

SCINDE IN THE FORTIES (1840's)

BEING THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF COLONEL KEITH YOUNG, C.B.

SOMETIME JUDGE-ADVOCATE-GENERAL IN INDIA

Edited by

ARTHUR F. SCOTT (1912)

Reproduced by

Sani Hussain Panhwar (2017)

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FOEMERLY OF THE RIFLE BRIGADE

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PREFACE

This brief chronicle of life in India more, than sixty years ago is given to the world in the hope that it may find a circle of readers who can still take an interest in the picturesque and striking personality of the glorious old soldier who conquered and ruled Scinde. It is true that it does not narrate his wars and battles, but it gives many a glimpse of his fiery and turbulent, but noble and lovable, character. His illustrious successor, Frere, belongs more nearly to our own times, and his intimate correspondence with the writer of these memoranda, will, it is hoped, be of interest to some. Those who are acquainted with Scinde as it is now, may care to read of the province as it was then.

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INTRODUCTION

The province of Scinde, now forming part of the Bombay Presidency, lies in the north-west of India, to the south of Beloochistan and of the Punjab, and is watered by that great river the Indus, near whose mouth is Kurrachee, today one of the greatest ports of India.

In the old days a good understanding with Scinde was necessary to the wellbeing of India, mainly on account of the great river which then, as now, formed such an important highway from the sea, reaching far up into the heart of the N.W. It was thus chiefly in regard to the Indus that treaties had been made with the Ameers or rulers of Scinde. These, at the end of the eighteenth century, were of the Talpoora Dynasty – Beloochees who had lately supplanted the Kalloras¹ – and were represented by four brothers: Futteh Ali at Hyderabad, the capital, Gholam Ali, Kurram Ali, and Murad Ali. They were under the supremacy of Afghanistan, though the connection was seldom more than nominal.

At a very early period an agent of the East India Company had been allowed to reside at Tattah at the mouths of the Indus, but later was withdrawn on account of complications. In fear of a Persian invasion, the Ameers themselves sought to renew friendship with us, and in August 1809, Futteh Ali being dead, a treaty consisting of four articles was concluded with his three brothers:

1. There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Scinde.
2. Enmity shall never appear between the states.
3. The mutual dispatch of the vakeels of both governments shall always continue.
4. The English Government will not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Scinde.

This treaty was renewed in 1820, and an article added binding the contracting parties to take vigorous measures to suppress the predatory hordes who were continually disturbing the peace of the frontier.

A few years later Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, resolved to

¹ Kalloras a race of religious teachers who claimed descent from the Abasside caliphs.

take advantage of the Indus and its tributaries as a means of sending a present of horses from the King of England to Runjeet Singh, the great Sikh conqueror. The expedition was sent under the charge of Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Alexander Burnes, and though the Ameers at first offered objections, these were withdrawn, and in July 1831 he arrived safely at Lahore. This proved the value of the Indus as a waterway, and in 1832 and 1834 renewed treaties were entered into.

In 1837 Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, sent a commercial commission under Sir Alexander Burnes to the court of the Ameers at Hyderabad, for the establishment of a mart or entrepot, with reference to all the branches of trade proceeding down or across the Indus, and the means best suited for the establishment of an annual fair.

This was part of his larger commission to Dost Mahomed at Cabul, ostensibly commercial, but developing into political complications in regard to Britain, Russia, and Persia. Proving unsuccessful, the negotiations culminated in our policy of dethroning the Dost, and of establishing by force of arms at Cabul our pensioner, the exiled Shah Shujah ul Moolk, the far-reaching consequences of which reacted on the history of Scinde. The Indus became still more necessary to us as a means of transporting our Bombay troops to Afghanistan, and whether we actually violated treaties or not, we certainly acted in a very high-handed manner towards the Ameers in taking an armed force through their country. In any case, our action roused in them the deepest feelings of unrest and of resentment towards the British, and they were only kept from breaking out into active hostility by their jealousy of one another, and by their wish to temporize with us for their own ends. At each seeming concession towards us, their shouldering resentment only grew in force and energy. They were biding their time, although in February 1839 they agreed to another treaty with us. In regard to this treaty the Governor-General writes to the Secret Committee: –

I may be permitted to offer my congratulations to you upon this timely settlement of our relations with Scinde, by which our political and military ascendancy in that province is now finally declared and confirmed. The main provisions of the proposed engagements are that the confederacy of the Ameers is virtually dissolved, each chief being upheld in his own possession, and being bound to refer his differences with the other chiefs to our arbitration, that Scinde is placed formally under British protection, and brought within the circle of our Indian relations, that a British force is to be fixed in Lower Scinde at Tattah, or such other point westward of the Indus as the British Government may determine – a sum of three lakhs of rupees per annum in aid of the cost of this force being paid in equal proportions by the three Ameers, Meer Noor Mahomed Khan, Nuseer Mahomed Khan, and Mea Meer Mahomed Khan, and that the navigation of the Indus from the sea to the most northern part of the Scinde territory is rendered free of all toll. These are objects of high and undoubted value, and especially so when acquired without bloodshed, as the first advance towards that consolidation of

or influence and extension of the general benefit of commerce throughout Afghanistan which form the great end of our design.

In February 1839, after the treaty had been signed by the Ameers, our Bengal army and the forces of Shah Shujah having crossed the Indus at Bakkur, marched by the Bolan Pass to Quettah, where they were joined by the Bombay army under Sir John Kean, who then took over supreme command. After taking the forts of Candahar and Ghuzni on 7th August, the weak Shah Shujah was victoriously conducted into Cabul and placed on the throne of his ancestors. The sad events which followed are well known – the murder of our envoys. Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes, and then in January 1842 the terrible march of our army from Cabul and its complete annihilation.

Had Shah Shujah been a strong ruler and our policy in Afghanistan successful, the history of Scinde might have been very different. Who can tell? But emboldened by the feeble rule at Cabul, and still further by our disasters, the Ameers were disregarding the conditions of our treaties with them, and Lord Ellenborough, now Governor-General, had determined, either by diplomacy or arms, to bring them to a sense of their duties.

At this crisis, and with this commission, Sir Charles Napier, in July 1842, was given supreme command in Upper and Lower Scinde, and right loyally he fulfilled it. It has been said that a successful settlement might have been come to and war averted, but he saw that the Ameers had no intention of keeping their treaties, and were merely seeking to gain time in order to assemble their troops, and till the hot weather should have come, to be an additional enemy to the Europeans. Their attack on the residency at Hyderabad, while negotiations were still pending, proves that they were untrustworthy, and Sir Charles has said that, by the delay of a single day, the tremendous numbers against us at Meeanee – 35,000 to our 1800, only 400 of whom were Europeans – would have been doubled. 'I would have conquered, but with what a terrible loss of life!'

It was in no spirit of aggression that he won his great battle of Meeanee, one of those decisive battles in India, by which another great province was added to the Empire. It was fought in order to secure the terms of the treaties, and to vindicate the rights of the suffering population of Scinde. The Talpoora Ameers – in 1843 said to number eighteen – were not Scindean, but, coming from Beloochistan sixty years before, had conquered Scinde, and had treated the people with every sort of oppression and cruelty. In January 1843 Sir Charles wrote to General Outram, 'I see but two parties with one interest – my own country and the population of Scinde.' With this 'interest' in view, he used all the resources of his powerful conscientious mind to secure a peaceful settlement, but in vain.

In these words of Sir Charles may be traced the very basis of the divergence of opinion which grew with years between himself and General Outram. The one considered the

rights of his own country and of the oppressed people of Scinde to be paramount, and to sanction even war. The other thought that we should maintain the Ameers in their sovereignty, and that war on our part would be aggression. It is the same divergence which, lying at the root of so many controversies in policy and statesmanship, has heralded number-less so-called aggressive wars which, terrible evils though they were, have brought about the growing peace and happiness of millions. In every part of the globe our Empire can give instances of this, and one of these instances Scinde is today. The great battle of Meeanee, on 17th February, was preceded in January 1843 by the taking of the desert fort of Imaum Ghur – described by the Duke of Wellington as one of the most remarkable military feats he had ever heard of – and followed in March by the battle of Dubba, near Hyderabad. By these splendid victories. Sir Charles completely broke the power of the Ameers, but the turbulent hill tribes were still unsubdued, and these he later reduced to submission by several smaller, but very difficult, military expeditions.

Not only as conqueror, but as administrator of Scinde, is Sir Charles Napier illustrious, and until 1847, he worked there untiringly as Governor-General.

It was only a few months after Meeanee that Captain Keith Young landed in Scinde, and was there until March 1852, working unsparingly under its conqueror, and later under Sir Bartle Frere, who, in a more peaceful time, laboured for Scinde as bravely as did Sir Charles Napier.

H. C. Y.

SCINDE IN THE FORTIES

Keith Young, who tells us in these pages the story of his life in Scinde during the forties, joined the Bengal Army in 1824, being appointed to the 50th Native Infantry. With that regiment he did duty, with the exception of two years, during which he was acting interpreter to the 68th Native Infantry, till 1841, when he was made Deputy Judge-Advocate-General of Division. It was while in Calcutta in that capacity that he received the offer of the appointment in Scinde, which begins his tale: —

Calcutta, Wednesday, 2nd August 1843. — How little one knows today what tomorrow may bring forth. Had considered myself quite safe in Calcutta for an indefinite period, but here I am now under immediate orders for Scinde.

On Friday afternoon last, the 28th July, I received the first intimation of it. I was sent for to go to Government House with all expedition, as Lord Ellenborough wished to see me. I found him with Mr. Bird and Sir W. Casement. His Lordship received me most kindly, shaking me by the hand, and saying he was most happy to see me, and added: 'Come along with us, Captain Young, we want to see you in the Council Chamber.'

They were then seated at the tiffin table, and had just finished tiffin. I had no idea what I was sent for.

Durand,² the private secretary, had taken me in to introduce me to Lord E., but I did not like to ask him, and the first hint I got on the subject was from Sir W. Casement, who said to me as we entered the Council Chamber: 'Are you very much wedded to Calcutta, Captain Young?'

'Why,' I said, 'I like it very well, it has always agreed with me.'

'Oh,' he replied, 'I merely asked you, because Lord Ellenborough has a proposition to make that may perhaps send you away.'

'Oh,' said I to myself, 'I am very sorry to hear it.'

As soon as we got into the Council Chamber, Lord E., who was standing up, said: 'We have sent for you. Captain Keith Young, to know if it will be agreeable to you to go to Scinde. Sir Charles Napier is anxious to have an officer there to act as Judge and Judge-

² Afterwards Sir Henry M. Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B., Lt.-Governor of the Punjaub.

Advocate, and we have determined on appointing you, if you would like to go there. You will have perhaps to hold Sessions, and to do everything of that kind.

'What do you say?'

'Why, my Lord, this has come upon me very suddenly, and I should like, if your Lordship will allow me, a little time to consider it. Besides, I fear that I should be hardly qualified to perform the duties required.'

'Oh,' says his Lordship, 'you want a little time to consider of it, eh? Very well, but we can't give you long. We will give you till tomorrow morning, and you will make up your mind, and let us know then — for if you decide on going, you will have to go in the Queen steamer, and she leaves on the 1st, on Tuesday. She is only waiting for General Simpson, who is expected every day. There is nothing like making up your mind at once.' He went on addressing himself to us all, Mr. Bird smiling most blandly, and Sir W. Casement the same. 'I remember when I had the offer of the Governor-Generalship, I only took twelve hours to decide. . . . Very well. Captain Young, you will let us know tomorrow morning.'

Mr. Bird and Sir W. Casement came away with me, and Sir W. gave me some little further idea of what was expected from me in Scinde, and told me I should be sure to find myself equal to all the work, which I expressed great doubts of the administration in Scinde to Mr. Bird. He is a happy-looking man. 'Now you know,' he said, 'we could not send a civilian, as there will be Judge-Advocate's work for him to do.'

I gave the whole Council my blessing, but I ought to be in reality very thankful to them, for no doubt the offer of the appointment is a very distinguished honour, and the manner of offering very kind also on the part of Lord E. and the Council. But notwithstanding the advantages it opens out to me, I think I would rather not have had the temptation of declining it held out to me. However, there is little use speaking about temptation, for I soon convinced myself that there was no option really left, and that I could not remain in Calcutta with any credit. A consultation with Saunders and his brother, and with Donnelly, decided the matter, and in the morning I forwarded my ultimatum, making only the excuse, by Major Saunders's advice, of want of qualification. I received a note in reply from Durand, telling me that his Lordship thought I was right in coming to the decision I had.

So this matter is settled, and in a few days I am to be off to Bombay, in the Queen which fortunately has met with an accident that detains her here, and I hope will for some days longer. I have been twice to Mr. Thomason, the political secretary, who is a very intelligent, gentlemanly fellow. He does not give me much more information than I received the first day, about the probable duties, and in fact he says that Lord E. himself has not a very clear idea on the matter. The position, Mr. Thomason says, that I am to

occupy, is to be something like that which Caldecott holds in Saugor. Of allowances I can learn nothing satisfactory, but I suppose they will be good. All is to be left to Sir Charles Napier to settle when I get there. I asked Mr. Thomason about applying to Lord E. on the subject, but he strongly dissuaded me, telling me his Lordship disliked above all things anything like making a bargain. I, of course, very soon convinced him that this would not apply to me, as I had accepted the appointment unconditionally. However, by his advice and that of Major Saunders, I am to say no more on this subject.

Saturday, 5th August – I have just returned from an interview with the Gov. Genl. previous to my departure for Scinde. . . . He received me most kindly, inquired after my health, asked me to sit down, and then went on talking about Scinde, Sir Charles Napier, General Simpson, the troops, etc. I had much difficulty in getting in a word. Sir Charles is everything with him. He is not personally acquainted with him, but he was thrown officially in contact with Sir Charles, when he commanded in some of the disturbed districts in England, and gave, according to Lord Ellenborough, satisfaction to everyone. He said he looked upon me as most fortunate in being under so distinguished a man, – does everything himself, has cleared out the fort at Hyderabad, built barracks, made a bridge, looks after everything. 'Such a man I never was so anxious as about him. It is not of so great consequence, but still nearly everything depends on him. You will find Genl. Simpson a very fine officer also, and I think you will like him. You will go to Hyderabad, the climate there is very good – all the sickness has been caused by exposure. The heat is great, but the troops have had much hard work. Sir Charles is, I hope, better now. His last letter was written with his own hand, before this he had been obliged to employ his secretary. You will be entirely under Sir Charles, who may employ you in any way he likes, in other duties besides those of a Judge-Advocate.'

Captain Warde of the Queen was here announced by Durand. Lord Ellenborough said he would see him, though he did not know what he could have to say to him. After a little more conversation about the sailing of the Queen Scinde, etc., and the difficulty of procuring books, I took my leave, his Lordship telling me when I shook hands with him at parting that he should be very happy to hear personally from me at any time, if I had anything I wished to write to him about.

Bombay, Hope Hall Hotels Sunday, 3rd September 1843. – Here I am, so far on my road to the promised land of Scinde. I have been here now a week, and shall not be sorry when we are ordered to move on, which cannot be long now, for we are to start in twenty-four hours after the arrival of the overland mail, daily expected.

I left Calcutta in the Queen on the morning of Wednesday, 9th August. Nothing particular occurred in our passage to Galle, which we reached on Friday, 18th August. I had looked out anxiously for the first few days for the bursting of the boilers in hopes of

a return to Calcutta, but they kept in most provokingly good order, and on we came without any accidents.

We remained at Galle till the afternoon of Sunday, 20th August. Reached Bombay on the morning of Sunday, 27th.

Sunday evening, 10th September 1843. — It appears at last decided that we leave Bombay for Scinde (Kurrachee) tomorrow in the Auckland steamer. There is to be a large party on board, amongst them three ladies. We should be as well without them. Fortunately all my luggage is on board, so I have not much to do now. Have been studying civil law for the last few days. Stupid work.

Kurrachee, Sunday morning, 11th September 1843. — Here I am at last in the promised land of Scinde, and not a bad place does it appear to be. We left in the Auckland on Monday 11th, in the afternoon about five, and reached here early yesterday morning the 16th: indeed we were off the place some three or four hours before daylight, but as the people on shore would not answer our gun, we were obliged to stand off till daylight came to show us our exact position. We anchored soon after eight some two miles or so from the shore, but a considerable distance from the place of disembarkation. Our voyage from Bombay has been a very agreeable one all things considered. We were much crowded, but the captain, Lynch, is an excellent fellow, and did his best to make us comfortable. I had no cabin, but Verner and I got excellent berths — the stern sofas up above, where it was always nice and cool. Ladies take up a sad deal of room, and are always in the way on board ship. We had three of them, and one little child, to Dr. White, the Supg. Surgeon's, great annoyance. It gave rise to more than one amusing scene. The weather was very pleasant the whole way, hardly a drop of rain after the second day, and no wind to speak of. We towed a large boat astern without any difficulty. I was agreeably surprised in the weather, for we were the first vessel of the season, and had heard that it was a great chance our not having a strong monsoon, and great difficulty in landing, but we had none. A little steamer came off to us, the Auckland drawing too much water to go over the bar that crosses the harbor. After running about four miles, we got into smaller boats, which took us within a few yards of the pier, and canoes put us on shore. It was near high water, for when the tide is out, you cannot get within some hundred yards of the shore.

The prospect on landing is not very prepossessing. A dirty-looking, mud-built, walled town, with low, dirty, swampy ground about it. The cantonments, about two miles, like so many tents on a bare plain — not a tree to be seen, low hills are in the distance, and to the northward of the entrance to the harbor. The coast is very low and sandy. Walked up to cantonments with the intention of making arrangements with a Parsee merchant for a temporary domicile, but meeting a note and horse from Major Forbes, H.M. 78th, I went to his house, where I now am.

The cantonments put me much in mind of Nusserabad, and the ragged, sandy, barren appearance of the place generally, the style of the native houses, and the number of donkeys, of Egypt, which I am told this place much resembles at this season in climate. I like what I have seen of the climate very much. It is nice and cool, and feels fresh and invigorating, and on the whole I think it will do, first impressions go a long way with me. The houses are certainly queer hovels, but building, they say, is cheap. The bazaar seems to be well supplied. I dined at the 78th mess last night, and I have not seen a better dinner since I left Calcutta, meat most excellent and, I hear, very cheap.

Had my first interview with the famous Sir Charles Napier, the Governor, this morning. Went to him by appointment at eleven o'clock. He saw me coming and met me at the door, shook hands with me most kindly, and told me he was very glad to see me, etc. I like him very much, and think we shall get on well together.

He told me what was to be the nature of my duties. It is to superintend all trials by the magistrates, who now sentence to punishment to any extent, and he confirms or not. They are to send in periodical reports to me, and I am to give my instructions to them. This appears merely to refer to criminal trials – indeed, as to civil suits, as far as I could learn, there are none at present to decide. He said he had asked Lord E., at first, to send him a judge, but Lord E. thought that a military man would be the best thing for him, and he was glad of it, for the less there was to say to lawyers the better.

He entered freely into the circumstances under which he had been very unwillingly obliged to have some men put to death, and said it was from political motives principally that he had recourse to capital punishment, but really the natives seemed to think that they could commit any atrocities with impunity. He mentioned the particulars of one very curious case. A man who had committed murder in order to obtain the murdered man's wife, was sentenced to death. He was asked a few days before execution whether there was anything he had particularly to request, and, if practicable, his prayer should be granted. He replied 'Yes! I killed that fellow to get his wife, bring her to me.' Sir Charles told me also of the horrible atrocities committed by the Ameers and their subordinates. He found a man at Tattah, who had been confined in a cage for twenty-five years I think he said. He released him, but thought of confining him again, as the poor creature was quite foolish.

I dine with Sir Charles tonight, and perhaps I shall hear more of my prospects. Nothing has been said yet about '*tulube*' (allowances), but it must be something superior to that of those whose work I am to supervise. I must set to work and write out a memo, of such matters as I want him to decide about. I think I shall propose that I be called Judicial Commissioner. Everything quiet apparently in Scinde.

Headquarters, Kurrachee,
24th September 1843.

*Extract from General Orders, By His Excellency
Major-Genl. Sir C. J. Napier, G.C.B., Governor of Scinde.*

Captain Young having arrived in this command, is appointed Judge-Advocate General to the Civil Administration of the Province from the 16th inst., and the three collectors will be so good as in future to report at their judicial proceedings to this officer, according to the mode which shall immediately be communicated to them.

(Signed) Edward Green, Major.

Act Asst Adj-Genl

Kurrachee, 24th September 1843. — More than a week's experience of Scinde and my prospects in it has not improved it in my estimation. Until yesterday I had not been able to see Sir Charles Napier, who had been laid up with rheumatic fever since the departure of the mail, and at dinner on Sunday evening nothing was said of my duties. The dinner party was a most amusing one, there were about eight of us, and the dishes and table furniture, etc., were very much Scinde camp fashion, most of the articles being from Sir Charles's canteen. The beer was very good, and Sir Charles makes a kind and courteous host, but certainly his cuisine is not of the best. The favorite dish of the table was opposite to him, and was pork chops (in all probability common bazaar stuff), of which he ate most heartily himself and strongly recommended to his guests. We Bengalees looked rather aghast, especially Warrall, who was sitting next to him, with his own particular plates and muffineers, etc., in first-rate order. I saw one of the Bombayites, who went hand in hand with Sir Charles in demolishing the pork chops. The conversation, during and after dinner, struck me to be a great deal too much about the late actions in Scinde, as to what this man and the others did, I how many Beloochees were cut down. I understand that the Scinde heroes are very much given to this kind of thing, and that Sir Charles is weak enough to be flattered with this Baloochee hunting, as it is facetiously termed. All men have their weak points, and he can afford to have one or two, for he is an astonishing old fellow. Yesterday morning I had my long-wished-for interview with him, and today I was not so satisfactory as I had expected.

But what took me much aback was his telling me that I was subordinate to Brown, the commissioner. I combated the point with him, told him I had no foolish delicacy about placing myself under any 'one, however junior to me, in matters purely civil, but that I did not see how it could be done here, and that I never had understood this in Calcutta. I have been thinking of it since, and I really do not see how I can be placed under Brown's orders and the Governor's also. It seems I am to be designated Judge-

Advocate-General, so I can give an opinion to Brown if called upon for one, but as to his over-ruling any trials of mine, this will never do, and the Governor must see it. Neither he nor the men under him can know anything about the mode of conducting trials, judging from the proceedings of one I have now before me, that was sent me by Preedy, the magistrate here. Such an affair I never saw. The man Meer Chandia was tried for being accessory to the murder of a Parsee. It does not appear from the evidence that a murder ever was committed, there is mere hearsay of the fact, and of the prisoner's having told certain men to commit the murder, and there is direct evidence (suspicious enough it is) of the prisoner having told the above men to slay the English generally, and of his telling them, after the murder, that they had done good service, his having afterwards shared in the plunder, but without proving whose plunder it was, though the prisoner was charged in a second court for sharing in the plunder of the murdered man's property. Altogether it is a most lamentable affair. The prisoner was probably guilty, but there is not a title of evidence against him. No remark is made on the court-martial, or rather trial, for it was a trial by the magistrate alone. The sentence was hanging, and the poor wretch was executed. The General told me yesterday that he seemed to care little for it. The rope broke, and he asked for a drink of water and to be hung again immediately. He was a chief, and his death made some stir, it appears. Poor devil, my blood ran cold when I read his trial and saw the evidence that convicted him. Far better have no trials at all. It is a mere mockery of justice.

Sir Charles spoke most fully of Atkins, Pope, and Rathborne, the latter of whom, magistrate at Hyderabad, is, he says, a very clever fellow, the other more of a linguist but a good officer too, though very averse to serving under Brown, the commissioner. This is nonsense, as I told him, and I only object on account of his position not allowing him to overrule me in any opinion.

Next came the question of pay. Sir Charles asked me what I expected, and I, of course, told him that I entirely left it to him. He asked me what my pay was, and I very stupidly told him my separate allowances, which I don't think he understood. However, when I come to think of the duties I have to perform, I think twelve hundred, which he said he should recommend to Lord Ellenborough, will be quite sufficient pay.

After some further conversation with the old gentleman, I came away still favorably impressed with him, but not quite so well pleased with my own situation in Scinde. It is not so independent as I had anticipated, but we shall see.

The weather has been very hot last week, but it appears to be healthy enough, and I have exposed myself considerably to the sun, going about 'peacocking,' as it is called, with General Simpson. He (the General), Verner, etc., went off last evening to Hyderabad. I rode out some distance with them. I am still staying with Major Forbes, but hope to be able to get a house before long. Since writing the above. Brown, the commissioner, has been here. He is a free and easy sort of fellow, and I think we shall

get on very well, for he talks sensibly enough, and takes a very common-sense view of the nature of the duties we are severally to perform, and as to mine, he seems perfectly to see that it would never do to submit everything through him, for he, in fact, understands nothing about judicial matters. Indeed, he says his office is a very undefined one as far as its duties are concerned, that he is more of a secretary than anything else. I am glad this point is tolerably settled. I am to write to him what it is I want, and no doubt it will be done and agreed to, so that my duties may be properly defined.

Tuesday, 3rd October 1843. — My duties not much better defined than they were. Sir Charles is a fine old fellow, but very much given to fly off at a tangent. It is very difficult to keep him to the point. I was with him this morning, having gone to call on Lady Napier, who arrived here on Saturday last with her daughters, a pretty good proof that he expects to remain quietly in Scinde for some time.

After my visit of ceremony, at which was present the Jam of the Jokeas, a chief of some importance in this part of the world — a rare-looking old fellow he is, with a red beard — I went into Sir Charles's room, and had a little business conversation with him. I had sent in a code of rules for conducting criminal trials some days ago, but he has not read it. I sent it through Brown, who has been appointed by Lord Ellenborough secretary now instead of commissioner. I fancy that Sir Charles will agree to everything, but I wish he would make haste. As to a civil code, he says none will be required, but I must write and have this settled. It will never do having cases of twenty years' standing decided by us, or letting disputes regarding houses and land be determined without some fixed rules to go upon. I had a conversation with him about magistrates taking oaths, but he does not appear to think it necessary. Perhaps he is right, for a man of education who would act unjustly on the plea of not having been sworn, would do so equally however many oaths he took, but still I doubt whether an oath ought not to be administered to me as well as to all.

I came away from my interview little more advanced than I was. He talked again of Brown, that everything should go through his office. There seems to be a wish, I think, to let matters jog on with as little change as possible for the present. He is a kind-hearted man. I was much pleased with the view he took of a trial for manslaughter that I laid before him, his evident wish being to do justice, but as leniently as possible. Not a little amused about a story I heard today of his military secretary, Colonel Macpherson, who is supposed not to have received a college education. Sir Charles had given him a letter to copy, roughly written for Lord Ellenborough, in which he said: 'thus you see, my Lord, I am placed between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, which the secretary transmogrified into *Scythes* and *Carbines*. Fortunately Sir Charles asked the secretary to read it, and what the devil's that?' When he came to the end of the sentence. It was corrected. He tells the story himself.

Friday, 27th October 1843. – Here I am in my own house (!) now, where I have been some time, bought it of a Doctor Manisty for five hundred rupees, not much of a bargain, but comfortable enough for Kurrachee. Also got a pony from him for one hundred and twenty, so am tolerably set up now. Things go on pretty well with Sir Charles, but he is rather a difficult man to deal with. I have come to the conclusion that he is a much better military commander than a civil governor. He will not settle anything. My criminal code he has not looked over yet, and my civil one, which I sent in some time after, has shared the same fate. Every time I mention it to him, he tells me he will look it over, and with regard to the criminal code, he told me one day he had done so, and thought that there was too much of the lawyer in it, and that he would let Lord Ellenborough decide. But yesterday again he seemed to say that the paper was still unread. It is very annoying and will cause much trouble hereafter, fixing on no settled plan of operation now when it can be done so easily. He forgets, I think, what he has before determined on, and yesterday, on my taking a case to him, he was for my passing it on to Brown, to be by him forwarded to the magistrate from whom I had received it. I told him I agreed to anything, only let there be something settled. Fortunately Brown came in, and decided the case at once by saying that he and I had settled before that he was to have nothing to say to such matters. 'Very well, so let it be,' said the General, and thus this point is settled.

I fear, from what I learn, that the revenue part of the business is very unsatisfactorily done. The man here is certainly not a first-rate one, and the Sukkur Collector Pope, of whom Sir Charles has a great idea, has just sent in his resignation. The cause given, I understand, is Sir Charles not giving him the assistance he wanted, but the real reason, I fancy, is Lord E. refusing to give him more pay than twelve hundred.

The climate is changing. The days are still very hot, but the nights are getting cold, particularly the mornings. The variation is very great. They talk of thirty degrees in the course of an hour.

