Sir Charles Napier

By: T. R. E. Holmes.
1895

Reproduced by

Sani H. Panhwar

Sir Charles Napier

by
T. R. E. Holmes.
1895

Reproduced by
Sani H. Panhwar
California 2009

INTRODUCTION

This biography was taken from a book titled '*Lives of Indian Officers'* which was originally published in three volumes in 1895, written by T. R. E. Holmes. The original volumes covered famous British soldiers who served in India.

I have reproduced the portion written on Sir Charles Napier who conquered the province of Sindh from Talpur Ameers. Napier is a very controversial figure of contemporary history. Even though the writer is biased and has given high credit to Napier but I will leave it up to the reader to make a decision on Napier's personality, his actions before and after taking over Sindh and his administration in the province of Sindh.

This was the very first biography written on Sir Charles Napier.

Enjoy reading

Sani Panhwar
Los Angeles, California
March 2009

SIR CHARLES NAPIER

Charles James, the eldest son of Colonel the Honourable George and Lady Sarah Napier, was born at Whitehall on the l0th of August, 1782. On the side of his father, he was descended from Montrose and from the Napier who invented logarithms; on that of his mother, a daughter of the second Duke of Richmond, from Charles the Second, and therefore also from Henry of Navarre. He always believed that his father was, in genius, at least the equal of Wellington, and accounted for his not having risen to eminence by the theory that men in power feared him and resented his want of subservience. Whatever may be the value of this estimate, George Napier was certainly a remarkable man. Six feet three in height, and built in proportion, he was spoken of by Sir Joshua Reynolds as a model of strength and manly beauty; and all who knew him were impressed by the force, the disinterestedness, and the generosity of his character.

When his eldest son was three years old, Colonel Napier settled at Celbridge, a small town on the Liffey, ten miles from Dublin. Owing to an accident, caused by the carelessness of his nurse, Charles was often ailing as a child; and, in strange contrast to his herculean father, he grew up a small and meagre boy. But he very early gave promise of future greatness. Even in childhood he passionately longed for fame, and dreamed of winning it in war; yet he was so tender and sympathetic, that it grieved him to think that the meanest animal was in pain. Once, while still so young that he could barely speak, hearing a crow caw, he began to cry, and, stretching out his little hands, exclaimed, *"What matta, poor bird ? What matta?"* Nor would he be quieted until he had been told, over and over again, that the bird was not unhappy. So sensitive a child could not but be alive to every danger: but, stimulated by love of glory and admiration for heroism, whenever he felt fear he would force himself to beat it down. One day, in his eleventh year, having gone out angling, he had just caught a fish, when, before he had time to secure it, a large eagle swooped down, perched upon his shoulders, and carried it off. Undaunted, he pursued his sport, and, as soon as he had caught another fish, held it up, challenging the eagle to attack again, and brandishing the spear-end of his rod.

In 1794, at the age of twelve, he received a commission in the 33rd regiment, of which the future Duke of Wellington was then major. Soon afterwards he was transferred to the 89th, forming part of an army, of which his father was assistant quarter-master-general, assembled at Netley Camp under Lord Moira. Young Napier was taken to the camp; and there, although he did not actually join his regiment, he naturally became familiar with military life. After a short stay, he was sent back to Ireland, and exchanged into the 4th regiment; but, as he was still too young to join, was placed as a day-boy at Celbridge School.

His precocious intimacy with soldiers had already left its mark upon his character. In manner and habits he had little in common with the ordinary schoolboy. He bore himself, indeed, as if he were conscious that he was already an officer. All boys hate injustice; but

Napier was so exceptionally sensitive to it, that once, when his master had struck him for a supposed offence, he shut himself up in a closet for hours, weeping and brooding over his grievance, and did not regain his equanimity for a week. He never quarrelled or fought. Yet, quiet and reserved as he was, he rapidly established an almost absolute ascendancy over his school-fellows. Signs of coming rebellion were already manifest in Ireland; and young Napier, noting that in many places bodies of yeomanry were being raised, determined to organise the boys of his school as a corps of volunteers. The idea was as daring as it was original; for nearly all the boys belonged to Catholic families, who were naturally indisposed to support the Government. Napier, however, persuaded the boys to consent to his project; and uniforms, flags, drums, and rude fusils were provided by their parents. The corps formed, a party of the boys tried to secure the command for John Judge, one of the seniors, the best pugilist in the school, and the foremost in all games; but, with singular good sense, the lad snubbed his would-be supporters, and insisted that Napier, as the only one who had any knowledge of military affairs, should be elected chief. The faction submitted; and the slender, sensitive boy formed and inspired his volunteers, some of whom were five years older than himself, while nearly all had been taught to regard him as a heretic, and to abhor the Government which he desired to uphold.

Meanwhile events were passing around him which caused young Napier to reflect with seriousness disproportionate to his age. The loyal and the disaffected were equally savage. Bands of malcontents in quest of arms nightly attacked Protestant houses; while poor peasants were often carried into the town, dead or dying from wounds which had been inflicted upon them by passing soldiers or yeomen. When, in 1798, the rebellion broke out, Colonel Napier, refusing to follow the example of the families who fled to Dublin, fortified his house, armed his five sons, and awaited an attack, which, though often threatened, was never delivered. At a later period, he was accepted as the virtual commander of a company of militia, stationed at Castletown, and, accompanied by his eldest son, often scoured the country at their head. The boy's mind, thus early habituated to scenes of bloodshed and civil strife, was quickened by intercourse with two old family servants, a nurse and a butler, who, with natural eloquence, strove to nourish every aspiration of his soul.

In 1799 this unconventional, yet fitting education came to an end; and Charles Napier, then a boy of seventeen, commenced his public career as aide-decamp to Sir James Duff, the commander of the Limerick district. Towards the end of 1800 he was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 95th, or Rifle Corps, and proceeded to join his new comrades at Blatchington. A cordial friendship soon arose between him and his captain, Cameron, a youth scarcely older than himself, and holding opinions similar to his own. From the more boisterous acquaintances into whose society he was cast he learned a habit of swearing, which, though he blamed himself for it, he never overcame. At the same time he imbibed other lessons which he never had reason to forget. It was borne in upon his mind that discipline is the greatest secret of war, and that one of the most important duties of an officer is to acquire a thorough knowledge of his men. Nevertheless, as his prospects of active service appeared to recede, and he became oppressed by the contrast between the excitements of his boyhood and the monotony of barrack life, his spirits fell.

The news of the peace of Amiens filled him with anxiety for his future. “Sometimes,” he wrote to his mother, with whom he kept up a regular correspondence, “my thought is to sell my commission, and purchase one in Germany or elsewhere: but my secret wish cannot be fulfilled, which is to have high command with British soldiers. Rather let me command Esquimaux than be a subaltern of Rifles forty years old.” Though still only nineteen, he led a life very different from that of the ordinary subaltern. Except on the rare occasions when he went to evening parties, he had little amusement. Billiards he was fond of: but fearing to be drawn into playing for money, he hardly ever touched a cue. Every moment that he could spare in the day-time he devoted to reading; and from five o’clock, when the mess was over, he read on again till ten. Home-sickness early seized him; and it needed all his force of will and all the distraction afforded by the company of pretty girls to enable him to fight against it. “I am a determined rake,” he wrote, “in love with four misses at once! I rode across the Downs, twelve miles after dark, to dance with one of them, and then came home at day-break. Yet would to heaven I could get home!”

After a short visit to London, where, with an austere resolution, he checked the longings of his passionate nature for pleasure, Napier was sent on a recruiting mission to Ireland, and thence preceded to Shorncliffe, to rejoin his regiment. In the following June, 1803, he went over to Dublin, to join his cousin, General Fox, who, having been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Ireland, had given him a place on his staff. Soon afterwards, Fox was transferred to the London district, and Napier accompanied him thither. The income of the young officer was inadequate to his expenses in the capital: he was again attacked by melancholy; and hearing that his brother William had been gazetted in the 52nd regiment, he fretted at not being able to join him. “What a curse,” he complained, “to have a turn of mind similar to mine. Great exertion or perfect tranquility is necessary to me, who have not that superior intellect which can regulate itself.” But his gloomiest descriptions of his own melancholy were generally lighted up by a flash of humour. “Last night,” he told his mother, “I sat up till two o’clock, writing on the old subject of grievances, and lashing myself into a fury with everything. Abusing the army, pulling off my breeches, cursing creditors, and putting out the candle all in a minute, I jumped into bed, and lay there blaspheming, praying, and perspiring for two hours, when sleep came. What I wrote is not worth sending, however, being full of jokes, politics, and blue devils.”

Towards the end of the year he was gazetted in the staff corps; but the promotion gave him no pleasure. He had come more and more to detest the army, and almost despaired of being able to conquer the feeling. “To me,” he wrote, “military life is like dancing up a long room with a mirror at the end, against which we cut our faces, and so the deception ends. It is thus gaily men follow their trade of blood, thinking it glitters; but to me it appears without brightness or reflection—a dirty red!” But feelings of this sort, in a nature so ardent as his, must either be subdued, and transmuted into a generous enthusiasm, or lead to aimless perturbation of soul, blank despair, and moral wreck. Confronted by the alternatives of forcing himself cordially to embrace, if he could never love, his profession, of degenerating into a pitiful grumbler, or of starving, Napier made a supreme effort, and braced himself to make the best of his lot. He soon felt that the crisis was over. “My low spirits,” he confessed, “are thrown off in a great degree; not quite, but

I am now as eager to carry all by storm as I was to desert five days ago. Not that my opinion or dislike is changed, but that no man can make a figure in anything who does not go heart and hand to work."

About this time, he was startled by the death of his friend Cameron: but, when the first force of the shock had passed, he was astonished and half ashamed to find that hardly a trace of grief remained. In the autumn of the same year his father also died; and thenceforth his mother became more to him than she had ever been.

In the middle of the following year, 1805, his quarters were removed to Hythe. He was now under the command of Sir John Moore. The example of that heroic man stamped an ineffaceable impression upon his character and opinions. Sir John Moore was not only the creator of the Light Division: he breathed the breath of a new life into the British army. While devising numerous reforms in matters of detail, he introduced a vital, not merely a mechanical discipline, for the enforcement of which he taught his officers to feel individually responsible. The coldest nature could not fail to be set aglow by the fire of his enthusiasm; and in Charles Napier he found a disciple after his own heart. Never drinking, never gambling, keeping himself rigidly apart from familiarity with the society of the mess-room, Napier thenceforth bent all his energies to fit himself for success in his profession.

A turning-point in his life soon appeared. In 1806 his cousin, Charles James Fox, gave him a majority in a Cape Colonial corps. Having failed in an attempt to exchange from this regiment into another, forming part of a division commanded by Moore, he was about to embark for the Cape, when adverse winds detained him at Portsmouth. There he found himself in the society of the officers of the 50th regiment, who soon conceived for him so strong a liking that they urged him to exchange from his new regiment into theirs. He refused to pay for his exchange, as such a course would be contrary to the regulations ; whereupon they contrived, by some means which he never discovered, to have him gazetted free of cost.

At this time the British troops, conscious of their power to fight, their rivalry stimulated by the exploits of Nelson's men, were looking impatiently for war. Not less eager than any other for action and for glory, Napier schooled himself nevertheless to struggle conscientiously through his monotonous daily work, resolving, if fame should be denied him, to remain satisfied with obscurity. His aspirations, however, were soon to be realised. After a year spent chiefly at Bognor, and diversified by nothing more exciting than a trip to Guernsey, where he became a Freemason, and some new flirtations, he was summoned, in 1808, to join the first battalion of the 5Oth at Lisbon. As the colonel had obtained leave of absence, Napier commanded the regiment, which was incorporated by Sir John Moore in the army about to enter Spain.

I I.

DURING the fatal retreat which Moore was soon forced to make, Napier showed what profit he had derived from the years which he had devoted to study. Keeping his men together in compact order throughout the ordeal of that march, he led them with unbroken ranks into battle at Corunna. There they charged and hurled back the greatest of the hostile columns, under the eye of Sir John Moore, who, warmly praising their conduct, ordered their attack to be supported. Just at that moment, however, Moore fell; and Lord William Bentinck, in spite of his order, commanded the 5oth to fall back. Unaware of this command, and separated from his men, Napier was shot in the leg and stabbed in the back, and, overpowered by numbers, was on the point of being slain, when Guibert, a French drummer, swung aside the foremost of his assailants, and saved his life. Flung into a filthy room in a dismantled house, he lay two days and nights, pinched by extreme cold, tortured by his wounds, insulted by brutal soldiers, continually expecting that they would kill him, and full of shame at the fancy that the regiment in which he took such pride had disgraced its colours. At length he was taken to the quarters of Soult, who treated him kindly, and finally he was placed in the house of a banker, where he stayed for the next two months. Owing to a difficulty which arose about his exchange, he remained for some time longer virtually a prisoner, and did not return to his regiment until January, 1810. In the following May he joined, as a volunteer, the Light Division under General Craufurd, and in July fought in the disastrous battle of the Coa. On the evening after the fight, he found time to jot down in his journal, with a resolve to profit by the warning, a long list of the errors which his general had committed. The army was obliged to retreat; and Napier was engaged in a series of skirmishes that occurred before Wellington, who had joined it, halted on the Busaco mountain, and offered battle to the pursuers. Just before the action began, Napier and his two brothers, George and William, were told that their sister was dead. Silently they embraced each other and went to their posts. Charles's was close to Lord Wellington. At one time, when the hostile fire was so terrible that every volunteer but one and every staff-officer had dismounted, Napier, the only man of the group who was wearing a red coat, remained sitting on his horse. Urged by a comrade to alight, or at least to put on his great-coat, lest he should be marked down, he answered, "No! This is the uniform of my regiment, and in it I will show or fall this day." Almost before he had finished speaking, he fell. His jaw-bone was shattered. As he was being carried away, sinking from loss of blood, he took off his hat and waved it, saying, "I could not die at a better moment." His wound, however, was not mortal. Next day he mounted his horse, and started to ride, under a burning sun, to Lisbon, where he was joined by his brother George, who had also received a wound. In his letters to his mother, who was now old and blind, he joked about his sufferings. George was soon obliged to leave him; and he spent some tedious weeks alone in Lisbon. In March, 1811, he heard that Massena had retreated from Santarem, and that the Light Division was pursuing him. Instantly he rode off to join his comrades. As he approached them, he heard the distant thunder of artillery, and had hourly to enquire of wounded men if his brothers were still alive. On the I4th he met a party of soldiers, carrying a litter. He stopped them. "What wounded officer is that?" he said. "Captain Napier of the 52nd," was the reply; "a broken limb." "Who is that?" he asked the bearers of another litter.

"Captain Napier, 43rd," they answered, "mortally wounded."* Pausing a moment to look at his brothers, Charles rode on to take part in the battle that was raging in front. Two months later, at Fuentes d'Onoro, he fought for the last time in the Peninsular War. He had long felt it an intolerable grievance that, while other majors of his own or inferior standing had received brevet rank, he, notwithstanding his services and wounds, had received nothing ; and he assured his mother that, if the Commander-in-Chief rejected his claims any longer, he would appeal to the Regent, and, if disappointed then, would throw up his commission. Lady Sarah used all her interest: Charles himself wrote to the Prince; and at last, in July, 1811, he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, —but of the 102nd, a regiment which lay under the stigma of recent mutiny. Still he approached his new duties in a cheery spirit. "To get a regiment that is in bad order is agreeable," he wrote; "my fear was a good one, where no character could be gained, and some might be lost."

