, it was a dense wood,—the Artillery and Tew's men must have killed many, but no one could count the whole, or even see them! Waddington did not, but 400 may have been the number there; far more, people said at the time, I did not see them, I never entered the wood. The Cavalry killed none in the wood, no horse could go three yards in it.

On this point, namely, the number of the enemy's dead, I had no guide but my own observation and computation. On the day after the battle, I made a survey of the field, from which the plan given with my account was taken. Whilst in the field I noticed attentively the

several heaps of slain in the Phuleli, as well as the bodies scattered in the ditches, the village enclosures, and the shikārgāh. I looked well about me, and in company with my Lascars searched the skirts of the shikārgāh for bodies. There were not many there, nor in the village enclosures. In one of the latter we found a dead horse of the 9th Cavalry. It is possible that some bodies might have been removed in the night, but not I think very probable.

Sir Charles Napier remarks that "the Cavalry killed none in the wood, no horse could go three yards in it;" alluding, no doubt, to my statement, that "there were probably as many more in different parts of the field and the shikārgāh killed by the Artillery and Cavalry." When properly punctuated, as in the original account, and taken in connexion with the preceding sentence, the plain meaning of my words is, that the Artillery and Cavalry together had probably killed as many, in all other parts of the field of battle, shikārgāh included, as the Infantry had killed in the bed of the Phuleli. But in Sir W. Napier's quotation from my account, a comma has been introduced accidentally after the word "field," which quite alters the meaning of the sentence, and no doubt provoked Sir Charles's remark by the unintended and absurd construction which the sentence will then bear, namely, that those slain in the shikārgāh had been killed by the Cavalry, and those in the field by the Artillery.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) C. WADDINGTON,

*Lieut.-Colonel Bombay Engineers.*

P.S.—A Copy of the Prize-roll of the men present at Miāni has been since received, and is subjoined :—

## PRESENT AT MIANI.

CORPS	European Commis- sioned Officers.	European Warrant Non-Commission- ed Officers, and Rank and File.	Native Commis- sioned Officers, and Rank and File.	Public Followers, Boreest, Sappers, and Medical Sub- ordinates.	Total.
General Staff .....	13	...	...	...	13
Her Majesty's 22nd Foot .....	25	592	...	32	649
9th Regiment Bengal Cavalry .....	16	3	473	...	492
2nd Battalion 2nd Company Foot Artillery .....	2	73	144	4	223
1st Battalion, 3rd Company.....	1	1	...	...	2
Golundauze Battalion, 3rd Company ..	...	1	144	6	151
1st or Grenadier Regiment, Bom. N.I.	11	2	644	11	668
12th Regiment Bombay N.I. ....	12	3	712	12	739
21st Regiment Bombay N.I. ....	1	...	4	...	5
25th Regiment Bombay N.I. ....	13	4	774	12	803
Madras Sappers and Miners .....	3	2	57	...	62
Scinde Irregular Horse .....	4	1	556	1	562
Poona Auxiliary Horse.....	1	...	251	1	253
Warrant Officers .....	...	4	...	...	4
Claims subsequently admitted .....	2	9	3	91	105
Total.....	104	695	3762	170	*4731
<b>PAID PRIZE MONEY, BUT WERE NOT PRESENT IN THE BATTLE.</b>					
Steamer Satellite .....	5	13	20	...	38
— Planet .....	6	12	21	...	39
Flat, No. 1.....	...	...	20	...	20
Steamer Comet,subsequently admitted	6	13	9	...	28
	17	38	70	...	125
Grand Total.....					4856

N.B.—Paid Prize Money to men of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, who were not present in the battle of Miani, under the command of Lieut. Carrow, two officers, and 29 Rank and File.

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*Extract from a notice of this work by H. H. WILSON, Esq., Boden Professor of Sanscrit in the University of Oxford, &c.*

THE HITOPADEŚĀ is the original of the celebrated "Pilpay's Fables." The great merits of this work as a CLASS BOOK long since led to its introduction into the East-India College at Hatleybury, near Hertford, but the first London edition contained many errors, which impaired its usefulness. The new edition has been prepared under more favourable auspices. A more perfect acquaintance with the language, greater facilities for collating the work with other editions, and with the Manuscript copies in the East-India Company's Library, the increased means of typographical accuracy, a copious Glossary, and a new and more distinct type than any heretofore employed, have combined to render the present edition superior to all that have preceded it.