Thursday, 2nd November 1843. – Desperately hot weather for the 2nd Nov. Here I am, sitting as lightly clothed as possible, without my jacket. The thermometer can't be much under ninety degrees. What a contrast to Kurnaul at this season! For the last two or three days have had some sick men staying with me – Ogle of the 9th, and two of the discharged civilians, Wingfield and Cocks. Theirs appears to be a very hard case indeed. Lord E. or someone else has regularly deceived them, at least Cocks, who told me his whole case.

He was in an appointment near Delhi, drawing a thousand rupees a month, when he was asked to come down to Scinde, and given to understand it was to be a first-rate appointment with no end of allowances eventually, but the secretary, Hamilton, wrote to say (I saw the letter) that he could only promise him, to begin with, a thousand or eight hundred rupees a month. Well, he accepted the appointment, and was

immediately put in orders by the Gov.-Genl, and told officially that his salary was to be seven hundred rupees. He rather kicked at this, but was told in reply that the Governor-General appreciated his zeal, and that there was a grand field open for him, and all that. Well, down he came, and was placed under Captain Pope, the principal duty expected of him being that of copying letters. There were three of them, all at Sukkur, and in fact doing nothing. Captain Pope seems to have been determined from the first to get rid of them. He would not give them any charge, and he managed to have an order cancelled, appointing Cocks magistrate of Roree. It ends in a correspondence in which the two who are here expressed themselves rather freely, and they were suspended in a manner till next March. It is a bad piece of business altogether, and reflects very little credit on the Government. As to Sir Charles, he is less to blame than any one, for he has been imposed upon. Lord Ellenborough told one of them, Riddell, when he was coming down, to take care he employed himself merely in judicial and revenue business, that he was not to think of making treaties, which young men were so fond of doing nowadays. They were consequently not a little surprised when they found the real position they were to occupy i.e., personal assistants of Captain Pope without a shadow of authority – mere copying clerks in fact.³

What a miserable state Sukkur appears to be in. The sickness, from all accounts, dreadful. The 55th mess had only one Beastic to serve their dinner. Here we are comparatively healthy but still bad enough.

Kurrachee, Wednesday, 5th November 1843. – Have been leading a very idle life lately. Not even a murder, an extraordinary thing for Scinde. My duties still very undefined, and I may add, my pay also. No doing anything with the General about a code, it appears further off than ever, and as to pay, he talked of one thousand rupees a month the other day. I told him he himself had said twelve hundred on a former occasion, and I certainly thought I ought not to be paid less than the collectors. Well, he said he thought so too, but there was no getting Lord E. to settle anything about salaries. He then commenced about Pope at Sukkur. Had a grand dinner at the Persian prince's last night. Aga Khan is his name. He married a sister of the late King of Persia, and came to this part of the country via Kurrachee. He is a great knave, but he has an excellent cook. The dinner was to the General, and there were about a dozen of us. Such *pillaus* and stews and things of all kinds to drink as well as eat, champagne and beer included. I preferred the sherbets, but they were rather sweet. The feast was held in a summer-house in a garden near the town, and commenced with a profusion of sweets and fruits. There being no knives, one of our hosts peeled an apple with a pocket-knife, and cut bits off which they handed to us. This course was little touched, the sweets being

³ The case of Messrs. Wingfield, Cocks and Riddell is thus alluded to by Sir C. Napier. 'Lord Ellenborough sent three gentlemen from Bengal for my civil service, one a nephew of an old friend, but they are useless, and in despair. They came to shoot, to hunt, to five well, and to sign their names to whatever a host of clerks should lay before them. I gave them no clerks and a good deal of work, or rather have so ordered it, for they are at Sukkur. They are furious at Lord E., who quite deceived them as to work.'

principally compositions from ghee and sugar. The *pillaus*, etc., followed, and were heaped on the table till there was not a vacant inch of table-cloth to be seen, and indeed the dishes were piled one over the other. Dishes, however, and plates were rather scarce, and large *chuppaties* served their place. I ate of several things, and much approved of the *pillaus*, a kind of minced collop, some stuff like pishpash served in bowls, and the common little kabobs which were brought in on small spits, and pulled off in the most primitive style by one of our hosts, using a *chapatee* to hold them with. A nautch finished the entertainment, and I was not sorry to get away.

The weather is still anything but cold. Today it looks like rain, and I dare say it will do good. The sickness at present is very bad, and from Sukkur and Hyderabad the accounts are most distressing. At the latter place one corps has seven hundred men sick. Saw the General this morning. He amused me, abusing the Yankees. It seems they did him out of seven thousand pounds, which he was fool enough to lend to the state of Pennsylvania.

Kurrachee, Sunday, 26th November 1843. —

'Far as the eye could reach no tree was seen,
Earth clad in russet scorned the lively green.
No birds except as birds of passage flew,
No bee was heard to hum, no dove to coo,
No streams as amber smooth, as amber clear.
Were seen to glide, or heard to warble here.'

Prophecy of Famine.

Have lately been reading *Roh Roy* where the above lines are quoted, as descriptive of the return to the Highlands near Glasgow. It would be more applicable, I fancy, to Kurrachee and its environs, touching which a facetious visitor here lately remarked that there was nothing he saw even to tempt locusts to stop for breakfast. It certainly is a dismal-looking place.

I have lately had a touch of what I thought was fever, but I fancy it was only cold and influenza, which has made me rather less in love with Scinde than I was, and I cannot say that it ever was a very favorite spot. Nothing going on, and I have a nice idle time of it. Sir Charles is a cruel bad Governor. He makes no use of me, and I am sure somebody is much required to look after the proper administration of justice, and I know no one better qualified than myself. I fear everything is left to natives, who sell justice, or rather injustice, at their own price.

Kurrachee, Tuesday, 15th December 1843. — Have been very well since I last wrote and the weather has been agreeable enough, but there is nothing like the cold we have in the

Upper Provinces at this season, and the sun in the daytime is very powerful. White clothing is, in fact, still very generally worn.

On Saturday last was summoned to the General's to give my opinion about his having the power of confirming a sentence of transportation, passed on a conductor for embezzlement. The man had been sent to Bombay to have his sentence carried into effect. The supreme court, it seems, declined to interfere, taking it for granted that Sir Charles has the power, but the Council of Bombay, by whom the punishment is carried through, have written to Sir Charles to ask him for his authority. I fancy he has none, but he could not find his warrant. However, we got one yesterday of General England's, and I fancy Sir Charles's is the same. It gives him no power to transport. He has an idea that the Ninety-first Article of our Articles of War will bear him out, we being in an enemy's country, but I think he is quite wrong. He has overstepped his authority as General. I know of none that he has as Governor over British subjects.

His reply to the letter of Council was a very lawyer-like one. He would in fact give them no reply, whether he had power of confirming or not, for fear of embarrassing the Supreme Government!! I imagine it is too late for the C.-in-C. at Bombay to now confirm the sentence, the proceedings having been finished, and the culprit will now escape.

Tuesday, 12th December 1843. – Still at Kurrachee, but I think there are some symptoms of a move towards Hyderabad, or even higher. Yesterday, in fact, it was almost settled by the General that I was to go to Sukkur to retry a case of highway robbery that had been tried in a manner by Townshend. It ended after some time in his ordering a military commission to try the men, a curious arrangement I think, with a civil establishment in the country.

Dined with Brown, the secretary, last evening. Met Rathborne, the Hyderabad collector, there. Saw Pope, the Sukkur man, in the morning. Much surprised and annoyed at hearing from Brown that Sir Charles had recommended to Lord Ellenborough that my salary should be a thousand. It can hardly be, I think, after what he said to me. If true, it gives me a very mean opinion of Sir Charles. He has without doubt forfeited his word. Have I done anything to offend him? It is possible that he has taken offence at the civilians living with me, but this cannot be. However, it is of no consequence. It is not a hundred rupees more or less a month that can do me much benefit or injury, but I am really sorry to think badly of Sir Charles, for he is a fine old fellow, though no civil governor. Sir Jasper⁴ is here: came in on Sunday. They leave tonight. The Miss Nicolls look thriving and well, 'Nikulao'⁵ and 'Nikuljao'⁶ as they are called, the married one being 'Nikulguga' – Good!

⁴ Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief in India.

⁵ 'Nikulao' = Come along.

Kurrachee, Wednesday, 13th December 1843. — Have had another interview with Sir Charles this morning, about the robbery case, having heard some more particulars, which I thought it necessary to tell him in case he should wish to refrain from ordering a military commission. However, I find the order for it was sent off yesterday, and so it is to remain, and what is still more extraordinary, he told me that he thought he should direct all important cases to be tried in the same way in future. I could not help expressing my surprise, and calling it rather an extreme measure now that civil authority was established in the country.

'Civil authority,' he said, 'oh dear no, it is all martial law here, or I would not remain, and I have told E. so, if I 'm to be controlled by civil authority.' I remarked that Lord E. had, as I understood from the way in which he spoke to me before I came here, considered that there was a civil authority established in Scinde under Sir Charles's control. 'No,' he replied, 'it is under consideration now, but at present it is all military law, and I would not have a judge, I would not have a civilian on that account, and so they sent you, for I have everything under military control, and for that reason I have all the collectors placed under the commanding officers.'

I read the letter he sent about the court to try the robbery case. It was a very good and a very clear one, but I do not understand the present unsatisfactory, unsettled way of carrying on affairs. It must be changed as soon as the General goes. From what he says of the way in which civil justice is to be administered in Scinde, being under consideration, I suppose we shall soon hear something, and it is high time, for there is neither one thing nor the other now. My own idea of coming events is as follows. Sir C. will leave Scinde soon. He will be appointed to a command in the Punjaub if there is anything to be done there, and this province will be administered somewhat as Saugor is now. Hamilton of the C.S. is, they say, coming to Bhawalpore on special duty. When this is over, he will probably come here as commissioner, and will then be appointed judge, *nous verrons*. But then, how is Brown the secretary to be disposed of? This is a puzzler. He may be Governor-General's agent. Headquarters leave this, it is said, in about a week or so for Hyderabad, to be there on the 1st January.

There follow here some memoranda on the civil and military administration of Scinde, as these presented themselves to the writer, after his then short experience of the province.

14th December, 1843. — The following appears to be the method in which the civil administration of the province is carried on. The Governor is supreme, having both civil and military command, but whether any particular authority was given him, when appointed, I do not know. But whether or not he exercises most uncontrolled authority,

⁶ 'Nikuljao' - Get away.

having the power of life and death over all the native inhabitants, and that he possesses it and uses it, must be known to the Supreme Government, as Mr. Thomason told me in Calcutta of a person's execution here under circumstances that would have been nowhere else permitted. The Governor has one secretary only, who is the channel of communication in all important matters, political, judicial, or revenue. There is a Judge-Advocate-General to inspect the proceedings of such civil or criminal trials as may be held, and three collectors who are also magistrates, and have a certain number of deputies, about ten in all I think. The police is administered by a superintendent and three assistants, one being for each of the collectorates. The rest of the machine is worked by natives, who, under the designation of 'Kardars,' collect the revenue, and do a little magisterial business in a small way, and, from all I can learn, some oppression in a large way. There are one or two uncovenanted deputy collectors I believe, but all the other European functionaries are officers of the army, principally from Bombay. The method of administering justice in criminal cases rests entirely upon the pleasure of the Governor.

Trials have hitherto been generally held by the magistrates or their assistants. But except in petty cases, where they could punish summarily, their part of the judicial proceedings has been limited to inquiring into the cases, and reporting the same to the Governor, who forms his own opinion of the guilt of the prisoner, and awards his own sentence. In those cases where a magistrate may have recorded an opinion, the Governor is in no way bound by it, if his own opinion is different. Since I have been here he has awarded punishment when none was thought necessary by the magistrate. In fact the Governor's will is arbitrary in Scinde, as far as the natives are concerned, and with this great power it would seem that he is also irresponsible. This ought not to be.

Trials intended for submission to the Governor are forwarded through the Judge-Advocate, who, in presenting them, submits also his opinion, and this in every case hitherto has been approved of and attended to. There are no regulations for the guidance of magistrates in their conduct of criminal trials. The only order that has been given to them is to adhere as much as possible to the rules observed on courts-martial, but so far from this being the case, all kinds of curious records are sent in, some in Persian and some in English, from which it is difficult to gather anything like the semblance of a trial. The most amusing of the kind that I have seen, professed to be the trial of a certain individual who, it turned out on inquiry, was not present. He was a thief whom the magistrate regretted he had not been able to catch yet! The same magistrate passed sentence on some of the witnesses, though not on their trial, whom he considered to be thieves. The sentence on them was not a light one – some three or four years' hard labor imprisonment. These instances will show that the judicial knowledge of the functionaries was at rather a low ebb. I may also mention another case, when a man was found guilty of being accessory to a certain murder and hanged, without its ever having been proved that the murder was committed. There is no doubt however of this fact, but whether the man was accessory or not to it, is a matter of some

doubt to me. However, he is hanged, and dead men tell no tales. The Governor is so impressed with the impropriety of allowing important trials to be conducted in this slovenly way, that he has almost determined on ordering a military commission to try all grave offenders against the law, and has already directed a commission to sit at Sukkur to try some men accused of highway robbery, who have already been tried in a manner by the magistrate here, but without any satisfactory result. That there ought to be some change from the present system, I allow, but I cannot conceive that a military commission is a fitting court of judicature in a province where all is peaceable, and where there is a civil establishment for the good administration of the affairs of the country, which in point of numbers ought to be perfectly sufficient for the preservation of good order, and the due repression of crime. A military commission indeed will never answer, for it can only be held at the principal stations of the province. Even if this might be got over, the holding a military court for the trial of peaceable citizens, which the inhabitants of Scinde are or are supposed to be at present, appears wrong in principle. The only reason, indeed, that is given for this form of trial is not the disturbed state of the country, but the inefficiency of the present magistrates, who, if they were up to their duty, might try all cases just as well or better than any military commission can do. I do not know whether the commission, when trying cases, are also to pass sentence on those they convict. If they do, I cannot see that the Governor has any legal authority to carry into execution a heavier sentence than that awarded. With sentences of magistrates it is different, though even here it would be far more desirable to direct them to refrain from passing sentence at all, unless the intention is to abide by their decision. I have made this remark because it is the custom of some magistrates to give an opinion and pass sentence, while others merely record the evidence without any opinion of their own, but whether given or not, the Governor considers himself in no way bound by it.

Shortly after I came, I sent in a short code of regulations for carrying on criminal proceedings. It might not have been a very superior one, but anything almost, by which one uniform system could be introduced, would be preferable to the present combination of irregularities. One great disadvantage also that exists at present is the great want of control over the native Kardars. They may be controlled by the magistrates, but I do not think they are. But whether or not there should be some additional superior check upon them, and weekly or monthly reports should be sent in of the cases they have tried. Their powers should be exceedingly limited in criminal cases, while in civil cases, it should be distinctly understood by the natives of the country, that the decision of a Kardar in a civil suit is always appealable against.⁷ In the days of the Ameers, as far as I can learn, criminal justice was administered not very differently from what it is at present, there will being supreme then as the Governor's is

⁷ *In the Life of Sir Charles Napier* (by his brother), vol. iv. pp. 1-11, there will be found an account of the inter-tribal customs under the Ameers, making robbery and murder, as Sir Charles says, not more a crime, according to native ideas, than dwelling was in those days according to ours, and also a description of his own arrangements for administration of justice. The Kardars were head-men of villages.

now. They kept no records, all was summary. The punishments were: fines when the offenders had money, imprisonment for short periods, or corporal punishment, or mutilation when they were poor, and in extreme cases the criminals were executed, but executions do not appear to have been common. The *moonshee* was mentioning one case where the culprit was stoned to death. It was for murder under aggravated circumstances. Theft seems to have been the most common offence, when repeated, the thief was pretty sure to have his nose or ear cut off, unless he could buy himself clear, but the first offence was, in general, lightly dealt with. The most revolting feature in the Scindean code of punishments was that relating to slaves. The owner of them was at liberty to put them to death, if guilty of misconduct, without incurring a further penalty than a small fine to Government. The value of the slave had to be paid to the owner if the death was caused by another person, but in no case does putting a slave to death appear to have been visited as a criminal offence. Since Scinde came under British rule slavery has been abolished, and as there is no such thing as a slave now, of course there is but one law for all parties. This seems to have been indistinctly understood in Upper Scinde, the proclamation regarding the abolition of slavery there having by mistake been limited merely to the buying and selling of slaves. It was generally supposed there that existing rights in slaves were not to be interfered with. This has since been changed, and a fresh proclamation issued for the entire abolition of slavery. It was rendered necessary in consequence of a Scindean having hanged his slave, and justifying it by the man's misconduct. He was hanged himself, notwithstanding, by order of the Governor. I did not know at the time the warrant was sent off, that slavery had not been wholly abolished in Upper Scinde as well as Lower, or I doubt whether I should have recommended the man's execution, but he well deserved his fate, and the example will do no harm. Murder, highway robbery, and camel or cattle stealing are the most common offences. For the first only have criminals been executed. For the two latter imprisonment, fine, and corporal punishment are the sentences that have been carried into effect.

They seem a quiet and inoffensive race the Scindeans, and their faults are those of most barbarous nations – a proneness to take the law into their own hands, which of itself shows that it has been laxly administered, and a very loose idea of the rights of individuals to property in cattle, which they seem to look upon as free by nature to anyone who can assert a claim. It is seldom that an offender denies his guilt, and I don't think there is one case of murder where the really guilty has not confessed.

There is no proper jail in Scinde for the confinement of prisoners. At Kurrachee it is a mere enclosure within a mud wall, with a shed at one end, built in the Sudder Bazaar, and the few prisoners that are in it are taken care of by a guard of sepoy.⁸ Of the police corps I know nothing personally except that they are an ill-looking lot of vagabonds.

⁸ Sir Bartle Frere wrote long afterwards, 'This (Sir Charles's) police system was, at the time he introduced it, far in advance of any other in India.' The letter (*Life of Sir B. Frere, vol. i. p. 81*) is full of warm praise of Sir Charles's administration of Scinde.

They consist of horse and foot, and I believe there are about one thousand five hundred of the latter, and six hundred of the former for all Scinde. The superintendent of the whole is resident at Hyderabad, and his duties are merely nominal. The magistrates are in no way under him I imagine, and whether he has magisterial duties or not I cannot say. The superintendent here, of the Kurrachee police, has magisterial functions in the town, but what his exact powers are does not appear to be determined. They seem to vary according to circumstances and the pleasure of the Governor, in whom all power is centred, but under what authority is a mystery. A set of rules, a code in fact, for the administration of criminal justice, is much required, and if we are to keep possession of the country, one must soon be prepared. It is manifest injustice, indeed, to the people of the country to leave them without such a code. There is this to say, that I believe as long as Sir Charles is here, they will have most good and substantial justice done, whatever way it may be administered to them, but still, in a matter of such very great importance, no individual, however high he may stand in public estimation, should be trusted an instant longer than it can be avoided, with the irresponsible power now enjoyed by Sir Charles.

The lives and liberties of a people ought to have other safeguards beyond those preserved to them by the feelings of rectitude and good faith that actuate an arbitrary ruler. The necessity of the present rule is the only excuse to be given in its favor, and the only question is: Does that necessity exist? Civil justice is administered in the same irresponsible manner, and by the same functionaries as the criminal. There is no code laid down, no rules for appealing, or in fact for anything beyond a certain limitation in suits, which must not have arisen prior to the battle of Meeanee. However, that is a mere nominal restriction, and can be easily got over by the magistrate if he likes. The only good point in the trial of civil suits appears to be that no fees are taken from either party, at least none are warranted by Government, but I dare say few suitors are allowed to approach a magistrate empty-handed. As to those cases decided by the Kardars, I have little doubt those employed always come in for a good share of the matter in dispute. It is very desirable that both a civil and criminal code should be prepared, and promulgated, as soon as the permanent possession of the country is determined on. The simpler these codes are the better. Those that I gave in to the General, shortly after my arrival here are imperfectly enough got up, I dare say, but they are not in substance very far off the mark of what is required, I think.

Kurrachee, Sunday, 17th December 1843. — Affairs going on in the usual unsatisfactory style. All whom I inspected appear to complain of the way in which business is carried on, whether military or civil. Nobody knows exactly what he has to do, and it is extraordinary, with the great want of order and arrangement that exists, how matters progress at all. The truth is, Sir Charles likes to do everything he possibly can himself, and thinking and wishing to do all, he hesitates at detailing the particular duty of any one individual. It is a very bad system, and as far as the military are concerned,

nowhere are the disadvantages of it so clearly seen as in the embarking and disembarking of troops, etc.

The expense of this province must be enormous. To commence with, there is a whole fleet of steamers continually employed between this and Bombay. In fact, Bombay seems quite the minor presidency, auxiliary to this. The expense also of officers and men going away sick must be very great. Can the country be worth the expenditure of half a million of money beyond its receipts? For this at least, it seems generally acknowledged, will be our annual loss. It is argued by some on the Government side that the expense of the army should not be taken into consideration, as this would be required to guard the frontier wherever that frontier was, and so we must only reckon the extra field establishment required in Scinde.⁹ However, this argument is not a good one, for the same troops would not be necessary, but whether or not, I imagine that the extra establishments alone would much more than swallow up all the Scinde revenue. The way in which officers are appointed to collect the revenue seems another fruitful source of complaint. Any one, whoever he may be, who has done service in the field, is apparently considered capable of becoming a collector.¹⁰ The results will soon determine the wisdom of such arrangements. I am sorry for Sir Charles, for he is a fine old soldier, but I fear his government in Scinde will be a very disastrous one to our finances, and will have conferred no benefit on the inhabitants beyond that of security to life and property, but by security to property I do not mean more than exemption from highway robbery, for the extortion of native officers will, in general, be in as full and active force as it was in the time of the Ameers, until a different order of things is established. And the sooner the better say! but it will not be soon enough, I fear, to save Sir Charles's reputation as a Governor, when all comes to be known.¹¹ The weather is pleasant enough now, but not at all cold. I was dining at the European mess last night, and nearly all were in white jackets, with doors and windows open. Disastrous accounts still coming down of the sickness on the Indus. No day fixed for Sir Charles's departure.

Kurrachee, Wednesday, 21th December 1843. — I have been much amused, in reading *Lights and Shadows of Military Life*, edited by Sir Charles Napier, at some of his remarks about India, e.g. p. 323. 'Our object in conquering India, the object of all our cruelties, was money. More than a thousand millions sterling are said to have been squeezed out of India in the last sixty years. Every shilling of this has been picked out of blood, wiped and put into the murderers' pockets, but wipe and wash the money as you will, the

⁹ Sir C. Napier tells us the large military force was for the Punjab, not for Scinde (vide *Life*, vol. iv. p. 15).

¹⁰ Vol. iv. p. 19, *Life*. Sir Charles gives his reasons for preferring military officers to civil servants.

¹¹ All these strictures, common at the time, are dealt with in Sir C. Napier's official memoir on Scinde (vide *Life*, vol. iv.). The wisdom and ability of Sir Charles's rule was afterwards universally recognized.

"damned spot" will not out.' This certainly is not so bad for the conqueror of Scinde! but Sir Charles did not anticipate,

Tattah, Tuesday, 6th February 1844. – Thus far on my way to Hyderabad and probably Sukkur, my first circuit, and a wretchedly uncomfortable piece of travelling this much of my journey has been. I left Kurrachee on Friday afternoon, riding out to Jemadar-Kalundee, and on to Gharrah. Met a host of friends, young Reid, 10th N.I., going down sick, Macleod, 20th, with whom I dined on Sunday, and Maj or Saunders, 15th, who came and called on me, and was very civil. Wretched country between Kurrachee and Gharrah, not a house to be seen, nor a blade of cultivation. A few Buniya's huts at the halting-places. Gharrah is a miserable village, and the cantonment is a wretched entrenched camp, with nothing but the hospitality of the officers to recommend it. I left Gharrah about twelve o'clock, having breakfasted with Major Saunders, and rode into the camp of the 15th, some seven miles off, where I stayed a few hours with Denham. The country to Goojur is more miserable, if anything, than between Gharrah and Kurrachee. At Goojur, a dirty mud village, there are a few trees, and on to Tattah, some twelve miles further, there are attempts at cultivation. Tattah has an imposing appearance from a distance, but a more wretched-looking town than it is when you get into it, I have never seen. It looks quite deserted, and half the houses are empty or in ruins. What they call the Dawk Bungalow is a great empty native house, with all the doors flying about with the wind and not an attempt at furniture or comfort of any description.¹² It has been blowing almost a hurricane with clouds of dust for the last three days, which of itself would have been discomfort enough, but with all the additional unpleasantness of an inefficient marching establishment, and my own company alone to depend on, I shall be right glad to see Hyderabad. I am just now, 3 P.M., about starting, but whether I shall go to the bank of the river and wait for the steamer, or push on as well as I can by land, I have not yet decided. The steamer was expected yesterday from Garabaree. The wind has detained her, but she must be here today I think. Nothing much stirring at Kurrachee since I last wrote. As far as my duties are concerned, nothing hardly is settled, except that I am to go on circuit, and that Kurrachee is to be my headquarters. Should this be the case, and Scinde be retained, which I think is yet doubtful, I shall build, I think, out beyond Clifton, near where they are boring for water - a much better place than Clifton itself in my opinion. Have been out to Clifton two or three times, to the Highlanders' bungalow – Seaforth Lodge as it was christened – one day that I was there. It was proposed to call it Brimstone Lodge from a brimstone pit said to be not far off, but this was overruled as being a reflection on the regiment. My last Christmas Day was spent at the Highlanders' mess, and New Year's Day at the General's. Well, I have decided on the steamer, and am going off immediately.

¹² Vide Life of Sir Bartle Frere vol. i. p. 113. Sir Bartle Frere got some travellers' bungalows erected after great difficulties. He says (p. 106): 'At the commencement of 1851 there was not a foot of made road in the whole province.' By his exertions a railroad was begun from Kurrachee to Kotree. It was completed about 1861.

Hyderabad, Thursday, 22nd February 1844. — In the capital of Scinde, and such a capital, residing in one of the palaces of the Ameers, formerly, I believe, the seraglio of Nusseer Khan. What a horrid place is this Hyderabad! Have seldom seen such a stinking, dirty, filthy hole, and little do I wonder at people getting ill here, and disliking it. But I must beat back to Tattah, which by my last memo. I was just about to leave to join the steamer. But I did not join it after all. Just as I was starting, the *moonshee* came up, and over persuaded me that it was far better to go by land. I was glad afterwards that I took his advice, for I don't know when the steamer could have arrived at Tattah, not for two days after I left, I think.

But my first march out of Tattah was a very wretched one. It was blowing a tempest, dismally cold and dark, the wind dead against us, and presently came on an apparent intention to rain heavily. I kept on as best I could, hoping to get to Hillceyur, but it would not do. Fearful of losing the road and overtaken by the rain, I was obliged to bring to in a small village, about four miles from Tattah, where we got very indifferent shelter for the night in an open shed. In the morning I started afresh. The rain had kept off, but the cold bleak wind still continued. The first part of the march was through cultivation, but afterwards through rocky open ground, interspersed with bare stony hills, and some distance on the right of the road a *shikargur*,¹³ the first I had seen — a mere forest of trees apparently enclosed with a high mud wall. Rode up to the top of one of the hills, and had a good view of the country, could trace the course of the Indus, but could not see the river, owing to the clouds of sand blown up by the high wind.

Hilleeari, which I reached about eleven after a very uncomfortable ride, from the cold wind and occasional slight fall of rain, seems to be a village of some importance, but is a wretched enough place too. I got accommodation there in an open shed where I rested, and then started afresh for Jeruk about 4 p.m. There is a *shikargur* that comes to Hilleeari, and a good deal of wood as you go on. I should think there was excellent shooting. The numerous small canals and water-courses, yesterday and today, put me much in mind of Egypt. I did not get to Jeruk until late, after 10 p.m., having been obliged to change our Bigarees (coolies) at a halfway village. Got very indifferent accommodation in an outhouse, being obliged to dislodge some horses and cattle to make room for my bed. The officer on duty, Holbrow, 12th, offered me room in his quarters, but I did not like to trespass on his kindness. He occupies rather a miserable apartment in a kind of fort there is, where he has a company of sepoys.