On the 25th of August he quitted the Peninsula, and, after a tedious voyage, reached his home. For a long time he continued to feel the effects of the hardships which he had undergone: but his sufferings were more than compensated by the happiness which it gave him to be with his mother. In consideration of his services and wounds, Lord Liverpool bestowed upon him the sinecure government of the Virgin Isles: but, after little more than a year, when pensions for wounds were granted, he resigned it, saying that he would not take two rewards for the same service.

Meanwhile, in January, 1812, he had joined his new regiment at Guernsey. He hoped that his destination would be the Peninsula; but in June he was ordered to proceed to Bermuda. On the 12th of September, after a narrow escape from shipwreck at the entrance of the harbour, he reached the island. The long voyage had given a rude shock to his enfeebled constitution; and, depressed as he was by the monotony of his new life, his old dislike of soldiering revived. He clung to the hope of being able to quit the army, and lead a peaceful country life with his mother. Writing to her on the first day of the new year, "Oh," he said, "may I have the delight of being within reach of you next New Year's Day. I would take another shot through the head to be as near you as I was in Lisbon last year." And again, "Anything, so as to be living with you, and to pitch my sword where it ought to be, — with the devil. I could get on with a duck, a chicken, a turkey, a horse, a pig, a cat, a cow, and a wife, in a very contented way." The news of the brilliant victory of Salamanca increased the disgust with which he approached the daily round of dull routine: but he daily resolved that duty, however irksome, must be faithfully done; and it was the force of this resolve, not the secret weariness of his heart, that impressed those with whom he came in contact. From the moment when the 102nd landed in Bermuda the most casual observers saw that the colonel was no ordinary man; and all who heard him talk on military subjects foretold that sooner or later he would achieve greatness. Mindful of the example of Sir John Moore, he now set himself to teach the lessons which he had learned in the camp at Shorncliffe. He acted himself as the drill-sergeant of his regiment; and all ranks felt bound to do their best for a commanding officer who, except beating a drum, knew how to teach, aye, and to perform, every part of the duty of every non-commissioned officer and man. Among the hills and cedar-groves of the island he taught

* So it was thought at the moment. But William Napier survived to write the history of the war.

his soldiers to study ground and movements. He never kept himself aloof: he taught every one under his command to regard him as a friend and comrade; and yet he enforced perfect discipline. Still, though by effort he controlled his melancholy, he could not banish it. “To be an exile,” he wrote, “deprived of the only comfort of an exile, the seeing new countries and manners, is dreadful. Here we look north, and all is sea; south and all is sea; on our right, sea; on our left, sea! It is a ship on the ocean, without the feeling that the voyage must end.”

The end, however, was at hand. In May, Sir Sydney Beckwith, who had served with distinction in the Peninsula, arrived in Bermuda with a force destined to take part in the war then raging between Great Britain and the United States; and Napier was informed that he was to accompany the expedition as second in command. Beckwith divided his force into two brigades, the larger of which he assigned to Napier. Self-confidence, Napier acknowledged, made him wish for the chief command: yet, as he confessed, he was afraid that he overestimated his own powers. Moreover, it troubled him to think that his men, after all the pains which he had taken to perfect their discipline, would be demoralized by an expedition that was sure to be accompanied by the plundering of towns. “I will, with my own hand,” he declared, “kill any perpetrator of brutality under my command.” “Nevertheless,” he added, with a touch of his quaint humour, “a pair of breeches must be plundered, for mine are worn out, and better it will be to take a pair than shock the Yankee dames by presenting myself as a *sans culotte.”*

About the middle of June, the fleet that carried the force anchored in Lynehaven Bay, with the object of attacking Norfolk; but, after some days of inactivity, it beat up under a terrific storm to Hampton Roads. Some days later Hampton was captured and plundered, though Napier forced the reluctant soldiers of his own regiment to keep their ranks. Towards the end of the month he was sent with the admiral to the coast of North Carolina; but the enterprise was unsuccessful. On his return, he joined in a futile attack on St Michael’s Town. He congratulated himself on having learned much from the series of operations: but in his journal he severely censured the divided counsels to which he attributed their comparative failure.

In September, having exchanged into the 50th regiment, in the hope of seeing some service in the Pyrenees, Napier bade farewell to the 102nd, and was presented by the officers with a sword of honour. On arriving in England, he learned that the war was over. Accordingly he remained with his regiment until, in December, 1814, he was reduced to half pay, and entered the Military College at Farnham. There his brother William joined him. About his chance of passing a good examination he was indifferent: he simply aimed at fortifying his genius by study. Feeling that he possessed a capacity for administration as well as for war, he included in his course of reading treatises on history and civil government. On hearing the news of Napoleon’s return to France, he went as a volunteer to Ghent, and there waited the summons to take part in the impending struggle. Scarcely, however, had the French passage of the Sambre been announced at Ghent when the battle of Waterloo was fought. Napier had to content himself with joining in the assault on Cambray. Returning to England, he sank into a melancholy mood. Poverty held him fast; and his prospects appeared all but hopeless. Still he toiled on, resolving to

prepare himself for the high destiny in which he never quite ceased to believe. At the end of 1817 he passed his examination at Farnham, gaining the first certificate. In the following March he went to St. Omer, and lived there until November. Next spring, having sustained more than one rebuff in reply to applications to the Commander-in-Chief, he was appointed an inspecting field-officer in the Ionian Isles.

I I I.

THROUGH France, Switzerland, and Italy, he travelled to his destination, trying to inform himself about the manners and the morals of the people, and feasting his eyes with the beauty of lakes, mountains, valleys, domes, and spires. In July he landed at Corfu, and found, to his disgust, that his duties were merely nominal. Next year he was sent by the Lord High Commissioner of the islands, Sir Thomas Maitland, on a secret mission to Ali Pasha of Joannina, who, having revolted from the Porte, desired to gain the countenance of the British Government. Reporting on his mission, Napier urged that the British Government ought to help Ali, and encourage any insurrectionary movement in Greece, since otherwise England would probably lose a golden opportunity of preventing Russia from extending her dominion to the Mediterranean. But he soon found that the Pasha was a man upon whom all help would be thrown away. Believing, however, that something might be done for the Greeks themselves, and enthusiastic in their cause, he obtained leave in 1821 to travel in Greece, and, with a soldier's eye, studied the features of the country. In March, 1822, he was appointed Military Resident of Cephalonia.

This island was dominated by two great mountains, broken up by numerous valleys, the inhabitants of which, stimulated by lawless chiefs, lived in internecine war. Agriculture had almost perished. Trade languished for want of the means of communication. The judges were overawed by the chiefs; the prisons were hotbeds of disease. Slave-hunting, rape, and murder were rife. Thus in his kingdom, as he loved to call it, Napier saw an inexhaustible field for the energy of a reformer.

The prospect filled him with delight. His master passion was the love of being useful in his generation; and for the first time in his life he felt that he had the power fully to gratify it. His authority was practically unlimited; and, as his work was congenial, its amount simply exhilarated him. "My predecessor," he wrote, "is going home half dead from the labour; but to me it is health, spirit, everything! I live for some use now."

His duties were as varied as they were engrossing. For three months after his appointment, martial law prevailed; and, in addition to the financial, military and other administrative business, he had to devote six hours a day to deciding the causes of the litigious Greeks. He generally rose at four; worked, with a short interval for breakfast, till noon, and sometimes till three; then bathed and dined; and afterwards mounted his horse and rode forth to superintend the various public works that were proceeding. "I take no rest myself," he said, "and give nobody else any." He organised a corps of military police; built a model prison; demolished unhealthy dwellings and formed wide streets; constructed markets, quays, and lighthouses; taught the peasants how to farm their land; humbled the rebellious chiefs, and strengthened the authority of the courts of law. But the work which he had most at heart, and in which he took most pride, was the making of roads for the development of traffic and the promotion of harmonious intercourse between the turbulent groups of inhabitants. Over the Black Mountain he carried a road more than a hundred miles long, and in elevation but little inferior to Napoleon's road over Mont Cenis. In this and other works he was aided by Captain John Kennedy, an able

officer of the Royal Engineers, with whom he soon formed a friendship that was destined to be lifelong. Every peasant was forced to labour one day in each week on the road. The gentry were delighted at the prospect of easier travelling: but, when they found that they too must either work with their own hands or pay, they clamoured against the Resident. Deaf to their remonstrance's, Napier compelled them to do his bidding, and, to the huge delight of the poor people, forced even the priests to share in the burden. Whenever a dangerous spot was reached, he and his friend led the way, and more than once barely saved themselves, by seizing chance shrubs, from falling headlong over the rocky ledges. "If ever," Napier afterwards wrote," anything has been done by me worth my hire, which is doubtful, it is these roads. Many a poor mule's soul will say a good word for me at the last day, when they remember the old road."

When, however, the first glow of his enthusiasm had subsided, discontent began to steal over him again. Sir Frederick Adam, a Peninsular veteran, had for a time taken the place of Maitland; and by this official Napier was thwarted, and, as he believed, deliberately insulted. The truth was that his sensitive vanity led him to interpret as a personal attack, and his combative temper fiercely to resent any official rebuke. Still, what he had to endure was in itself enough to irritate a man conscious of real superiority, and panting for liberty to execute the policy which he knew to be good. Supplies for his public works were doled out with so niggardly a hand that it was only by the most vigilant economy that he could make both ends meet. One day he received from Adam a letter, calling his attention to a regulation which forbade officers to wear mustachios: half amused, half angry at the pettiness of the communication, he revenged himself by sending off the hairs, wrapped up in a parcel, to Government House. The irritation which he had to endure, combined with excessive toil, affected his liver and his nervous system. Moreover, he was eager to see his mother, whose great age caused him anxiety. Early in 1824, therefore, he returned to England.

On his arrival he attempted to carry out a project which he had long formed. In the midst of his occupations at Cephalonia he had often dreamed of leading the struggle for Greek independence. Lord Byron, whom he had met in the preceding summer, and between whom and himself a strong mutual liking had arisen, had given him a letter of recommendation to the London committee for the Greek loan. He soon found, however, that the committee did not desire his aid; and, as the Government refused to let his serving in Greece pass unnoticed, and the Greek deputies, though they offered him a high command in their army, would not make it worth his while to resign his commission, his hopes were shattered. In May, 1825, he landed for the second time in Cephalonia. The Greek leaders again made flattering overtures to him: but difficulties arose; and he was again disappointed. Still, with undiminished zeal, he continued to devote himself to his work. But, in September, 1826, he was summoned to England by the news that his mother had died. For more than forty years he had loved her with ever-growing fervour. Now that she was dead, he wrote no word of his feelings, but remained for some months bowed down in silent grief.

In April, 1827, he was married to Elizabeth Oakley a widow some years older than himself; and in July returned with her to Cephalonia.

Sir Frederick Adam, who had, in 1824, been definitely appointed Lord High Commissioner, continued, in various ways, to thwart his schemes. Still, he never relaxed his efforts to benefit the islanders. Nor did he go unrewarded. The chiefs, indeed, whose tyranny he restrained, chafed against his rule: but the bulk of the inhabitants regarded him with gratitude and affectionate esteem. Though, however, he took pleasure and pride in looking back upon all that he had achieved, there were moments when his anxious conscience told him that he was, after all, an unprofitable servant. "Two years," he wrote, "ought to have sufficed for all my works; and yet I have a name for being active, and am so, compared with the drones around; but not when conscience is called in to witness, and when the sense of what a man can do, if all his energies are put forth, is consulted. Man! man! thou art a beast in whose sides the spur should be ever plunged!" But, such as it was, his work was nearly done. In 1830 his wife suddenly fell sick; and he was obliged to leave Gephalonia for England. People of every rank swarmed down to the shore, and, with emotion, bade him farewell. On his way home, he touched at Corfu, and was received by Adam with demonstrations of cordial friendship. When he was about to leave, Adam accompanied him to the ship. "Good-bye, Napier," he said; "stay as long as you please; but remember that the longer you stay, the worse for us." But, sincere though his words may have been, his actions belied them. Soon afterwards he stopped Napier's public works; and some months later, listening to the slanders of an interested faction, he sent to Lord Goderich, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a long list of charges against him. Nay, he declared of the man for whose return he had professed himself eager, that his tyranny was such that he could not allow him to resume his office. These charges were easily refuted. But the most conclusive proof of their falseness was the fact that, after the departure of Napier from Cephalonia, the peasants voluntarily cultivated a piece of land which he had neglected, and annually sent him the value of the produce.[*]

This, however, and other unsought testimonials were of no avail. It was in vain that Napier importuned the Secretary to do him justice. His wife was an invalid: he had two children as well as her to provide for; and he was still a poor man. He had lived nearly half a century; yet he felt that he had done nothing to fulfil his early dreams of fame. Nay, after thirty-seven years' faithful service, he found himself turned adrift to live as best he could. But he determined that, even if his efforts were doomed to pass unrecognised, he would still be of use to his fellow-creatures. Settling first in Berkshire, and afterwards in Hampshire, he made it his business to ameliorate the lot of his poorer neighbours. Afterwards he took a house at Bath. There he narrowly escaped death by cholera; and on the 31st of July, 1833, he saw his wife die. Deeply as he had grieved for the loss of his mother, he found this a far heavier blow. "Oh God!" he wrote, "Merciful, inscrutable Being! give me power to bear this thy behest! Hitherto I had life and light; but now all is as a dream, and I am in darkness, the darkness of death, the loneliness of the desert! I see life and movement and affection around me, but I am as marble. O God, defend me, for the spirit of evil has struck a terrible blow!"

[*] For Napier's work in Cephalonia, see, besides vol. i. of the biography by Sir W. Napier, his own *Memoir on the Roads of Cephalonia,* his Colonies, pp. 415, 428-30, 438, 440, 534, 540, 543 note, 573, and A. Von Reumont's *General Sir F. Adam*.

But, as the months passed away, and he remembered the claims of the living, his sorrow was assuaged. His religious belief too afforded him consolation. While still a very young man, he had begun to reflect on religious matters; and, though he acknowledged that he could find no evidence for accepting the dogma of the Divinity of Christ, he firmly believed in the immortality of the soul, and was convinced that, after death, he should again be joined to his wife in an everlasting union. In the autumn he went to live at Caen, and there did his best to teach his daughters as his wife would have taught them. Early in 1834, Lord Hill offered him an appointment in Canada, which he refused. "To do good," he said, "I would take anything, though ambition and desire of life have passed from me, and my only wish is death; but the thought of serving under imbeciles like the present ministers is hateful." A few months later he heard that there was an idea of offering him the government of a new colony in Australia. For some time he was kept in suspense. In April, 1835, he was so confident of obtaining the appointment that, with the view of giving himself a companion and his girls a protectress in their future home, he married Mrs. Alcock, a widow whose friendship he had long enjoyed. Scarcely had he taken this step, when he was informed that the conditions upon which he was willing to undertake the government would not be accepted.

To remain idle, however, was for Napier impossible. Towards the end of 1836 he again settled at Bath, and, in default of any other outlet for his energies, flung himself eagerly into politics. He avowed himself a Radical. Universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and systematic education were among the reforms which he advocated: he inveighed against privilege; and he defended the freedom of the Press. But, in some respects, his Radicalism was heterodox. Law, order, imperial greatness were cardinal points of his creed. Like Cromwell, he desired that the people should govern themselves: but, like Cromwell, he was so anxious for their well-being that, if they had ignorantly misused their power, he would have driven them perforce into the more excellent way. Indeed, be was by temperament unfitted for the role of a constitutional politician: nature had formed him to enact the benevolent despot.