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## HITOPADEŚA;

Or, Salutary Counsels of VISHNU ŚARMA, translated literally from the original into English. By FRANCIS JOHNSON. Imperial 8vo., 10s. 6d. 1848.

اخلاق محسنی

## AKHLĀḲ-I MUḤSINĪ.

The Morals of the Beneficent. By HUSAIN VĀIZ KĀSHIFĪ. To which are prefixed a few easy Stories for Beginners. Edited by Lieut.-Colonel J. W. J. OUSELEY, Professor of Arabic and Persian at the East-India College. Demy 8vo., 10s. 6d. 1850.

Il ne s'agit pas ici, comme on le pense bien, d'une édition complète de l'*Akhlaḳ-i Muḥsinī*, mais seulement d'une partie de cet ouvrage renommé, partie dont M. Ouseley, Professeur de Persan à Haileybury, a publié le texte à l'usage du Collège. En tête de l'ouvrage, il y a dix historiettes d'un style facile et de sujets connus, destinées à préparer l'élève à lire les morceaux qui suivent. Viennent ensuite vingt chapitres, c'est-à-dire environ la moitié de l'ouvrage; car il se compose de quarante chapitres. On voit par là que cette édition est plus étendue que celle qui fut gravée en 1823, d'après un manuscrit, pour les élèves du même collège, puisque cette dernière impression s'arrête aux deux tiers du quinzième chapitre. C'est de cette première édition que M. Keene a fait une traduction qui vient aussi d'être publiée à Hertford et où il manque ainsi cinq chapitres et un tiers de l'édition de M. Ouseley, ainsi que les historiettes du commencement. Au surplus, l'édition de M. Ouseley est très-correcte, qualité essentielle surtout, dans une texte publié pour des étudiants; et la traduction de M. Keene est littérale et fidèle, comme celle qu'il a donnée du premier livre de l'*Anvār-i Suhailī*. Les publications que je viens de mentionner, ainsi que le *Prem Śāgar* et le *Gulistān* dont j'ai parlé dernièrement, l'*Hitopadeśa* du savant M. F. Johnson et tous les ouvrages orientaux qui ont paru à Hertford, pendant ces dernières années, ont été édités par M. Stephen Austin, imprimeur du Collège d'Haileybury. Les savants doivent savoir gré à cet habile typographe du soin avec lequel il a exécuté ces publications, qui se distinguent par la beauté des types orientaux et latins qui y sont employés.—JOURNAL ASIATIQUE FOR JUNE, 1851.

## AKHLĀḲ-I MUḤSINĪ.

Literally translated into English. By the Rev. H. G. KEENE, sometime Professor of Arabic and Persian at the East-India College. Second Edition. Demy 8vo., 7s. 6d. 1851.

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A Drama; by KĀLIDĀSA. Edited by MONIER WILLIAMS, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit at the East-India College. Octavo, 5s. 1849.

This edition of the "Vikramorvasi" has been favourably noticed in an article in the FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW of October, 1850.

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IL y a déjà longtemps que le célèbre Wilson a, dans son Théâtre Hindou, fait connaître ce drame, que la tradition attribue à l'auteur de Sakuntalā. Mais M. Cowell a voulu en donner une traduction littérale, en prose, en faveur des élèves du Collège civil de la Compagnie des Indes à Haileybury et pour accompagner le texte récemment publié par M. Monier Williams, Professeur de Sanscrit au même établissement. Ce dernier texte est la reproduction de celui de Calcutta, si ce n'est que le savant éditeur a, dans l'intérêt de ses élèves, remplacé les passages Prācrits par leur traduction en Sanscrit: et qu'il a admis, en outre, quelques corrections de l'édition de Lens. Quant à la traduction de M. Cowell, elle est très-propre à l'intelligence du texte; elle est, de plus, enrichie de quelques notes d'érudition et d'un tableau raisonné de mètres employés dans le drame.

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