On Thursday morning, 8th February, I had an early visit from Bourdillon, just come up here as Acting Asst. Magistrate and Collector, and the officer on duty. I went and breakfasted with them, and spent the day in strolling about Jeruk. It is very prettily situated, and might be made a very thriving place I should think. It has now, however, an air of desolation about it, many of the houses being untenanted. It seems to be a

¹³ Hunting preserve.

town of some one thousand five hundred inhabitants, standing on a high bank of the Indus, which I saw today for the first time. It is much like the Ganges about Mirzapore or higher up. There is a *shikargur* within half a mile of the town, in the low ground, probably the finest land about. After tiffing with my hospitable friends, I rode off to the halfway village to Hyderabad. Got a most wretched place to sleep in. It was intended to be a shed of thatched bamboo, but the latter part of the operation had not been performed, which I did not find out till after I had gone to bed, when the extreme cold was anything but pleasant. In the morning of Friday I was joined by Younghusband, the Provost-Marshal, whom I had met at Jejruck, and, after breakfasting, we rode together, to Hyderabad, which we reached about sunset, crossing the river near the entrenched camp. It is tedious work this marching, and I was glad to get into quarters again. The fort and everything looked, at first sight, dirty and miserable, and nothing has improved on me since. The fort, which is about three miles from the Ghaut, has rather an imposing appearance as you approach it. The walls are high, and there is a round tower in the centre, on which floats the British Ensign. This gives the place somewhat of the appearance of Windsor Castle in the distance, but how different from it in reality! Met my old fellow-passenger in the Queen, General Simpson, who asked me to come and stay with him, and here I am accordingly, in the quarters of Batty, his A.D.C. The General has been very ill but is much better. He is now away in the district of Meeanee. The town of Hyderabad, for city one cannot call it, is a collection of mean mud hovels, and the Grand Bazaar does not deserve the name of one. Our third-rate towns in India would be ashamed of it. Went off to Mirpur a few days after my arrival. Rode to Algarka-Tanda, about twenty-three miles, having changed horses at Janka-Tanda, ten miles from this. The Fulalee river is crossed about a mile from Hyderabad, hardly any water in it now, and after that the road lies over a level and very cultivated country, much intersected with water-courses, and apparently running to jungle for want of population – for the villages are very few, and in those I have come across, half the huts appear empty. Took up my quarters for the night with a young officer of the 13th N.I., who are encamped here, who hospitably took me in, as I was looking for my tent, which I had sent on but could not find. Holland is his name. Started early in the morning for Mirpur, about twenty miles off. The country much the same as yesterday, might be made a perfect garden. Was fortunate in finding my tent all right for once. Mirpur seems a large place with a decent-looking mud fort. It was the residence of Shere Mahomed, who seems to have been much liked here. Half the houses are uninhabited, and nothing of life in the appearance of the country, or in the manners and bearing of the people. However, it appears quite safe to go about, the people are perfectly civil and respectful. The morning after I arrived, I was riding about, and beginning to think I was rather imprudent in wandering alone so far, when I heard someone whistling 'Jim Crow' or some such popular tune, and then I saw an officer walking about by himself. Only stayed till the afternoon, having been engaged, in the

interim, investigating a curious case of wife-murder by a very fine, respectable-looking old man.¹⁴

My judicial investigation, and visit to the jail, did not impress me with a very high opinion of the magistrate in charge, Lt. Forbes. There was only one room for all criminals, those tried and under trial, and they seemed most of them to be served in the same way, chains and handcuffs being used alike. The latter must have been scarce, as I observed two (one had not been tried) handcuffed together. I mentioned it to the Comm, of the Fort, Major Jackson, 25th N.I., who promised to have it remedied. Tiffed with Major Jackson before starting. He amused me with some anecdotes of the General, Sir Charles, one of which was Sir Charles's visit to Tim Kelly, who shot the standard-bearer alluded to in his dispatch. Tim was wounded, and Sir C. went to see him, and asked him what he could do for him. Tim merely asked leave to go and see his wife, which being granted, Tim said: 'Now, your honor, will you tell me if you have heard from Quid Natt.!? Ah, he was a rare old General was Quid Natt.!' Another story of Sir Charles that I heard here, is of his having entered into conversation with a European artilleryman at Sukkur, and convinced himself that the officer commanding the man's company did not look after the comforts of his men properly, so he took the officer roundly to task. The officer, Walker, having heard what man it was that Sir Charles had been speaking to, sent for him, and asked him what it was that he had to complain of. Why! he said, he had nothing at all to complain of. Then why did you complain to Sir Charles? The man declared he did not. So Walker asked him to repeat what had passed.

'Why,' said the man, 'Sir Charles asked me if our meat was good, and I said very good, and about the bread, which I said was very good also. He then asked me about the tea, and as I did not like to be always giving the same answer, I said, "Why, the tea might be better." ' This was all the conversation, and the poor officer was reprimanded because the man did not like to be always giving the same answer. Younghusband, Brigade-Major, is my authority for this story. Rode to Allyghur on Friday evening, where I saw my young friend Holland, who came and took a glass of beer with me, and the next morning into Hyderabad, where I have been busy ever since, and anxiously hoping for an order to go on to Sukkur, for this indeed is a wretched place. The General Simpson not yet returned. Received my English letters of 6th January, the day before yesterday.¹⁵

SUKKUR, Thursday, 7th March 1844. – Here I am at this vile place, having been ordered up to prosecute some capital cases before a military commission. Had a most unpleasant trip up. The steamers are most miserably comfortless affairs. Only one cabin for all passengers, with shelves to sleep on. Fortunately the captain was a very good

¹⁴ There is only one crime I cannot put down here — wife-killing! They think that to kill a cat or dog is wrong, but I have hanged at least six for killing women A chief here came yesterday to beg off a follower of his. "I'll hang him," said I. "What! hang him! He only killed his wife!" Utter astonishment painted in his face' (*Life of Sir C. Napier*, vol. iii. p. 96).

¹⁵ About fifty days in transit.

fellow, and did his best to make it agreeable. We had the good luck to reach our destination on the evening of the seventh day. It is a noble river the Indus, puts me a good deal in mind of the Nile, though much larger, especially approaching Sehwan, where the rocks and low hills come close to the bank. We were much amused on the river by seeing the fishermen fishing for *pala*¹⁶ (hilsa, in fact). They float down on large inverted Kedgeriee pots made for the purpose, and their sport seems most successful. These steamers burn nothing but wood, unless on emergency, when they have a little coal in store. Wood is a cheap fuel to them. It is generally tamarisk, and is paid for at the rate of twenty-five maunds¹⁷ the rupee. About four hundred maunds is the day's consumption. Sukkur, I think, would never be a favorite place of mine. It seems one large graveyard all round about Urbristan.

SUKKUR, 14th March 1844. — Hot work for light troops in these Scinde deserts, one hundred and twenty-six degrees in the shade. The meeting¹⁸ all settled: the sepoy¹⁹ had the best of it. Government was to blame. Exceedingly tiresome this running up and down like a wandering Jew. Hope to go down with Sir Charles. The campaign is now ended. The chiefs have come in. Beja Khan another Rob Roy, but there is no Loch Lomond here. We are to be the only plunderers in future.²⁰ A good house, — I'm living in centre room, forty-four feet by twenty-six, built in the old days of Scinde extravagance. Sir Charles takes care of the pennies more than the pounds. Anecdote of his locking up the writing-paper, and of his telling John Napier to write in future on the backs of letters. Have lost sight of the Gillons — Andrew must be a magistrate, not a judge.

At this time a correspondence was going on between Keith Young and Sir Charles Napier which brought down an explosion of wrath from the latter. The Judge-Advocate-General's legal mind was scandalized at the autocratic measures adopted by the Governor, greatly to the benefit of the people of Scinde. On 13th February 1844, he had written to Sir Charles, among other matters, concerning a circular of directions magistrates, for conducting trials, which had been issued by him with Sir Charles's sanction. The letter runs as follows: —

¹⁶ Pala or polla are a freshwater fish peculiar to the Indus. Hilsa are caught in the Ganges.

¹⁷ A Bombay maund = 28 lb. (about).

¹⁸ Sir C. Napier assembled the mountain chiefs and received their salaam.

¹⁹ There had been disaffection among the Bengal and Madras sepoy. The Government had been injudicious in moving them from Ferozepore (vide *Life of Sir C, Napier*, vol. hi. p. 68).

²⁰ Some of the mountain tribes near the frontier of the Mooltan territory had been making raids, and Beja Khan, chief of the Doomkees, had to be brought to reason.

With regard to the system laid down in the Circular, it may do very well when a prisoner is considered guilty by the magistrate, but in the event of his acquitting a prisoner, I do not see how, with any show of justice, he could be retried by me and condemned on additional evidence. In fact, even when a magistrate considers a prisoner guilty, it would be advisable, for many reasons, that additional evidence called for should be heard before him, that is to say, that the magistrate should wholly try the case, or merely take down depositions not on oath, leaving the trial to me, I deciding the case except as to punishment, which is to be left to your Excellency.

Sir Charles replied on the 10th February: –

My dear Young, – The Circular Number 18 was your doing, not mine, and I agreed to it hastily. However, I will endeavor to correct the evil, a very slight one, I will allow no magistrate to try cases which involve capital punishment. I will try them all by military commissions – they are those of murder and robbery with violence, on the highway. Therefore, in all such cases, the magistrate is not to pass sentence, his examination is to be merely a Court of Inquiry preparatory to ulterior proceedings, and the magistrate is called upon to offer any remarks that in his opinion the case may call for. So much for the Circular, which I beg of you to correct and reduce to the above form, sending me a rough draft before we decide thereon.

With regard to Hathborne's²¹ letter, I know nothing about what Scinde is considered in Law it being neither my business, nor do I imagine that it is his. My rule has been that the shoemaker should not go beyond his last. Therefore I have never considered what is legal or what is not legal. Scinde is a conquered country ruled by martial law, which we soldiers all understand, and not one of us has the slightest knowledge of any other law....

The power of life and death was in the hands of the Ameer. By the Law of Conquest, and the will of the Governor-General, that power has been transferred to the military commander, and martial law obtains. This law does not give the power of life and death to collectors of revenue or magistrates, whose duty consists in the trial of minor cases and in collecting the revenue, and beyond this limit, while I am Governor, they shall not pass.

It is idle for Rathborne to say that because a magistrate is not allowed to sentence to death, he is without the power of giving a verdict! As this is not the case, it is impossible for the natives to discover what does not exist, that the magistrates in India have the power of life and death, I was not aware, neither does it concern me what the powers of

²¹ Collector at Hyderabad.

a magistrate in India are, but this power the magistrates shall not have in Scinde, at least not with my consent. . . .

With regard to the murder of Mrs. Barnes, I have taken great pains to examine the whole of the proceedings, and would hang half the men in Scinde upon half the proof against Buksha Chandia. However, I have told the man that he shall have a fair trial before a military commission, and whatever they sentence, the punishment shall be executed. The murderers that Captain Wells writes about must be kept prisoners till you go to Sukkur, when I will order a military commission to assemble, before which you will prosecute them. . . . – My dear Young,
Yours very faithfully, C. J. Napier.

Regarding this murder of Mrs. Barnes, the following memo, by Keith Young explains his difficulties about the re-trial of the man Buksha Chandia: –

Buksha Chandia was tried before Captain Preedy, the collector and magistrate of Kuirachee, about two months before the Circular of 24th February was issued, and when magistrates had the power of trying capital cases. Buksha Chandia was acquitted, and acquitted in my opinion quite contrary to the recorded evidence, though after inquiries have led me to think it doubtful whether the prisoner actually perpetrated the crime with which he was charged, viz., murdering Mrs. Barnes, the wife of a conductor, when one of our posts was attacked by the Beloochees in February 1843. The murder was probably the joint act of several, and, atrocious as it was, still having been committed in an attack ordered by the then rulers of the country, I should have been very sorry, after such a lapse of time, to have seen a capital sentence carried into execution, unless on the clearest evidence of deliberate and premeditated guilt.

As Keith Young's journal gives little idea of his work, which his correspondence shows to have been very arduous, these extracts from letters will partly explain the nature of it. In his reply to Sir Charles's letter he says: –

Your Excellency, in your letter to me, has expressed your determination to try Buksha Chandia by a military commission, and to execute whatever sentence it may award. I should ill repay your kindness in allowing me the privilege of freely corresponding with you, did I hesitate, even at the risk of incurring your displeasure, to request earnestly that you will not do this.

Nothing but the most full and convincing evidence of this man's guilt (regarding the proof of which excuse my differing from you) could at all justify his conviction by a second trial and were a military commission to try and convict him, and it afterwards appeared that he was innocent, your Excellency, and not the military commission, would have to bear the whole odium of the mistake. As to whether political

considerations require the risk of doing a great injustice, your Excellency is the only judge.

This case of Buksha Chandia had evidently caused Sir Charles much irritation. A kind-hearted man, as Keith Young acknowledged, he was torn between his inclinations and his sense of what was right. We find him alluding to the matter in the *Life* – I have caught the murderer of poor Mrs. Barnes. This puzzles me sadly. I do not like to let her blood flow unavenged, yet we must not punish except for effect. The brute ought to die without pity, but the question is, will his death be of use? It will be a prevention of murdering women in war. Aye! but we are at peace! Yet the whole country knows he murdered an Englishwoman. Can he be allowed to escape, and the people to say that an Englishwoman may be slain with impunity? Then, after three days' consideration – 'The fellow that murdered Mrs. Barnes shall swing.' He replied to Keith Young's letter on 21st February²²: –

You and I have one object. To do our duty to man and God. . . . On this occasion both Captain Preedy and yourself have decided that there is no proof against this man – the murderer of Mrs. Barnes. I shall therefore, as you are so satisfied and so impressed, give him the benefit at your request. But by this weakness, for such it is, I am guilty of having murdered every man I have hanged in this, and other countries, for so help me God! in the whole course of a long life, I never saw proofs more perfect of guilt than those against Buksha Chandia. As to its afterwards appearing that he was innocent, I should not believe it if all Scinde swore to it. I will take good care that the collectors have no more cases of this kind in their hands. Such cases shall go before commissions of three officers and be judged like military criminals. ... I will not try this man, or if I do, will not execute the sentence, for I must deeply consider the point before saying I will not try him – it is one thing to let the people fancy we are cajoled, another to do an act of mercy.

To this Keith Young replied: –

Hyderabad, 24th February 1844. – My dear General, – I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 21st inst., the last Circular approved by you came by the same post, and copies have been forwarded to the collectors. There can, I think, be no fairer mode of trial in a country like this than by military commissions, and those accused of the crimes laid down for trial by these courts will have good justice done to them I have no doubt. But I fear objections will soon arise to this mode of trial, however, it will be time enough for me to offer my opinion to your Excellency when these objections appear. In the interim you may rest assured that no exertion shall be wanting on my part to do my share in the work properly. – Faithfully yours,

Keith Young,

²² The letter is given in *Life of Sir C. Napier*, vol. iii. p. 48.

J. A. Genl.

After this, Keith Young writes to the Governor about the state of the jails, on which he had already remarked when at Hyderabad. He recommends a classification of prisoners, so that men awaiting trial should not be ironed and handcuffed, to which Sir Charles replies that no classification is possible till proper jails are built.

Then, on 10th April 1844, the J.-A.-G. writes from Sukkur: —

My dear General, — By today 's post I have received the enclosed proceedings (the trial of Suntoo Buniya for causing the death of his mother by kicking her), and have sent a copy of your Excellency's orders and remarks for the magistrate to act upon. I beg to observe that this is the first case where a prisoner has been acquitted by a magistrate, in which your Excellency has entirely set his verdict aside and sentenced the prisoner to punishment. Allow me to say, with submission, that your doing so appears to me to be contrary to the spirit of all laws prevailing in our own country or in British India. I make no remark as to whether the prisoner deserves punishment or not, but let me respectfully represent to you, that as long as authority is given to a magistrate to try and dispose of cases, if his verdict be an unqualified acquittal of the offence charged (that offence being one he is empowered to try), there is not, or ought not to be, any power to set aside the verdict, and at once condemn to punishment, unless on urgent grounds of State necessity. Should your Excellency, however, be of opinion that the verdict of a magistrate can be nullified at pleasure, as other cases of a like nature to that of Suntoo are likely to occur, may I request that you will allow me to write to Lord Ellenborough and mention this case to his Lordship.

I am induced to make this request, as I am very anxious to write also about the case of Buksha Chandiya, whom, I heard a few days ago from Captain Cristall, that it was your Excellency's intention to try before a military commission, and that the trial was apparently postponed till my arrival at Kurrachee. I had hoped that your Excellency had determined on not re-trying Buksha Chandiya, but so strongly do I feel upon the subject that, if ordered to conduct the trial, I should deem it my duty to state my opinion to the commission on the illegality of trying a prisoner a second time, after his acquittal by a competent tribunal.

Your Excellency will perceive how advisable it would be to prevent a question being raised in open court, as to the extent of your authority as Governor of Scinde, and I hope, under these circumstances, whatever you may think of my judgment, you will appreciate my motives in the difficult position in which I am placed, in writing to ask instructions how I am to proceed. The questions I would propose to his Lordship are, first. Whether, as in the case of Suntoo (the manslaughter case), if your Excellency gives what I conceive to be an illegal order, I am at once to pass that order to the magistrate,

or what course I am to pursue? Second, Whether, as in the case of Buksha Chandiya, your Excellency has authority to retry a prisoner for murder or other offence, he having been legally tried and acquitted of the same? Third, Whether I may be allowed to apply to the Sudder Court, the Advocate-General, or any other constituted authority, for advice when any legal question may arise that I feel myself incompetent to determine? Before I left Calcutta, Lord Ellenborough was pleased to give me permission to write to him direct if I had anything to say, but of course it is a permission that I could not avail myself of, in the matters I am now writing about, without your Excellency's full knowledge and sanction. I will therefore, if I have your permission, write what I have to say through your Excellency, or send my letter direct through his Lordship's private secretary, Stating that I do so with your knowledge and approval.

Your Excellency will observe that Captain Wells has not deviated from the orders of the Circular in trying the case of Suntoo, and as a similar remark about magistrates exceeding their powers has been made by your Excellency on a late Kurrachee manslaughter trial, I would beg to recommend that I should be allowed to explain to magistrates, that manslaughter also is an offence that they are not competent to try. Knowing how overwhelmed with business your Excellency is, I have every apology to make for troubling you with so long a letter, but I trust its importance will be my excuse. — I am, My dear General, Yours faithfully,

Keith Young.

Sir, — Do me the favor to bring to the notice of his Excellency the Governor of Scinde, that in the case of Suntoo, brought to trial for kicking his mother, that the so-termed 'kick' amounted to no more than a gentle push or shove by way of remonstrance, conveyed, in lieu of by the hand, with the foot, the member with which Blackey is most skilful and adroit, so that if a pin falls it is gathered up by the toes instead of the fingers. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient servant,

Frank Wells,
Captain Collector, Shikarpore.

To Captain Keith Young,
Judge-Advocate-General, Scinde.

Keith Young's letter brought the following furious reply from Sir Charles. In reading it, it is necessary to remember that the General really had a high opinion of the Judge-Advocate, as appears more than once in Sir Charles's memos, and correspondence. After the storm blew over, Sir Charles was his fast friend to the end of his governorship of Scinde: —

Kurrachee, 17th April 1844.

Sir, – You are welcome to submit any proceedings of mine to the consideration of the Governor-General. I only wish that his Lordship's time was sufficiently unoccupied for him to be made acquainted with every detail of my government, and that I had time to submit the whole to him.

With regard to this case, you seem to have taken an inconsiderate view of the whole subject, because, if you read your own letter (under my order) dated 24th February, you will perceive that magistrates are not to try 'cases involving capital punishment,' but are to consider their examinations as merely preparatory to ulterior proceedings. And also, in such cases they are to offer any remarks that the case may call for, on a separate paper.

Now, Sir, you will be pleased to observe that a man being accused of killing his mother, is accused of *murder*, and therefore it is a case involving *capital punishment*, and therefore could not be tried by the magistrate. And, moreover, should not have been submitted by you to me, as proceedings held upon the trial of Suntoo Hindoo for manslaughter. No such word as manslaughter is mentioned, or ought to be mentioned, in the charge against him, as far as any charge can be discovered in proceedings so informally drawn up, if you considered them to be what you denominated them, proceedings held upon the trial of Suntoo Hindoo – you have therefore been in error, both as regards the general view of the subject and its details. It is really very hard upon me. Sir, that those under my command will not content themselves with executing their own duties, but insist on advising me how to execute mine. With thirty letters before me to answer, I have been obliged to read over a second time the proceedings in this case, which I had already decided upon, but which I was obliged to go over again, because you say I have entirely set aside the verdict of a magistrate. Sir, the magistrate did not give a verdict, nor had he any right to give a verdict. He very properly gave his *opinion* and *recommendation*, but even this opinion of the magistrate ought, by your Circular of the 24th of February, to have been on a separate paper, and it was your duty to have seen that this was properly done, instead of occupying yourself with my duties. So much for the case of Suntoo Hindoo.

Now to answer your questions, viz. – Whether, as in the case of Suntoo Hindoo, 'if your Excellency gives what I conceive to be an illegal order, I am at once to pass that order to the magistrate without remark, or what course am I to pursue'?

Answer. – To obey your orders.

So far I have answered your letter about cases which exist. Now for those which exist only in your imagination. You are not only so obliging as to teach me my duty, as to what I have done, but you proceed to instruct me in matters which you hear from a third person that *I intend to do!* It so happens that I do not intend to try Buksha Chandia,

except under circumstances of which you are ignorant, but which, before you undertake to give me advice, it is necessary you should know. However, as I do not require your advice, I shall not state them to you, and more especially as, while you talk of law, you appear to me to have but slight acquaintance with it. Chandia *was* not legally tried and acquitted.

In answer to your third question, I have distinctly to say, that if you make any official application to the Sudder Court, the Advocate-General, or any other 'constituted authority,' I shall consider it to be an act of military insubordination, and act accordingly.

Captain Young, you have totally mistaken your position. You fancy yourself acquainted with civil law because you are called the Civil Judge-Advocate-General, but you forget that Scinde is under a military government, and martial law alone recognized. You fancy yourself sent here to form a criminal and civil code of laws. This is an error. Your duty is merely to regulate the proceedings of military courts, and when I am unfortunately obliged by being in a recently conquered country, to act in that arbitrary manner which is permitted to general officers commanding an army in presence of an enemy, your duty is not to teach me how I should exercise the power entrusted to me by my superiors, but to assist me in the execution of such powers, by attentively doing the duties confided to you. I shall forward a copy of this correspondence to Lord Ellenborough. — I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

C. J. Napier,
Governor.

This letter and its rather incoherent and self-contradictory wrath, is possibly attributable to the news of the failure of an expedition which Sir Charles had sent against Poolagee, a small fort where Beja Khan, already mentioned, had taken refuge. But however that might be, it would appear that Sir Charles's view was in accordance with what had been, till shortly before at any rate, the practice in other parts of India. Keith Young had written to his friend Thomason, Governor of the N.-W. Provinces, asking his opinion. Thomason wrote back: —

You are not perhaps aware that until very lately our system permitted the appellate authority to inflict and enhance, as well as to remit and mitigate punishment, in alteration of the decision of a subordinate authority. The former powers have, by a late edict, been taken away, but it is very doubtful whether the effect has been good. My own opinion certainly is that the appellate ought to have the power, seeing how very inexperienced subordinates in this country generally are. As in Scinde there is no law forbidding its exercise, I do not see how the exercise in Scinde can be called illegal.

But while thus bearing out Sir Charles, Thomason did not think Keith Young in any way to blame for freely expressing his opinion on a judicial question, whether the reader may think the form of his expression a little indiscreet or not. Sir Charles's letter to Lord Ellenborough ran as follows: –

Kurrachee, 22nd April 1844.

My Lord, – Your Lordship will hardly believe what frequent stands I am obliged to make against 'suggestions' and 'advisers,' your Lordship's position being too elevated. I do not complain of these things, because I wish to worry your Lordship with trifles as little as I can, and because I am generally able to set them right. Nor should I now have plagued your Lordship with Captain Young's letter, if it had not contained almost a threat to appeal against my conduct, to your Lordship. This does not give me any uneasiness. I have great respect for Captain Young, whom I believe to be painstaking and well-meaning, but unfortunately he imagines that he is a lawyer, whereas should your Lordship think it worthwhile to read the accompanying paper, it will appear that Captain Young, in his anxiety to instruct me, has omitted to do his own duty!

The system I pursue is this. All men accused of crimes liable to the punishment of death, I bring before a military commission composed of a field officer and two captains or lieutenants above seven years' service. All minor criminals I leave to the various magistrates, reserving to myself the confirmation of their sentences, in a certain class of offences that are of a grave nature, though not deserving of capital punishment. I leave to the said magistrate the decision-in-chief on small cases. The right of appeal is left open to all these courts.

The collectors and Judge-Advocate-General are none of them, I believe, pleased with this arrangement. The collectors want to have more power, and even the right to try capital cases, and the Judge-Advocate-General wants to act according to a code of his own creation, and of which he, of course, would be the head. But, my Lord, after having given my best attention to the subject, these gentlemen have not been able to make me deviate from the plan I originally laid down. I believe it works well. It is a simple scheme of military government, in some degree aided by the intervention of powers vested in the civil magistrates. The state of the country rendered this necessary. I even (while the enemy was in the field) gave the magistrate the power of inflicting capital punishment, first submitting their examinations to me, but of this power I deprived them when tranquility became general through Scinde.

Your Lordship will perceive that this arrangement was by no means made to save myself labor. On the contrary, it throws a great mass of labor upon me, but I do not see how I could do justice to the people in any other manner. If I were to make over the government of Scinde to these gentlemen, whose object is to introduce the system of 'politicals' in another form and under another designation, confusion would soon be

produced, for the three collectors would soon be at variance with each other and with the Judge-Advocate-General, who would put a stop to their practical avocations by overwhelming them with legal technicalities, although in reality quite as ignorant of law as themselves.

If Captain Young will confine himself to his own duties, viz., to collect and arrange evidence, to advise courts-martial in their proceedings, to generalize and assimilate sentences, and assist me with his advice when asked for on special occasions, he will be extremely useful. But if I allowed him to appeal against my exercise of the powers entrusted to me by your Lordship, to the Sudder Court and other legal authorities, the consequences need not be pointed out to your Lordship. His addressing your Lordship in a direct manner is advantageous in every way, and in none more than giving your Lordship a more thorough insight of what goes on here, as being more in detail than I could well do, I hope your Lordship will pardon my having written so long a letter, but the inexperience, and, I must say, self-sufficiency of some of these young men acting in civil capacities, have driven me to it. — I have the honor to be, etc.,

C. Napier.

This blowing off of steam does not appear to have resulted in any action on Lord Ellenborough's part, and the General's angry feeling passed away. On the 11th May Keith Young was informed in a letter from Captain Napier, the military secretary, that 'as a brother officer' he had not suffered in Sir Charles's opinion. On 20th June, the Judge-Advocate's sense of duty compelled him to brave Sir Charles's displeasure again. A man named Alladeen had been sentenced to death by a military commission for the murder of his nephew, and, in forwarding the case, Keith Young begged that execution might be stayed 'until it is decided by the Supreme Government that the prisoner has been tried by a court of competent jurisdiction.' It speaks well for the Judge-Advocate's courage that he ventured to make this representation, but the sentence was carried out, although there appear to have been instances of these military commissions demurring to pass sentence of death without special instructions.

Shortly afterwards Sir Charles wrote in terms which are characteristic: —

It is necessary [he says] that Government should act decisively, or it loses that moral influence which is its life and soul, rigid justice is to a Government what kindheartedness and fellow-feeling are to an individual. To reject one's feelings as a man, and act as becomes a Government, is the hardest, the most painful task of a ruler, all else is easy sailing, this is terrible. Now, as to the three fearful cases in question, all night and all day I have given my best thoughts to their consideration. With regard to the first, my mind is made up. The Loond must die, or the Lugharees have a right to a life, and will take it. The feelings of men must not be too rudely affronted among barbarians, or evil will be the result. What in a civilized land would produce attacks on

Government in newspapers, would among barbarians produce bloodshed. This Lugharee tribe should be baulked of their vengeance, if it were unjust, but it is not. They have a right to demand it at the hands of their rulers.

But with respect to the man who slew his wife, the case is far more difficult. Of her guilt there can be no question, and their customs acquit him for killing her. But another question arises – the Government has said that it will not allow of this. The proclamation was put forth for the safety of society, for restraining a barbarous custom.

...

Personal feelings must not be allowed to interfere. The object of the proclamation, being rights must be attained, or Government becomes a ship without a rudder or ballast, tossed to and fro by the waves of personal feeling. The court should have summoned the Kardar of the village to prove that the proclamation was made public. But we know that it was, and discussed by the population too.

The third case is less embarrassing. The man killed his aunt – what had this brute to excuse him? Nothing. Her character in the village was good. She lived with her son, a grown man. The murderer listened to idle and false reports, and beat out the poor woman's brains with a club, not in a passion, this was proved. He was quite cool and self-possessed. He is a cowardly assassin of a helpless woman, and I can see no cause or excuse for pardon. I think society, and the proper firmness of Government, demand his life. I have thought till my mind aches, and my head and heart too, and I can find no sound reason for the pardon of these men. I pity the husband because he is an injured man. The other two I see no cause to pity, beyond the pity one feels at any fellow creature being put to death.