Heavily the years rolled by; and Napier, while he felt himself approaching old age, had still fresh troubles to contend with. Just after he had increased his family, the savings of his life, which he had invested in the Philadelphian funds, were temporarily lost. While living at Bath, he suffered from congestion of blood in the eyelids, and feared that he would become blind. In 1838 he had the mortification of seeing one of his juniors appointed to a command in Ireland; and the remonstrances which he addressed to the Military Secretary were unavailing. The truth was that, since his difference with Adam, whom in a. book on the Colonies he had held up to public contempt, he had been represented to the Horse Guards as an impracticable man, who was ready to quarrel with everybody. "I am low," he wrote; "life is a wet day to all, and lucky are they who have their daily bread, the shelter of a house and a home." He applied for the Lieutenant-Governorship of Jersey, which had fallen vacant; but he met with a refusal. Meanwhile, having at length been forced to the conclusion that his fate was to live and die obscure, he had again tried his hand at writing. He published an edition of De Vigny's and Blase's *Lights and Shadows of Military Life,* and a treatise called *Military Law,* and wrote a

historical romance called Harold, which Colburn would have published if he had not insisted that it should appear without his name. After the refusal of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Jersey, he went to Dublin, intending to join his old friend Kennedy in a scheme for improving education and agriculture in Ireland. And now, at last, the clouds were beginning to break. In July, 1838, he was made a Knight Commander of the Bath; and in February, 1839, he was appointed to the command of the Northern District of England. For some time past the English working classes, especially those in the manufacturing districts of the north had suffered so grievously from bad laws, bad harvests, and industrial changes, that they were almost ripe for insurrection. It was, therefore, with an anxious sense of responsibility that Napier looked forward to his new work. In his heart he warmly sympathised with the discontented; indeed, as he told one of his officers, his own political opinions were very similar to theirs: nevertheless he was resolved to prevent them from attempting to gain their ends by force. On his arrival at Nottingham, where his headquarters were, he found that he would have many difficulties to contend with, and could not help feeling that want of practice had, to some extent, unfitted him for military duty. His district embraced the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Flint, and Denbigh.[*] To control this extensive tract, he had an army of only four thousand men, scattered far and wide in twenty-six detachments. In some cases, owing to the nervousness of the magistrates, each one of whom was anxious to secure military aid, the principle of subdivision had been carried to a ridiculous extreme. For example, in Halifax forty-two troopers were quartered in twenty-one distant billets. “Fifty resolute Chartists,” wrote Napier, “might disarm and destroy the whole in ten minutes.”

Within a week after his arrival at Nottingham, he had formed his plans. He exerted all his eloquence to convince the magistrates that their idea of protecting the country by small detachments was impracticable, and that the country gentlemen and yeomanry must gird up their loins, and prepare to beat off local attacks by their own strength. Supported by the Home Secretary, he succeeded partially in improving the distribution of the troops: but the opposition of the magistrates was too strong to be entirely overcome. On the 5th of May he received alarming news from Manchester, and immediately hurried off to that city. A popular rising was expected to take place on Whit-Monday. A hand-bill, copies of which were posted up, ended with these lines:—

> “Let England’s sons then prime her guns,
> And save each good man’s daughter;
> In tyrant’s blood baptise your sons,
> And every villain slaughter.
> By pike and sword your freedom strive to gain,
> Or make one bloody Moscow of old England’s plain.”

But Napier was equal to the occasion. He obtained a secret introduction to a conclave of Chartist leaders. “I understand,” he told them, “you are to have a great meeting on Kersal Moor, with a view to laying your grievances before Parliament. You are quite right to do so, and I will take care that neither soldier nor policeman shall be in sight to disturb you.

[*] Army List, 1841

But meet peaceably! For if there is the least disturbance, I shall be amongst you; and, at the sacrifice of my life, if necessary, do my duty. Now go and do yours." The meeting was held in perfect peace.

The crisis having apparently passed, Napier was for some time occupied with less exciting, but not less toilsome, duties. In June he went on a tour of inspection through his district, and half forgot his worries amid the delights of the Lake country. Towards the end of July, however, rumours of coming insurrection were again heard. Napier was again tormented by the magistrates with demands for troops. "God forgive me,"" he said, in a letter to one of his officers; "but sometimes they tempt me to wish they and their mills were all burned together." The more obstinate of them succeeded in thwarting him; for the Home Office, in spite of the vehement remonstrances with which he assailed it, no longer gave him adequate support. But his vigilance was unceasing: he kept himself constantly informed of the designs of the Chartists; and their leaders were so impressed by his reputation for firmness and humanity, that they readily yielded to his influence. With the exception of one feeble and ill-arranged outbreak at Sheffield, which was suppressed by a few dragoons, without the loss of a single life, no breach of the peace occurred during the remaining period of his command.

However engrossing might be his public duties, Napier always contrived to make time for social intercourse, for self-examination, and for meditation on the mysteries of life. He was haunted, at times, by a dream of saintly perfection to which he might, it seemed, but never would, attain. In his complex nature there was a vein of what some would call fanaticism. Thinking of a friend whose bent was serious, he remarked, half in jest, "Robertson tries hard, but cannot make me a saint." He loved the world, though he had never really been of it, and it had not given him much. He would try to do his duty like an honest man: he would spend and be spent for his fellows: but the love of glory must be gratified; there were heights of holiness, he doubted, to which he could not climb.

On his fifty-eighth birthday, recalling the adventures of his past life, he penned this strange forecast,—"Eventful as my life has been, my present high position and the threatening state of the country render it probable that the short portion which is left for me of life may be the most eventful of the whole." In the following April he was offered an appointment on the Indian staff, and asked his brother William whether he should accept it. "Go," replied William, "if you feel a call for such a service; if not, remain at home." Reflecting that his girls were penniless, and that it was his duty, at any personal sacrifice, to provide for them, Napier accepted the offer. But his heart was very heavy. "It will be sorrowful," he said, "to leave you all, for it is late in life, and I am much worn." He left England in October. On the 13th of December he landed at Bombay, and gave the purser of the ship a bill for five hundred pounds, in payment for the voyage from Suez. He received in exchange two pounds,—all the money that was left to him in the world.

I V.

Charles Napier was now fifty-nine years old. Ploughed by deep wounds, and aged by toil, and love, and sorrow, his body was so worn that no office would insure his life: but he knew that, when it came to a trial of stamina and spirit, he could outlast many a younger man. Abstemious he had always been. If it had laboured terribly, that lean, sinewy, nervous frame had never been shaken by excess. Though he did not stand above the middle height, his aspect was noble and commanding; and, when he smiled, of winning sweetness. Wavy locks of iron gray, clustering above a broad, massive forehead, a nose curved like the eagle's beak, dark eyes gazing with piercing intensity through spectacles that seemed inseparable from the face,—in that look, though ambition had grown weary with waiting, was the certain promise of heroic deeds.

On the 28th of December, the general assumed command at Poonah. The times were critical. Deep gloom oppressed the British in India; for the terrible disasters of the Afghan war had but lately occurred. Napier had not been a month at Poonah, when he heard that the political prospect in Scinde was causing anxiety, and that he would probably soon be sent thither. Though such a mission would involve separation from those whom he loved best, the news stimulated his old military ardour. "To try my hand with an army," he wrote, "is a longing not to be described; yet it is mixed with shame for the vanity which gives me such conf1dence." Meanwhile he was making his influence felt in his district with an energy which gave considerable offence. Hearing that a regiment at Mulligaum was in a state of mutiny, he wrote very sharply to the officer in command for neglecting to send him adequate information. "I expect," he ended, "to hear by express that you have put down the mutiny within two hours after the receipt of this letter." On the 24th of July, the thirty-second anniversary of the battle of the Coa, he learned definitely that he was to take command of Upper and Lower Scinde. Just before the transport that was to convey him to Kurrachee weighed anchor, he wrote this entry in his journal: "Charles! Charles Napier! take heed of your ambition for military glory; you had scotched that snake, but this high command will, unless you are careful, give it all its vigour again. Get thee behind me, Satan."[*]

The voyage was one of the most perilous incidents of his eventful life. The ship had scarcely cleared the harbour when a man was reported sick. Cholera had broken out; and soon the deck was strewn with prostrate bodies. As men died, they were instantly flung overboard. Through the darkness of the night rain rushed down in torrents: the straining ship ploughed through the lashing waves; and above the monotonous beat of the engines sounded the screams of the writhing victims, mingled with the lamentations of their surviving friends, any one of whom might be the next to die; while the burial service, read by the glimmer of a single lantern, added solemnity to the dreadful scene. In such misery three days and nights were passed. On the night of the 9th of September the steamer approached Kurrachee: but most of the crew were now drunk; and it was only the

[*] Sir W. Napier's *Life of Sir C. Napier*, vol. ii. pp. 159-66, 173-74, 177-78, 189.

firmness and seamanship of the captain, aided by the support which Napier gave him in maintaining order, that saved the passengers from destruction.*

At the point which this narrative has now reached, the biography of Sir Charles Napier merges itself in the history of the British Empire. Before following him through the stirring scenes of his Scindian career, it will be well to take a bird's-eye view of the country which he was about to enter, and to learn something of the past relations of its rulers with the British Government.

Scinde, which covers an area about equal to that of England and Wales, is bounded on the north by Bhawulpore, on the east by the Great Desert, on the west by the mountains of the Hala range, and on the south by the Indian Ocean. Right down the centre of the country, from north to south, run the lower waters of the Indus, now rushing past some rocky island with overwhelming violence, now flowing in a tranquil, majestic stream, until finally they pass through many mouths into the Arabian Sea. The general appearance of the country, dotted here and there by towns, and intersected by watercourses and dry river-beds, was that of a jungle-covered wilderness; for, though naturally fertile, it had suffered from long continued maladministration. The population, numbering about a million, was composed of divers groups, the chief of whom were Beloochees, Scindians, Hindoos of Punjaubee origin, and Afghans. The Beloochees were the dominant race. In the latter years of the eighteenth century, a Beloochee tribe, the Talpoorecs, had conquered Scinde; and the country was now divided into three states,—Khyrpore or Upper Scinde, Hyderabad or Lower Scinde, and Meerpore,—which were ruled by princes called Ameers, the descendants of the original conquerors.†

The government of the Ameers, judged even by the low standard of native Indian governments, was selfish, oppressive, and ruinous alike to the development of the natural resources of their country and to the progress of civilization among their subjects. All that they cared for was to enjoy themselves, to hoard treasure, and to conciliate the feudal chiefs, who were the only check upon their power. The mass of the people, knowing that whatever increase of wealth they might gain they would have to disgorge to the farmers of the taxes, were hopelessly apathetic, and exerted themselves no more than was necessary to earn the bare subsistence which alone they were allowed to retain. The Hindoos, indeed, by virtue of their intelligence and capacity for business, exercised considerable influence: but they were habitually scorned, and often plundered by the Mahometan Beloochees; and, if they had not, like the Jews in early English history, made themselves indispensable to the Government, even their marvellous cunning, vigilance, and perseverance would hardly have enabled them to hold their own. In the courts of justice, both plaintiff and defendant had to pay heavily before they could obtain a hearing, and still more heavily for a verdict. Humble offenders were punished with merciless rigour; while criminals who could afford to bribe the judges got off scot free. The various

* Sir W. Napier's *Life of Sir C. Napier*, vol. ii. pp. 190-193.
† Postans's Personal Observations in Scinde, pp. 4, 30-31, 69 ; A. W. Hughes's *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, pp. 1-2, 35-36; Burton's *Sindh*, p. 3; *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. xvii., New Series,* p. 105

clans lived in constant internecine feud. High and low alike were sunk in barbarous ignorance; and ignorance was accompanied by unnatural crime. The Ameers and their feudatories were in the habit of destroying their illegitimate female children; and to slaughter a faithless wife was regarded as a just vindication of the injured husband's honour. The ferocity of this custom might be excused by the profligacy of the women: but a mere assertion of guilt sufficed: and it often happened that domestic tyrants murdered their wives in an outburst of rage, or even to get rid of them. The Ameers themselves, by their very amusements, caused wide-spread suffering. The most absorbing of all their passions was a love of sport; and to this pursuit a large portion of Lower Scinde was completely sacrificed. The fertile country extending along the banks of the Indus, and far to the eastward, was covered by vast forests called shikargahs, which swarmed with game; and William the Conqueror did not guard his hunting grounds with more ruthlessly stringent laws than the Ameers of Scinde. "We value them," said one chief to Colonel Pottinger, "as much as our wives and children." When the Ameers went hunting, the villagers who lived near the forest had no peace. The numerous retainers of the Ameers lived at free quarters among them, and paid little or nothing for their entertainment. Hindoos were dragged from their shops, and husbandmen from their ploughs, to act as beaters; and, while the Ameers sat and fired in luxurious ease, many were slain or lacerated by the wild beasts. Sometimes, indeed, when no Beloochees were by, the peasants openly expressed their detestation of the reigning family, and their hope that the government would soon pass into British hands.

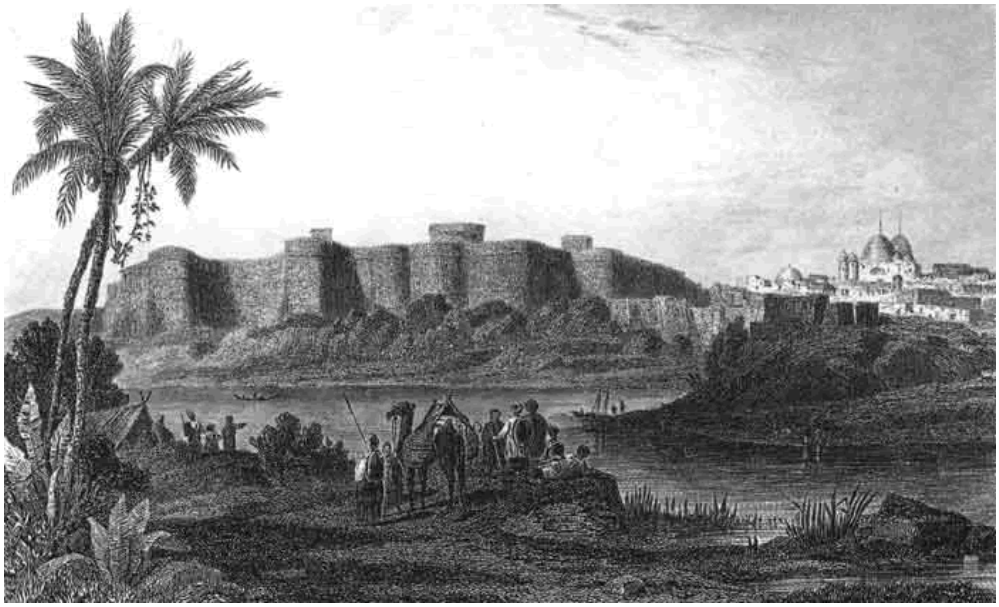
On the other hand, it would be unjust to affirm that the Ameers were personally worse rulers than the other native princes of India. Those who knew them best described them as averse from tyranny, and willing to listen to popular complaints. Their underlings, rather than they, were responsible for the worst acts of oppression from which the people suffered. And, indeed, we are too prone, when we read of the sins of an Oriental despot, to imagine that his subjects suffered as acutely as we should have suffered ourselves. Habituated to the system under which they lived, and ignorant of the meaning of good government, the mass of the people existed, if not contentedly, at least in dull apathy, under an administration which, to a European, would have been intolerable.[*]

The earliest occasion on which the East India Company had dealings with Scinde was in 1758; but, although several treaties were concluded between the two Governments in the early part of the nineteenth century, it was not until 1831 that the British attempted to gain anything like a real footing in the land. In that year Alexander Burnes was ordered to explore the Indus, with the object of utilising it as a highway for commerce. "The mischief is done," said a native who fell in with the explorer; "you have seen our country." But it was Lord Auckland who first began to interfere, as the representative of the Paramount Power, in Scindian affairs. In 1836 the famous Runjeet Singh, Maharajah of the Punjaub, invaded the country of the Mazarees, a tribe nominally subject to the Ameers, and threatened to invade Scinde itself. Auckland, fearing that, if war were

[*] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31, 261, 495-96, 645,652-53; Burton, pp. 44, 244; Parl. Papers, 1854 (483), xlix. I. (Sir G. Clerk's *Minute,* par. 71 [11-12] pp. 230-32, 242-43); J. Burnes's *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde*, pp. 66-70, 76-86, 1oo-1, 113-14; Postans, pp. 8, 21, 55-57, 63-64, 72, 78-79, 212, 218, 220-23, 225, 227-30, 246, 251-53. A. Burnes's *Travels in Bokhara* (2nd edition), vol. i. pp. 61-62. (See Appendix A).

allowed to break out, the prospects of British commerce on the Indus would suffer, and desiring to seize the opportunity of establishing British influence in Scinde, resolved to prevent him from executing his design. He therefore proposed to the Ameers of Hyderabad that he should mediate between them and the Maharajah, on condition of their receiving a British political agent, with a military escort, the cost of which they should defray. The proposal was received with apparent cordiality: but a hitch soon occurred. Colonel Pottinger, the British Envoy, gave the Ameers a guarantee that, if Runjeet refused to withdraw his troops, the Governor-General would compel him to do so. Auckland declined to confirm this promise; and the Ameers, who cared nothing for the mere offer of mediation, became convinced that his real design was to clutch at their possessions. Nor were they careful themselves to avoid giving cause of offence. With the levity of barbarians, they frequently violated the provisions of earlier treaties. Still the Envoy persevered: he hinted that, unless they accepted his offers, the warriors of Runjeet might be suffered to attack them; and in April, 1838, a treaty was concluded in accordance with the terms which the Governor-General had proposed. But Auckland did not stop here. It was about this time that, with the object of checking the growing influence of Russia in Central Asia, he determined to invade Afghanistan, and place upon its throne, as his dependent, an exile, Shah Sooja, whom the bulk of the Afghans abhorred. It is needless to repeat the denunciations which have so often been levelled against the folly of this resolve. As a preliminary step, Auckland concluded with Shah Sooja and Runjeet Singh a treaty, the main object of which was to secure a line of operations through Scinde for the contemplated invasion. It was also provided that the Shah should relinquish certain claims upon the Ameers, on condition of receiving from them an annual tribute, to be determined by the British Government. The Ameers were, for some weeks, left in ignorance of this agreement. When the time came to make the announcement, Pottinger was instructed to point out the magnitude of the benefit which the British Government had conferred upon them: but at the same time he was to demand that they should allow a British army to march through their country on its way to Afghanistan, and to tell them that an article in a former treaty, which prohibited the conveyance of military stores by the Indus, must be suspended. Pottinger had no scruples about enforcing the authority of his Government; but there was a tone about his instructions that he did not like. He plainly told his master that many besides the Scindians would believe that we were simply making use of Shah Sooja to revive a claim which had been long deemed obsolete. Nor did the Ameers at all appreciate the benevolence of the Governor-General: on the contrary, they startled Pottinger by producing releases, signed by Shah Sooja himself, from their liability to all claims. Auckland, however, curtly declined to admit the validity of these documents. In view of his Afghan policy, he felt that he must, at any cost, establish a control over Scinde. His Government had, for a generation, been acknowledged as the Paramount Power in India; and he insisted on his right to expect the loyal co-operation of the Ameers. He was anxious to treat them fairly: but yield they must; and he maintained that their previous hostility had given him a right to coerce them. Stimulated, therefore, by despatches from the seat of Government, Pottinger did his best alternately to argue and to frighten the Ameers into submission. The Ameers replied by protestations of devotion, by cajolery, by useless remonstrances, and by still more useless bravado. Meanwhile they did all they

could to impede the operations of our troops; and the demeanour of the Beloochees became so menacing that a reserve force was sent from Bombay to Kurrachee.



Though, however, the Ameers now avowed that they regarded the British as a pestilence in their land, they had not the courage to proceed to open war; and, under severe pressure, they were induced, in March 1839, to assent to a new treaty. Tolls on trading boats going up or down the Indus were to be abolished: the Ameers were recognised as absolute rulers in their several principalities: any quarrels that might arise among them were to be referred to the mediation of the Resident: their lands were to be under British protection; and their foreign policy was to be subject to British control. They were also to pay a subsidy, amounting to about thirty thousand a year, towards the expense of a British force, to be stationed in their country. Two months before, a similar treaty, omitting the demand for a subsidy, had been accepted by Roostum, the principal Ameer of Khyrpore: and, with a bitter sense of humiliation, he had been induced to surrender, for a time, to the Governor-General the fortress of Bukkur, which commanded the Indus at the point where the British army was to cross.

The Resident was ill satisfied with the result of his work. Shams and half measures were, in his eyes, an abomination. “It seems to me,” he wrote, “that it would be better at once to take possession of Scinde by force, than to leave it nominally with the Ameers, and yet deal with it as though it were our own. The one line is explicit and dignified, and cannot be misunderstood; the other I conceive to be unbecoming our power, and it must lead to constant heart burnings and bickering, if not to a rupture of all friendly relations.” But this was too heroic a remedy to be accepted by an English statesman.

In the following year, Major James Outram succeeded to the office of Resident. During the greater part of the Afghan War, the Ameers, won by his honesty, his devotion to their

interests, and his diplomatic skill, if they were not loyal, at least refrained from active hostility. At last, however, encouraged by the disaster at Cabul, Nusseer of Hyderabad, Nusseer of Khyrpore, and Futteh Mahomed, the minister of Roostum, began to intrigue with neighbouring powers against the British Government. Outram did not regard these intrigues as . formidable: still, he was anxious to use them as a ground for requiring the Ameers to sign a new treaty, which should definitely settle various disputed points, and, in return for the remission of tribute, secure for the British permanent possession of Kurrachee and the other places that had been temporarily occupied by their troops. Meanwhile Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough; and a new era in Scindian history began.*

After a short stay at Kurrachee, where he was accidentally wounded in the leg by the bursting of a rocket, Napier proceeded up the Indus for Hyderabad, and landed there on the 25th of September. On the same day he was received by the Ameers with great state. But he would not suffer ceremony to distract his attention from the stern realities of his position; for he had just written an official letter to his entertainers, charging them with having committed various breaches of treaty, and peremptorily ordering them to keep faith for the future. "Possibly," he noted, "this may be the last independent reception they may give as princes to a British general."†

Next day he quitted Hyderabad, and on the Jth of October reached Sukkur, an old town on the right bank of the Indus in the northern portion of Scinde. There he found a letter from the Governor-General, informing him that it was his intention to signally punish any Ameer who, during the recent war, had evinced hostile designs against the British Government, but that he would not pronounce sentence unless he received the most ample and convincing evidence of guilt. Napier already felt that the opinions of Ellenborough were in complete accord with his own, and that to work under such a chief would be a pleasure. Ellenborough thought that the question whether Auckland had or had not treated the Ameers with injustice was one with which he had no concern; that he could only accept the political situation of Scinde as he found it; and therefore that it was his duty, especially considering the critical state of affairs on the north-western frontier of India, to establish British influence in Scinde, once for all, on a firm basis, and prevent British interests from being imperilled by the intrigues of the Ameers. In Napier's mind, however, as might have been expected by those who knew with what earnest benevolence he had laboured for the people of Cephalonia, the desire to strengthen a buttress of the British Empire was less powerful than the desire to rescue the people of Scinde from an effete despotism. The reflexions which he committed to paper on his voyage up the Indus show how passionately he longed to do this:— "The wild beast only thrives here, and the Ameers torment even him: their diversions are destruction, their sole business to hoard

---

* Postans, pp. 283-323; A. Burnes, vol. i. p. 15; *Outram's Conquest of Scinde,—a Commentary,* pp. 31-43; *Selections from the Records* (*ut supra*), pp. 108-11; *Correspondence relative to Sinde*, 1836-38, pp. 1, 3, 8-21, 32; Ibid., 1838-43, No. 9-10, 14 (par. 6), 16, 18, 21, 26 (par. 6), 37-38, 45, 104-5, 131, 138, 144, 161, etc. For the sake of brevity this correspondence will, in future notes, be quoted as "C. S."; the Blue Book "supplementary to the papers presented to Parliament in 1843 as "C.S. Suppl."

† Outram, pp. 62-68; R. Napier's *Remarks on Lieut.-Col. Outram's Work*, pp. 48, 50-56; C. S., pp. 174-75, 229. 353, 355, 357-59, 364 (par. 17); Life, vol. ii. pp. 193-99.)

gold! Their extortions impoverish their own treasury, they kill the goose for the golden eggs; but the last egg, I suspect, is laid. My object will be to resuscitate the goose; but while doing so the Ameers may go by the board; if so, it is their own fault. Did God give a whole people to half a dozen men to torment? I will strive to teach the Ameers a better use of their power; and if they break their treaties, the lesson shall be a rough one." And, though he was determined to restrain himself from using force unless force should be imperatively required, he even now dimly foresaw that the goal of his labours would be the annexation of Scinde. "Mene! Mene! tekel, upharsin ! We have no right to seize Scinde; yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be."[*]

It was not long before Napier received from Outram information tending to prove that certain of the Ameers were guilty of the hostile designs which the Governor-General had suspected. Letters had been intercepted, apparently written by Nusseer Khan of Hyderabad to a chief called Beebruck Bhoogtie, and by Roostum of Khyrpore to Shere Singh, Maharajah of Mooltan, in each of which the person addressed was incited to hostility against the British Government. It was also alleged that Futteh Mahomed had compassed the escape of a state prisoner named Mahomed Shureef. Napier accordingly wrote and despatched to the Governor-General a memorandum on the condition of Scinde, accompanied by a detailed return of the various offences with which the Ameers were charged. Two alternatives only, he contended, lay open to us. Should we at once evacuate Scinde, or should we permanently maintain our footing in the country? If we adopted the former course, we should, sooner or later, be compelled, by the force of circumstances, to return. If, on the other hand, we remained, the Ameers would incessantly commit breaches of treaty, and carry on petty hostilities against us. So unsatisfactory a state of things could not last: it would surely, therefore, be better to hasten the inevitable crisis. The numerous breaches of treaty already committed by the Ameers gave the British Government a right to coerce them. Let it therefore annex the important posts of Kurrachee, Sukkur, Bukkur, Shikarpore, and Subzulcote; let it, in return, release the Ameers from all tribute; and, making one of them answerable for the rest, call upon him to sign a fresh treaty. On the day on which he wrote this memoir, he made an entry in his journal, which expressed his views even more plainly. "Barbaric chiefs," he remarked, "must be bullied, or they think you are afraid: they do not understand benevolence or magnanimity. 'Porus did,' says the scholar. True, bookworm!—but he was confoundedly thrashed first!"[†]

Ellenborough carefully considered the memoir and its enclosures; and on the I2th of November Napier received from him a despatch, containing the draft of a new treaty. Ellenborough, however, stated distinctly that the treaty rested for its justification upon the assumption that Futteh Mahomed was really guilty, and that the letters alleged to have been written by Nusseer and Roostum were genuine; and he left to Napier the task of proving this assumption, believing that he and the experienced off1cers who surrounded him were best qualified to form an opinion. Outram, who had come to believe that it was

[*] Ibid., pp. 202, 204, 209, 218, 222; *C. S.,* No 364, 371.

[†] Ibid., Inc. 1, 3-4, 32-33 in No. 379; *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 219, 223.

impossible to furnish positive proof of the charges, suggested that it would be more honest to base the treaty upon certain minor offences[*] which the Ameers had committed. This advice Napier disregarded: nevertheless he set himself to pursue his enquiries in the spirit of an impartial judge. Conflicting with and prevailing over that love of military glory against which he was ever on his guard, was a most sincere desire to avoid the shedding of blood. "My ambition," so ran one of many such entries in his journal, "my ambition is not for a butcher's bill. The fear of creating such bloody work is always in my mind: my wish is to save them, and I am likely to succeed." At the same time he was undoubtedly eager to prove that the Ameers were guilty. Outram and the other officers whom he consulted agreed that the seal on the letter alleged to have been written by Nusseer Khan was genuine. It did not, indeed, exactly coincide in size with another seal, which unquestionably belonged to Nusseer; but Napier was informed that the Ameers kept two seals, one of which they used for secret purposes, while, if their letters were intercepted, they would produce the ordinary seal, and attempt to prove their innocence by pointing out the dissimilarity between the two. The forging of seals, however, was so common a practice in Scinde, that any evidence to be derived from them was of doubtful value. As to the other letter, Outram was uncertain whether Roostum had really been privy to it: but, though proof was not forthcoming, no one but Outram doubted that it bore Roostum's seal, and had been written by his minister; and Napier strenuously urged that a sovereign ought to be held responsible for the acts of his agents. Again, the conduct of the Ameers in other matters had been such as to support the direct evidence for the genuineness of the letters. The offence with which Futteh Mahomed was charged, Outram described as only one of many underhand efforts which the Ameers had for several months past made to incite insurrection against the British Government. Moreover, another letter from Roostum to Nusseer had recently been intercepted, proposing that they two should form a defensive alliance against the British; and this document was believed by Outram to be genuine.[†] On the whole, then, it may be concluded that, while the guilt of the Ameers in the cases laid down by the Governor-General as the base of the new treaty was far from being satisfactorily proved,[‡] yet, from the testimony of men whose opinions could not but carry weight, it appeared certain enough, morally, to justify him, at so critical a period, in demanding guarantees for their good behaviour. But he might have escaped much hostile criticism if he had founded the treaty, not upon these particular charges alone, but also upon the minor offences of the Ameers and the general tenor of their recent policy.

After sending off an account of his investigations, Napier had some time to wait before he could receive the Governor-General's decision. In the interval he was not idle. He had, some days previously, been startled by an order to abolish the political agency. The truth was that Ellenborough thought very lightly of Outram's abilities, and considered that the resolute soldier whom he had chosen to execute his policy ought to have undivided power: but the change, while it alarmed the Ameers, added seriously for a time to the burdens of Napier. Besides the labour of an immense correspondence and of anxious meditation, he

[*] In violation of the article which forbade the imposition of tolls on trading boats.

[†] *Ibid*., pp. 237-8; R. Napier, pp. 71-83 ; *Outram*, pp. 68-79 , *C. S.,* Inc. 3 and 32 in No. 371, No. 381, 386-9, 398, 409-10, 414. See Appendix B.