Returning to the journal, we find Keith Young at Sukkur after a brief visit to Shikarpore.

7th April 1844. – It is some time since I last wrote, and here I have been all the time in the Residency, leading a dullish kind of life, trying one or two villains, and expecting every day to be able to leave. Went yesterday to the hospital 9th N.I. to see some Scinde boils of which I had often heard. Saw some grand specimens. They appear to be wide-spreading ulcers or sores, apparently not very deep, though they tell me that some cut deep into the flesh. Those that I saw were mostly on the surface, and looked like large healthy sores. One on a man's arm had a whitish-yellow appearance all over, and this, the surgeon told me, was a fair specimen of a real Scinde boil. There is no cure for them but change of air, and they are seldom dressed with anything but common lard or ointment. I saw one dreadful case of a man's hand and arm being almost a mass of sores. It seemed healing, however, and the doctor said that if the man went away, he would get well. No wonder our poor sepoy's don't like coming to Scinde, but all the recusant corps are on their way at last, except the 34th, which has been disbanded. Surprised at meeting G. T. Graham a day or two ago. He is a volunteer with a native

company of artillery. This company, it seems, is one that had been much cut up in Afghanistan. On their return. Lord Ellenborough gave half the company leave, and the other half were to have had their leave this year. It was promised them. Judge of their surprise when, on the first batch returning who had gone on leave, they were told they were to go at once to Scinde. To add to their hardships, the men had just built new lines for themselves at Delhi. However, the company, very much disgusted, marched on, and would, I dare say, have come down here had they not fallen in with the 34th, who soon convinced them that they were very hardly used, and so they refused to come on, and it was only on the 64th volunteering that they then came on.

The Beloochees about Shikarpore are plundering away, and Shere Mahomed is said to be not far off, at a place called Mookh, with some ten thousand men. The 9th held in readiness to march at a moment's notice. I have volunteered to accompany them if they go. They have only two captains, and will be badly off for officers, their only lieut., Thatcher, being sick. I don't think, however, that they will go. Have heard that my pay is fixed at a thousand, very shabby of Sir Charles. I didn't think he would have broken faith to save a paltry two hundred rupees a month, but he has either done this or his memory is very treacherous.

Have been principally engaged, since I have been here, in investigating a villainous case of concealment of murder, in which the head moonshee here, and almost every native about of any importance, appears to have been engaged. River rising rapidly in the last day or two, and the weather getting hot, but still pleasant enough in the mornings, but oh! it must be a hot place this in the height of the hot winds.

SUKKUR, 15th April 1844. – Had hoped to have been at Kurrachee this month, but everything uncertain in Scinde. The 64th mutinous. Mutiny in general. Not the whole Bengal army! Hot work travelling, but must not complain. Men of my service do not spare themselves.²³ Grand mutiny at Hyderabad. Sir Charles will kill himself. Therm. 140-50°.

3rd July 1844. – Lord Ellenborough's recall, hope it may lead to my leaving Scinde – a wretched country it is, Kurrachee the only decent spot. Promoted at last by the death of poor Saunders. No difference of pay to me, my allowances being consolidated at a thousand rupees.

On 19th October Keith Young was back at Kurrachee, and was asked by Sir Charles Napier to give his opinion about some papers regarding an affray between Captain Mackenzie and two hundred hill robbers near Shikarpore, in which some of our villagers were cut up.

²³ On 24th May Sir Charles received the salaams of above fifteen hundred chiefs.

Keith Young reported as follows: —

My dear Napier, — Oblige by telling the General that I have looked over these papers, and that I think there is no doubt of several of our villagers having been cut up by Mackenzie's horse. The fact of the wounded men examined by Townshend, belonging to one of the plundered villages, Goinia, is a pretty convincing proof that they could not have joined the plunderers. They were therefore not with them when wounded. The story of our sowars having deliberately murdered the villagers is too absurd not to be an invention. They were attacked, in my opinion, by Daim Khan's party under the supposition that they were enemies, and as such were treated, but whether Daim Khan did not attack too heedlessly and eagerly, remains to be proved. It seems strange to me that this body of fifty or sixty men whom he moved down upon (footmen, I suppose, though not so stated by him) should be shouting their war cry when, if enemies, their object, one would imagine, was to get off unobserved, for they could have expected no chance against our sowars. There is another very strange circumstance which the General has remarked upon, in Azeem Khan Kahiree's statement of there being no naked swords near the dead bodies of the ryots. This cannot be entirely true, or it would tell bitterly against the sowars. For my own part I am inclined to believe that our sowars acted with culpable hastiness and nothing more, but in saying this I must confess, at the same time, that it is hard to decide what, at such a juncture, was hastiness and what promptness of action. It is an unfortunate affair viewed in any light, and the exact truth of it will probably never be known. — Very truly yours,

Keith Young.

Another letter to Colonel Birch, J. A. G. at headquarters, mentions the dreadful outbreak of sickness among the 78th Highlanders. They had been sent up to Sukkur in excellent health, and remained so till 1st November, when a fever broke out which killed nearly two hundred and made the rest unfit for duty. Sir Charles was much blamed at the time for sending them up, but, as Keith Young acknowledges, it could not be helped. The mutinous state of the Bengal regiments rendered the presence of a European regiment necessary. It was said that many of the disbanded 34th regiment joined the Sikh army.

The beginning of 1845 saw Keith Young again on tour.

18th January 1845. — Left Kurrachee yesterday afternoon, my kit having preceded me, but soon caught it up and reached Jemadar-Ka-Lundee some time before it arrived. Had a little shooting on the way, to the left of the road, hares and black and grey partridges.

Very cold indeed at night, a fire would be exceedingly pleasant. This morning took a long stroll with my gun, and paid a visit to the Jam's Got as it is called, 'Got' being a village, and 'Jam' the head-man, patriarch, or whatever you like to call him of the Jokea tribe, which forms the principal population of the district about this. The Jam was out on a pilgrimage. His town is half a dozen huts or rather hovels, his residence being hardly more than an open shed. It is on the right bank of the Muller river, which is now almost dry. Went on a mile or two beyond his place to look after the camels, which had not been brought at the time they were ordered. Found a large encampment of camel and goat-herds – mymoons they are called. Beautiful ground about here for cultivation. Water is close to the surface, not more than twelve feet below, and the soil apparently of the best description. There are a few gardens about the gots with plantains growing in great luxuriance. Jackson, 25th, and Mr. Marriott, a deputy collector, pitched here. On reaching home, started everything except my tent to Rum Pettanee. They will be late getting there for they did not leave till near two. Heard a gun fire about half-past one. We suppose it is the overland steamer, and have sent in to cantonments to ascertain. Got a copy of a letter this morning from the Gov.-Genl. in Council to Sir Charles approving of military commissions. It requires a few remarks.

Kaureeanee, 20th January 1845. – The gun was as we anticipated, and yesterday evening was delighted at receiving an English letter of 2nd December. My march yesterday morning was rather a long one. The proper halting-place is the bank of the Guggur river, but we came on to Rum Pettanee, our old halting-place, about eight miles further, and it is just as well we did, for there was no water to be had at the Guggur encamping ground. The servants that left with the camels in the morning, having omitted to bring any water with them, were dying of thirst before they reached the encamping ground in the evening. They were so late in arriving that I went out to meet them with fresh camels, but they came on without changing them. The road lies over a most miserable country. Scarcely a living creature of any kind, bird or beast, to be seen, except a few grey partridges and rock pigeons. Rum Pettanee lies just over a range of hills that you see for a long distance before you come to them, and to reach the encamping ground you turn off to the right, about a quarter of a mile after crossing the hill, immediately on reaching a tomb (one of the Jams, I believe), but the spot for encamping is well marked by a large tree. This morning, Monday, came on to Kaureeanee, a good long march, but not so long as yesterday.

The same most miserable country. I don't think a drop of rain has fallen since I passed this way in October last year, 1844. Not a single pool of water in the river where we are encamped, it being procured from a well about eight or ten feet below the level of the bed. I have not made very good arrangements for this march, have far too much baggage. The loading of the camels takes a couple of hours. The only way to travel in Scinde is with two small tents, and as few things as possible with you, sending your large tent, if necessary to take one, and all superfluous luggage a day's march ahead, and then you can easily order it to halt if required. A fine old Belooch here today, a

Jokea who is employed to lay the dawk-runners. He complains much of some Pathans who lately passed this – recruits for the Belooch corps, having plundered the dawk-runners of goat's milk, etc. The runners were quite close to this the last time I passed but had moved their camp to some little distance on account of the people passing here taking things from them. It is a great pity this, for now not a single thing is to be had, while before grass, milk, etc., were in abundance. The old Jokea told me a story of Sir Charles that I had not heard before. It seems the General was speaking to the Jam about the propriety of his having a good large house to live in, like his (the General's). 'Oh, I have a much larger house than this,' said the Jam, 'I have one that will accommodate the whole army.' 'Where's that?' asked the General. Oh, Sir, under the trees and bushes, for they form my only house.' And it seems a fact that he has no house but always lives in tents, his house being a moving encampment.

Rhode, 21st January 1845. – A much shorter march, about sixteen miles, and all arrived in very good time. The road might be made practicable for carriages at very trifling expense. Saw a few small red deer.

23rd January, – A long march, some twenty-three miles, into Kotree, on the right bank of the Indus. Much of the way is over a gravelly road perfectly smooth, and with only one place that would be difficult for hackries to pass. An excellent grove of mango-trees to encamp in at Kotree. Strolled out in the evening to have a look at the fort, a kutchapucka affair. The best building in the place is an upper-roomed house inside the fort, intended, I believe, for a hospital to the flotilla. In my stroll went into a garden belonging to some conductor – finer vegetables I never saw, especially some monster cabbages.

Thursday, 23rd. – Got over to Hyderabad to Phayres in the fort. Poor Highlanders in a dreadful state.

Tuesday, 28th January. – Left the fort soon after 7 a.m., riding out via Meeanee to Muttaree. To Meeanee the road is easy enough to find, but from there to Muttaree, about eleven miles, a guide is much required. The road lies just outside the *shikargar* for three or four miles, and I followed the same track till I came to where the Fullalee disembogues, *i.e.* flows from the Indus. My proper route was to have crossed the Fullalee some two or three miles lower down, for shortly after crossing I got into a thick *shikargah*, and it was a long time before I could extricate myself from it. I reached Muttaree at last, and found a very badly constructed bungalow in which I put up. After breakfast, I started off the servants for Hala, as they seemed anxious for an onward move, following myself a little later. About two miles from Muttaree, you pass over a splendid piece of cultivation, a patch of low ground about two or three miles in width, which is flooded in the rains. It was late before I reached Hala, where I put up in Anderson the deputy collector's house. Sent off my kit before breakfast next morning, myself following about 3 p.m. The most prominent object about Hala is a large

mausoleum, about which are a number of small graveyards, belonging to the family by whose head the grand mausoleum was built. I observed an old man visiting each enclosure, and mumbling something that I supposed was a prayer for the repose of the dead. The mausoleum is richly ornamented on the exterior with colored tiles, for the manufacture of which Hala has long been famous. I visited the manufactory and had the process explained to me. They were not making the tiles at the time, but as far as I could understand, the process was a very simple one, being nothing more than making the tiles of clay, of which a very good kind is to be had near Hala, then baking them in the sun, and smearing them over with a preparation of potash oil and coloring matter. Finally, they are put in a kiln and baked.

29th January, – Put into great trepidation today by hearing of a highway robbery. At first two or three people were said to have been killed, and I began to think seriously of arming myself. Found the plundered victims at the Kardar's. It appears that they were a party on their way to Karee, and one or two of them had been rather roughly handled, if all the bandages were bona fide over real wounds.

Kardars appear to have uncontrolled power, to judge from what I saw in the Kardar's compound at Sukkarund, viz., a couple of men in the stocks, where they had been for the last twenty days. They had been sent in on a charge of bullock-stealing, and were thus waiting their trial.

31st. – Took one of the sowars with me, but today's march was a very unsuccessful one, losing my way continually, by which wandering I unfortunately missed Rathborne, who was coming from Kajee-ka-Gote. Very glad, a few miles from Dowlutpore, to find half a dozen huts, where I got some excellent butter and curds, and spent an hour or two under a shed very pleasantly after the scorching march.

1st February 1845. – All glad of a rest, so did not send off the kit until nearly one o'clock, following myself two hours later. Employed the morning looking about at Dowlutpore, which appears a tolerably sized village, with some very rich cultivation about it. Noticed the cultivators manuring their young wheat by throwing a very fine dust upon it. The dust seemed to be pulverized horse dung, and any common manure from the villages. The country to Mohra, my halting-place, has been well cultivated, if one may judge by the numerous stacks of kurbee everywhere seen. Started off from Mohra at daybreak, and breakfasted at the small village of Sudojee, staying there till the heat of the day was over, when I rode on the rest of the march to Nowshara, which must be about eighteen miles from Mohra. I see this way of travelling is the best for getting over the ground. Put up at a Fakeer's hut. Nowshara belongs to Ali Morad²⁴ whose territory commences somewhere about Sudojee.

²⁴ Ali Morad, one of the Ameers, had taken the side of the British in 1843. In 1851 he was deprived of most of his territories, in consequence of a charge of fraud and forgery brought against him.

3rd February. — The march today to Beglancee about twenty miles or more. Stopped to breakfast at a very pretty village of goat-herds, where I got excellent milk and butter, which, indeed, one generally can get in every village. Amused with the people driving their bullocks in the water-wheels. They are driven in pairs by a man sitting on a kind of armchair.

4th February. — March today to Gumbat. Passed the village of Ranee-ka-Gote, with a large mosque, about four miles from Gumbat. Gumbat is a very large town, but looks miserably quarters were in the Kardar's house, a very good one. Amused there by seeing a little piece of justice done. The charge was one of theft. The parties, accusers and accused, were all present, and the matter seemed very patiently inquired into. There were four troopers in attendance at the Kardar's, each of whom occasionally had his say, asking a question or two. The matter terminated in a short time by a decision in which the troopers appeared unanimous, that there was sufficient evidence to commit for trial, and consequently the culprits, being two, father and son, were marched to an end of the enclosure and there placed in the stocks to await the return of the Kardar, who was absent on some duty. Our collectors might well have taken a pattern of these stocks, which were not like those of Sukkarund, but fastened with lock and key, and opened at pleasure by the jailer.

Rode in the afternoon to Khyrpore, the road latterly very deep in sand. Khyrpore lies on level ground, but is discernible a long way off from its groves of trees. It seems a large and tolerably thriving place, judging from the appearance of the bazaars, which show a good deal of bustle. Put up in Malet's quarters, a very fair house in a large enclosure. There is a kind of fortification close by, merely a wall with round small bastions, where Ali Murad has a house. But he and all his followers are away with Sir Charles Napier hunting Beloochees in the hills. Had a visit in the evening from a moonshee employed to teach the young Meer English. He is a native of Peshawur and speaks English very well, but with a number of slang terms. He amused me considerably with his description of the court and its style of carrying on business. Everything is sacrificed to hunting, while the country is going to decay. He (the moonshee) had often spoken to the Meer, but there was no hope of his attending to him, unless he told him there was a bird in the bush close by, and then he would run at once to get a shot at it. He described Sir Charles as a regular brick of an old General. My friend took some tea with me, and then left me rather tired.

Thursday, 6th February 1845. — Rode into Sukkur this morning. It is rather a pleasant ride through groves of date-trees. It is a long fifteen miles, and it was rather late before I crossed the river and reached the Residency. Found Townshend not in his old quarters, but a very inferior range of apartments in the compound. Lindsay and he living together.

The hill campaign not yet finished. Wrote a day or two after I came in to be allowed to join, but a polite refusal was returned some week or two after. Plenty to do at Sukkur. Military commissions and trials to look at. Managed a day or two shooting, however, at the geese and partridges, and on 27th February rode into Shikarpore, having halted at Lukkee, an inconsiderable village, the day before. Found Wells and Scott²⁵ at the Residency – a splendid building, one of the remains of Scinde magnificence in the days of the politicals. Robberies very frequent.

Shikarpore, 17th April 1845. – Hard at work from half-past six in the morning. Our mode of trial, justice's justice, is better than the Ameers. The journal, during the remainder of the year 1845, now becomes very scanty. A few letters bear upon current affairs of passing interest. Keith Young's desire to join Sir Charles Napier in the hills has been alluded to. Directly he arrived at Sukkur he wrote to Captain Brown, the Governor's secretary, as follows: –

My dear Brown, – I wish you would ask the General if he will kindly allow me to come and join him in the hills, where common rumor says you are likely to be some weeks longer. To tell you the truth, I do not feel very comfortable at being the only one of the General's staff away from him while there is any service going on, and besides, I really think that a more speedy settlement of trials might be effected were I with the General, and another officer appointed here to get through some of the cases, which, with the other work I have, I fear I shall never be able to finish without assistance. Oblige by giving me a line as soon as you conveniently can, and if the reply is in the affirmative, I will be with you in no time.... I have marched up from Hyderabad with all haste, on the chance of affairs not yet being settled. I hope the General will not think my request an unreasonable one. – Yours sincerely,

Keith Young.

Another letter alludes to necessary measures for trying Kardars, or head-men of villages, who collected the taxes. These worthies sometimes abused their position, as may be suspected.

Shikarpore, 24th March 1845.

My dear Brown, – What I wish you to mention to the General is to ask him to lay down a uniform system for trying Kardars in the Hyderabad collectorate. Collectors themselves have hitherto disposed of all such offenders, and I can see no objection to this mode of trial, provided it is not conducted by the officer in whose office the offence was committed. The only advantage, however, that I can

²⁵ Nephew of Sir Walter Scott. He was an engineer officer.

see in the collectors trying Kardars, is that they might then be tried at once, a point of some importance when examples are called for. What I would propose is that they should try all common cases of embezzlement, but when the circumstances attending the case call for the superior court, then the magistrate should hold a preliminary investigation only, and send it on for the General's orders. It would be very desirable if the General would lay down some scale of punishments for embezzlement, torture, extorting money, and one or two other of the commoner offences that Kardars are likely to be charged with. Two years' imprisonment with hard labour is the maximum of punishment yet given by a military commission for such offences, while magistrates have generally awarded five years for the same. I find the invariable custom with military commissions is to ask what is the common punishment in India for such offences, and then to award a somewhat diminished sentence, on account of the universal corruption that seems to have prevailed before we took possession of the country. . . . — Yours sincerely,

Keith Young.

Hyderabad, 5th June 1845.

My dear Young, — The proceedings of the two trials reached me yesterday. The first trial I read over, and sent the proceedings to Mr. Taylor as you desired. The last trial, and the Governor's orders on it, was sent to Baynes, who had the man hanged this morning, much to the amusement of the lookers-on, and, I am told, to the apparent gratification of the culprit.

Certainly we get rid of a robber by hanging him, but as to anything in the way of example, I don't think any good is done, for the people don't seem to care a straw about the capital punishment.

This man no doubt deserved to be hanged, and I wish a good many more were. Robberies of every sort are becoming more common in this neighborhood.

I am glad you like Kurrachee. I do not, as I never forget the first impression of the fevers that I saw there. Phayre's account of the place, and of the hot rooms, does not improve my opinion.

We are all as usual here, and are getting up Sky races for the first week of July. — Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Both journal and letters now cease till 29th October 1845, when Keith Young writes to Colonel Birch, J.-A.-G., Headquarters.

I have been enjoying myself at Kurrachee for some months past, when the climate in the hot weather is very delightful, though not, of course, to be compared to that of Simla. I do not think, however, that any one of our stations in the plains can compare with Kurrachee. What is going to be done in the Punjab? Are we in Scinde to take any part in the row? All here are most anxiously looking towards the north-west, and I myself feel particularly interested, for my regiment is so high up the country (Allyghur) that I have fully made up my mind that it will be employed in case of a war. In this case I should not like to be away from the regiment, unless to accompany Sir Charles – supposing that he is going to be employed, which we in Scinde take for granted – if an army is sent into the Punjab. I must wait patiently to see what is to happen, but I wish, if my corps goes on, and you are consulted about officers of the departments joining their regiments, that you will do everything in your power towards my going. For I fear if Sir Charles does go, there is little hope of his taking any of the civil departments of Scinde with him, but we shall soon see now. I am much more reconciled to Scinde now than I was when I last wrote to you. My position indeed is considerably changed for the better. Not the least agreeable change is having two permanent assistants, one at Hyderabad and the other at Shikarpore, which allows of my remaining the greater part of the year at Kurrachee. Government has also put me on a footing with the collectors in point of salary, giving me twelve hundred a month instead of a thousand. The former sum, indeed, I was told I should get when I first came here, but there was some mistake made either here or in Calcutta, and as it is always an unpleasant subject to write about one's own pay, I thought it best to let the matter rest till a more favorable opportunity occurred of mentioning it.

I have never alluded in any of my letters to you, to a misunderstanding that I had with Sir Charles a few months after I arrived. I would have given anything at the time to have had the benefit of your advice, but as I was obliged to act at once on my own unassisted judgment, I did not like to trouble you in the matter afterwards, knowing that you had enough to do without having my affairs thrust upon you. The course I pursued called down upon me Sir Charles's most direful anger. My offence was, giving an opinion on a judicial point when it was supposed I was simply to obey orders.

Lord Ellenborough was written to, in no very measured terms, about me, and so much was I annoyed at the time, that I had almost made up my mind to leave Scinde and rejoin my regiment, if necessary, but I am very glad now I remained quiet. From the Supreme Government I never heard a word of the matter, so do not know in what light

²⁶ Afterwards Commander-in-Chief in the Crimea.

my conduct was viewed, but as to Sir Charles, whatever he may have thought of the way I behaved at the time, he has never allowed it to operate since to my disfavor, and lately he has placed increased confidence in me, by giving me authority to dispose of nearly all trials myself, without reference to him, except those requiring capital sentence.

I ought perhaps to excuse myself for thus writing to you on a matter so purely personal, but it was to you that I am indebted for my first appointment in the department, and I feel assured that you still take an interest in hearing how I get on, and will be glad to find that, if I am not advancing much, I am still not retrograding.

What a very extraordinary old man Sir Charles is. His activity of mind and body is truly wonderful. I only wish he would leave off writing, and his brother also, but writing appears to be a mania in the Napier family. Do you ever read those effusions in the *Kurrachee Advertiser* or are you tired of the continued Outram and Napier controversy. I am sure I am, though I fear it is not near over yet. The writers in the Advertiser have not declared themselves yet, but they are generally supposed to be Sir Charles's nephew and son-in-law and Rathborne the collector at Hyderabad. There is little doubt of Rathborne being the author of those letters signed 'Omega,' and, true or false be they, he has not much to pride himself on in having written them. Outram's book will appear shortly, and then, I fancy, we shall have some sharp fighting. I shall be heartily glad when it is over. I have only had time to skim over the new articles of war for the native troops. They appear excellent, and I have no doubt will work well. I was very sorry, on your account, and I may say on account of the army generally, to see the notice of the death of Sir Jeremiah Bryant, his loss will be much felt.

Again there is a gap in the letters till March 1846. In the meanwhile, the first Sikh war had taken place, and the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Guzerat, and Aliwal had been fought. The final victory of Sobraon took place on 10th February 1846. Sir Charles Napier was eager to cross the Sutlej and create a diversion, but the war was over before he could reach Mittenkote. His army in two divisions, under Generals Simpson and Hunter, was ordered to march to Bhawalpore, and he himself was calk'xl up to Lahore by Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General. From there he wrote the following letter, which shows the warmth of his regard for Keith Young: —

9th March 1846.

My dear Young, — I spoke to the Governor-General about your brother. He says that he has no power to appoint him to the Service, but that he must memorialize the Court of Directors if he wishes to belong to the East India Company. If he likes to do this I will forward his memorial with my best recommendation, and with that pleasure which it will always give me to forward the wishes of one for whom I have so great a regard, as I

have for yourself. If the Court won't do it, we cannot help it. I shall soon be with you again. — Yours sincerely, C. J. Napier.

The next letter takes us back pleasantly among the heroes of sixty years ago.

Camp Sukkur, 13th March 1846.
'My 32nd Birthday.'

My dear Young, — We last night received an express from Lahore directing that all the troops at Bhawalpore should march back on Scinde, there to remain during the hot season.

The 3rd Cavalry which had, two days before by express, been ordered to retrace its steps, are now directed to turn again and march on Roree.

The distribution will be as follows: —

1 European regiment. — 17th Queen's, Sukkur. Pennycuik to command.

4 Native. — 4th Rifles, Shikarpore, Camel Corps, Larkhana, 1 Battery, Sukkur, 1 Native Cavalry, Shikarpore and Frontier.

The Bundelcund Legion march at once on Bhawalpore. —

4 Native regiments. — Hyderabad, Battery, Sappers and Miners, Hyderabad, Scinde Horse, Jerruck, Kurrachee.

3 European regiments. — 60th and 86th Foot and 1st Fus.,

4 Native Infantry regiments. — 1 Battery H.A., 3 Engineer Batt.

From the above it would not appear that everything was so quietly settled above. The 3rd Cavalry, however, have been reordered to Scinde on the withdrawal of the Bundelcund Legion, as we must have cavalry on our northern frontier. We shall have a goodly company at Kurrachee. What will they do for houses? I have just got letters of the 7th from Lahore. The review of the 7th must have been well worth seeing — 19,600 men and 102 guns. They marched round, and the G.-G. introduced to the 50th Queen's their old commander, Charlie, who led them at Corunna. The men gave Sir Charles three cheers.

In the evening 150 officers, brigadiers, commandants of regiments, and staff dined. After dinner the Governor-General gave the following toasts: —

1. The Queen, 2. Prince Albert and Prince of Wales, 3. the Commander-in-Chief, 4. Sir Charles Napier, 5. Sir Harry Smith, 6. Infantry of the Sutlej Army, 7. Cavalry do., 8, 9 and 10. Artillery, Engineers and Staff, 11. Civil and Political Officers with Army, 12. Prince Waldemar, 13. Duke of Wellington, 14. Lord Ellenborough.

The above is the order in which the toasts were given. Sir Henry paid a high compliment to Charlie, and explained that he had sent for him to be second in command, as he anticipated protracted operations in taking the forts of Lahore, Umritzur, and Govindghnr. He came, however, too late, but we must remember that my friend has reaped a full harvest of glory in Scinde, which is recorded at Meeanee and Hyderabad.' Sir Henry also praised the Government of Scinde.

On the 6th the G.-G., Sir Charles and party, visited the citadel – well worth seeing. The town abominably dirty. On the 9th there was to be a grand Durbar, when the Treaty was to be signed on the 10th the G.-G. was to return the Maharajah's visit, and about the 12th the army was to break up. Sir Henry has invited Sir Charles to accompany him to the Beas, and Umritzur, and to see the Baree Doab, and the new station proposed. Then Sir Charles will proceed to Ferozepore, and drop down the river in boats – a steamer to meet him at Bhawalpore on the 28th. So we shall see him here by the end of the month. Cunningham is political agent at Bhopal. The Sikh Government will be permitted to keep up a limited number of troops. They are now entertaining Mussulmans instead of Sikhs. The hill chiefs are to be detached from the Lahore state. Rajah Gholab Sing will be an independent prince. Hunter and staff!! return to Sukkur. I hope you will be able to read this, but I have been writing all day. It is the 'Houlie,' and I cannot get my pens mended. Show this to Baynes if near you, and to Rathborne.

– Yoms sincerely, E. H. Brown.

Sukkur, 21st March 1846.

My dear Young, – I have read over all the papers connected with the convictions of these two women. They are clear beyond all doubt, and approved and confirmed by his Excellency Sir Charles Napier. I have therefore no hesitation in signing the warrants, Avhich are sent today to Colonel Wilson. To hesitate in doing this would only be acting at variance Avith the Governor's directions and Avishes, since transportation is not likely to be authorized for some time, if at all. Besides, these cases are so barbarous that they call loudly for example, in spite of the sex of the culprits. ... I am in hopes of getting away by the May steamer, having tendered my resignation and solicited a year's leave of absence, and I do not mean to return. Many thanks for your kind offer to take care of me at Kurrachee in the hot weather, but I hope to pass it in a cooler climate. – remain,

My dear Young,

Sincerely yours, James Simpson.

Camp Sukkur, 31st March 1846.

My dear Young, – I have received this morning yours of the 26th, but it appears that you have not much news at Kurrachee. In *re grass*, Surtees wrote for me to Mr. Graham for a large quantity to be stacked for me.

I had hoped that my house would have been finished by the time I got back. However, I shall have the four corner rooms to live in. I am very anxious to see your house. God send that it tumbleth not.

I have not heard a word lately of your frater, nor do I well understand where the Camel Corps now are. They do not appear to have marched down with Sir Charles, at least they are never mentioned in the letters from that camp.

If Graham cannot let me have grass, I should be obliged by your writing for some for me from Bombay, when you do so for yourself. I think I made out that I require some fifty thousand.