[‡] Futteh Mahomed's guilt in the matter of Mahomed Shureef was unquestioned.

had to force the troops at Sukkur to conform to his ideas of discipline. The younger officers had got into the habit of riding furiously through the camp and the bazaar.* Napier accordingly issued a general order, the humour of which won their goodwill, while its vigorous tone taught them that their chief was not to be trifled with. "Gentlemen as well as beggars," he wrote, "may, if they like, ride to the devil when they get on horseback: but neither gentlemen nor beggars have a right to send other people there, which will be the case if furious riding be allowed in camp or bazaar." Meanwhile, the information which he received from his Intelligence officers showed that the Ameers were becoming more and more restless. It had long been evident that they feared and resented the intrusion of the British; and now, hearing rumours of the new treaty, which were naturally exaggerated by the gossips of the bazaars, they imagined that the intruders would be satisfied with nothing less than the conquest of their country. At this delicate conjuncture the influence of a diplomatist who understood the temper of the Ameers, and would have quietly convinced them that, while they must obey, they were to be treated with every consideration, might have been invaluable. Napier did nothing to disarm their suspicions, or to explain to them the real tenor of the treaty. On the contrary, the dictatorial tone which he had assumed towards them, and the military preparations which he was known to be making, increased their alarm. A report spread that he was about to march on Khyrpore; and messengers were despatched in hot haste to summon the neighbouring clans. Roostum, so the spies said, had taunted the princes of Lower Scinde with holding back; whereupon Nusseer had bidden him be of good cheer, and promised to send an army to his aid. The notorious Futteh Mahomed had advised that, as soon as hostilities broke out, a religious war should be proclaimed; and Roostum and his kinsmen, hoping, perhaps, by assuming an air of resolution, to obtain easier terms, boasted that, if any cession of territory were demanded from them, they would resist the demand by force. Napier, on his part, was becoming daily more imbued with a belief in the villainy of the whole clan; and, mistaking the bluster which really arose from fear for aggressive enmity, he persuaded himself that they were only waiting for an opportunity to attack him.† "My mind is made up," he wrote: "if they fire a shot, Scinde shall be annexed to India." Already his views were beginning to diverge from those of Outram, who, although it had been his duty to testify against the intrigues of the Ameers, had, on the eve of his departure, pleaded earnestly in their favour, and done his best to minimise the evil notoriety of their government. At his first meeting with Outram, Napier had conceived a warm admiration for his generous and manly character: it was he who had conferred upon him the happy title of the Bayard of India; and, while their acquaintance lasted, he never ceased to regard him with goodwill. He had, too, the highest opinion of his ability, so long as their political views appeared to coincide. But, as he once naively confessed, he could not thoroughly like those who differed from him in argument; and he was now beginning to be irritated by symptoms of opposition. "Outram provokes me," he said; "he pities those rascals, who are such atrocious tyrants that it is virtuous to roll them over like ninepins."‡

---

* Bazaar, —a permanent market or street of shops.

† See Appendix C and Addenda.

‡ *C.S.,* No. 384-85, 403-5, 408, 420; R. Napier, pp. 83-87, 95-100, *Outram,* pp. 81-83; Life, vol. ii., pp. 222, 236, 240, 292

The period of suspense was soon at an end. On the last day of November, Napier received a letter from the Governor-General, directing him to require the consent of the Ameers to the new treaty. Two separate drafts had been prepared for presentation to the Ameers of Hyderabad and of Khyrpore respectively; but the spirit of both documents was essentially the same. The Ameers were to renounce the right of coining money, which was thenceforth to be exercised for them by the British Government: the towns of Kurrachee and Tatta, belonging to the Ameers of Hyderabad, and the towns of Sukkur, Bukkur, and Roree, belonging to the Ameers of Khyrpore, were to be ceded, together with adjacent strips of territory, stretching along the banks of the Indus, to the British ; and the districts of Subzul-cote and Bhoong Bhara, as well as the country between Bhoong Bhara and Roree, were to be ceded to the Nabob of Bhawulpore, to whom a portion of them had formerly belonged. On the other hand, the Ameers of Hyderabad were to be relieved from the payment of their subsidy; and, as it considerably exceeded the revenue of the lands which they were to cede, lands of equal value to the surplus were to be devoted to indemnifying the Ameers of Khyrpore for the cessions demanded from them. They also were to be released from all claims for tribute. Nusseer of Khyrpore and Nusseer of Hyderabad were alone to be punished by actual loss of revenue. The main objects of Ellenborough were, in demanding the cession of Kurrachee and the other towns, to acquire an absolute command over the Indus; in transferring territory to the Nabob of Bhawul-pore, to strengthen the ties of common interest with a loyal ally, and to establish a line of communication through a friendly state between Scinde and the British territories on the Sutlej.[*]

Unfortunately, there was a serious flaw in the treaty, which Outram, ever watchful for the interests of the Ameers, had detected when Napier first showed him the draft. Little more than a fourth of the territory that was to be ceded to the Nabob of Bhawulpore had originally belonged to him. Thus the Ameers of Khyrpore would have to make cessions far greater than the Governor-General had contemplated; and his intention of compensating them for what they would lose could not be adequately carried into effect. Outram urged Napier to point this out to the Governor-General: but weeks passed away, and Napier neglected to do so.[†]

Meanwhile he lost no time in sending the ‘treaties to the Ameers. To adjust the complicated details, the services of an officer of local experience would afterwards be required; and Outram, for whose assistance Napier had applied, was expected soon to return. The Ameers of Hyderabad professed obedience. Those of Khyrpore who, distracted by their fears, were making half-hearted attempts to arm, sent ambassadors to say that they would accept the treaty, but protested against it as unjust. Napier refused to believe that their promises of submission were sincere. The intelligence which he received convinced him that their object was simply to parley until the advent of the hot season should enable them to attack him, when his soldiers would be unable to bear the sun. “I have secret information,” he wrote, “that, if the Ameers go to war, they mean to harass us night and day, till we call out, O God, what have we done that Thou shouldst let

[*] Ibid., p. 247 ; Selections from the Records, ut supra, p. 112 ; C.S., No. 388, 392, 394.
[†] *Outram,* pp. 43-44, 149-50. (See Addenda).

loose such devils upon us." On the 8th of December he issued a proclamation, which was made public by beat of tomtom, stating that, in accordance with the treaty, the country from Subzulcote to Roree was to be given up. The Ameers had been led to hope that the treaty would be modified in their favour before it was carried into effect; and, in their exultation, they had discharged half of their new recruits. But their hopes were swept away by the proclamation: "how," they exclaimed, "how are the Ameers to exist?" and in their fury they sent off messengers to recall the disbanded troops. A correspondence followed between Roostum and Napier. Napier threatened: Roostum asserted his innocence, and threw himself on the mercy of the General. But Napier was incredulous and inexorable. "I laugh," he said, "at your preparations for war. Eight days have passed, and I have not heard that your Highness has nominated a commissioner of rank to arrange the details of the treaty. Your Highness is collecting troops in all directions; I must therefore have your acceptance of the treaty immediately,—yea or nay." "God knows," replied Roostum, "we have no intention of opposing the British, nor a thought of war or fighting,—we have not the power. If, without any fault on my part, you choose to seize my territory by force, I shall not oppose you, but I shall consent to and observe the provisions of the new treaty." All this time, however, the other Ameers were enlisting recruits, and nervously considering how they might defend themselves against the dreaded onslaught of the Feringhee General.[*]

Still Napier hoped to take possession of the ceded districts without bloodshed. Leaving Sukkur on the 15th and 16th of December, a British force crossed the Indus; and within the next few days Subzulcote and Bhoong Bhara were occupied. Napier himself, after superintending the departure of the column, returned to Sukkur. Anxious as he was to carry out his instructions to the satisfaction of the Governor-General, he complained that he was being worked to death; and, to add to his trials, his nephew John, who was on his staff, suddenly fell ill with fever. But Napier was resolved not to break down while there was work to be done. "This," he wrote, "is a hard trial for an old man of sixty. Yet what signifies these troubles? I feel a spring in me that defies all difficulties." Meanwhile highly-coloured reports of warlike preparations on the part of the Ameers were pouring in; and on the night of the 17th the English mails were robbed near Khyrpore. Napier believed that Roostum, who was very old and feeble, was not responsible for these things: but, as a warning to the younger Ameers, he addressed to him this curt note:—"Ameer, my letters have been stopped near Khyrpore: this has been done either by your order, or without your consent. If by your order, you are guilty; if, without your consent, you cannot command your people. In either case, I order you to disband your armed followers instantly." Roostum, in reply, denied that he or his subjects had been concerned in the robbery: the recruits, he promised, should be dismissed; and he begged Napier to send a deputy to report on his conduct. Notwithstanding, the General resolved to march on Khyrpore, and there see that his orders were obeyed.[†]

Harassed by private anxieties, exercised by public cares, stimulated by ambition, that eager soul was ever listening for the still, small voice. It was night, and before the tent in

[*] *C.S.,* No. 385, 408-9, 416, 425-26, 429-31, 433; *C.S.* Suppl., No. 5, 8; *Outram,* pp. 145-62; *Life,* vol. ii. p. 260.
[†] *Ibid.,* pp. 251, 264, 268-69; *C.S.,* No. 436-38, 444; *C.S.* Suppl., No. II; *Outram,* pp. 162-83. "There will be no opposition," so runs a significant entry in the Intelligence, "to the English force."

which he sat sparkled the long line of camp-fires. The dream of his life was half realised: would it ever be wholly ? In the depths of his heart he longed for war; yet he cursed himself for the wish, arid tried to stamp it down. "My God," he said, "how humbled I feel when I think! How I exult when I behold! I have worked my way to this great command, and am gratified at having it, yet despise myself for being so gratified. I despise my worldliness. A few years must kill me; a few days may! And yet I am so weak as to care for these things! No,—I do not. I pray to do what is right and just, and to have strength to say, Get thee behind me Satan! Alas! I have not that strength! there was but one being that could say that! All that I can do is to feel that I cannot say it: the weakness of man and the pride of war are too powerful for me, or I should not be here. He who takes command loves it!"[*]

His passion was soon to be gratified. For now occurred an event which has generally been considered one of the principal causes that led to the Scindian war. It had always been the custom among the Ameers both of Upper and of Lower Scinde that one of their number, with the title of Rais, should exercise a patriarchal authority over the rest. The symbol of this authority was a Turban. For some time past one of the most vexed questions of Scindian politics had been, who was to succeed Roostum as the Rais of Upper Scinde. An old man of courteous manners and dignified appearance, he was more popular than any other Ameer: but his death could not be far distant. The candidates for the Turban were his son, Mahomed Hoossein, and his brother, Ali Moorad: but the custom was that the eldest brother of the principal Ameer, if he had a brother, not his eldest son, should succeed him as Rais. Ali Moorad, a handsome man in the prime of life, and gifted with a singularly winning address, was by far the ablest of all the Ameers: he was commonly believed to be actuated by unswerving and unscrupulous ambition: he had long been severed, by a bitter feud, from his elder brother; and, anticipating that the English would soon be masters of Scinde, he had decided that he would best consult his own interests by definitely throwing in his lot with them. Accordingly he had, on the 23rd of November, asked Napier to give him a promise of the Turban. Napier replied that the Turban would be preserved to Roostum during his lifetime, unless he forfeited the British protection: but that, after his death, it would be transferred to Ali Moorad, if he continued to act with loyalty. "All that is just," said Ali Moorad; and Napier congratulated himself on having secured the most powerful of the Ameers as a firm ally. On the 18th of December, the day on which he announced his intention of marching to Khyrpore, Napier received a message apparently from Roostum,[†] saying that he was unable to control his relations, and wished to seek an asylum in the British camp. Napier was somewhat embarrassed by this message: to receive Roostum would, he thought, be virtually to pronounce him innocent of the offence with which he had been charged. He was anxious also to secure the Turban for Ali Moorad, if possible at once. It was not that he had any special regard for Ali Moorad: as he afterwards said, he did not care if Ali were the devil incarnate. What he desired was that Upper Scinde should be under a strong Rais, and that that Rais should be his slave. The interest of the Rais, of the people of Scinde, and of the British was really the same,—good government; and, if that interest were secured, he did

[*] *Life,* vol. ii. p. 266.

[†] See Appendix D.

not care what became of the selfish Ameers. He therefore wrote to Roostum, urging him to go to Ali Moorad, and to listen to his advice. Roostum naturally regarded this letter as equivalent to a command. Accordingly he went to the fort of Dejee-Ka-Kote, where Ali Moorad then was. There Ali Moorad extorted from him a treaty, by which he resigned to him not only the Turban and the office of Rais, but also extensive lands which had been assigned, years before, for the support of the dignity.* As soon as Napier heard what had taken place, he suspected that Ali Moorad had achieved his end by force. Wishing to ascertain whether his suspicion was correct, he told him that he intended to have an interview with Roostum. Thereupon Ali Moorad, as it should seem, caused Roostum to flee, telling him that, unless he did so, Napier would make him a prisoner. It immediately occurred to Napier that Ali Moorad had intimidated his aged brother; but he did not now feel called upon to interfere between the two, or to clear up his own suspicions. He was at first annoyed that Roostum had fled: but, after all, if the old imbecile had allowed himself to be frightened, what business was it of his to champion his cause So long as he could secure the political objects which he had at heart, those wretched Ameers might quarrel and intrigue as they pleased. With the Turban in the possession of Ali Moorad, and Ali Moorad attached by self-interest to his side, he believed that the peace of Upper Scinde was secured; and he was naturally not eager to institute an enquiry which might issue in the frustration of his schemes. Yet he was bound, not only by justice, but also, if he had only known, by expediency, to institute such an enquiry; for both the Ameers and their vassals detested Ali Moorad, and were in the highest degree exasperated by his usurpation. Moreover, even if Ali Moorad were to be allowed to retain the Turban, it was impolitic and unjust to allow him to deprive Roostum of lands from which many chiefs drew their support. Napier was bound by treaty, he confessed, to protect any Ameer whose rights were invaded by another. On New Year's Day he received from Roostum a letter stating that he had been compelled to resign the Turban by force: in his reply he sternly rebuked Roostum for presuming to state as a fact what he had himself only lately believed.†

Already the abdication of Roostum had produced important results. Bewildered by the sudden collapse of their chief, the younger Ameers with their followers had fled. Their refuge, so Napier heard, was a fortress called Emaumghur, which lay to the south-east of Khyrpore, far away in the great desert. An idea occurred to him, which he welcomed as an inspiration. He would march at once upon this place, and prove to the whole family of Ameers that not even the stronghold which they deemed impregnable, not even the desert itself could protect them from British troops. Then, he was confident, they would learn the futility of all resistance; and peace would be assured. Nor was this his only motive. Ali Moorad was his ally: but he was an ambitious ally; and it would be well to teach him, by an exhibition of their strength, that his new friends were also his masters. Emaumghur belonged, indeed, to a nephew of Roostum: but Napier maintained that Ali Moorad, as Rais, was now its master; and Ali Moorad had been induced to assent to the expedition.

---

* See Appendix E.

† *Outram,* pp. 106-44; R. Napier, pp. 110, 118-24, 129, note; *Selections from the Records, ut supra,* pp. 112-16; C.S., No. 413,439, 445-46, 451 ; C.S. Suppl., No. 159-60; Postans, pp. 213, 215 ; *Papers relating to the Charge preferred against Ali Moorad* (Willoughby's Minute, pars. 4, l0, 11, 13-14, 3o, 35-36, 57, 61-64,70-72, 77, 81-83, 86-87, 90, 101, 103, 120); *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 224, 264-65, 300.

The argument was a weak one; for, as the fortress belonged to Roostum's nephew when Roostum was Rais, it belonged to him no less when Roostum was succeeded by Ali Moorad. But, even if Napier had been unable to find a formal justification for his enterprise, he would certainly have claimed the right of the strongest to take a course which, however arbitrary, seemed to him both politic and, in the truest sense, merciful. The danger of what he was undertaking was fully present to his mind. He would perhaps fail to obtain guides: the wells might be filled up or poisoned: his little column might be harassed by sharpshooters whose activity would baffle pursuit. Still he felt confident in his power to triumph over every obstacle. For he believed that God had chosen him as His instrument to inaugurate a happier era for the people of Scinde.*

On the 3rd of January he broke up his camp near Khyrpore, having been detained there for some days by stress of weather. Next day the column reached the fort of Dejee-Ka-Kote. It now appeared that none of the Ameers, except Roostum's nephew, had actually gone to Emaumghur: but Napier thought it wise, notwithstanding, to prove that he could go himself. Unable to get any certain information about the route or the places where water might be found, he determined to continue the expedition with only a small force, considering that to take a large one would be unsafe. At midnight on the 5th he plunged into the desert, with three hundred and fifty men of the 22nd Queen's Regiment mounted in pairs on camels, two hundred horsemen, and two twenty-four pounder howitzers. He had provisions for fifteen days and water for four. At length, above the east horizon, the red sun slowly rose; and Napier descried his scattered soldiers skimming on their strange steeds over the long waves of the sandy ocean. Finding, at the end of the first march, that forage was very scarce, he sent back all but fifty of his horsemen. Six more days the little army toiled on. The labour of dragging the guns up the steep, holding sand-hills was enormous: but the soldiers laughed at every difficulty; and on the 12th of January the grim fortress of Emaumghur appeared, standing with its eight round towers four-square in the midst of the desert, and sparkling under the sun's rays. Not a soul was to be found within: only a few hours before the garrison had marched out. Napier had reason to rejoice at his good fortune; for it would have taken long for his guns to batter a breach in those massive walls; and it might have fared ill with him if the garrison had resolved to stand a siege. As it was, he believed that, so long as the fortress stood, it would foster a false confidence in the Ameers, and perhaps entail the labour of another march upon the British. With the consent, therefore, of Ali Moorad he resolved to destroy it. On the 15th the mines were ready; the silence of the desert was shattered by an appalling roar; through upleaping flames and soaring clouds of smoke, a myriad fragments flew into the air; and the fortress of Emaumghur had disappeared.†

Now began the final stage of negotiation with the Ameers. Outram, in obedience to an order from the Governor-General, had rejoined Napier just before the commencement of the desert march. On the day of the demolition of Emaumghur he started for Khyrpore, with instructions to meet the Ameers or their ambassadors there, and to arrange with

---

* *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 272-73, 285-86; *C.S.,* No. 445-46, 448, 450; *C.S.* Suppl., No. 143; *Outram,* pp. 225-26, 247-52.

† *Outram,* pp. 194-95, 225-26, 240-46: *C.S.,* No. 448-49, 453,455, 457; *Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough,* p. 342; *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 281-89.

them the details of the treaty. Next morning he reached the camp of Roostum in the desert. With heart-felt grief he told him that the treaty could not be modified, nor the cession to Ali Moorad undone. "Then," said Roostum, "what remains to settle? Our means of livelihood are taken, and why am I not to continue Rais for the short time that I have to live ?" Outram was in despair. The old man had evidently lost confidence in him: he was surrounded by persons who appeared to be agents of Ali Moorad: it was the interest of Ali Moorad to make the other Ameers appear hostile to Napier in order that he might profit by their ruin; and therefore Outram feared lest Roostum should be persuaded that it was useless to go to Khyrpore. On the 20th Outram arrived at that place, where he had been authorised to wait for the Ameers or their ambassadors until the 25th. Ambassadors from Lower Scinde presented themselves, but without full powers; and, as Outram expected, Roostum failed to appear.* He had gone to join the other princes of Upper Scinde at a place called Koonhera. In the meantime Outram made it his business to ascertain the value of the territory of the Khyrpore Ameers to be conf1scated by the treaty. Napier had hitherto neglected or forgotten to ask the Governor-General to reduce the excessive demands which he had unwittingly made. Ali Moorad was to lose nothing; and one-fourth of the property which, after the confiscation, would remain to the Ameers, was to be assigned to him as Rais. As a result, the annual income of the other Ameers would be reduced from about one hundred and sixty thousand to little more than sixty thousand pounds, on which eighteen Ameers with their families and feudal retainers would have to depend for their support. The longer Outram meditated on this arrangement, the more unjust it appeared. It was true that in former times one-fourth of the territory, in addition to his ordinary revenue, had been assigned to the Rais, in order to enable him to maintain an army for the defence of Upper Scinde against foreign aggression. But circumstances, Outram maintained, were greatly altered: the duty of protecting Scinde belonged now to the British Government. Writing to Napier, he pointed out that, if the terms which he condemned were insisted upon, it would be impossible to conclude any satisfactory arrangement with the Ameers. In a second letter he expressed his opinions with still greater force. "It grieves me to say that my heart and the judgement God has given me unite in condemning the measures we are carrying out as most tyrannical,—positive robbery. I consider, therefore, that every life that may hereafter be lost in consequence will be a MURDER."†

Napier was not convinced. To his mind, Outram was allowing his sympathies to overbear his judgement. "In his indignation against Ali Moorad," he wrote, "he every day puts such a fresh coat of whitewash on the others that they will soon be apostles." He still maintained that to uphold Ali Moorad was the best way to secure the well-being of the people: whether the treaty left the guilty Ameers one rupee or one million, did not, he argued, come within his competence to determine. He forgot that it was not the treaty which Outram attacked,! but only the spoliation by Ali Moorad of his kinsmen; and that, unless it were prevented, the innocent would be punished as well as the guilty. Moreover, he could not see that, even if it were politic to recognise Ali as Rais, the other Ameers

* See Appendix F.

† *Outram,* pp. 253-69, 274-76, 290; *C.S.,* No. 409, 415, 448-49, 456, 458 ; **C.S.** Suppl., No. 24, 29, 31, 33; *Life of Outram,* vol. i. pp. 3o5, 308, 314; Life, vol. ii. p. 304, vol. iii. p. 26. His only serious objection was to the undue demands (p. 54, supra).

would be driven by the loss of their estates to plunder or to fight, and the people would suffer worse than before.*

Now it was that Outram showed how he deserved the title, which Napier had given him, of "the Bayard of India." He was consumed by a passionate desire to save the Ameers from the doom which he felt to be overhanging them. The march to Emaumghur had failed to secure the prospects of peace, even if it had not aroused the fear that Napier was bent on war. Breathing threats against Ali Moorad, hoping vaguely still, by good fortune, by concession, perhaps by force, to obtain some abatement of the General's demands, the Ameers of Upper Scinde, with four thousand armed followers, were journeying to Hyderabad, to claim the support of their fellow princes. On the 22nd of January Outram wrote to Napier, asking leave to go thither also, that he might use his influence to prevent the Ameers of Lower Scinde from committing themselves by receiving and aiding the fugitives. If the Ameers of Khyrpore were determined to rush on their own destruction, he would at least try to save their cousins. Napier refused to agree to this proposal, on the ground that, if the treaty were not opened at once, the Governor-General would condemn him for vacillation. Outram, however, pointed out that, in the absence of the Ameers or their representatives, it was impossible to open the treaty; and on the 28th Napier wrote to give a tardy consent. But the letter was intercepted, by an agent, as Outram thought, of Ali Moorad; and Outram never received it.†

On the 3Oth, ambassadors, sent by the Ameers of Hyderabad, arrived in the British camp at Beria, about midway between Khyrpore and Sehwan. Napier was marching slowly in the direction of Hyderabad, that he might be able to support the arguments of Outram by the terror of the British force. He was still sincerely desirous to avoid an appeal to arms: but being a soldier, not a diplomatist, he did not think of taking the one step that might possibly have prevented it. What he ought to have done was to demand from the ambassadors their signature to an unconditional acceptance of the treaty; then to send them back to Hyderabad, on the understanding that Outram would follow to arrange details; and to stipulate against the admission into Lower Scinde of the fugitives from Khyrpore. What he did was to dismiss the ambassadors, with a warning that, unless by the 5th of the following month he heard that they had induced the Ameers of Khyrpore to meet Outram at Hyderabad, he would treat those Ameers as enemies. He forgot, or failed to understand, that Outram desired to exclude them altogether from Hyderabad; indeed he seems to have gathered from one of his letters‡ that he actually wished to meet them there, that he might make a last effort to persuade them to submit. But the error which he committed, if pardonable, was not the less fatal. Ignorant of Asiatic ideas of honour, he was practically forcing the desperate princes of Khyrpore into the reluctant arms of their cousins, and thus precipitating the alliance which Outram was so anxious to prevent.§

"The General is bent on war! So get ready." Such was the conclusion which the ambassadors formed, and such the warning which they sent to their masters. The Ameers

* *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 297-303; *Outram,* pp. 269-73.

† *Ibid.,* pp. 287-301; *C.S.* Suppl., No. 31-32, 36. See Appendix G.
‡ *Life of Outram,* vol. i. p. 315.
§ *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 308-11; *C.S.* Suppl., No. 37-39, 102, 108, 132; *Outram,* pp. 290-97. See Addenda,

accepted it; and from that moment they too began to summon their troops, in the hope of averting the doom which they feared.*

Outram, assuming that Napier wished him, after all, to go to Hyderabad, embarked on the 4th at Sukkur. He had been prevented from starting earlier by a series of accidents to the steamer. Arriving on the 8th, he found that Roostum had preceded him by four days. The main object of his visit was therefore, he feared, frustrated. Respect for their sacred laws of hospitality, if not sympathy and national pride, would now assuredly lead the Ameers of Hyderabad to make common cause with their kinsmen. Napier had announced that unless, by the 5th, he heard of Roostum's having gone to meet Outram at Hyderabad, he would himself march against him at the head of his army: he did not receive the required information, though, as a matter of fact, Roostum had set out; and on the 6th, to show that he was in earnest, he began his march. The Ameers were greatly alarmed. Roostum had arrived at Hyderabad within the time which the General had prescribed; nevertheless the General was still marching on their capital. They did not understand his motives. Surely, they must have thought, whether they submitted or not, he was determined to destroy them.†

Napier, for his part, was becoming anxiously impatient. The hot weather was coming on fast, and within a few days this maddening uncertainty must be ended. He accordingly directed Outram to warn the Ameers of Khyrpore that he intended to move on, and, unless they dispersed their troops instantly, to disperse them himself by force of arms.‡

And now, with a heart full of pity and indignation, Outram set himself to avert, if by any means it were possible, the impending catastrophe. That he could prevent war, if his hands were only free, he felt sure; perhaps, fettered as he was, he might yet prevent it by his influence with Napier. He wrote to assure him that he did not believe that the Ameers really intended to fight. Late on the day of his arrival, he had a conference with the Ameers. They solemnly denied that the alleged acts of treason, on which the treaty was based, had been committed; still they promised to sign it if only Roostum were restored to his rights. At the same time they told Outram that, if the British army continued to advance, the Beloochees would break loose from restraint: would he ask the General to grant even one day's grace, that there might be time for deliberation? Outram implored them, as a friend, to sign without delay and save themselves before it was too late. Nothing was definitely settled: but next morning Outram received a message from the Ameers, asking him to consult with them again in the afternoon. He sent back word that further consultation would be useless; the General was steadily marching on their capital, and their only chance of arresting his march was to sign the treaty forthwith. In the afternoon the deputies of the Ameers of Hyderabad met Outram, and signed an agreement to accept the treaty. Thereupon he wrote to ask Napier to halt for a day, and give the other Ameers a chance of making up their minds. Next morning Roostum sent a message to Outram saying that he and his kinsmen were prepared to sign the treaty, if necessary, at

* *C.S.* Suppl., No. 178; *Outram,* pp. 335-36.

† *Ibid.,* pp. 290-95, 299-301, 327-38, 339-41; *C.S.* Suppl., No. 46, 48, 52.
‡ *Ibid.,* No. 48-49.

once, but begging that the business might be deferred till the 11th, as the l0th was the last and holiest day of the feast of the Mohurrum. Outram consented, and wrote to beg Napier, who had already halted in compliance with his request, to wait one more day. This Napier promised to do, not out of consideration for the Ameers, for he thought that he had waited too long for them already, but because his camels needed rest. On the 11th, Roostum and his fellow Ameers sent their deputies to sign the treaty.*

In the afternoon of the same day a company of British soldiers landed at the Residency of Hyderabad. Napier, believing that Outram was being hoodwinked by the Ameers, and feeling alarmed for his safety, had sent this reinforcement to his assistance. But Outram only thought of the alarm which the appearance of the troops would strike into the hearts of the Ameers. He therefore entreated Napier to advance no further than Hala, thirty miles north of Hyderabad.† On the evening of the 12th he had another conference with the Ameers. He told them that he would gladly communicate to the General any representation which Roostum might desire to make on the subject of his grievances. More than this he had no authority to do. At length all the Ameers except Nusseer Khan of Khyrpore set their seals to the treaty. Hardly had Outram departed from the Durbar when a number of Beloochee chiefs flocked in, greatly excited, and swore on the Koran that, as Outram would not give any pledge that Roostum should have justice, they would unite to resist the British, and not sheathe their swords till right had been done.‡

Emerging from the fort, Outram and his brother officials were greeted with angry shouts: an infuriated mob surged round them; and they had to thank the Beloochee escort which surrounded them for protection from attack. Next day the Ameers, who had a warm regard for Outram, earnestly begged him to leave the city as soon as he could, and get out of the reach of danger. From their deputies he heard of the oath which the Beloochee chiefs had sworn. The Ameers, so the deputies urged, had lost all control over the Beloochees, and could not answer for any violence of which they might be guilty. An earnest colloquy followed. Again and again the deputies implored Outram to promise that the lands taken from Roostum and his brethren by Ali Moorad should be restored. Again and again Outram assured them that he had no authority to promise anything, and that, until the armed Beloochees dispersed, the General would certainly keep marching on Hyderabad. Would the Khyrpore Ameers then be allowed to settle their disputes with Ali Moorad without British interference? "Certainly not," answered Outram. "This is very hard," exclaimed the deputies,— "you will neither promise restoration of what has been taken from them by Ali Moorad, nor will you allow them to right themselves." As they withdrew, they told him that, unless he received a message that night, he was to conclude that their masters could do nothing more to preserve peace. No message came. Still Outram would not believe that the Beloochees had any real thought of fighting. "I have little doubt," he wrote to Napier, "but that all their vaunting will end in smoke."§

---

* *C.S.* Suppl., No. 53, 59-60; *C.S.,* No. 468, 471; *Outram,* pp. 325-26, 343-51.
† See Addenda.
‡ *Outram,* pp. 352-54, 357-58; *C.S.,* No. 468; *C.S.* Suppl. No. 63-65, 69; *Life,* vol. ii. p. 319.
§ *Outram,* pp. 355-62; C.S., No. 468 ; *C.S.* Suppl., No. 65, 68-69.

Very different was the opinion of Napier. Judging by the reports which, during some days past, he had received from his spies, he convinced himself that the Ameers were making Outram their dupe. "I will stand no more blarney," he burst out, "at which the Ameers would beat any Irishman that ever drunk whiskey." And, he maintained, even if they were sincere in pleading that they could not control their Beloochees, he had a good right to overthrow their Government; for a state that could not command its own army was dangerous to its neighbours. The country near Hyderabad was traversed by bodies of armed men. On the 12th of February, a party of Beloochee horsemen was surprised near his camp. Their leader was found in possession of a letter from one of the Ameers of Hyderabad, directing him to summon all his clansmen who could wield a sword, and assemble them on the 9th at Meeanee. This letter bore a date identical with that of another, in which the same Ameer begged Napier to delay his advance until the 9th. All this time, then, Napier concluded, the Ameers had been definitely resolved to attack him. As a matter of fact, before the letters were written, they had heard from their ambassadors that he was bent on attacking them,* and they naturally prepared to defend themselves. The General, however, was in no mood to draw nice distinctions. And, indeed, when their intercession for Roostum failed, the bolder spirits doubtless felt that the time had come to strike. Whatever he might have done before, after those hot-blooded Beloochees had sworn to be avenged, it was too late for Napier to avert war.† It was his business now to save his army; and he believed that, if he waited any longer, he would be exposing it to destruction. Perhaps he had waited too long already. Replying to the letter in which Outram had begged him not to advance beyond Hala, he said, "I neither can, nor will halt now. Their object is very plain, and I will not be their dupe. I shall march to-morrow, and attack every body of armed men I meet, according to my orders. I have delayed from first to last, at risk of my character as an officer, till not the eleventh, but the twelfth hour. If men die in consequence of my delay, their blood may be justly charged to my account." The news of the insult to which Outram had been exposed in the streets of Hyderabad, confirmed his decision. Thirty thousand Beloochees, he learned, were assembled at Meeanee to attack him. He knew indeed that, whatever the result of the contest might be, it would decide his reputation as a general; but he felt no misgivings. "I am as sure of victory," he said, "as a man who knows that victory is an accident can be."‡

Even while he wrote, the clash of arms was begun. Early on the morning of the 16th, Outram came into the British camp at Muttaree, a day's march north of the place where the Beloochee army was assembled. On the previous morning the smouldering passions of the armed multitudes at Hyderabad had at last burst into flame. Eight thousand Beloochees, led by two of the Ameers, had attacked the Residency ; and, after a gallant, but unavailing defence of four hours, Outram and his little band had embarked in a steamer, and retreated up the Indus. Now that the scabbard had been thrown aside, Outram was as eager as Napier that the sword should be wielded with effect. Accordingly he asked Napier to let him move down the river again, and burn the woods stretching along the road to Meeanee, lest they should afford cover to the enemy. Napier acceded to

---

* See p. 70, *supra.*

† When Outram heard of the seizure of the Beloochee horsemen, he too believed that their countrymen would fight. *C.S.* Suppl., No. 72.