Surtees, however, knows. If it is very dear, it would not do to get so much. Stanley will give you any coins you may require from me. I am glad to hear that we have oats, and lucerne, and potatoes in the garden. It will be well to get some return for the money we have expended. Very good, we will have a horticultural conversation when we meet.

The 17th Lancers and 12th N.I. marched in here this morning. The former have gone into the barracks here, and the latter will march at once to Kurrachee. The 86th are expected here on the 2nd April. Headquarters and the left wing will at once embark on steamer for Tattah. The right wing will follow, as steamers from below may arrive here. No, Townshend has no thought of building a house. He has got the reversion of the agency when Hunter leaves, but when will that be? I have nothing more to tell you. Golding and Farrington are now here. – Yours sincerely,

E. H. Beown.

19th April 1846.

My dear Young, – The General cannot send off by this mail your brother's memorial, because he must send it through Sir Henry Hardinge. This delay will be well compensated by Sir Henry forwarding the memorial, which will greatly add to your brother's chance of success. – Sincerely yours, John Napier.

2nd June 1846.

My dear Young, – I have read over and over this case, as I consider it a very important one by as much as it involves the overturn of a magistrate's sentence, which at any time is very unfortunate, however necessary, but anything must be done rather than an injustice. I therefore went to work, influenced by the man's own appeal, in the prisoner's favor, and inclined to think that Rathborne had been mistaken but I am perfectly satisfied that his sentence was both just and necessary, and that Wichendafs is a thorough bad Kardar! I sent Brown my written remarks and he is of the same opinion. I do not know whether you can decypher my remarks, which were only made for myself.

Yours truly, C. Napier.

7th June 1846.

My dear Young, – What you asked the magistrates to do I do not know, but they seem, all except Brown, to have supposed that I wanted a disputation on prison discipline, which I do not! That is not a matter of any difficulty. These sort of theories are not practicable till the means exist It is very easy for the magistrates to say 'there should be proper jails, and proper this and that,' but how am I to build them? How do all these things that ought to be done?

I have been pushing with might and main to get our soldiers into proper barracks, and yet, after three years, I have not succeeded yet! If I were to send these papers to Government, and I must say some of them are crude, even absurd, I might get leave to build a jail, but how am I to do it? There is nothing more simple and more easy than to make a good system for the treatment of prisoners, when you have the means, and all the suggestions offered in these answers to your letter 8th May (which I have not seen), are worth nothing without those means! I have drawn from these letters what three words would have told me, and which is all I want to know, that, one and all, the magistrates are in favor of transportation.

The treatment of prisoners is an entirely different matter, and one of no difficulty as far as theory goes. When we have buildings all will go smooth. Let every collector do what he can with the means in his possession, for I can give him none at present. When barracks are built, then we shall go ahead, and the best part of the year must pass ere that happens, even under so active a man as Harley-Maxwell,²⁷ who gets more out of these workmen than I believed practicable. He is worth his weight in gold, and if he and Peal hold their health a year, Scinde will begin to look up, and we shall begin prisons,

²⁷ Bengal Engineers. Owner of Portrack, Dumfriesshire.

but now that is impossible! As to the people saving 'large sums' out of thirty-four rupees a year, it is absurd, and so it is to say that they would die of starvation in a land where there is a want of hands, plenty of work, and really high wages – four annas a day! which Baynes must allow to be high, if men can save large sums out of one and a half! There are, I dare say, some good proposals in these letters, only, why do the proposers not execute them? – Yours truly, C. Napier.

Here there is a gap in the journal and letters. One received from Mr. Thomason in February 1847 trusts that you will enjoy your visit to Bombay, and that, if you return to Scinde, it will be in that position and with those powers which your long and tried services there entitle you to expect.' The journal begins again on 13th June 1847 at Poona, about eighty miles south-east from Bombay.

Left the Brigadier's yesterday morning a few minutes before six, for the Mazagon Bunder (Bombay), raining in torrents, had intended to be earlier, but found I was quite time enough. Pushed off immediately in Davidson's boat, and reached Panwell in somewhat less than three hours. As we entered the Panwell river there was very little water, and we were obliged to lower one of the sails. It seems you ought to time your departure from Bombay, so as to reach the river at near high water, and then you can run up at once to the Panwell Bunder, which must be some eight miles or so from the entrance. The rain was too heavy, when coming across, to see many yards ahead of the boat.

It cleared up a little as we entered the river, and the scenery appeared to be very pretty, undulating and wooded, with low hills in the distance. Panwell is a long, dirty town. Succeeded in getting the phaeton almost immediately, and by a quarter before ten was en route once more. The phaetons are not the most elegant-looking vehicles in the world, but they are roomy and convenient, and push along at an excellent pace, a good nine or ten miles, but there is great delay in changing horses. On reaching the foot of the high range of hills on which Khandala²⁸ is situated, the phaeton is exchanged for a palanquin – the road, though good, being too steep to allow of a carriage going faster than at a foot pace. We made the ascent to Khandala, a distance of six miles, in less than two hours, and here we got into a phaeton again, which carried us to Poona, a further distance of forty miles. After leaving Khandala, the horse-keepers were much sharper, the horses were changed every six miles, and were very fair ones.

Reached the lines of the 86th just as the nine o'clock gun was tiring, being only eleven hours from Panwell. It is an excellent road the whole way, especially the last thirty miles, and the country we passed through is very pleasing after the barren sand-hills of Scinde. The beautiful green fields and trees were quite refreshing, and the cool fresh breezes from the surrounding hills were well worth a longer ride to enjoy. I had felt

²⁸ A sanatorium for Bombay.

rather tired and headachy till after we passed Khandala, when a change came over me, and I was glad to set to work on a cold fowl and sundry small bottles of beer, with which the Brigadier had provided me. I found myself much the better for my travelling dinner, for such I made it. There is a bungalow at Khandala where dinner is to be had, but, anxious to get into Poona early, I did not stay there. It was quite dark before I reached Keane's bungalow, and I could see nothing of the cantonments, but I went out this morning and had a look about me, and a most charming place it is. I am quite delighted with it. Beautiful gardens filled with roses, heliotrope, verbena and myrtle, and the air so nice and cool and soft. I have been wandering about half the morning, and it is now, though past twelve o'clock, sufficiently cool to walk about the gardens without feeling any inconvenience from the heat. The climate indeed is more like that of a cloudy summer day in England, than what I have been accustomed to see at this season in India. I have taken a house, and expect to remain here a month.

Tuesday, 15th June. – Have seen a little more of Poona, and still like it very much. On Sunday afternoon I went to church, a large congregation. Mr. Allen,²⁹ the Ghuzni clerical hero, preached. He wanted to convince his hearers that the distress in Ireland was a sign of the near approach of the end of the world. As his sermon was a very good one altogether, I will not quarrel with any part of it. The aim of it was to tell us we ought to be prepared for the end of the world or death, whenever it might come. Sunday was set apart as a fast day – a day of humiliation for the famine in Ireland.

Wednesday 16th June. – I went to a breakfast at the Governor's, a very large party there. The Governor (Sir George Arthur) very civil and affable. Happened to sit next to Mr. Duncan Davidson of the Civil Service, who introduced himself to me as an Aberdeen connection, and we got great friends.

The journal proceeds in much the same strain. Meetings with friends in the 10th Hussars, 8th Foot and others then stationed at Poona, ending abruptly at the beginning of July.

In August 1847 Sir Charles Napier left Scinde, being succeeded by Mr. Pringle, a civil servant who was appointed Commissioner. Mr. Pringle was a brother of the Laird of Yair in Selkirkshire. He remained in Scinde till 1850, when he was succeeded by Bartle Frere. He was on friendly terms with Keith Young, but it does not appear that they had much intercourse. The tenor of the Judge-Advocate's life continued much the same, touring from place to place. During 1848 the journal ceases, and only letters are preserved. There is a long report to the Commissioner on the subject of dieting of prisoners. The practice had been to allow a money payment, generally an anna and a half a day, but this was naturally objected to, and a uniform scale of rations recommended as follows: 1½ lb. flour or rice, 4 oz. dal, ½ oz. *massallah* (spice), ½ oz.

²⁹ He had been chaplain to General Nott's force.

salt, 3 lb. wood. A system of messing was to be introduced, the prisoners being divided into parties of twelve. They were mostly Mahomedans, so the caste difficulty would not arise. A prison dress, and cutting of the hair in the case of convicted prisoners, were also recommended.

The following letter is from Sir Charles Napier's nephew and son-in-law. Captain W. Napier: –

Brighton, 5th August 1848.

My dear Young, – I was very glad to see your handwriting again, and to find that you were still on the staff in Scinde. It is always impossible to reckon with any certainty upon Indian events, but by your account the Mooltan business does not appear likely to be serious. Lord Gough will remain another year in India, and I do not think Sir Charles will ever be C.-in-C. there.³⁰ The Court of Directors are far too hostile to him ever to accede to such an appointment, and for my part I must say I am not sorry for it, for I think he is too advanced in age to begin a new career in India after living there six years already. It is, moreover, always unsatisfactory in my opinion, to do work for people who do not thank you for it, and try to upset you on every opportunity.

The Irish rebellion was, I am happy to say, a ludicrous failure, and is over, I imagine, though Smith G. Brien has not yet been taken, he is an absurd ass and a mischievous one too, and we have to thank the priests for squashing the rebellion. They all set their faces against it, not from any love for us, but through fear of their own power and religion, which they know would suffer by a rebellion, whether successful or otherwise.

Lord Hardinge has gone over there to command in the south of Ireland, but there seems nothing for him to do at present, unless they eventually make him a military dictator of that country.

We had a very good dinner at the Senior United Service Club on the 2nd, given to Sir Charles, to which I was asked. The speeches were very good, particularly Lord Ellenborough's. His Lordship has grown grey and old-looking since I saw him at the Cape, but he is still a fine-looking man, and full of fun and energy. How fond he is of the army! My brother George has returned from the Cape enormously fat and jolly. Fox Maule said in the House, the other night, that the Duke was preparing a list of promotions for the Kaffir war, so he may expect to be a Bt. Lt.-Col. soon. He will be a lucky fellow if he gets it.

The General and his party are in excellent health. Lady Napier is getting quite fat. My wife is still delicate, and we are thinking of Madeira for the winter. Italy will hardly be

³⁰ He was sent out as Commander-in-Chief in 1849, after the news of Chillianwallah.

safe or pleasant, for by the latest accounts Charles Albert has been defeated by the Austrians, and great alarm has been felt for the result of the war.

The French will probably interfere, and then no one can foretell the end. What rum ones those said Frenchmen are! How they did fight in Paris latterly! Those days cost them more general officers than Napoleon ever lost in any of his great battles. I came here a fortnight ago for quiet, and sea-bathing for my little girl, who is all wrong, and also to get out of London, with all its bustle and heat and smoke. We like Brighton very much, and it is doing them good, I think. I bathe every day in a large sea-water swimming-bath, which is tepid and very pleasant. I tried the sea but it was rather too cold, and so rough generally here that I prefer the bath. How does our old friend at Kurrachee get on? I was not aware that Brown had become so retired. As far as money goes he will certainly want all he has when he comes to this country, at least I find it so, everything is so dear here in the way of bread and meat, fish, etc. I have never written to him, because the General is a constant correspondent of his, and it is really difficult to find time for anything when one first returns home.

There are so many people to see, and trips to undertake, that one gets quite bewildered in this blessed country. I have not written to Campbell either for a long spell.

I have no chance of an unattached majority, and must therefore rejoin when my leave is out, as I cannot sacrifice my position in the 25th very well. I shall be here some time longer, and am going to Scotland this month, but whenever you are inclined to tip me a stave, direct to c/o Cox and Co., as they always know where I am. The M'Murdos are in Scotland, all well, and Mrs. J. Napier and the little girl are with us at Brighton. Sir Charles is looking out for a house to buy, but cannot easily suit himself. — With Mrs. Napier's best regards to yourself, Believe me ever yours very sincerely, William Napier.

I am very glad to hear that your brother is so well, and likes his place.

At this time Keith Young drew up a long report about a proposed penitentiary prison with an experimental farm attached. 'There is no doubt,' he says, 'that many of our prisoners who are confined for theft, or cattle or camel-stealing, are men who, unaccustomed to look upon theft as a crime, have taken to stealing on sudden temptation, and when laboring probably under a difficulty in obtaining work.' The best way to reform such men was to teach them habits of industry.

He proposed, therefore, that a small number selected from them be sent where they could be employed at field labor. Nine-tenths of the convicted prisoners in Scinde were agricultural laborers, and field work would therefore come most natural to them. An experimental farm, by whatever labor worked, would be of great benefit to Kurrachee, as it would supply it with grain, forage, and even cotton.

A letter from his brother Arthur, now a sub collector at Mehar, gives some interesting particulars about land tenure. — With respect to jaghirs there are several here. Jaghirdars in Scinde merely stand in the place of Government. The land belongs to the zamindars, who pay the land-tax to the jaghirdars instead of Government. It is generally taken in kind, and two-fifths, as in the Meer's time, are levied, instead of one-third as in Government land. The jaghirdars, I fancy, never advance money, but grant remission of rent for a term of years to the zamindar on account of improvements and increased cultivation. The zamindar lets, say, ten bejahs to a cultivator, without giving him seed or bullocks or anything. There is a *buniah* mixed up with the transaction, he advances seed and money, to be repaid with exorbitant interest at the harvest time.

Sir Charles Napier remarks that the zamindar hired large tracts of land from Government or from jaghirdars, and while he cheated his landlord, starved the ryot, i.e. the laborer or lessee. Again Arthur writes, giving an account of the dieting of prisoners at Mehar. — The prisoners here get one seer (2 lbs.) of *jawarree* (millet) a day. Out of this they give now and then a handful to the *buniah* (grain merchant), who weighs it, and for this he supplies them with salt. Firewood they provide for themselves from the jungle near. So the only expense is the seer of *jawarree* and the cost and wear and tear of the mill for grinding it.

Jawarree is the common and favorite food of the Scinde cultivator. They prefer a seer of it to the same weight of any other grain. Jawarree bread with an onion, and a little ghee (butter), is considered a good dinner, but for their evening meal they sometimes eat rice with a little *dal*. Those who can afford it eat fish, of which they are all very fond, and not at all particular whether it is fresh or bad. The poorer people consume a great deal of fish that is quite offensive. Meat very few can afford, and even at Mahar there is no butcher, or anywhere in the district. Goats and kids are occasionally killed for food, especially among the Hindoo shopkeepers and the zamindars, but the richer zamindars never think of killing a cow or bullock for the sake of the meat. When useless they are sold to the butchers, who retail the meat and tan the hides. If a bullock, a tattoo (pony), or a camel is likely to die of old age or disease, the cultivators kill the animal, and the flesh of all is eaten indiscriminately. During the late epidemic of smallpox, the cattle affected with it were, many of them, killed when considered past recovery, and the flesh eaten by the poor people. Provided the throat be cut during life, they do not consider disease any objection. Milk is another important part of their diet, but the poorer people generally make butter of it for sale, and consume the butter-milk themselves.

The above is not a very tempting bill of fare, but you may depend upon it as tolerably correct, and I mention it to show that the prisoners have quite a good diet, as good as the bulk of the honest cultivators, for they are often unable to procure a good meal of *jawarree* bread, and I do not think that bad fish or diseased tattoo's flesh is a very enviable substitute. It is hardly fair to judge of the diet from such short imprisonments

as those here, but, as far as it goes, the diet seems quite sufficient for men who work in the open air. There has been no death, and scarcely a case of serious disease, since the apothecary came to the jail, but for long terms, I think, a man ought to have an occasional allowance of milk or ghee, or some animal substance, and occasionally some green vegetables. All of these they could raise for themselves in an agricultural penitentiary. If batches of men are confined in closed places, where the air is less pure, they require better diet, or scurvy and other illnesses are sure to appear.

It appeared that flogging had been too often resorted to by magistrates as a punishment, and a circular had been issued recommending that the power given to magistrates to pass such sentences should be very rarely exercised. Keith Young wrote to remind the collector and captain of police in Scinde of this circular, and to convey the Commissioner's recommendation that 'when a prisoner is sentenced to a lengthened term of imprisonment, flogging had better be avoided, it appearing, under such circumstances, to be a punishment ill calculated to prove beneficial either in deterring others from crime or in effecting the reformation of the offender.' The second Sikh war was now commencing, and Keith Young received the following from Sir Charles Napier: –

Cheltenham, 19th December 1848.

My dear Young, – I ought sooner to have thanked you for your welcome and agreeable letter of the 28th September, which I received last month, but having been in Ireland, and in a state of constant turmoil with visits and dinners, I could not sooner answer you. I am very unhappy about Brown,³¹ and indeed the last accounts from Bombay give me but small hopes of his recovery, however, I hope to hear of him when the mail arrives, as many have recovered who were as dangerously ill as he is, poor fellow. I do feel the very greatest anxiety about him, and hope even that he may come home by this mail, if not, I fear all is over with this noble fellow, on whom Nature had showered her gifts profusely, and Fortune not been niggardly, for a fine career lay before him, and he already stood in a good position for his age. I am not likely to go to India - indeed I do not feel disposed to go, without much greater power than the Commander-in-Chief possesses. The Court and I do not love each other! as you may see by what I said of them in a public speech, and I dare say I shall say more yet, for I have no idea of conciliating the 'Honorable' Court, and have given their chairman, Hogg, a hint that I hold him and his colleagues cheap. If the Duke orders me, out I will go to India or anywhere, but I do not want to go. We hear General Whish means to attack Mooltan without waiting for the Ducks. If he does, he will get thrashed, because, if able to assault now he ought not to have lost all this time. But he will not do anything so unreasonable as to lose such numbers of men. Well, we shall see what will happen. And

³¹ His secretary in Scinde. He had died of abscess on the liver.

now I will finish, and with all my family's best regards. — Believe me to be. My dear Young, Yours sincerely,

C. J. Napier.

Extract from letter to England by Keith Young, dated Kurrachee, 20th December 1848. —

What a mess we appear to be making of matters at Mooltan, and in the Punjab. It is a great pity they have not Sir Charles Napier out there, but I fear there is little prospect of this now, after that Hogg correspondence. You ought to hear of the fall of Mooltan by the next mail.³² The Force from this was to have joined General Whish today, and if he does not now take the place, I think the sooner we shut up shop in India the better. There is no saying what the result will be. Sir H. Lawrence passed through this last week. He spent the day with me, being the only Bengal brother he had here, and in the evening he pushed on, being most anxious to join the Governor-General. I never met Sir Henry before. He is a very nice person and an excellent officer, just the man that 's wanted up above. I am sorry to say that Arthur Farquhar is not coming to see me. He is ordered on to China. Have you seen my friend Captain Brown of the Bombay army? I gave him a few lines to my father. He talks of going to live at Hastings. He is a particularly nice fellow, and I hope he may. His wife also is liked by those who know her well. She is very good, but not quite in my way.

Brown's cousin, the secretary here, who died in Bombay last month, was a great friend of mine also. I find I am one of the executors of his will. He has left all his money, somewhere about seven thousand pounds, to his youngest unmarried sister.

Keith Young.

To General Hunter

My dear General, — I was in hopes of having the great pleasure of seeing you here, on your way to Bombay, that I might have thanked you for your kindness to my brother, and at the same time to have wished you and Mrs. Hunter the long enjoyment of all health and happiness at home. Let me now do by letter what I would much rather have done in person. I at one time thought, and I hope there is yet a prospect of it, that you would have succeeded Sir Charles in his command in Scinde. When he leaves us, we shall want an energetic officer to take his place. For though Scinde, if properly managed, is likely to remain equally tranquil with any of our provinces in India, yet, as you know. Sir Charles's name is worth many thousand men, and in case of unlooked for outbreaks after his departure, we ought to have a first-rate man as his successor. I only wish that the choice of the Government may fall on you as the one most fitted for the

³² It fell on 22nd January 1849.

command, and that your arrangements may permit you to accept it. Should you not return to India, I look forward to meeting you in Scotland.

With my best regards to Mrs. Hunter, Believe me very truly yours, Keith Young.

Paril, March.

My dear Young, – I was favored with your kind note a few days ago. Be assured it gave me great pleasure to forward your brother's views in any way. I only wish I could have done it more effectually. In a very few days more I leave India for ever, and I cannot say but I go with regret. Having been so many years in the enjoyment of good health and great comfort, I almost fear the going home to begin life anew is not a very wise act. However, the Government would give me no command, therefore I had no alternative. Sir Charles no doubt kindly applied for me to remain at Sukkur, but three years there was enough for any one man, particularly as I got nothing by going there from the first. I must now hope for the best, and with thanks to you for your kind wishes, – Believe me. Sincerely yours,

G. Hunter.

This General Hunter, Company's Service, was spoken of by Sir Charles Napier as 'an admirable officer, and much liked by the sepoys, whose language he speaks perfectly.' He had just put down a mutiny of the 64th Bengal Infantry, with great courage and skill.

Then follows a line or two from the wife of Sir Henry Lawrence. –

My dear Sir, – I have to thank you for your note of the 17th, enclosing one from Sir Henry Lawrence. For some days I have been hoping to hear from you, as Sir Henry said you would be good enough to communicate with me respecting the practicability of my going up the Indus with my family. We are a large party – three ladies and a child, two boys and a European servant. If you discourage me from the Indus route, I must take the steamer of the 19th prox. from here to Ceylon. You will greatly oblige me by writing to say your opinion, as I am extremely anxious to get on while the cold weather lasts. – I am, My dear Sir, Sincerely yours,

Honoria Lawrence.

Colonel Havelock's House, Bombay,

23rd December 1848.

Then, on 11th January following, she writes again: –

My dear Sir, – I have to thank you very much for your letter of the 5th, received yesterday, and the trouble you have taken to smooth our way. What you propose seems a good plan, a country boat towed by a steamer. Still better would be a flat, which Colonel Melville gives me some hopes of, but as this is uncertain, it will be as well to have the boat in readiness. I am writing today to Captain Finnimore to this effect. You are very kind to offer us the use of your house, though I hardly know whether we shall avail ourselves of it, as Mrs. Moore was so good as to write to Mrs. Pringle about our stopping at her house. We mean to take the earliest steamer from Bombay after hearing positively of Mooltan having fallen. We hope to embark somewhere about the 19th or 23rd. I will remember your caution, and bring servants and provisions for our party. I am sorry we are not likely to meet you in Scinde, that I might personally thank you for all your good offices. – Believe me, My dear Sir, Sincerely yours,

Honoria Lawrence.

Then comes a letter from Sir Henry Lawrence, written the day after the battle of Chillian wallah. –

My dear Captain Young, – Yesterday afternoon the C.-in-C. carried the Sikhs' position and captured twenty guns, some say twenty-eight or even more, but twelve were recaptured by the enemy and there is no return as yet. Our loss has been considerable, and the enemy's great, night coming on interfered with our arrangements. It is said that the enemy is now crossing the Jhelum about three miles off. The cavalry is out looking after them. If we had attacked early in the day, after a good reconnaissance, we might have captured every gun.

Kindly have the enclosed forwarded as quickly as possible, in case Lady Lawrence has left Kurrachee. – Yours very sincerely,

Henry Lawrence.

*Army Headquarters, near to Jhelum,
14th January 1849.*

The following letters, as bringing news of the fall of Mooltan, will still be of interest: –

Camp before Mooltan,
22nd January 1849.

My dear Young, – Am I the first to tell you that Mooltan is ours, citadel and all? It was to have been assaulted this morning, by two breaches, but Moolraj came out and surrendered himself unconditionally. Skinner, the Judge-Advocate, brought Colonel Dundas the news this morning, while we were at breakfast. He had just left the Dowlut Gate, where Moolraj was sitting under the charge of Colonel Franks and a party of H.M.

10th. Two thousand of the garrison had then passed out, laying down their arms on the glacis, and Moolraj said that there were then about a thousand to come.

I believe that no one had any idea that there were so many men in the citadel. Numbers had been deserting from it every night, and I thought that there could not remain more than a thousand at the very outside. Moolraj was handsomely dressed, had been courteously received, and permitted to retain his sword. He and his men are given over to Edwardes. I am very glad and thankful for this peaceful result. War after all is a very horrid thing, a dreadful necessity, and I feel ashamed when I remember the hopes that I used to nurse of seeing something of active service. I suppose that we shall proceed immediately to join Lord Gough, and I do trust that he will gain no more disastrous victories in the meanwhile. You have heard of the last of course. It is quite absurd the discrepancy that there always is between what one first hears of a fight d la Gough, and the second and more veracious account. Thus the story I heard two days ago was of Shere Sing's total routing, driven into the Jhelum, twenty-four guns captured, many more spiked, etc. The campaign seemed to be at an end. Then came unpleasant rumors of great loss on our side, our cavalry ridden through by the enemy's horse, four of our guns captured (for a time), and only two retaken I hear that there is a great dearth of provisions in the C.-in-C.'s camp, that officers with difficulty get any sort of meal, and that atta³³ is selling at five seers for the rupee.

Now Young, you are going to have my free, unbiased opinion of the Bengal troops compared with those of Bombay. The sepoy's are very much finer-looking fellows, and they address one pleasantly. Khodawund³⁴ and Ghuruh peiwar³⁵ tickle the ear much. But for orderly bearing, and for working (as in the trenches), they are to my mind inferior to the Bombay sepoy's. As regards fighting they are, I think, much alike, wonderfully good considering all circumstances. The Bengal sappers are splendid fellows - fine men to look at, famous workers, and without fear. I have seen them work, under heavy fire, with perfect coolness. All our people have remarked the same. As regards officers, I and my brother officers have remarked the Bengalees as having generally much the advantage of the Bombay people in manner, but it is a most distressing thing to be on duty with them. They seem to be afraid of their men, and to let things take their course. We have been so constantly on duty hitherto that I have very seldom met with any of our old Kurrachee friends. Maughan is an exception, he dines constantly with us. It is due to him to say that the arrangements of the Camel B. Corps gave universal satisfaction, and it was a matter in which it was hard to satisfy people. I fancy that we shall, after all, be transferred to the Bengal Presidency, and I am sorry for it, and so are we all. I speak freely to you about presidencies, for I suppose

³³ Flour.

³⁴ My Lord.

³⁵ Poor Defender. Protector of the Poor.

your heart to be divided between them. The wounded have gone to the river, I believe that they are all going on well. Pray remember me most kindly to Hughes and Mrs. H. How is Harding? Do you know Greathed of the 8th? If you do, will you tell him, when you see him, that I met his brother here and introduced myself to him. He seemed very busy and very well. I enclose one of Moolraj's gold rupees that he coined for the payment of his troops. — Yours very sincerely,

Jas. Douglas.³⁶

The news of the fall of Mooltan reached Europe in a different form.

William Napier, son of Sir Charles's younger brother George, writing to Keith Young from Pisa at the beginning of March following, says: —

We have just heard of the fall of Mooltan, and I am glad not to see Campbell's name among the casualties. There seems to have been considerable resistance, and our loss would appear heavy, but we have no particulars yet, nor any account of the taking of the citadel I was near being on my way to India again, now, for I understand that my father was offered the commander-in-chiefship a short time ago, but his health unfortunately obliged him to decline it. Don't mention this, unless it is generally known in India, because I believe the authorities usually like to keep these things secret. It is unfortunate that he couldn't take it, isn't it?

Sir Charles and the directors couldn't come to terms, so he does not go out either, and who will be eventually appointed I know not. It does not seem, as far as we can judge at this distance, that affairs will be settled in the Punjab this winter, and I suppose the Commander-in-Chief will be let in for some nice harassing work during the hot weather. . . Sir Charles and family, and the M'Murdos, have been all the winter in Cheltenham, and do not seem to have felt the cold much — indeed we hear that the winter has been particularly mild. Sir Charles has published something about the Baggage Corps and the baggage of an Indian army, but I have not yet seen the pamphlet or letter, or whatever it is. We see that the Afghans are marching on Simla by the Bolan Pass! I laugh at this, and only hope that they may get through, that you may give them a thorough good drubbing — but they will never try it I suspect.³⁷

We have had our little revolution here in Tuscany, but are very quiet, and everything goes on as usual, and apparently quite as well without as with a Grand Duke. He, poor man, was always a good weak creature, bullied by everybody, and quite unfit for his place. We have liberty trees and 'bonnets rouges' at every corner, but no molestation or insult of any kind. The same thing at Rome all the winter, and as long as they leave us

³⁶ Captain Douglas, 60th Rifles.

³⁷ Adjutant of 1st Battalion 60th Rifles.

alone, and let us remain quietly in Italy, I for my part care very little what form of government they give themselves. There seems no chance of a general war in Europe. England and France are resolved on peace, and as long as they keep so, there is no fear of any war of consequence.

During the early months of 1849 Keith Young was again on circuit through Scinde. He still found a great deal to complain of about the state of the jails. At Jheruk there was a very good one for a small number of prisoners, but they appear to be taken no care of, and to be under no discipline. No divisions or classifications, and amongst them we found two debtors who prayed for justice. One looked dying, and was evidently very ill. I made arrangements with the Deputy-Collector (Champion) for his release on bail. The prisoners, he said, were seldom worked. They might be well employed on cleaning the town, which is in a filthy state. The prisoners are on the diet plan lately introduced.' At Hyderabad, speaking of the jail, he says: —

A more wretched place it is impossible to imagine. The classification, if such it can be called, is of women, Hindoos, and Mahomedans, and a fourth of prisoners accused of murder or violence, who are confined literally in a large wooden cage with stocks inside. A more miserable, stinking, unventilated, disgusting place in every way, I never before entered. The only shelter from rain or cold is a few open sheds. The prisoners are allowed an anna a day to purchase their own food from a buniya, who has a store in the middle of the jail. At Omree I presided at a village court, the parties being principally a man and wife who could not agree together. It is a difficult thing settling family squabbles, and I believe I was by no means successful here, but the man took his wife home, and promised not to thrash her, but he complained bitterly of the change that had come over the women in Scinde, since their husbands were not allowed to kill them on their misbehaving. In fact, he said, the game is all in their hands now, they do as they like, they are the men, we are the women. This wife had a cruel black eye that she had received from him. She seemed to be a shrew, however, so I did not much pity her, and she was cruelly ugly.

He went on to Mehar, and stayed a week with his brother Arthur, the magistrate of the district. He had some sport *en route*, shooting duck and ortolans, and hawking after partridges. A good deal of the country he crossed was salt desert, having the appearance of hoar frost at home. In the meantime the Supreme Government had ordered some changes on the staff in Scinde. His friend Campbell of the 60th Rifles, writing from the camp near Peshawur, whither the Afghans had been pursued after Gujerat, says: 'I hear the Judge-Advocates are to be abolished in Scinde. I am very sorry for that, for I suppose you will be sorry to leave Kurrachee, but, of course, they will give you something on your side. What the something was going to be, is hinted in the following letter from Major M'Murdo, Sir Charles Napier's son-in-law. It was written to acknowledge a presentation of plate to Sir Charles by his staff in Scinde, which Keith Young had been largely instrumental in getting up.

Calcutta, 21st May 1849.

My dear Young, – I received yours of the 6th inst. yesterday, and feel as much gratified by this renewed mark of love for the old General as if I was the General myself! We are just in the hurry of leaving Calcutta by dak, we shall have a hot trip, but as we travel only by night we shall not, after all, suffer much. I am sorry that Kurrachee has changed so much. You must indeed feel the loss of poor Brown. I was very much shocked when I heard of his death. If Phayre is with you tell him to write to me. Both General Hunter and I have been looking out for letters from him. The General still talks of returning home, as soon as he can do so with propriety. He came out much against his inclination, and he will go home as soon as he can. When he does, he will go by Scinde. I would like much to revisit old Kurrachee. I have a great affection for the old place. I am delighted that they have made you Assistant Commissioner. What have they done with Mr. Inverarity? The judgeship, too, will not be amiss. Will you have to wear a wig? I fancy I see you in your compound, with your 'jaisy' a little awry, it being rather warm! How goes on the garden? You will have seen the arrival of William Napier at Bombay. He has struck across to Agra, and will reach Simla before we do. We picked him and Mrs. W. N. up at Leghorn, but she was so ill on board, that we were obliged to put into Naples, where we landed them. She then went back to Pisa to rejoin her child, and William followed us out. I expect Mrs. M'Murdo out in July. She was to leave London this month. I am very anxious about her indeed, but she has promised to go by the advice of Martin (you remember him in Calcutta?). We are glad to quit this. It is a very stupid place indeed. (But it is a most beautiful one.) We are living in Government House – a huge palace, that takes one a journey to go from one part to the other! I would ten times rather be in a camp, or in my little dear old ghur at Kurrachee. I do not think we shall remain long at Simla. The Chief does not like the idea of remaining where the soldiers are not. Give my love to Phayre and kindest regards to my old friends of Scinde. – Yours very sincerely,

J. W. M'Murdo.

Simla, 27th June 1849.

My dear Young, – Many thanks for your letter of the 7th, which I found here on my arrival on the 23rd inst. I have been laid up with chicken-pox (from eating so many chickens on the road the General says!) and was not fit to appear in public till yesterday, so I have seen no one yet, and very little of Simla. I am disappointed in it, I must say. The hills are neither so high nor so wooded as I expected them to be, and we have had nothing but rain since I came, so the view is extremely limited.

The Chief has been staying at Government House and the staff have been hanging out in various places near, but today we move into our own houses, all of them bad

enough I am sorry to say, and not a decent-sized room in the General's house. I will collect the subscriptions for Brown's monument whenever the staff get a little money, at present they don't seem to have ten rupees among them – and then I will send the money to you. The General has not yet received your letter about his testimonial, but he thinks the best plan will be to keep it till he leaves India again, which he vows shall be next spring. He is very well and in good spirits, and he and the Lord³⁸ get on remarkably well together. Gibbon is suffering from his old complaint, and is living on opium and ginger and such-like stuff. He is more religious than ever, and pulled me up today for saying 'O Lord,' which he says is taking the Lord's name in vain! Poor little man, he is far gone in what I call the bigotry of religion, but he is a good man all the same' – Yours very sincerely,

William Napier.

Major M'Murdo had for various reasons recommended the withholding the address and presentation to Sir Charles Napier till after the latter had resigned his office of Commander-in-Chief in India. Keith Young then wrote to him as follows: –

Kurrachee, 25th July 1849.

My dear M'Murdo, – I have delayed replying to your letter of the 2nd in order that I might mention the subject of it to some of the subscribers who are in reach. They, of course, agree with me in requesting you to withhold the address, and in fact to do in the matter whatever you think will be most agreeable to the General. I hope, however, that we are not, from what you say, to consider that the General's departure from India at an early date, is an affair determined on. I trust indeed that it is not. I am glad to hear that all your party have safely arrived. Remember me most kindly to them. I am in debt a letter each to three of them, viz., William Napier, Campbell, and Byng, a debt which I hope to live to repay some day when I have less to do, and more to write about than at present. We are expecting a steamer in the course of a few days from Bombay with the Overland, at least intimation was given by the authorities that a steamer should be sent as soon as the Overland arrived. If it does come, it will be sooner by a month than we have ever had one yet. I am delighted to hear that the General is in such excellent health and spirits after his journey. Make my respectful remembrances to him. – Believe me, Yours very sincerely.

Keith Young.

Simla, 6th April 1849.

My dear Young, – Your letter of the 26th of March has been about the world after me, as it went to England, and two days before its date I embarked from England! Since its

³⁸ Dalhousie(?)

arrival, and that of one from Rathborne of an equally distant date, I have been so occupied that I could not write to you. I have gone near to break down my health with the way I have worked. I have done what you asked me about our lamented friend Brown. Whether it will please his friends at Kurrachee or not, I cannot say, but I have done it in the midst of business, and as well as I could. The chief merit of an epitaph is to say where a man died, what his appearance was, what his mind was, his character, and how he was estimated in his society. These I have done to the best of my ability. I have put in 'affection' over 'friendship.' I think the word is better and more expressive of my feelings towards him, as being stronger, however, you can choose. I did love him as I should have loved a son, and after six years' daily work together, and finding him true and honorable and noble in all his thoughts, how could I help loving him? His death to me was like the shock I felt when my beloved nephew John died. The old feel as if the young had no right to die before them! Here I am C.-in-Chief! Much against my will, be assured! And I shall not remain very long. Tell me how matters go on in Scinde. – And believe me, Very sincerely yours,

C. J. Napier.

Copied with the corrections from original letter of Sir . J. N.

*Here lies the Body of
E. J. Brown*

*Captain in the Bengal Engineers. He died at the Early age of 31 (34 ?) a years In Person
tall and possessed of great Beauty.*

*His abilities were of the highest order, for upon him nature had lavished her Choicest
gifts*

*Stimulated by his rare qualifications He sought and found distinction in the Service of
His Country and in that Service Died.*

*His Honorable mind devoted its energies to the Execution of His duties as Secretary to
the Sinda Government and His bravery on the Field of Battle, for he was among the
Conquerors of Sinda, and his abilities in the administration of that Country excited the
admiration & won for him affection*

*the A friend ship of His General and of His Companions in Arms who, to His Memory
And to the Memory of those glorious days with which it is So intimately associated,
Dedicate this Tomb.*

19th August 1849.

My dear Young, – I wish to make a change the epitaph on Brown's tomb. Take out 'Secretary to the Government of Sindh,' which ought 't' to follow 'Died' Place the sentence after 'uties.' The wording will then run thus: –

Died

His Honorable mind devoted its energies to the Execution of his duties as Secretary to the Sindh Government His bravery on the Field of Battle, etc.

I think you and Rathborne and other friends think this better. – Yours, C. J. Napier.

Letter from Keith Young to Sir Charles Napier. –

8th October 1849,

My dear General, – I have to thank you for your kindness in writing to me. I have received the feeling tribute to the memory of poor Brown. Am very sorry to hear you confirm the report of your leaving us. You ask me about Sindh. As member of the Supreme Government you must know everything. I do not, however, despair of seeing Kurrachee become the seaport of the Punjab and N. India, and the Indus like the Ganges. We labor under one great disadvantage in not being under the Supreme Government instead of that of Bombay. I don't know whether they would much more exert themselves if they had commissioners of their own choice. But Mr. Pringle was the nominee of Mr. Clerk, and not of the present Government, and I fear has never had their unlimited confidence and support, and consequently everything does not progress so satisfactorily as it otherwise might. You probably have heard of changes in the collectorate and elsewhere. But you have now matters of so much greater importance to attend to that I will not trouble you further about our Sindh movements. Should there be any particular subject on which information from me will be acceptable, if Harding or M'Murdo will give me a line, your wishes shall be complied with to the best of my poor ability. Thanking you once more for your great kindness in writing to me when you have so much to do. – Believe me, Respectfully and sincerely yours,

Keith Young.

In connection with this monument to Captain Brown, the following letter was received from the Commissioner: –

My dear Young, – I think the form in which you have put this, is very proper. As regards the limitation of subscriptions, you can best judge what would be the feeling among Brown's friends and act accordingly, but I agree with you in the general

propriety of limiting such private testimonials to those who enjoyed more immediate opportunities of knowing and appreciating the party. As one of those, on the present occasion it will afford me a melancholy gratification to put my name to whatever may be determined upon. — Believe me, Yours very sincerely,

R. Pringle.

21st November 1849.

On 9th December Major M'Murdo wrote from Lahore: —

My dear Young, — I have heard of Goldney's arrival at Bhawalpore on his way up, but he does not mention having the plans. I hope he has not got them, for, having already told Rathbome the kind of thing the General would like, it would be much better for you to carry out the details, for these are matters of taste and fancy, and it is right that you should exercise them. The G.-G. left Lahore yesterday for Mooltan, you will soon have them with you. He intends taking a long sea trip to the eastward, I believe, and has made arrangements about the Govt, being carried on in his absence. It is a long distance for the Chief to report and to receive instructions from Calcutta! He won't wait for them, that 's certain, and I don't suppose the G.-G. expects much that he will! Our footing with Goolab Sing³⁹ is sufficiently ticklish by all accounts, and if anything occurred, I am sure Sir Charles would act at once, and on his own responsibility. Pray do not mention this subject to others except to Rathbome, and tell him that I have gathered information here that strangely coincided with what he sent to me in every particular. The weather here is very sharp at nights. Yesterday morning the frost lay on the ground, and they got eighty maunds of ice for the pits. We march on Sealkote in the course of a few days. This place has been recommended as a cantonment in preference to Wuzeerabad, and the Chief intends to look at it, and then on to Peshawur, where we shall have it pretty cold before we get back. I hope you are all well at Kurrachee. Pray remember me to the Phayres. —

Yours very sincerely,

M. M'Murdo.

This letter, which gives a hint that the germ of the quarrel between Sir Charles Napier and Lord Dalhousie was already in existence, was followed by one from Sir Herbert Edwardes. —

On the Sutlej near Bhawalpore,

³⁹ A Sikh whom we made Rajah of Kashmir after the war of 1846. He was friendly to us during the recent war, but not actively, and Sir C. Napier doubted his loyalty.

14th December 1849.

My dear Young, – I have not seen you since 1842, when I think we met last at dinner, at 'Jemmy Spens' as he is universally called, at Kurnaul, yet I venture to hope you have not quite forgotten me, and that you will give my party and me shelter for the short time that may elapse between our arrival at Kurrachee and the sailing of a steamer for Bombay. I am on my way to England, and have with me Major Nicholson⁴⁰ (of Punjab fame) and two little girls of Mr. John Lawrence's (member of the Lahore Board of Administration), all bound like myself to England. We are very anxious to reach Bombay in time for the 17th January steamer, which I fancy will depend almost entirely on our hitting the steamer which we hear goes weekly from Kurrachee to Bombay, for, if we had to wait four or five days, it would throw us out. We hope to reach Bhawalpore tonight, when I shall send you this letter, Sukkur about the 23rd or 24th, and Tattah about the end of the month. All will then depend on our getting on to Bombay within the first week or nine days of January, and you will greatly oblige us by writing me a note to Kotree – care of Powell, if he be there, in which case I will put up with him for half a day, and talk over old times at Mooltan – and tell me how we can get across from Kurrachee to Bombay, also whether you will receive us or are '*hospitibus ferox*.' Captain Finnimore was good enough to write to Lady Lawrence and offer us accommodation, but I am quite a stranger to him, and would much rather see you again. I left our old patron. Sir Charles Napier, at Lahore, and from all I could learn, he is not very decided about going home, rather the contrary! Peg Byng was as usual very fat, very red in the face, and very jolly. He gives me the idea of enjoying everything, including funerals! Hoping to see you soon, none the worse for a transportation so distressing to a Bengalee, – I remain. My dear Young, Sincerely yours,

Herbert Edwardes.

P.S . – If you can give a room to the little girls, a tent will do capitally for Nicholson and myself. – Yours,

H. B. E.

The next two letters show the kindly interest taken by Sir Charles Napier in Keith Young's prospects, and the warm feeling of the latter for his former Chief.

Camp Lahore, 17th December 1849.

My dear Young, – As you were in correspondence with others of the staff at Simla, I did not write to you, since my letter would only have been a repetition of what you have already heard. Yesterday evening, however. Sir Charles told me that Colonel Birch had been to him with certain proposals and changes in the Judge-Advocate's

⁴⁰ The celebrated John Nicholson, afterwards killed at Delhi. Mr. John Lawrence was the future Lord Lawrence.

Department, and in which your name was altogether left out, which Sir Charles remarking, asked Birch why he had omitted your name. His reply was that you, of course, being on the staff in Scinde, would have no objection to leaving the Department. But Sir Charles, not being quite so certain on the point, refused to sanction the alteration until he was assured of your willingness to leave the Department, and has directed me to write to you on the subject and ascertain your wishes. We have been a long time at Lahore, where all kinds of tomfooleries have been going on, an account of which you will have no doubt read in the papers. The day of our departure hence is not yet fixed. We are anxiously awaiting news from Bradshaw's force, having heard nothing for the last three days. I do not think there is much chance of your seeing Sir Charles at Kurrachee next spring. Remember me to Mr. Pringle and all old friends. The General is beautiful. All send their love. — Yours very truly,

F. Harding.

Camp, Fort Fitzgerald,
26th December 1849.

My dear Harding, — I this morning received yours of the 17th, written by wish of Sir Charles to ascertain my wishes regarding leaving the Judge-Advocate's Department, consequent on certain changes that are about to be made in it. Birch has also written to me to the same effect. It is a great temptation, the opportunity of returning to Bengal, but I believe I should be wrong in quitting Scinde now, and as I am fortunate enough to keep my health, and have no reason to complain in other respects, I have decided on remaining where I am. Will you give my best respects to Sir Charles, and tell him so, and say how much obliged to him I am for giving me the option of resuming my position in the Judge-Advocate-General's Department. Were my return to Bengal likely to bring me under the immediate personal command of Sir Charles, I should not hesitate an instant in the matter, but I see no prospect of this being the result, so I am probably acting a wise as well as prudent part in keeping my present appointment in Scinde, and trusting to the Bombay Government for the future not to throw me over as they did John Anderson, one of the most upright and most talented of any of their officials in this province. I am truly glad to hear from you such a good account of the General's health. I hope he may live to enjoy many more happy years, which and happy Christmases I wish you and all old friends. I am down here spending Christmas with my brother, but return tomorrow to Sukkur, where the Commissioner is still awaiting the advent of the Governor-General. There is a large party at Sukkur, and we get on there jollily enough. . . . Pray give me a line occasionally, and I will return it in kind. — Ever believe me. Yours sincerely,

Keith Young.

In the commencement of 1850 the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, arrived at Sukkur, and proceeded down the Indus in a kind of procession. Being early in January,

the weather was cold, with ice on the ground in the early morning. Nevertheless, Lord Dalhousie held a levee at half-past eight. A Durbar at 11 a.m. was attended by Ali Murad, the Ameer of Khairpur,⁴¹ and the sirdars. At 4 p.m. a return visit was paid to Ali Murad at Roree, on which occasion the Governor-General got a salute of nineteen guns to Ali Murad's twenty-one. Next morning the procession started, headed by the Governor-General on a flat towed by the Napier. Then followed the Planet with Keith Young and fellow-officials, towing a flat with Sir H. M. Elliot, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Courtney,⁴² and three A.D.C.'s on board. The passage down the Indus to the mouth lasted a week. Lord Dalhousie remained as Mr. Pringle's guest at Kurrachee till the 24th January, when he sailed for Bombay. Keith Young has unfortunately left no personal impressions of the Governor-General.

From his friend Captain Harding came the following interesting account of a fight on the north-west frontier: —

Peshawur, 15th February 1850.

My dear Young, — We have just returned here from Kohat, having started on the 9th with about three thousand men and ten guns, to force our way through the pass, which was held by the Afreedee tribes, and who the other night surprised and cut to pieces a guard of Pollock's⁴³ holding a tower at the entrance of the pass on the Kohat side. On the morning of the 10th we arrived within five miles of the entrance to the hills. At daylight on the 11th we recommenced our march and, on arriving at the pass, found the heights occupied by the enemy, who immediately opened fire on us, however, we dislodged them in about an hour, burnt their village, and continued fighting our way through the pass for ten miles, when we came upon two more villages which we succeeded in taking and burning, after firing upon them for some time. There we halted for the night, sending strong picquets on the heights on both sides of the pass. Between our picquets and the enemy, a sharp fusillade was kept up the whole night. The next day the force was halted, and a good deal of fighting took place on the heights, where we lost a great many men. Lieut. Sitwell of the 31st N.I. killed, and Lieut. Hillier of the 23rd N.I. mortally wounded. Sir Charles and his personal staff, with an escort of ten sowars, crossed the pass into Kohat, to see and report on the fort there. He returned the same day without any disaster, and next day we retraced our steps to Peshawur, having to fight the whole way through the hills. Our loss amounts to about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, that of the enemy it is impossible to calculate, as they carried off nearly all their killed and wounded. The distance from Peshawur to Kohat is forty miles. The valley of Kohat is the most beautiful spot you can imagine, most highly

⁴¹ He had supported the British in the war, and been allowed to keep his province.

⁴² Lord Dalhousie's secretary.

⁴³ The Political at Kohat.

cultivated, with streams of the purest water flowing in every direction. The two I mentioned are the only officers killed or wounded. We have all been most fortunate, having been within range of their matchlocks the whole time. The enemy were very bold, and once, when a gun-wagon was upset, they made a rush to get possession of the gun. The cause of the outbreak has been the policy of the Politicals, who have put an infamous tax upon salt, raising the price from sixteen maunds to one maund the rupee. The whole country about here is discontented, and hates Col. Lawrence⁴⁴ as the devil. Sir Charles is quite well, and we are now detained here from the rain, but commence our march back as soon as the weather will permit. The 60th accompany us, and are to be quartered at Subathoo and Kussowlie, they are all well. I saw Daly, who is now with his regiment at Kohat I am now going to ask you to do me a favor. I have a box of cheroots coming up to Kurrachee, and wish you would get them sent up to Mooltan by Powell to the care of James, and to be forwarded by him to Lahore to the care of Major Clarke, 14th Dragoons. The box has been directed to you at Kurrachee. All here send their love – Yours truly,

F. Harding.

After a gap of three months we have a letter from Keith Young to Sir Henry Lawrence, indicating important changes in Scinde. –

SUKKUR, 8th May 1850.

My dear Sir, – Mr. Pringle, the Commissioner, sent in his resignation, which the Bombay Govt, have accepted, and it is very generally supposed that the Supreme Govt, will take the opportunity of his leaving to place Scinde under your orders, the commissionership being reduced in its emoluments and duties to a level with those in the Punjab. I hope you will not consider me presuming in asking you, should this arrangement take place, to make favorable mention of my name for the appointment. There will probably be many applicants for it, with far greater claims than I myself have, and much better fitted for the performance of its duties, but when shorn of its present dignity and emoluments, it may not perhaps be much sought after, and I trust, under these circumstances, that you will not consider me forward or unreasonable in writing to you on the subject. I am very glad to hear from many sources, that, notwithstanding your arduous duties, you have been enjoying much better health than formerly. – I remain. My dear Sir, Yours very faithfully,

Keith Young, Captain.
Assistant Commissioner.

To Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., President, Lahore.

⁴⁴ Political at Peshawur.

From Sir Henry Lawrence to Captain Keith Young.

Lahore, 16th May 1850.

My dear Captain Young, — I have not heard a word of what you say about Scinde, and think it unlikely to be added to our charge, but if it be so, and I have any voice in the nominations, I will be glad to assist your views, as I believe you have worked well for the state. — Yours very truly,

Henry Lawrence.

The next letter sets forth an application made by Keith Young to Captain William Napier, on the same subject. —

11th May 1850.

My dear Napier, — Since I wrote to you last, I have been thinking about the changes that are likely to take place in Scinde on Mr. Pringle's departure. There seems to be a strong impression that it will be detached from Bombay, and the government of it laced in the hands of Mr. Thomason or the Board. Should this happen, I presume they will no longer keep a commissioner here on the same pay, with the same power, as at present, but will probably make the appointment similar to the commissionerships in the Punjab. From all I have heard, the most important of the duties that the commissioners have now to perform, are judicial. Under these circumstances, do you think I have any chance of the General's recommendation for the appointment? You will know exactly how matters stand, and how far he will be able to further my views without detriment to those of others, whose claims and capabilities may be considered superior to mine. I will not, therefore, tease the General with an application to him, but I should like you to mention what I have said, should the arrangement come about for the transfer of Scinde in the mode I anticipate. I may mention that I happen to know that Sir G. Clerk recommended me for the judgeship of the whole of Scinde, but I suppose that financial economy prevented the appointment. As to my capabilities for performing these legal and revenue duties, they are much the same, I suppose, as the commissioners in the Punjab have to perform. I have only to say that I have managed my own financial affairs pretty well, under circumstances of considerable difficulty, and I have generally noticed that good economists in private life take equally good care of the public interests confided to them, provided their hearts are in their work. Mr. Pringle will, I believe, leave Scinde by the first steamer after the close of the monsoon — at least such, I understand, is his intention at present. He seems pleased at the idea of getting away. I do not wonder, for he certainly has not had a very agreeable time of it for some months past. I may add that I think Mr. Thomason and Mr. Lawrence, if they have a voice in the

matter, will neither of them be unfavorable to me. The former was secretary at the time I went to Scinde, and he will know whether, under the circumstances in which I came there, I have any reasonable claim to advancement. As yet I have little to be thankful for, beyond the advantage and happiness of having served under the General, Sir C. Napier, and the recollection of his great kindness to myself and my brother, for which I shall always owe him a deep debt of gratitude. Will you give me a line please, when you know anything certain? and better not mention what I have written about to the General, if you know that the arrangement in contemplation for filling up the commissionership leaves him no room for assisting me, as I am sure it would be equally painful to him to be unable to assist me, as it would be pleasurable to him to forward my views, if in his power. Tomorrow is the day fixed for our departure to Kurrachee, and very glad shall we all be to get away. Make my best respects to the General, and with kind regards to Mrs. Napier and all your party. — Very sincerely yours,

Keith Young.

Simla, 20th May 1850.

My dear Young, — I have just received yours of the 11th. If Scinde is placed under the Civil Government of this part of India, you may depend upon it Sir Charles will not have any more voice in the internal arrangements than he has at present. Nor is the Gov.-Genl. the least likely to consult him as to the appointment of a commissioner, and unless the G.-G. were to do so, I am quite sure the C.-in-C. would not lay himself under any obligation to his Lordship, by asking him to appoint a nominee of his to be commissioner. But, should the Gov.-Genl. by any accident ask Sir Charles his opinion as to who should be appointed, I am convinced, and I think you will not be surprised to hear it, that he would consider the claims of Rathborne and Goldney as superior to yours, as they have both been so long collectors in Scinde, and must be supposed to be more intimately acquainted with the people of Scinde from their official situations than you can be from yours.

All I have stated in this letter is merely my own opinion, for I have not said a word to the General about it, and I agree with you that it will be better not to show him your letter until something is decided about Scinde. I need not say that I should be delighted if you were to be appointed a commissioner, and if they were to make three for Scinde, I should say that Rathborne, Goldney, and you ought to be the three. — Believe me. My dear Young, Yours very sincerely,

WM. Napier.

The expectations that Scinde would be annexed to the newly acquired Punjab were not fulfilled, as the following letter will explain: —

SCINDE, 18th December 1850.

My dear Birch, – I ought to have written before, to thank you for your kind letters and for your exertions on my behalf. I am very much obliged indeed to you for the trouble you took, and believe me, though my thanks are tardy they are not the less sincere. You will have heard long ago that matters terminated in the appointment of Mr. Frere, a Bombay civilian, to the commissionership. It is just as well that it was so, for, had they searched all India, I do not think they could have found a man, either in the army or the Civil Service, better fitted for the appointment. We had heard much in his favor before he came, but not more than he deserved, and it 's the wisest act the Bombay Government have done, with regard to Scinde, since my connection with it. I hope you may someday meet with Frere. You will, I know, regard him as I do. He puts me much in mind of what I have heard and read of Mr. Elphinstone. A more amiable, intelligent, and non-apathetic man, I never met, and his whole energies and intelligence are directed to the good of the province. Sir Charles stayed with us here about a fortnight, and seemed to enjoy himself very much with all his old admirers about him. You would see by the papers how bitterly he spoke against the Gov.-Genl., and those whom he looked upon as the cause of his resigning the C.-C.-ship. All here are sorry for it, for it 's impossible, even for his warmest admirers, to be blind to such glaring imperfections and absurdities. The G.-G. however, and his immediate party, were nearly the only ones he abused, for he had a good word to say for nearly everyone else. A great number of Bengalees have passed this lately on their way home. Future travelers will be glad to hear that a travelers' bungalow has been sanctioned, and will probably be ready in about three months. A road from this to Tattah is also in progress. I have interested myself a good deal about it, and hope, in another six months, it will be finished, and then, with intermediate-staging bungalows, the journey will be as comfortably practicable as in most parts of India. Do you ever think of turning your face towards home? If so, you should come this way. I wish the Gov.-Genl. would allow some of us to go home without vacating our appointments. It would be a great boon, and a most popular measure, and Her Majesty and Prince Albert would, I am sure, consider it a compliment. – With kind regards. Yours very sincerely,

Keith Young.

At the beginning of 1851, we find Keith Young accompanying the new Commissioner on a tour up country. They journeyed by land and steamboat, as far as what was then the village of Khangarh, but is now the cantonment of Jacobabad. Keith Young describes the house where they found Captain Jacob, as having quite a 'baronial hall' appearance, with an excellent garden and stables, and a water tank about twenty-three feet in depth, and two to three hundred yards in length. They had a splendid review of the Scinde Horse, about one thousand man, all under Jacob. 'They did admirably, and so did he.' After this, they return to the steamer at Sukkur. Ali Murad came to pay his

respects to the Commissioner at Sukkur, and the visit was returned, after some delay caused by a 'little difficulty about arranging the formalities of the interview.' Frere took Ali to task a little for not paying his debts. The courtiers all leaving the Durbar tent, Ali asked who his supposed creditors were. The name of one man was mentioned: 'That scoundrel,' said Ali: 'just ask Inverarity Sahib to inquire, and you will find the villain is actually in my debt.' The Commissioner was received with a salute, both going and coming, and Ali came to meet him near the door of the inner tent, but did not see him out quite so far. Then they proceeded down the river to Kotree, and crossed over to Hyderabad. There they witnessed a review of the 2nd Beloochees. The polished silver helmet worn by the officers, and the cloth of gold wrapped round the men's foreheads, gave the regiment, says Keith Young, a theatrical appearance. On their way they visited the battlefield of Dubba, since called Hyderabad. 'The nullahs, where the enemy were posted, very rough affairs, it must have been hard work getting over them.' On their return to Kurrachee, Keith Young was kept constantly busy, both with his own work and the improvements undertaken by Frere. A new road to the Bunder, which was being made by prisoners, occupied his attention. He saw much of the Engineer officer, Scott, a nephew of Sir Walter's.⁴⁵ There was much cholera about, and a new hospital was being built. His life at this time was one of continual useful work, but somewhat monotonous to read about. People in India were greatly stirred about a pamphlet by Jacob, which was very severely noticed by the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie. The journal runs: —

Much vexed reading in the Courier extracts of a pamphlet said to be by Jacob, abusing the Bengal army. He deserves to be brought to a court-martial for his slanderous imputations A long conversation with Frere about Jacob and his pamphlet. He has a copy but did not show it to me, he said, because he was really ashamed of it. He then told me Sir Charles's opinion of Jacob. He looked upon him as a first-rate soldier, but had a higher opinion of Roberts.⁴⁶

In October 1851 Keith Young took a trip to Bombay, returning in December. During his absence, Frere wrote him the following, which, among many others, shows the friendly feeling between them: —

Kuddayee on the road to Sehwan,
17th November, 1851.