‡ *Ibid.,* No. 48, 61-62, 67, 79, 146; *C.S.,* No. 471 and inclosures; *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 297, 304, 312, 317-18, 320. t See Appendix H.

his request; and in the afternoon Outram, taking with him two hundred convalescent sepoys, started on his enterprise.'!' Napier remained where he was, to complete his preparations, and write the letters which might be his last. On the morrow he was to fight his first, perhaps his last battle as an independent commander,—to win or to lose. The numbers of the Beloochees were said to be increasing: but, remembering a famous maxim of the Duke of Wellington, he resolved, let their numbers be what they might, never to retreat before an Indian enemy. "Not to be anxious about attacking such immensely superior numbers is impossible; but it is a delightful anxiety." And, in a letter to his old friend, John Kennedy, "God bless you," he wrote; "to fall will be to leave many I love, but to go to many loved, to my home ! and that in any case must be soon."[*]

[*] *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 321-23, 328 ; *Outram,* pp. 364-66, 373, 392-4, 396-403 ; C. S., No. 472; C. S. Suppl., No. 80. See Appendix I.

V.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 17th the army began to move. After a march of seven miles, the advanced guard approached the river Fullaillee, the bed of which was then dry. Suddenly, as they tramped along its eastern bank, the silence was broken, for the first time, by the roar of a distant cannon. About eight o'clock the enemy's camp was descried. Some distance ahead, winding to the east, and round again to the south-west, the river-bed assumed the shape of a vast horse-shoe. Between the British army and the opposite bank, from its eastern and its western bend, two dense woods stretched into the plain. That on the right was bounded by a mud wall, on the top of which were perched hundreds of matchlock men. Concealed by the other was a village called Katree. The enemy's wings rested on these woods; and their infantry lined the dry bed of the river, the high bank of which, sloping toward the plain, served as a strong rampart. In front of this bank their guns were placed in two masses, covering their flanks.

Halting to wait for the main column, which had been delayed by the badness of the road, Napier carefully examined the enemy's position. He decided that to turn either of the two woods, while costing much valuable time, would be useless, as, even when the movement had been completed, it would still be necessary to cross the bed of the river. There was but one way to fight the battle,—to attack the enemy boldly in front. Five and thirty thousand warriors were there, many of them drunk with bhang, every man of them inspired by fanaticism and hate ; and against this host he could lead no more than a bare three thousand, of whom scarcely a fourth were British soldiers.

The baggage, guarded by the Poonah Horse and four companies of infantry, was formed in a circle, close behind the line of battle, the camels lying down around it, and the bales being placed between them, so as to form a rampart over which the camp- followers might fire.

At length the main column arrived, and continued to advance until it came within three hundred yards of the wall. Then it wheeled to the right into line. The artillery, flanked by the sappers and miners, were on the right. Next to them stood the 22nd Queen's Regiment, numbering about five hundred, half of whom were Irishmen. Next came successively the 25th and the 12th Bombay Native Infantry and the 1st Bombay Grenadiers. The left of the infantry line was covered by the Scinde Horse; and on the extreme left rode the 9th Bengal Cavalry.

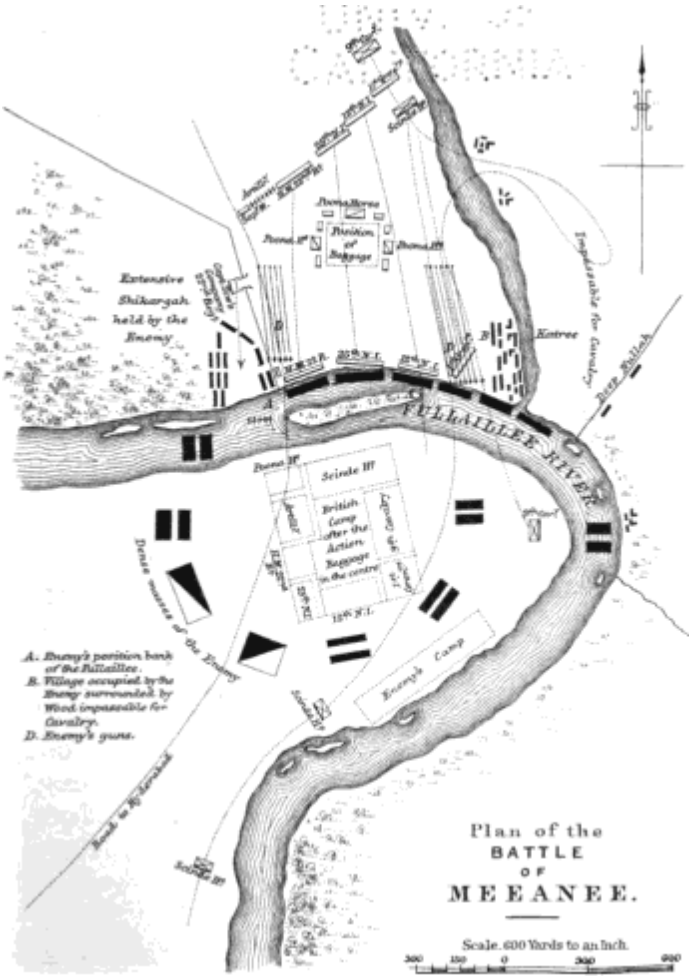
It was nearly eleven before the line was ready. Then, under a brisk cannonade from the enemy, the British guns were moved forward. Three hundred yards from the Fullaillee, the gunners halted, and, after a short, sharp duel, silenced the enemy's artillery. Meanwhile Napier was riding forward with his staff towards the enclosed wood. Approaching an opening in the wall, he found that it had no loop-holes for the enemy to shoot through, and no scaffolding to aid them in firing over the top. A happy inspiration possessed him. Placing the grenadiers of the 22nd just inside the opening, he bade their captain, Tew, to keep it blocked, and never give way. Hardly had the order been given, when Tew was shot dead: but to the last the gap was held.

And now the infantry regiments, advancing in echelon, under a galling fire, were approaching the enemy's front. Encouraged by the rattle of the grenadiers' musketry, the 22nd marched past the wall. A hundred yards from the Fullaillee, they caught sight of the fierce, dark faces of the Beloochees above the bank, bending over their levelled matchlocks. The General gave the word: the bugle sounded; and with a wild yell the British soldiers charged. Up the bank they rushed, and were about to leap down:— when they saw a myriad swaying swords flashing in the sunlight before their faces, and in amazement started back. But in a moment they pressed on again, and with fixed bayonets hurled themselves upon their terrible enemies; and now, one after another, the sepoy regiments came up, and plunged into the thick of the fight. Again and again, as the British guns roared out, a hail of grape-shot flew down the river bed, and hurtled through the dense masses of the Belooehees; yet, heedless of the slaughter, many leaped upon the guns only to be blown away, while along the bank the shouts of the striving multitudes were mingled with the frequent clash of the bayonet and the sword. Twice or three times, in spite of the example, in spite of the passionate entreaties of their officers, the sepoy regiments shrank back ; and even the British swerved before the onset of their desperate foes. Officers and men were falling fast; and it seemed doubtful whether the British could win the battle. Then, conspicuous among the thronging combatants, appeared the eagle face of the British General: he drove his horse through the ranks of the 22nd, and, waving his helmet, called upon the men to make one conquering charge. Still it was all in vain. The bayonet alone could not decide the battle. But soon the British, planting themselves almost on the edge of the bank, fired into the striving mass with such swiftness that, as their foremost enemies rolled over dead or dying, those behind could hardly spring clear of the corpses and strike before a fresh volley hurled them back. In the narrow space, barely five yards wide, that separated the contending hosts, Napier slowly walked his horse up and down, more than once scorched by the fire, though never struck, and always at hand to rally the wavering.

Writhing heaps of bodies were lying close under the bank; and still the Beloochees would not give way. Moreover, the officer commanding the Bombay Grenadiers, misunderstanding his instructions, had neglected to storm Katree, and kept his men in a position where they were of little use. The crisis had arrived: now or never, Napier saw, the battle must be won. Exhorting his men to hold on, he sent an order to Colonel Pattle, his second-in-command, to charge with all the cavalry on the enemy's right. But the order had been anticipated. Captain Tucker, of the 9th Cavalry, had* already persuaded the colonel to allow the cavalry to act. While the third squadron drove masses of the enemy into and along the bed of the river, and the second expelled numbers from the village enclosures, the first, with the Scinde Horse, rode straight for the further bank. As they galloped across the plain near the village, some fifty of the Scinde horsemen, failing to clear the ditches that intersected it, were flung from their saddles: but the rest, spurring on, dashed over the high bank of the river and across its bed; and then, while the Scindees

Plan of the

BATTLE o*f* MEEANEE.



charged the camp of the Ameers, the Bengal troopers swept down upon the enemy's rear, and threw the whole line into disorder. Distracted by this unexpected onslaught, the Beloochees hesitated: the British infantry saw the wavering of their line, and, springing forward with a triumphant shout, forced them from the bank, till the battle was renewed in the middle of the river-bed. Driven out of the wood, the multitudes whom Tew's grenadiers had held in check, joined the left of the line. With desperate fierceness the conquered Beloochees still fought on: but at last they knew that they were beaten, and turning, though still glancing grimly round, with a swinging stride they slowly stalked away. Large bodies, indeed, still lingered near the village, and looked as though they would make another rush; and it was not until the whole of the British guns had been turned against them that they too sullenly dispersed.

The loss of the Beloochees was very severe. Within a circle of fifty yards in diameter four hundred corpses were counted; and in all more than five thousand men had fallen. But Napier had won his victory at a heavy cost. Of his little army sixty-two officers and men had been killed, and a hundred and ninety-four wounded.*

On the plain beyond the Fullaillee Napier formed his camp. At midnight, while his soldiers were asleep, he rode alone over the battle-field; he felt no exaltation,—only relief that he had averted defeat; and, as he gazed upon the corpses that lay heaped together stark and stiff in the moonlight, he said to himself, "This blood is on the Ameers, not on me."

In pronouncing this self-acquittal, he confessed the greatness of his responsibility. Although he was ostensibly only the instrument who executed the policy of the Governor-General, yet in the praise or the blame that belongs to it, he must share. For he was allowed the widest discretion in developing it: he warmly defended it with his pen : with his sword he resolutely carried it out; and, indeed, after the initial step had been taken, he was its real author.

Did his conscience speak truly? Was the conquest of Scinde a deed which history can approve? In considering these questions it must be borne in mind that the avowed object of Napier was not to conquer Scinde, but simply to induce the Ameers to accept a treaty without war. But one may hold that he made mistakes in the pursuit of this purpose, and

---

* *C.S.,* No. 473; Napier's *Conquest of Scinde,* pp. 305-20; *Account of the Battle of Meeanee* (vol. ix. of R. E. Prof. Papers); *Explanation of the Battle of Meeanee* (vol. x. of do.) ; *Reply to the Observations of Maj. Gen. Sir W. Napier* (vol. i., new series of do.); *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 326-27, 340, 406, 417, 442-43; vol. iii. pp. 16, 30-31, 80-81, 99; vol. iv. pp. 101-15 The above list comprises the whole of the extant authorities of any value for the battle of Meeanee. Sir W. Napier's description in his *Conquest of Scinde* is one of the finest of his battle-pieces; but it is disfigured by blunders the more serious of which were corrected in the prosaic and strictly professional narrative of Major Waddington, who was himself present in the action. Sir William, in one of the papers to which I have referred at the beginning of this note, endeavoured to vindicate his accuracy; but, after carefully studying his rejoinder and Waddington's surrejoinder, I am satisfied that, on most of the points in dispute, Waddington was right and he was wrong. Diligent as he was in research and anxious to tell the truth, his fervid temperament often prevented him from exercising *sustained* patience in minutely attending to wearisome details. Waddington, on the other hand, had all the strength of a Dryasdust.

Sir Richard Burton, in the biography of him recently published by Mr. Hitchman, makes some interesting remarks about the narratives of Napier and Waddington, and appears to hint that Sir Charles employed secret service money to corrupt the Ameers' artillerymen.

yet admire his firm grasp of the general situation,—the wise decision with which he urged that the imperial Government should finally establish its authority on the Indus, and compel the Ameers to govern as they ought. One may hold that he might have postponed the conquest at the cost of sacrificing the glory of Meeanee, and yet that the conquest was inevitable, that it furnished the Empire with a new buttress, and that it was for the lasting benefit of the people of Scinde. For, as a great historian has with characteristic boldness asserted, it is a law of nature that barbarous peoples should be absorbed by their civilised neighbours.[*] History sanctions those conquests, however rudely they may shock the scrupulous conscience, which last: those which are condemned, tumble, like Napoleon's empire, into ruins.

Napier was so earnest in advocating the wisdom of imposing a new treaty upon the Ameers, that he may be considered jointly responsible with the Governor- General for the measure. The undue demands which were unfortunately introduced into the draft should, of course, have been promptly remitted. But, with this limitation, no one but a purist would deny that the Governor-General and his lieutenant were justified in requiring the consent of the Ameers to the treaty.[†] Not, indeed, for the specific reasons which Ellenborough alleged,—though Napier might be pardoned for deeming them sufficient on the evidence before him,—but to guard against the hostility of the Ameers ; to prevent them from continuing to violate their engagements; and to establish the relations of the paramount to the subordinate power on a firm, definite, and satisfactory basis. Political morality is, of all branches of ethics, the simplest to the practical statesman, the most subtle and perplexing to the anxious student, the most impracticable as taught by the doctrinaire.

Still, as Napier professed his earnest desire to avoid bloodshed, it is necessary to enquire whether the end which he had in view might not have been gained by peaceful means. It is probable that tact and patient diplomacy, supported by resolution and a calm reserve of irresistible strength, might have induced the Ameers, and even their headstrong feudatories, to submit to the inevitable. Napier was resolute to a fault: but he was no diplomatist; and it is certain that his excessive sternness, as well as his neglect to explain the benevolence of the Governor- General's intentions, impressed the Ameers with the belief that he intended to conquer their country, and therefore led them to contemplate resistance. If it were possible to tell the whole story in a single sentence, one might say that the Ameers armed because they feared that Napier was going to attack them ; that Napier attacked them because they armed. He did try hard to effect a peaceable settlement—but not in singleness of heart: from first to last he was biassed by the longing to win a famous victory, and more, to bestow upon an oppressed people the blessings of civilisation. He neglected to inform the Governor-General how hardly the article which provided for the cession of land to Bhawulpore pressed upon the Ameers, until it was too late to set it right. He was certainly wrong in allowing Ali Moorad's claim to the Turban lands to pass unquestioned; and there is considerable evidence to show that this was the

[*] Mommsen's *History of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 219.