My dear Young, — I have only just time to thank you for your very interesting letter of the 3rd, and to beg you will consult your own convenience as to the time of your return, as it would be a great pity to spoil a pleasant trip for want of a day or two longer, and I

⁴⁵ Son of his third brother, Thomas.

⁴⁶ General Sir Abraham Roberts, father of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C.

cannot be back at Kurrachee till about Christmas, so take as much leave as Government will let you have. I got away from Kurrachee with a good deal of trouble. It is no easy matter to arrange for a trip along this road. Preedy mismanaged it, and Gray and Fraser were the reverse of accommodating about help in the way of supplies. Was at last obliged to arrange for myself, with John Fardass's aid. On these and many other occasions I miss you much, but would not on any account curtail your trip, which will, I hope, do you much good. Marston has been very ill, but hopes to join us here soon. Ellis is a great acquisition. Till today, I may say, the weather has been trying – scorching days and chilling nights – and the followers suffer much, as have all who are at all exposed.

I hope now that all sickness is disappearing. You will be glad to learn that I left Mrs. Frere very well, and the children also. You will not know Georgie. It is very doubtful when you will get this, so I will say no more than I am, Yours very sincerely,

Bartle W. Frere.

The following was also addressed to him by a native:-

To Honored Sir Master Young, Esquire. The Judge, Post pade, Kurrachy.

Honored Sir, – I beg to inform your Honor that nowadays His Highness Meer Ally Moorad Khan proposed two arguments, and he wrote or will write to the Governor of Bombay, which compelled me to inform the Commissioner Esquire. I wrote my Petition to his Honor, and its Copy I sent to your Honor. I do not know that the destruction of Large base is known to the Governor of Bombay or not. Therefore your Petitioner wrote longer Petition to the Commissioner, Your Honor kindly entreat for me to his Honor to pardon me, besides you know that I am reading the English from some space, I am not clever in it, and I wrote my Petition in the English through fear that the newse of the Office of Persian reaches to Meer Sahib. Your Honor kindly pardon me the errors of my writing. Wishing your health and prosperity. – I am, Honored Sir, Your most obedient and humble Servant,

Sheik Alli Hussan.

Shikarpore, 15th April 1851.

Keith Young's stay in Scinde was now drawing near a close. On 21st January 1852, he addressed the military secretary in Bengal as follows: –

Sir, – Having heard that there is a prospect of the Judge-Advocate-Generalship being shortly vacated by Colonel Birch, I have the honor to request you will do me the favor of submitting my name to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, as a candidate for the appointment. I make the application with diffidence, as I have no claim to urge

beyond that of long and faithful service, many years of which have been spent in Scinde.

I entered the service in 1824, and joined the J.-A.-G.'s Department in 1842. For some years my name was borne as senior on the list of Deputies, and since I left the Department, my duties have been, and still are, principally of a judicial nature. I would beg to add that I am sure the Bombay Government, and those under whose immediate orders I have been placed since leaving the Department, would be happy to testify in my favor if called upon, and should the expected vacancy take place, and I be fortunate enough to succeed, my every energy should be directed to merit so great a mark of his Excellency's confidence and favor. — Your obedient servant,

Keith Young.

By the same mail, Keith Young wrote to Colonel Birch, and his reply explains the situation. —

Headquarters Camp, Wuzeerabad,
8th February 1852.

My dear Young, — I received on the 28th January yours of the 21st, and ascertained the same day that your official application had been received by the military secretary. Three or four days afterwards, it was mentioned to me by the Com.-in-Chief, upon which I asked his Excellency whether I might write and inform you that it was his intention to appoint you. He told me that such was his intention, believing that you were the best man he could nominate, because I had told him so, being disposed to rely on my recommendation. But as regards telling you, his Excellency dryly observed: 'But you are not gone yourself yet.' I would have written so much to you days ago, but did not like to do so. Yates, however, has been speaking to me about it, and his idea is that though he was obliged to write to you the 'usual businesslike reply to your application, there is no reason why I should not tell you of the Com.-in-Chief's intentions in your favor. This was his expression. But though I have done as he suggested, you, my dear Young, must not mention it to anyone. Let it suffice that you know yourself that, when I go, you will be appointed. It is to succeed Stuart that I am to go, but my last letter from the Gov.-Genl., written on the day of his arrival at Benares, 25th January, tells me that Stuart has taken his passage on a 500-ton ship (the Aurora) for Sydney, but so often has he changed his plans, that there is no depending on his actually going, till it be officially announced. Lord Dalhousie, however, wrote that Stuart was looking very ill, and that he did not think he would live to see Sydney. A letter, received in our camp from another person, says that Stuart was very ill when he embarked in the steamer at Benares for Calcutta.

I hope this additional attack will induce him to go to England at once. His going only to Austraha is very inconvenient for me, as well as for you. But, as in my case the acting for two years while he is away, should he live so long, ought to ensure my final appointment in his room, so will your acting ensure my place here to you. But how would your allowances be affected by your officiating only? I conclude I should have half Stuart's allowances and half my own, or at any rate half of Stuart's and so much of my own as would equalize my receipts to my present salary. The remainder would be yours, i.e. half my staff salary, $2/1450=725$, and two horses=60, making for you 785 rupees, besides your pay and allowances as Captain

Believe me. Yours very sincerely,

R. J. H. Birch.

This letter found Keith Young at Lharkana, where he was on tour with Bartle Frere. The journal records, among other matters of interest, the deposition of Ali Murad, the Ameer of Khairpur, from his rule over the Shikarpore district.⁴⁷ At last, on 13th March, came definite news of his appointment, when he was at a place called Nowshara. Sir Bartle Frere at once wrote him this note: —

My dear Young, — I am sincerely glad on your own account, though very very sorry on our own. I only hope you will be as happy yourself, and make all about you as happy wherever you go, as you have been at Kurrachee. — Yours ever sincerely,

H. B. E. Frere.

He also wrote to Lord Falkland, the Governor of Bombay. —

My Lord, — In forwarding the accompanying copy of a letter from Col. Tucker, C.B., Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army, as per margin,⁴⁸ I have the honor to state that I have sanctioned, subject to the approval of your Lordship in Council, Major Young's proceeding to join Army Headquarters for the purpose of taking up his appointment.

2. I hope that under the circumstances Government will approve of my having at once complied with the wish of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, without awaiting the receipt of a reply to a reference to Government. The weather is getting so hot that, even by starting immediately, it will be late to be under canvas ere Major Young can reach Mooltan, and he will still have a long distance to travel ere he can reach the Commander-in-Chief's camp.

⁴⁷ This deposition of Ali Murad was expected to give some trouble, but was quietly effected.

⁴⁸ No. 274 of 7th inst. from the Adjutant-General of the Army intimating that H.E. the Commander-in-Chief had been pleased to select Major Keith Young to officiate as Judge- Advocate-General and requesting that he will join as speedily as possible.

3. I ought not to omit this opportunity of acknowledging to your Lordship in Council my sense of the value of the assistance I have received from Major Young, since I have been in charge of this office.

4. Of his abilities in his own branch of the service, it would be superfluous, if not presumptuous, for me to express my opinion, after the recognition of them in a higher quarter by a better judge.

5. But I may be allowed to record my sense of the benefit which the Government service in this province has derived from the upright and conscientious exercise of those abilities, and also my own personal obligations for the efficiency of the aid I have ever received from him in carrying out the reforms ordered by your Lordship in Council.

6. I will not now dwell on the details of the many useful measures he has already aided to introduce, or for the introduction of which he has done much to pave the way. But I trust I shall be pardoned for suggesting that any officer appointed to act for him, should possess some practical experience of judicial duties and jail management in India, as the entire want of any such experience, on the part of all officers in the magisterial and police departments, is a serious obstacle to the introduction of those further reforms which are so much needed in the judicial system of this province. — I have the honor to be,

My Lord, Your obedient servant,

H. B. E. Frere,
Commissioner in Scinde.

Judicial Department, Bombay Castle,
24th April 1852.

Sir, — In forwarding to you the annexed copy of a letter from the Commissioner in Scinde (No. 14) dated the 16th ult., I have been directed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, to intimate the entire concurrence of this Government in the high estimate which Mr. Frere has placed on record, of the value of your services as Judicial Assistant to the Commissioner. His Lordship in Council has no doubt but that it will be gratifying to you, on the present occasion of leaving Scinde, to know that Government fully appreciated the ability, care, and judgment, with which you have discharged the functions of that office. — I have, etc.,

J. G. Lumsden,
Secy, to Govt.

To Brevet-Major Keith Young, 50th Regt. Native Infantry.

Here Keith Young's connection with Scinde comes to an end, but the hard work he did in that trying climate is only hinted at in these extracts from his journal and letters. Many distinguished men have borne witness to his usefulness – Sir Charles Napier, Bartle Frere, Outram, Herbert Edwardes, and these letters, which reached him from the Freres after his departure, give a pleasant impression of the kindly feeling between them: –

Guggur, 30th November 1852.

My dear Keith Young, – I was delighted to get your letter of the 16th, and wish I could make a less shabby return for the many interesting items of news you give me. You may be sure we will do our best to make Mrs. Boyd's stay at Kurrachee as comfortable as possible. Any friends of yours, especially if they can bring us late intelligence of you, will always have a passport to all we can do for them. We have had a very late season till last Monday, not a sign of N. wind, and there was much fever about. So I remained at single anchor, not liking to start till we could do so without risk, and on the very day when the cold weather set in, came an order for a court-martial on Major Shaw for unauthorized correspondence with Ali Murad. There is no doubt he accepted a commission from Ali to go home as his paid envoy, but all that can be proved is a correspondence, which, though opposed to sundry G.-G.O.s, has always been winked at, and I think, as the evil was checked by removing him from his command, any further notice of his very foolish conduct was unnecessary. However, the Bombay Government, acting under orders from Calcutta, thought otherwise, and I have the pleasant prospect of dancing attendance as a witness on the court for the next month or so. I am daily expecting a call back. Our party consists of Ellis, Bellasis (your locum-tenens), Preedy, young Stewart, and Morris, the secretary of the Military Board, whom you, I think, know, now here for his health (mark that please). We are looking at the road on which your signposts are to be erected. The post already traverses it, and Ettanay and Turner already talk seriously of a railroad to Jerruck. Chapman of the Engineers has just come up, and taken up his duty of examining the comparative merits of a canal between Tattah and the Gharrah creek, and a railway. He is the best of the young Engineers in the corps, and I have great hopes of the thing not sleeping. It is one of Sir Charles's schemes which, I hope you will tell him, I am doing my best to carry out. Turner is very enthusiastic, which you know is not his wont without good cause, both on this plan and on one for a navigable canal from Gogra creek into the harbor. Sir Charles will be glad to hear that last year the imports into Scinde were 48,92,000 rupees and the exports 24,41,000 rupees, being an increase of 6,33,000 rupees on imports and 4,75,000 on exports, and this year I expect to have at least half a crore,⁴⁹ which he will know is a very rapid increase. Fife is at work on the Narra with one officer and two other assistants, and I hope to see that carried also. But I must talk no more shop.

⁴⁹ A crore is 100 lakhs, and a lakh = 100,000 rupees. The sums in the text represent 48 lakhs and 92,000 rupees, and 24 lakhs and 41,000 rupees respectively. Kurrachee is now the fifth port in India. The coast trade amounts to about 15 crore of rupees.

Preedy, Stewart, Marriott and Ellis would all desire kind regards if they knew I was writing. —

Believe me. Ever my dear Young, Sincerely yours,

H. B. E. Frees.

Abbottabad, Hazara,
12th July 1853.

My dear Young, — When your kind note reached me, I was on a frontier expedition in the valley of Kaghan (noted, I am amused to see, in Butler's Ancient Atlas as Indo-Scythia!), and as my days and nights were hardly tasked with marches in the hills of eighteen or twenty miles, and tumultuous cutcherries, I put off replying till my return home. But I know Emma wrote to your good wife, and there was no kind thought or rejoicing for your increased happiness expressed by her, in which I do not heartily share. May your boy grow up with a stout frame, a gentle heart, and a good, contented, happy, religious mind, and then he is sure to be a joy to you both, and to want nothing himself as long as he lives. I think, my dear Young, that it is a happy thing you have married so late, for you will be able to go home and educate your own children, than which I scarcely think man, even looked at as a social being, or 'public man' as the phrase is, can have a more imperative duty, and I often wonder to hear truly high-minded and unselfish people lamenting that their 'duty to the service' or 'to India,' keeps them in this country, and obliges them to consign their children to Mr. Thwackem for their schooling, and Aunt Skinflint for their holidays. We have just had a very nice account from Mrs. John Lawrence, of Mrs. Young and the little boy, which is very pleasant.

We ourselves are getting a little more comfortable, our house will be ready to receive us in a week, and the weather here during the rains is pleasant and fresh. When we can once more settle down into a civilized state, the retirement of this district will be rather grateful than otherwise, but truly we have both had to pay heavily for the move, which in no one way was for our advantage. I was in hopes that Henderson would hke Farrington. Certainly I should be very glad to have Henderson here. This district cannot be said even to be disorganized, for it never knew what organization was, and I stand alone in the attempt to bring in order. My wife joins me in very kindest regards to Mrs. Young. — And I am. My dear Young, Yours very sincerely,

Herbert B. Edwardes.

28th September 1853.

My dear Major Young, – I ought to have answered your letters we were indeed very glad to get long ago, so must but throw myself on your mercy for forgiveness. But though I did not write, you must not think we were the less very glad to hear of the birth of your dear little son, and to get such good accounts of him and Mrs. Young. You know my good husband's agreeable way of spending his days, and often evenings, and how difficult it is for him to squeeze out time enough to write occasionally to our little girl at home, and will not, therefore, wonder at never having received the letter I constantly hear him say he wished to write to you. I dare say you hear from many abler pens, to say nothing of those enlightened journals the *Sindian* and the *Sind News*, of all that goes on at Kurrachee – how it is so common nowadays to have ships from England, that we hardly noticed the last one leaving 'Our Ports' – of the improvements and changes going on around. People are beginning to paper their rooms now, so you will not even recognise your own old house. Of Mr. Ellis and Mr. McLeod's trip to Hinglaz,⁵⁰ I dare say you have also heard. They returned much pleased with their visit to the mud volcanoes, but both have had fever since My young brother,⁵¹ of the 7th Bengal Cavalry, left us last Saturday by the steamer for Mooltan. He is to be with his corps at Kurtarpore, about 11th November. I was very glad of the visit from him, though so much time is expended in the journey up and down that it left very little of the leave for Kurrachee! When my husband gets the railway he hopes for, then it won't be so bad. I hope my brother Leonard may meet Mrs. Young's brother, who is, I think you told me, stationed at JuUundur. The Preedys have built a very nice bungalow at Clifton, also Captain Wormald, and now a padre is building a house. None of them on our hill. The 'Young Road' is in excellent order, and a great comfort to every one. You indeed did a good work for us. Now indeed you will be heartily tired of our Scinde news, and I must but add, my husband joins with me in very kind regards to yourself, and hoping Mrs. Young will accept the same. – Sincerely yours,

C. Frere.

24th October 1853.

My dear Young, – am sure you will be glad to see that we did what we could to show due honor to the memory of your old Chief. It would have been better arranged had you and a few other of his knights been still among us, but it was not the failure the disappointed editor of the *Sindian* would make out, and I hope, when you come this way, you will approve of what has been done. The Meeanee monument is at last half built, and will, I trust, be finished before next anniversary. I hope when you do come, you will travel from Jerruck, at least, by rail, if not from Kotree. The project is much

⁵⁰ Mountain in Beloochistan. Place of Hindoo pilgrimage.

⁵¹ Leonard Augustus Arthur. Killed at Lucknow in 1857.

better advanced than you would believe, and I have every hope that, if Lord Dalhousie supports it, as I trust he will, by this time in 1855 the first sod will have been turned, and the works of construction be in full swing. With kindest regards to Mrs. Young, and a kiss to your son and heir. — Believe me ever, My dear Young, Very sincerely yours,

H. B. E. Freee.

The long letter from Sir Henry Lawrence which follows, and Keith Young's answer to it, may be of interest, as showing an independent man's estimate of Sir Charles Napier's administration of Scinde. —

Mount Aboo, 3rd May 1864.

My dear Major Young, — May I beg the favor of your answering the following questions, and your giving me your opinion on the article in the *Calcutta Review* of July 1850, No. 27. It was written by Lieut. James. I wish particularly to know to what extent Sir Charles himself heard appeals. My impression is that he would not let you dispose of them, and I cannot conceive how he could have done so, even if people were willing to go three hundred miles to appeal. In the book on the administration of Scinde, it is said that Sir Charles Napier held two great Courts of Appeal, and thus kept all straight. If this means anything, it means that he then, and at no other times, heard appeals. James says all the Belooch warriors left Scinde, and fled the conquest, and Rathborne says none left. Which is right? Jacob confirms James, and says there are no fighting men in Scinde. Rathborne writes as if there had been more than one census. James says one was attempted and failed. He gives the population at 525,000. The Punjab Board called it a million, which is what Thornton's Gazetteer gives it, but Rathborne makes it one and a quarter million. Rathborne is quite right that the old system of collectors should have been continued for a year or two. I resisted the sudden change in the Punjab. For the rest, I cannot agree with Captain R. As to his assertion that the Punjab Board ran down the Scinde military officials, there is not a shadow of foundation for it. See our memo, in the Blue Book. It is simply a reply to Sir Charles Napier's violent attack on us, and it only incidentally alludes to Scinde, because Scinde had been thrust down our throats. We said that the Scinde officials had had no civil experience, and we said what, on Captain Rathborne's own showing, was most true. The men were generally able and have almost all turned out well, but that does not prove that, when set down to administer Scinde, they were qualified by past experience, and we showed our estimate of them by getting several to the Punjab, and by trying to get others.

I very much regret the obligation to defend myself. Hitherto I have written hurriedly and in trouble, but I think of writing at leisure on Punjab and Scinde. I have no wish to exalt one or run down the other. There was much in Scinde that I liked, much in the Punjab that I disliked, or I should have been there now. I am taking all possible means of arriving at the truth. If I fail, it will not be my fault. — Believe me. Yours sincerely,

H. Lawrence.

P.S . – If you wish I will not mention your name.

Headquarters, Simla,
23rd May 1854.

My dear Sir Henry, – I have to apologies for not replying before to your letter of the 6th instant, but I have delayed till now in the expectation of procuring a copy of the No. of the *Calcutta Review* that you refer to, but there does not appear to be one in all Simla. I remember reading the article to which you allude, when it first appeared, and discussing its merits with others in Scinde, and the impression it left on my mind, and not on mine alone, was not at all favorable to the truthfulness of the writer, whose aim seemed to be more to depreciate the administration he professed to describe, than to record faithfully its merits and defects. I allude more particularly to what was said in the article regarding civil and criminal justice, which being a subject familiar to me, I was the more interested in. As an instance of the untruthfulness of the writer, I think, if you will refer to the article, you will find it stated that it was not an uncommon thing to execute men for murder, who had killed their wives for infidelity according to ancient custom. Now the truth is, that not a single man, if my memory serves me, was hanged under these circumstances within the whole province in Sir Charles Napier's time. One man who had so killed his wife was ordered to be hanged on conviction in Upper Scinde, but he escaped from jail, and the sentence was never carried out. Some few men were executed for murdering women on the ground of infidelity, but those so executed were the uncles, cousins, or other relations of their victims, but in no case the husbands. Many of the latter were sentenced to death, but the sentences were commuted to transportation or imprisonment, according to the attendant circumstances. . . .

James is wrong in saying that all the Beloochee warriors left Scinde after the conquest, and what Jacob means by confirming the assertion of James, I cannot understand, for Jacob must know what was actually the case, though James might not. There must be misapprehension in the matter. The hill Beloochees were on their way to assist in the action against Sir Charles, but none reached in time, and they all returned to their native hills, those Beloochees who composed the armies that fought against Sir Charles, remaining in Scinde after the actions. As to Jacob's assertion of there being no fighting men in Scinde, if there are none now, there were none before the conquest took place, and this I imagine is what he is desirous of showing to take away from the credit of the battles of Meeanee and Dubba. I was at neither myself, so shall leave to others to argue the point as to our opponents being fighting men or not.

With the other papers I send a copy of the *Sindian* (newspaper), which gives a short account of the Scinde Police Force as at present constituted. The horse and camel levies spoken of as being attached to the police in the Hyderabad district, for service in the desert, have been added since Sir Charles left, but the remainder of the force appears to be the same now as it was in his time⁵² . . .

As regards your question on the subject of appeals, I do not exactly perceive what Sir Charles means by saying that he held two great Courts of Appeal. An appeal was always open in every case, from the decision of an inferior to the superior, and up to Sir Charles himself, if the litigant was dissatisfied, and this without the payment of any fee or stamp duty. That appeals were seldom made may reasonably be supposed to have been because of the justness of the original decisions, for certainly in no part of the world was there greater facility for making an appeal – no fees to pay or forms to go through of any kind, and the Governor himself just as accessible as any of his subordinates, or perhaps more so than most of them.

The returns of civil suits for 1846 herewith sent will give you some idea of the rough way in which matters were carried on – but these returns are, I fear, very imperfect, and so indeed is nearly everything that was committed to paper during the administration of Sir Charles. His was not a red-tape government, but it might have been more so without disadvantage, and much that is now obscure would have been better understood, and his labors, and the labors of those who acted under him, better appreciated.

The principal virtue in the administration of Sir Charles, I have always considered to be the excellent measures he took for settling the country, and giving security to life and property, unknown in many of our oldest possessions, was the result. His careful avoidance of interfering too rashly with the customs and prejudices of the natives, was another good feature in his government, and his complete accessibility to any, even the poorest Scindee, rendered it unlikely that any very glaring acts of oppression could be committed without being brought to his knowledge, and they were not likely to be unattended to.

But the government of Sir Charles was not one that could have been carried on with advantage for any lengthened period, in the form that it was administered, though better adapted, perhaps, than any other for a country in a state of transition, as Scinde was, from a barbarous despotism to a despotism of a more civilized nature. Still, however, I am of opinion that much that was good in our older provinces might have been introduced, with benefit to the people, into Scinde – but Sir Charles could see nothing that was good in the mode of carrying on the work in an Indian cutchery, and he knew that there was much that was bad. It was unfortunate this, for Scinde was not a

⁵² Sir B. Frere was emphatic in his praise of the police force, as established by Sir Charles Napier.

gainer. But I am drawing this letter out beyond all reasonable length, and it is high time that I should bring it to a close. I shall be glad if any information I have been able to give, may be of use to you, but I do not wish that my name should be mentioned. When in Scinde I always avoided taking any part in the dispute between Outram and Sir Charles, though often rather perplexed to steer clear, and in the controversy which, I regret to hear from you, is now going on as to the respective merits of the Scinde and Punjab administrations, I am anxious not to appear to take a part with either. In fact, it is only of the former that I am able to speak, and my anxiety, if called upon, will be to speak only of its merits, and gloss over its infirmities, and the virtues of Sir Charles as a Governor, would, I am sure, go far to excuse my partiality in this respect. His earnest and untiring exertions on behalf of the people he governed, his strict justice, his amenity to all who approached him, and the entire support he gave to all of us acting under him, joined to the great personal kindness that I, in common with others, received from him, are good and valid reasons, you will allow, for my taking what may appear a partial view of Sir Charles's government. When you have quite done with the papers I send, will you kindly return them to me. — And believe me. My dear Sir Henry, Yours sincerely,

Keith Young.

With this loyal defence of his illustrious Chief, the history of Keith Young's connection with Scinde worthily ends. He had spent over eight eventful years in the country, and had seen a newly acquired territory of upwards of fifty thousand square miles, equal to about the area of England and Wales, brought under a firm and orderly rule. Much more was done by Sir Bartle Frere after Keith Young's departure, and the methods during his tenure of the Judge-Advocate's office were necessarily rough and ready. But these pages tell their own tale of strenuous and faithful labor.

The following is a short account of Keith Young's life after leaving Scinde, Colonel Keith Young left Scinde in 1852 to join the Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Gomm, at Simla as Officiating Judge-Advocate-General. In 1854 he was confirmed in this appointment, and served under four successive Commanders-in-Chief — Sir William Gomm, General Anson, Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde), and Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn), Throughout the Mutiny he was with the Headquarter Staff both at Delhi and Lucknow.

Colonel Keith Young's account of the siege and capture of Delhi, as told in his diaries and letters, has been published under the title of Delhi 1857,

APPENDIX

I

Address to the 95th Regiment on the Presentation of Colors to them on the 10th of May 1841, by Major-General Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B., Commanding the Northern District.

Soldiers of the 98th! It is a proud thing to present six hundred British soldiers with those splendid standards under which they are to fight the battles of their country – a country that will bear no baseness – a people that exult in the achievements of their warriors. These colors, I well know, will never be abandoned by the 98th.

The first color is that of the Queen, which represents the honor of the British Crown, and of the Navy and Army, which have guarded its glory untarnished and refulgent for a thousand years. Now let me speak of your regimental color. As the Queen's color represents the general renown of the whole army, so does the regimental color represent the immediate and particular glory of the regiment.

In the history of ancient times, we read of the Phalanx and of the Legion – they were the distinguished bodies to which nations entrusted their military honor. Our Ocean Empire, widely spreading over the globe, obliges us to divide our army into smaller portions called regiments. It is true that the long war in Spain created those noble Divisions whose fame equaled that of the Phalanx and the Legion. But these Divisions were temporary creations – they had no standards, like the Badge of Man – they perished! But like the Spirit, their fame is immortal!

Regiments are therefore the real, constant, and integral part of which the British army is composed. To these celebrated battalions has England confided the honor of her arms. Bravely have they responded to the trust reposed in them! and more so in this than in any former age, for never before did they encounter so able and fierce a warrior as Napoleon, never before were they led by so great a general as Wellington. In presenting to you, soldiers, these colors, it may not be out of place to observe that we all enter the British service of our own free will. We are not slaves, forced into the ranks by a despot, we are free men, who enlist from a spirit of enterprise, loyalty, and patriotism. We swear before God and man to be true to our colors, round which we are bound to rally. To break such a solemn oath is to dissolve the ties of military society. A deserter is a scoundrel who betrays his God, his Queen, his country and his comrades. He betrays his Creator because he swears in the presence of the God of Truth to be true, and he is false. He betrays his Queen because he swears to stand to her colors, and he abandons them. He betrays his country because she pays him, she feeds him, she clothes him, she arms him, and he deserts. He betrays his comrades because, by desertion, he throws that duty upon them which he has sworn to do himself.

Soldiers, it is incumbent upon those sensible and right-headed men whom I have now the honor to address to admonish the young and thoughtless against the disgrace of desertion.

I say disgrace, because no honorable man can think without shame and sorrow of seeing the British uniform paraded in a felons' jail! That noble red uniform so admired by our friends, so dreaded by our enemies – that uniform which Wolfe and Abercrombie and Moore shed their life-blood to honor – shall this be seen herding with felons in a jail?

The very thought is disgusting to the heart of a true soldier, and I will turn from it to a subject that is grateful to my feelings, and speak of the beautiful regiment that is before me, and in truth I know of nothing which makes a perfect regiment that the 98th does not possess. Young and hardy soldiers, steady and resolute non-commissioned officers, enterprising and honorable officers, the whole well knowing and well doing their duties – and above all – because it is the main-spring of the machine – an able and experienced soldier at your head. When I say this, I pay no vain and empty compliments – it is not in my disposition to say such things without foundation. Of the abilities for command which your chief possesses, your own magnificent regiment is a proof. Of his gallantry in action, hear what history says, for I like to read to you of such deeds and of such men, it stimulates young soldiers to similar daring.

Major Fraser was killed in the flaming ruins – the intrepid Jones stood there a while longer amid a few heroic soldiers, hoping for aid, but none came, and he and those with him were struck down. The Engineer Machel had been killed early, and the men bearing ladders fell or were dispersed. Thus the rear of the column was in absolute confusion before the head was beaten. It was in vain that Colonel Greville of the 38th, Colonel Cameron of the 9th, Captain Archimbeau of the Royals, and many other regimental officers exerted themselves to rally their discomfited troops and refill the breach, it was in vain that Lieut. Campbell, breaking through the tumultuous crowd with the survivors of his chosen detachment, mounted the ruins, twice he ascended, twice he was wounded, and all around him died.

There stands Lieutenant Campbell, and well I know that should need be, the soldiers of the 98th would follow him boldly, as did those gallant men of the glorious 9th, who fell fighting around him in the breach of San Sebastian.

Soldiers! Young, well-drilled, high-courage as you all are, and led by such a commander as Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, I must, and I do feel proud to have the honor of presenting you with these splendid colors, confident that if the day of trial comes, and come I think it must, they will be seen waving victoriously in the smoke of battle, as the 98th forges, with fire and steel, its onward course through the combat.

War is deeply to be regretted, it is a scourge and a curse upon nations. It falls not so heavily upon us soldiers, it is our calling, but its horrors alight upon the poor, upon the miserable, upon the unhappy, upon those who feel the expense and the suffering but have no glory. War is detestable and not to be desired by a nation, but if it comes, then will I welcome it as a day of glory for the young and gallant army of England, and among the rest those brave men who will fight under the consecrated banners which I have this day the honor of presenting to the 98th regiment.

Given to me by Mrs. Derinzy at Kurrachee.

Keith Young.

II

Headquarters, Kurrachee,
12th February 1844.

*Extract from General Orders by His Excellency Major General Sir C. J. Napier, G.G.B.,
Governor of Scinde.*

2. The Governor unfortunately does not understand Hindoostanee, nor Persian, nor Maratta, nor any other Eastern dialect.

He therefore will feel particularly obliged to collectors, sub-collectors and officers writing the proceedings of courts-martial, and all staff officers, to indite their various papers in English, larded with as small a portion of the, to him, unknown tongues, as they conveniently can, instead of those he generally receives written in Hindoostanee, larded with occasional words in English.

Any indent made for English dictionaries shall be duly attended to, if such be in the stores at Kurrachee, if not, gentlemen who have forgotten their vulgar tongue, are requested to procure the requisite assistance from England.

True Extract.

(Signed) Edward Green, Major, Asst. Adjt-Genl.

True Copy.,

(Signed) W. J. Surtees,

Asst. Secy. Govt, of Scinde.

III

Headquarters, Kurrachee,
16th February 1844.

*Extract from General Orders by His Excellency Major-General Sir C. J. Napier, G.G.B.,
Governor of Scinde.*

1. All officers in command, and officers of the revenue, must exercise their discretion as to people found bearing arms. If they cannot give a good account of themselves, their arms must be taken from them, but if they are travelers, who evidently carry arms for their protection, they are not to be deprived of them. No man is to bear arms in the town excepting in passing through.
2. All chiefs who have made their salaam are entitled to carry arms personally.
3. The merchants who live in Scinde are to apply to the Lieut, of Police when they send out people with merchandise, and the Lieut, of Police should give to the said merchant a permit to carry arms. This permit is to be given free of all expense, and will state the number of people, and the number and description of arms which the merchant requires – and for the good conduct of these, his people, the merchant is to be responsible.

(Signed) C. J. Napier, Major-General
True Copy. Governor of Scinde,

(Signed) Edward Green, Major
Asst, Adjt,-Genl,

(Signed) W. J. Surtees,
Asst, Secy. Govt, of Scinde.

IV

The following account of the defence of Ghuzni, written by a sepoy of the 27th Bengal Native Infantry, is added, though not directly connected with Bcirde in the Forties, It will be remembered that when the British occupied Afghanistan in 1839, Ghuzni was stormed by the army under Sir John Keane. After that it was garrisoned by a sepoy regiment till 1841, when the Afghans rose against the British occupation of the country. History relates how Sir W. MacNaghten, the Political Agent, was murdered at Cabul, and General Elphinstone's army was destroyed on its way back to India. Ramchurn Sing tells his own story of the defence of Ghuzni by his regiment.

Narrative of Ramchurn Sing, Sepoy 3rd Company 27th Bengal N.I. (Translation),

October 1841, During the time my regiment was at Ghuzni I was there with it, we relieved the 16th N.I., which went to Candahar. It was in the beginning of November (about the 3rd of the month I think) that the Ghazees first commenced their attack on Ghuzni, a little snow, or rather sleet, had fallen at the time, but there was no heavy fall of snow till long after. Just before the insurrection began, a party of sepoys, invalids and others under Captain Woodburn had passed Ghuzni, where they halted two days, on their road to Caubul and Hindoostan. They were treacherously inveigled into a fort, two marches from Ghuzni, and all were massacred except a subadar, a havildar, two naicks and four sepoys.

The subadar was a Mahomedan, as were one of the naicks and three sepoys, the rest Hindoos. The havildar reported to Colonel Palmer that the Mahomedans had behaved very ill, having gone over to the enemy and given up their arms.

None of these men who came in brought these arms with them to Ghuzni. The Colonel ordered them to do duty with my regiment. About the time that disturbances commenced at Ghuzni, we heard that there was fighting at Caubul, and the Colonel began to make preparations for preventing the enemy from firing at us under cover of the buildings in the vicinity of the city. He had them all destroyed. There were several mosques on this account knocked down, which enraged the Ghazees very much, and we (the sepoys) wanted the Colonel to let them remain, but he would not. There was one in particular that we begged might be spared – it contained the tomb of a holy man, and was a place of pilgrimage. It was mined and blown up, and many said that with the noise of the explosion a voice was heard warning the Colonel to desist from such desecration. There was a booming sound when the explosion took place, but I heard nothing more, though I have been told that many others did.

When the insurrection broke out, there was a company of my regiment at each of the three gates (the Caubul, Parree, and Candaharee gates), and forty men under a native officer at the Katwalee in the centre of the town.⁵³ There was a company also in the new outwork that has been built at the foot of the Bala Shuhr, and all the rest of the regiment were inside the Bala Shuhr. The cavalry, consisting of two troops of Anderson's and one of Christie's Horse, were all in the town.

An attack was made in November by the Afghans on the Parree Gate, but they were beaten back and several of them killed, and some scaling-ladders that they had brought with them were captured. There were two small villages close to this gate where the Afghans had taken post and annoyed our men with their fire, after the enemy were driven back we occupied these villages, and two companies kept patrolling about while the bildars and others leveled all the buildings. We found a great deal of wheat and atta here, which was taken of into the Bala Shuhr.

There was great dissatisfaction evinced by a tuhseeldar in the town of Ghuzni, a man of wealth and importance, at the destruction of these villages. He was badly inclined towards the British Government, and so the Colonel turned him out with his wife and family. A large store of wheat and atta was found in his house – four hundred maunds of the former and two hundred of the latter. All was taken to the Bala Shuhr.

No provisions were brought in from the country after the insurrection began, but there was no want of food in the town⁵⁴. Sometime in December or early in January, the enemy came in great force and invested the town. The Colonel saw that it was impossible to preserve it, and by a preconcerted signal all the guards were withdrawn from the town and gateways, with the exception of that at the Caubul Gate, which remained in our possession till the last. But before this, it was ascertained that there was a party inside the town in league with those without – they had dug holes through the wall and let some of the enemy in, and it was on this being discovered that we retired to the Bala Shuhr.

After we went into the Bala Shuhr there was continually January fighting, but the Ghazees made no impression on the citadel. There were ten guns in it besides the large one, which could not be fired, and about sixteen ginjals which did great execution. The gun-carriages, being all native, had broken in the beginning of November after one or two discharges, but the *lohar mistry* (blacksmith) of the regiment, who was a very able workman, with the assistance of several of the sepoy, put all the gun-carriages in serviceable condition, we worked very hard for this.

⁵³ November 1841.

⁵⁴ December 1841.

There was plenty of ammunition for the big guns as well as for the small arms, but there were no artillerymen, so twelve or fourteen of us from each company were taught by the Quartermaster (Harris Sahib) the use of the guns, and told off accordingly for this duty only.

A few days after we had gone into the Bala Shuhr, some Afghan sowars arrived and reported in the town, that Shumsoodeen was on his way from Caubul to convey the garrison of Ghuzni to Peshawur, and would arrive immediately. One of these sowars was admitted into the citadel with a letter from Shumsoodeen to the above effect. He was blindfolded by the Colonel's order when he came in, and kept so till he went out again. In four days afterwards Shumsoodeen came, and the Colonel ordered a salute to be held in readiness for him. He had some two thousand followers with him, and came along with drums beating and colors flying, we saw him from the Bala Shuhr. He encamped some distance

from the town, and the Colonel sent a sepoy of the regiment to him of the name of Oomur Khan, with a complimentary letter and a nazzur (present) of five hundred rupees.

Shumsoodeen told Oomur Khan that he did not wish a salute to be fired for him, and none was fired. He entered the town the next day. He came by the Parree Gate, and took possession of the house of the tuhseeldar whom I have mentioned as having been turned out by Colonel Palmer. No opposition was made to his entering the town, either by the Ghazees or by our troops, from the citadel. We supposed him to be a friend sent to put a stop to the Ghazees fighting, which indeed he did at first, but he had not been more than four or five days in the town before the Ghazees recommenced their attacks upon the citadel. Shumsoodeen then sent his salaam to Colonel Palmer, and said he wanted to see him to settle matters, he was anxious that, the Colonel should go down to the town, but he did not go, as treachery was feared, and we said amongst ourselves that the nawab (Shumsoodeen) is a man of low rank, and ought to come and see the Colonel if he has anything to say to him, for it would be unbecoming the dignity of the Colonel to wait on the nawab. At length it was decided that the Quartermaster (Harris Sahib) should go. He went, but was not permitted to return. On Harris Sahib going to the town, the fighting ceased, and we understood that Shumsoodeen made a demand for some money to pay the Ghazees with, that they might go away to their homes. At first five hundred rupees were sent, but this was returned as not being enough, and more was then sent. The Ghazees were quiet for a little, and then began to attack us again. More money was asked for by Shumsoodeen. It was sent to him, and in this manner he received large sums from Colonel Palmer – many thousand rupees – and the Ghazees were quiet for a day or two on getting the money, and then came in greater numbers than before. The Colonel was warned not to give Shumsoodeen this money, but he was deaf to the advice of others and would not attend, though we said if you pay the Ghazees now here, you will have others, when they hear of it, coming from all parts of the country.

Oomur Khan was the person employed to carry messages from the Bala Shuhr to the town. The Colonel put great trust in him, he promoted him to naick and promised him further promotion, but he was a traitor to us. He told everything to Shumsoodeen, but brought back no intelligence to Colonel Palmer. This man was caressed on both sides, for Shumsoodeen gave him shawls and money and valuable presents. After Shumsoodeen came, many of the Mahomedan sepoy's deserted, but they did not fight against us, they were employed in bringing water and carrying loads for the townspeople.

The cold was very great in the Bala Shuhr and we were always on duty, when not on sentry the sepoy's used to sit and rub their feet with their hands, and hold them near a piece of lighted rag dipped in oil or ghee. We had atta at first in the citadel but latterly it was bad, and then half a seer of wheat a day used to be served out to each of us and a seer of wood to cook it with.

We pounded the wheat and made it into cakes with snow. There was enough wheat when we left the Bala Shuhr to have lasted us two months, and the Colonel had a private store of two hundred maunds of good atta, and several maunds of ghee and a room full of grapes. What we were most in want of in the Bala Shuhr was water.

It was very scarce. We had plenty of snow, it is true, but snow does not quench the thirst. It bums, it is like fire in the inside. But what could we do? there was but one well in our possession that had any water in it.

This was outside the gate of the Bala Shuhr, and there was very little water in it. This well was very deep, and many lotas were lost in it, the strings being cut against the sides of the well or by their getting entangled, for many sepoy's were drawing water at the same time, — but a guard was placed over this well to prevent confusions. Two havildars were broke for letting men draw water out of their turns.

There was another well inside the Bala Shuhr, but it had never been used, and the moolwee of the regiment had his nose and ears cut off in the town, and he threw himself down this well, so that we could not have drunk the water had there been any, but I never heard at any time of water having been drawn from it, and was told that Hyder Khan, the former governor of Ghuzni, had thrown things down it, and partially filled it up. We remained in this manner till the beginning of March, continually fighting, more or less, with the Ghazees, of whom we killed many thousands, and we retained possession not only of the Bala Shuhr but of the entrenchment below, and of the Caubul Gate. At length the Colonel determined to give up the Bala Shuhr to the Nawab Shumsoodeen, and we were directed to make over everything we had into the public stores. Shumsoodeen sent people to receive them. The necklaces of the native officers, the ornaments of the women, all the money and valuables of every kind were

given up, on the understanding that we were to get them or their value hereafter. The arrangement, I understood, was that we were to remain below in the town for ten days the guests of Shumsoodeen, by this time it was supposed the snow would have melted, and we were then to march under safe escort from him to Peshawur, each man being furnished with five rupees and a numdu. We all feared there was treachery in this, and the native officers and men told Oomur Khan so, but he said there was no cause for fear. We left the Bala Shuhr on the morning of the 10th of March, about ten o'clock. We were told that each man must carry down with him what he wanted, as no one would be permitted to return. We accordingly each took a bundle, but on our way down to the quarter of the town assigned to us, which was at and about the Caubul Gate, the Ghazees were not restrained by fear of Shumsoodeen from breaking in upon us and snatching away clothes and cooking-pots.

We were very sorry at coming down, and wished that Colonel Palmer had remained in the Bala Shuhr till aid arrived. We said amongst ourselves that if we held out for a few days more, the Ghazees will get dispirited and go away, for they have made a vow to take the citadel while the snow is on the ground, and when they see that it is melted, they will give up all hope and leave us.

We were much in want of water on the day that we came below, for there was no well in the quarter of the town we occupied, and the Ghazees fired several shots at us. On the next day, the 11th, the Colonel, seeing, I suppose, that Shumsoodeen was acting treacherously, had determined on leaving the place with the regiment, and fighting his way to Dera or Candahar. Arrangements for this purpose were quietly made, and several loads of ammunition and twenty thousand rupees, which had been brought below unknown to the Ghazees, were safely deposited at the Caubul Gate, and we had got a few Dhalus bullocks on which they were to be conveyed, and there were some horses of the officers, and the sepoy had made haversacks like what the European soldiers have, with two compartments, one for provisions and the other for extra cartridges, and the arms and accoutrements of the sepoy who had been killed were given to the officers' servants and camp followers. Every precaution had been taken. Badul Khan Subadar was in command of the guard at the Caubul Gate. He went over to the enemy that afternoon and gave them intelligence of the intended movement. The Ghazees came round outside the city walls in thousands, and the Caubul Gate was taken possession of by the enemy, with all the ammunition and treasure, and nearly all the Mahomedan sepoy left us and went over to them.

We did not know what to do, we had fifty rounds of ammunition each in pouch, and we were determined to fight as long as this remained. It was at last decided that we should dig through the wall, and so get outside, on the evening of the next day (the 12th), and fight our way. The outlet was soon ready and we could have got out easily, and the ditch was frozen over hard enough to bear us. I don't know what came over the Colonel Sahib, but this intention was given up. Messages came from Shumsoodeen,

who wanted all the European officers to go into the Bala Shuhr and give an account of all the stores and valuables that had been left there. Answer was sent that Mr. Harris, the Quartermaster, was there, and that whatever he wrote should be agreed to. Shumsoodeen said no, that all must come, and at last Colonel Palmer and all the other officers went. We begged and entreated that they would not go. The sepoy of the Grenadier Company went before the Colonel and told him he would only be made a prisoner of, but he would not mind them. Two of the officers, Nicolson⁵⁵ Sahib and the officer of Christie's Horse, were very averse to going, and I saw Mr. Nicolson standing before the Colonel and talking with great animation, trying to persuade him not to leave the sepoy. He sometimes addressed the Colonel in Hindoostanee and sometimes in English, and when he spoke English the drummers told us what he said. Amongst other things, he told the Colonel that if he would give him four companies, he would retake the Bala Shuhr from Shumsoodeen. There were few men there at this time, and we might have retaken it. We would have tried.⁵⁶

These two officers positively insisted upon staying with us, but they were persuaded at last to go, and we were much disappointed.

The Havildar-Major is my brother-in-law, and that is how I happen to know a great deal of what I have related, besides, I was very often on duty as the Colonel's orderly. I was on this duty all the time he was below, and for some days previously. As soon as the officers reached the Bala Shuhr they were instantly made prisoners of, and confined each in separate rooms. When we heard this we lifted up our hands in despair, and knew not on whom to call for protection. We gave ourselves up as lost, but we fought as long as our ammunition lasted, and there was fighting going on from the time that we left the Bala Shuhr.

On the morning of the 13th, message was brought to us by Oomur Khan to give up our arms to Shumsoodeen. We told him that we would not believe him, and sent back word that we wanted our officers. Oomur Khan shortly returned with a note from the Colonel, written in English, which was read and explained to the native officers and Havildar-Major by a drummer, the man who beat the big drum – Gahan Sahib was his name. The Colonel, I understood, wrote that he was a prisoner and could not help us, we must make the best terms we could and endeavor by any means to get back to Hindoostan, where he would write in our favor. He did not tell us in this note to give up our arms, but two men of rank came down from Shumsoodeen, and at last we were persuaded to lay down our arms – they taking a thousand oaths that by doing so we

⁵⁵ This was Brigadier Nicholson, who fell at Delhi in 1857.

⁵⁶ Colonel Palmer, it appears, was unjustly blamed. 'Nicholson hotly resented all imputations against the soldiership of his chief. ... Sir Jasper Nicolls held that the circumstances leading to the surrender of so strong a post were such as he could neither alter nor alleviate General Palmer was tried by court-martial at Meerut, and acquitted of the offences laid to his charge. This quotation is from Captain Trotter's *Life of John Nicholson*.

should be allowed to go unmolested to Peshawur, and should be furnished with everything we wanted by the way. We did not give up our arms till we saw that all resistance was useless, and we thought there was a chance of the oath they took upon the Koran being binding on them. But what is an oath to an Afghan! Scarcely had we given up our muskets than the Ghazees came in upon us, and the people, who had come upon the part of Shumsodeen, took themselves off to the Bala Shuhr, leaving us to the mercy of our enemies. The Ghazees began to snatch what few things we had from us, and made us give them first one part of our clothing and then another, till we were left quite naked. They then began to kill us, first destroying the sick and wounded. They massacred us at pleasure, for we could do nothing. Many of the sepoy hid themselves in the houses, and some lay down and, pulling the dead bodies of their comrades over them, concealed themselves till night came on. Those that were discovered by the Ghazees, were first asked to repeat the Kulimee (the Mahomedan belief) and if they did so quickly they were spared, but if there was any hesitation, they were abused as Kafirs and hacked to death, the Ghazees crying out '*Buzun! Buzun!*' ('Slay! Slay!') Those that were spared they took away to their houses, and kept them as slaves.

There were about forty or fifty women in the 27th Regiment belonging to the sepoy, syces, grascutters, dhobies, etc. They were with us when the massacre took place, and many were killed in a brutal way. The Ghazees spared only the young and good-looking, and these they took away, quarrelling amongst themselves as to whom this one or that one belonged. There was one beautiful girl, a dhobie's wife, she came from Cawnpore, the whole regiment were in love with her. She fell to the lot of Shumsodeen, and is now, I am told, waiting upon him. I do not know what became of Gahan, the drummer, or of the rest of the drummers. I saw them all together that morning (the morning of the 13th) with their children, they had several children, but their wives had been left behind at Ferozepore. There were no ladies with us at Ghazni except Mrs. Lumsden, and she was shot in December (I think), before we retired into the Bala Shuhr. Her husband was killed the same day. He was on duty in the outwork below the Bala Shuhr. She heard of his death, and came down and was herself shot. She was hit in the neck, and died immediately. She had on the dress that she usually wore, the same kind of dress that European ladies always wear. We did not bury her body nor that of her husband. How could we bury them? The Sergeant-Major was killed in the town at the commencement of the insurrection, and the Quartermaster-Sergeant on the 10th of March, the day that we gave up the Bala Shuhr. There were no other European officers killed, and only one wounded, Captain Burnett of the 54th N.I. A musket-ball, I heard, struck him in the lower part of the nose and came out at his eyebrow, but did not hurt his eye. As I have before said, besides the 27th Regiment there were two troops of Anderson's and one of Christie's Horse in the town when the insurrection began. Many of the Mahomedans of this party went over to the enemy while we were in the Bala Shuhr. They had gone up with the infantry on the town being abandoned, on the day that we came down (the 10th March). One of the risaldars and a great many men deserted and joined Shumsodeen. I do not know what became of the subadar of

Captain Woodburn's party. He was with us in the Bala Shuhr and might have been killed.

There was only one Hindoo sepoy that I know of, who went over to the enemy. He was of low caste, and turned Mahomedan. Before we gave up our arms to Shumsoodeen, all the Mahomedans had abandoned us except three: their names were Nujoo Khan Havildar, 4th Company, and Kadir and Nowla Bukus, sepoy of the 2nd Company. Most of the Mahomedans that joined the enemy were employed by them to fetch water, carry loads, and do other works. There were a few who fought against us after Shumsoodeen got possession of the Bala Shuhr, these were men who had been taught to work the guns, and I know that they fired at us, because the men of the regiment saw them at the guns with their uniform and accoutrements on. I did not see them myself, but I have no doubt it was the case, for what did Shumsoodeen's people know about firing large guns?

The tindal and moonshee of the regiment were amongst the number of those who went over to the enemy on the day that we gave up the Bala Shuhr to Shumsoodeen. In fact, it was a settled thing before that all the Mahomedans should leave us, and they all went – with the exception of the three men I have mentioned – servants as well as fighting men, they all went, and officers and sepoy. We encountered all kinds of hardships and privations, but the worst of them was the utter want of water after we came below. We had no well, and what snow there was, was beginning to melt and was mostly filthy and dirty. But what could we do? we were obliged to try and quench our thirst with it. It is impossible to describe our miserable situation.

I managed to get away from Ghuzni on the evening of the day that the massacre took place. I had concealed myself till night in a ruined house. Four other sepoy were with me. We escaped through the assistance of a Byragee, whom I had known and shown some kindnesses to before. He took us to a cave in the hills, about seven coss from Ghuzni, and three coss beyond the little fort of Ihoormut. Here we remained for nearly two months, never stirring out. I heard from the Byragee that there were many men of the 27th in Ghuzni and the adjacent villages, who had escaped the fury of the Ghuzees and were kept as slaves. I cannot say how many have escaped, but I do not think more than thirty or forty Hindoos. Of Mahomedans, of course, there are a great many. The Havildar-Major, I was told by the Byragee, is in confinement at Ihoormut. I do not know what the strength of the regiment was when we left the Bala Shuhr, but there must have been about four hundred men. There were a good many sick and wounded. I did not receive any wound, nor was I sick.

After staying with the Byragee about two months, he told me and my companions that he was fearful of concealing us any longer, that strict search was being made by the Ghazees, and if we were found, we should be murdered or carried off into slavery. He one day gave each of us three seers of atta and an old blanket, and advised us to make

the best of our way to our own country. He directed us to some hills in the distance, about twenty-five coss off, where he said we should find a nullah, and were to follow the course of it through the mountains till we reached the open plains. We attended to his directions and found the nullah he had guided us to, and a road that was much travelled by merchants who go this way in large caravans to Bulkh and Bokhara. It was twelve days before I reached the open country again, and in this time I endured many hardships. Three of my companions died in the hills of hunger and fatigue. We had nothing to eat all this time but the atta we had brought with us, and the grain of a plant called bhootta that grows wild on the banks of the nullahs in Afghanistan. I never saw any of it in India, but it is very common about Ghuzni and Caubul. It causes dysentery to those who eat much of it, but we were glad to get it. Some large caravans of merchants passed us in the hills with many camels – we hid ourselves always when we heard them coming – we knew when they were coming by the tinkling of the camel bells.

Each caravan has a large camel that leads the way with a bell round its neck, and as it walks along, the sound can be heard at a long distance off. Not a single village is there in these hills, nothing but rocks and stones, and numbers of Mahomedan tombs. There must have been continual battles in these hills for there to have been so many tombs. The merchants are all armed. We used to peep out of our hiding-places and look at them. We were never discovered. No people travel this road except in very large parties. An army could easily march along it, but guns could not go. There are only nine coss of the road, where water was bad. Amongst the tombs that I have spoken of, there was one, about ten marches from Ihoormut, that seemed like the tomb of a European gentleman, there is a square stone of a blue color let in to the side of it, with writing on it that looked to me like English.

The road does not follow the exact course of the river, it is sometimes on the right bank and sometimes on the left, but never very far from the river, which winds a great deal. The river is called the Gomul. I learnt this afterwards when I got to Dera Ismael Khan. I asked its name there, they told me, and said that it fell into the attack⁵⁷ some miles higher up.

On leaving the hills and descending into the low ground, we saw many villages, but did not go near them. We were afraid of being seized, and kept as much as possible along the beds of nullahs, avoiding the villages, and hiding when we saw any of the inhabitants. My only remaining companion was very much knocked up, and so was I, we had finished all our atta by the time we left the hills, and then we lived entirely on some bhootta, which we had brought down with us, knowing that there was none in the low ground. My companion's name was Gunga Tewarry. He is a sepoy in the 6th Company. We were able to get on very slowly, and it was seven days before we reached

⁵⁷ Indus (?).

the large town of Koolanchee. We saw a Hindoo laborer going along, and we asked him. He told us that the country thereabouts belonged to Runjit Sing, so we went into the town.

There are a great many Hindoos in the town of Koolanchee, and the governor of it is called Khan. He was very kind to us. We stayed there six or seven days, and he ordered us to be provided with food. He had been to Hindoostan, and spoke to us about Lucknow, Benares, and other places. He also praised to us the government of the British in India, and said it was very different in Runjit's territories, that there was nothing to praise there, that all was oppression and plunder. We were lodged in the dhurmsala, the Goosayun attached to which has lost the use of one of his legs and walks on a crutch. The revenue of Koolanchee and its neighborhood is collected by Sumbhul Mull. He is a man of great influence in that part of the country, he is the Chukleedar, like Durusun Sing in Oude, he is very kind and charitable to Byragees and travellers. His gamashtu gave us some clothing.

On leaving Koolanchee, we fearlessly went into the villages on the road, and begged our way to Dera Ismael Khan. At Dera we stayed three days, and here I collected sufficient money to buy myself a pair of shoes, but a thief stole them from me a day or two afterwards. We had much difficulty in getting across the attack, the ferryman would not believe our story, and insisted on being paid before letting us into the ferryboat. At last the lalla (writer) took compassion on us, and ordered us to be taken across, and gave each of us six pice.

After we had crossed the attack, my companion Gunga became quite unable to proceed. His feet were cracked and sore from the cold at Ghuzni and our continued travelling without any shoes.

I carried him on my back for a day or two, and then he begged that I would leave him and pursue my journey to Ferozepore. I left him to the care of a shepherd, a Hindoo, who promised to take care of him. I wanted to stay with him, but he would not let me. If he gets well again he will easily come on.

I did not know the names of the places that I came through afterwards. I lived on charity. I had intended to go to Ferozepore, and crossed the Sutlej about forty coss below that station. I then lost my way and found myself on the road to Khytul, so I came on that way to Kurnaul. I halted a day at Khytul, where a charitable baboo gave me a blanket and half a rupee. I felt much ashamed that I, a sepoy of the company, should be obliged to beg alms, but what could I do? It is not my fault. I am ready to return to Caubul if such is the order of the sircar. Why should I not go? It is my duty. But if you give permission, I would rather go home and see my wife. She lives near Chuprah, and I have one child, a son. I have not seen them for four years.

Kurnaul, 22nd July 1842.

V

Proclamation of His Excellency Major-General Sir C., J. Napier, Governor of Scinde (Translation).

Be it known to all the Mahomedan inhabitants of Scinde, that I am the conqueror of Scinde, but I do not intend to interfere with your religion. I respect your religion, but it is necessary that you also should respect mine. We both worship one God, and that God has prohibited us to take away life, but notwithstanding this, you kill your wives without pity. I tell you plainly that I will not allow this. I am the ruler of the country, and if any one hereafter kills his wife, I will have the matter investigated by a Court of Justice, and the offender shall be punished according to his crime. This order is to be duly obeyed in Scinde. Let no one break it.

Written on the 6th August 1844.