[†] Outram, himself, it will be remembered, proposed a similar treaty (p. 43 *supra)* though he did not think that there was sufficient ground for punishing even the two Nusseers by actual deprivation of reveue.

proximate cause of the war. Had he allowed Outram to try to prevent the Ameers of Hyderabad from making common cause with those of Khyrpore; had he thought fit to promise that Roostum should be allowed, if he succeeded in proving his case against Ali Moorad, to recover the lands of which Ali had deprived him; it is possible that, even at the eleventh hour, war would have been avoided. On the other hand, it is possible that concessions granted at the eleventh hour, would have been attributed by Asiatics to fear, and have been followed by further demands. And, even if peace had been preserved, it might only have been for a time. For it is not unlikely that the new treaty would, in its turn, have been broken, or fresh grounds of quarrel have arisen. Moreover, though the immediate causes of the war were doubtless the indignation of the Beloochees at the treatment suffered by their favourite Ameer, and the alarm of his kinsmen and feudatories at the prospect of losing their lands, they had long been in a sullen mood. They were sick of British interference: they were nervously apprehensive that it might develop into aggression; and, when two armies are watching one another, neither indeed intending, but each expecting an attack, the slightest spark may be enough to set their passions ablaze. As Napier said, the battle of Meeanee was "merely the lancing of a great ulcer which must sooner or later have come to a head from natural causes."[*]

On the morning after the battle ambassadors came to ask the British General what terms he would grant to the Ameers. "Life and nothing more," he replied, "and I want your decision before twelve o'clock, as I shall by that time have buried my dead, and given my soldiers their breakfasts." Soon afterwards Nusseer Khan, Shahdad, and young Hoossein of Hyderabad entered the British camp: they promised to surrender the fortress of Hyderabad, and, laying their costly swords at the General's feet, yielded themselves up as prisoners of war. The General received them graciously, and, pitying their fallen state, bade them take back their swords, though, by the rules of war, they were his lawful prize. Their fate, he told them, rested with the Governor-General: his decision would soon be known; meanwhile they should be treated with kindness. On the intercession of Outram, the youthful Hoossein was released. Next day, Roostum and Nusseer of Khyrpore also gave themselves up.

During the battle, the Ameer Shere Mahomed of Meerpore, who was popularly known as the Lion, had been encamped six miles from Meeanee, at the head of ten thousand men. On the following morning he sent a message to Napier, saying that he was his friend. Napier, counting on the moral effect of his victory, had determined to march against him. But Outram assured him that the Lion would be only too glad to submit, and obtain terms of peace; and, wishing to avoid further bloodshed, Napier suffered himself to be guided by his lieutenant's advice.[†] A letter was accordingly sent to the Lion, informing him that, if he dispersed his troops, he should still be treated as a friend and ally of the British.

For two days after his victory Napier suffered great anxiety lest the enemy should renew the battle; and he was obliged to take every precaution to guard his little army against the danger of a surprise. On the 19th the conquerors marched into Hyderabad; and next day the British colours were hoisted on the great round tower of the fort. Up to this time, two

[*] *Life,* vol. ii. p. 347.
[†] See Appendix J.

of the Ameers, Sobdar and Mahomed Khan, who had taken no part in the battle, had not given themselves up; and Napier sent them word that, so long as they remained quietly in their houses, they should not be molested. On the day of his entry into Hyderabad he explained, in a letter to the Governor-General, that, although Sobdar's troops had been present at Meeanee, they had gone thither against his will. Nevertheless, only four days later, both Sobdar and Mahomed were made prisoners. Writing of Sobdar, Napier remarked, "he staid away from the battle, but five thousand of his warriors fought, and I see no reason why he should shelter himself under his cowardice." By this explanation he implied, in opposition to what he had previously stated, that Sobdar had ordered his warriors to fight; and of his having done so there was no proof. The same flimsy pretext was given for the arrest of Mahomed. But Napier had by this time persuaded himself that the Ameers, one and all, were villains of the deepest dye; and no story that lent support to his theory was too extravagant for his acceptance. For instance, he was led to believe that Nusseer Khan had resolved, in case of victory, to put an iron ring through his nose, and lead him captive by a chain to Hyderabad. Still, in spite of the abhorrence with which he regarded the Ameers, he did his best to render their captivity tolerable, and ordered that the privacy of their women should be scrupulously respected.[*] How the Ameers themselves should be disposed of, was a delicate question. Full of compassion for the men whose cause he had so chivalrously advocated, Outram repeatedly urged that they should be restored to their thrones. Napier of course turned a deaf ear to this advice; and on the 12th of March, Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation, declaring Scinde annexed to the British Empire, and ordering that the Ameers should be sent prisoners to Bombay.

Meanwhile the Lion, so far from complying with Napier's terms, was diligently collecting recruits. Possibly, when he heard of the arrest of Sobdar and Mahomed, he may have feared that, if he dispersed his troops, a like fate would befall him. It is probable, at all events, that he distrusted Napier's promises; for he had nothing to lose by the treaty; and therefore, unless he believed himself strong enough to expel the British from Scinde, it is hard to see what other motive than distrust could have impelled him to keep the field.

Notwithstanding his victory, Napier's position was far from being secure. His army was greatly diminished; while that of the Lion was increasing every day. Knowing that, in the face of such odds, and beneath a sun of ever-growing fierceness, it would be insane to march against an enemy who, even if he were defeated, could retreat to the desert, he resolved to remain where he was. Sending to Kurrachee and Sukkur for reinforcements, he proceeded to construct an entrenched camp on the left bank of the Indus, near Hyderabad. But, while he thus tried to make the Lion believe that he was afraid of risking a battle, in the hope that he would be encouraged to assume the offensive, and spare the British force the toil of hunting him down, Napier made his soldiers pitch their tents outside the entrenchment, in order to give them confidence and impress them with the belief that he held the Lion in contempt.

[*] See Appendix K.

But the Lion was not his only enemy. The hill tribes, eager for plunder, were preparing to swarm down upon the plains; and the most formidable chief of Southern Scinde was threatening the garrison of Kurrachee. On the 13th of March Napier heard with astonishment that the Lion's force amounted to more than five and twenty thousand men. Thereupon he wrote to Ferozepore for reinforcements. Ellenborough, however, had anticipated his request: the reinforcements had by this time reached Sukkur; and Colonel Roberts, the commandant at that place, having already sent the detachments which Napier had originally called for down the Indus in boats, now despatched the Ferozepore brigade under Major Stack by land. The Lion, seeing that Napier remained inactive, believed, like a true Asiatic, that he was afraid to take the field, and approached within twelve miles of Hyderabad. On the 15th, perhaps from mere bluster, he sent ambassadors to the British camp, with an offer of terms. Just as they delivered their message, the report of the evening gun was heard. "You hear that sound," said Napier; "it is my answer to your chief. Begone! "Next day he received from the Lion's brother a proposal to assassinate him. He at once sent to inform the Lion of his danger, warning him at the same time that, if he did not surrender himself a prisoner of war before the 23rd, he would march against him and give him battle.

As the days passed, and the reinforcements under Major Stack drew nearer and nearer to Hyderabad, Napier became seriously anxious lest the Lion should intercept them. On the 21st Stack reached Muttaree. There he received orders from Napier to march on without delay. Presently a messenger, despatched by Major Clibborne, who had charge of the Intelligence Department, brought him the following note — "Halt, for God's sake! You will be attacked by at least forty thousand men to-morrow." Puzzled by these conflicting missives, Stack sent the messenger on to Napier, to ask for positive orders. When the messenger reached the British camp, Napier, who was entertaining a number of officers in his tent, had just finished dinner. Glancing at the note, he saw that Stack must march on instantly, and come as near as possible to Hyderabad, that he himself might be able to go to his aid without exposing the fortress or the camp to danger. He knew that his officers were anxious, and, to reassure them, he read aloud the note, with this reply:— "Clibborne's men are all in buckram. Come on." The officers laughed heartily at the joke; and their confidence was restored.

Still, if Clibborne had been indiscreet, his warning was based on sound information; and Napier knew that his lieutenant would certainly be attacked. That night accordingly he sent Captain McMurdo with a squadron of cavalry, to find out whether the Lion had intercepted the line of communication on the western bank of the Fullaillee between Muttaree and Hyderabad. Next morning McMurdo, having found no traces of the enemy, joined Stack. On the same day Napier despatched Captain John Jacob with the Scinde Horse along the same road; and soon afterwards he moved himself with a mixed force, intending to keep his rear close enough to Hyderabad to rescue the camp if the Lion should send a detachment to attack it. Stack quitted Muttaree in the morning, and for some hours met with no opposition. Passing the village of Loonar, five miles from Hyderabad, he was attacked: but, though he displayed bad generalship, that of the Lion was worse; and at midnight the jaded column reached the British camp.

"My luck would be great," said Napier at breakfast next morning, "if I could get my reinforcements either down from Sukkur, or up from the mouth of the river; but that cannot be for a week, perhaps longer." Hardly had he uttered the words when an officer said, "There are boats! Look! "They ran out and found that reinforcements from Kurrachee had arrived. "Hullo! "cried another, "what are those masts?" They belonged to the boats that conveyed the reinforcements from Sukkur. The tide of fortune had begun to flow. Napier spent the rest of the day in completing his arrangements for the approaching struggle.

His officers, though full of valour and devotion, were almost all young and inexperienced: wishing therefore to give them a practical lesson, he brigaded the troops, and executed a few evolutions. Next day, he knew, he would have to fight a second time for the mastery of Scinde. But it was with a light heart that he lay down for his brief rest. "All ready for battle tomorrow,"—so ran the entry in his journal. "They have, it is said, thirty thousand. I have only five thousand, but we shall beat them."*

At daybreak, as the army was preparing to march, despatches from the Governor-General were put into Napier's hands. He ordered that they should be read aloud: they expressed the thanks of Lord Ellenborough for the victory at Meeanee. Exultant and grateful to their General for having praised their services, the men gave a hearty cheer; and, as Napier heard it, he knew that they were determined to gain a second victory. The march was directed towards the village of Khooserie, whither the Lion was said to have gone after his combat with Stack. Presently it was reported that he had concentrated his force at another village, situated about eight miles north-east of Hyderabad. Accordingly the General altered his line of march, at the same time sending on the Scinde Horse to reconnoitre; for the plain was so thickly dotted with woods and gardens, and scored by so many nullahs,† that a large host might easily be concealed at a short distance without being visible. About eight o'clock a messenger reported that the Lion's whole army was drawn up at Dubba, only two miles distant on the left. Galloping ahead, Napier soon descried the Beloochees swarming over the plain: but in what order they were arrayed, he could not see.

The position which their leader had selected was one of great strength. Their right rested on the Fullaillee, where, though the rest of the bed was dry, it was protected by a large, deep pond of soft mud. A dense wood, extending beyond the Fullaillee, made it impossible to turn their right except by a long *detour*. Their centre and right, extending over a full mile, were covered by a nullah, the banks of which had been scarped; and the line was prolonged in the same direction for another mile to a wood which apparently protected their left flank. From the end of the nullah, however, another, similarly scarped, ran slantwise to the rear; and behind it the real left was posted. The cavalry were massed in one body behind the left. Behind the nullah containing the right and centre, another stretched in a parallel direction: in it the enemy's second line was drawn up, and behind it

* *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 332-35, 340-43, 345-46, 348-50; vol. iii. pp. 85-86; *Outram,* pp. 405-21, 424-71 ; C.S. Suppl., ^No. 82-83, 85-89, 102-4, 117, 134, and Inclosures ; *Conquest of Scinde,* pp. 321-22, 324- 43, 353-74-

† Nullah,—a watercourse. I use the native word because there is nothing exactly like a nullah in England.

the bulk of his guns were ranged. Finally, the village of Dubba, which was situated behind the second line and close to the Fullaillee, was defended by a strong body of men.

The British column was marching, with the left advanced, diagonally to the front of the Belooch army; and the line was formed at the same angle, in echelon, the cavalry being on either wing. As Napier expected that his right would be attacked from the wood, he pushed forward the cavalry of his right wing to cover the flank. The line had scarcely been formed when he was obliged to draw back the left wing, as it was at first so far advanced that several men were struck down by the enemy's artillery. He could not wait to examine their position more closely, lest the martial spirit, which he had lately kindled in his troops, should have time to cool down. Suddenly he observed a number of Beloochees hurrying from their left towards Dubba. Believing that that important point had been neglected, he inferred that they were hastening to occupy it: accordingly he at once caused his line to advance, in the hope that he would be able to seize the village before the Beloochees could reach it. The horse-artillery of the left wing, supported by the cavalry, and followed by the other guns, moved diagonally towards the enemy's right and, halting and firing at intervals, compelled the enemy to uncover the centre of their first line and the whole of the left wing. But in the 22nd, which was leading the advance of the British infantry, several men were struck by the bullets of the matchlockmen posted in the parallel nullahs; and there also blazed forth a destructive fire from the village, which was suddenly seen to swarm with men. Napier, who now saw that he had misjudged the meaning of the movement from the left to the right of the hostile line, but had no time to contrive a new plan of attack, was riding on to lead the assault against the first nullah; when a horseman galloped up, and told him that all the British cavalry on the right were charging. His right wing, he concluded, had been turned by the Beloochees in the wood; and in that direction he galloped away at full speed. Soon the war-cries of divers tribes burst upon his ear; and he saw the flash of shaking swords and the gleam of many-coloured uniforms, as the long line of horsemen sped past in the charge. The commander of the cavalry, seeing the enemy still running towards the centre, and believing them to be smitten with panic, had charged their left wing, and thus exposed the flank of the British line.

Angered at first by the blunder, Napier could not but gaze in admiration at the splendid fury of the charge. Moreover, there was no sign that harm would come of it. More confident than he had been at Meeanee, he knew that he could win this battle, and that his soldiers were in the mood to triumph in spite of any error. Turning, therefore, he galloped back to the left, and, riding into the foremost ranks of the 22nd, which was already marching to storm the nullah, he gave the word to charge. The British war-cry rang out; and, racing up the bank, the Irishmen leaped into the midst of the Beloochees. Then, as the Bombay sepoys came up in support, the muskets blazed forth: again the bayonet clashed against the sword; there was a short, sharp struggle; and, fiercely as the enemy fought, foot by foot they were forced back, and then driven headlong into the second nullah. Still they strove to stand their ground, but in vain: pushed on to the plain beyond, they fled, chased by their conquerors, for the village of Dubba. Meanwhile, the cavalry of the left wing turned the village by galloping round its left: the infantry surrounded it; and, after a final effort, the surviving Beloochees were driven out of the houses, and sullenly

abandoned the fight. Napier, putting himself at the head of the cavalry of the left wing, rode in pursuit for several miles; and many of the retreating Beloochees were cut down. The cavalry of the right wing were less successful; for, just as two officers, having caught sight of the Lion himself, were on the point of galloping in chase, Colonel Pattle injudiciously stopped the pursuit.*

This action, though it was fought near the village of Dubba, has always been known as the battle of Hyderabad.

"I have every reason," wrote Napier, in his despatch to the Governor-General, "to believe that not another shot will be fired in Scinde." It was greatly in his favour that he had not a nation of patriots to contend with, but only the chieftains and the clansmen of an alien race. Still, if his prophecy was to be fulfilled, it was necessary that the Lion should be hunted down, and his two strongholds of Meerpore and Omercote surprised as speedily as possible. The heat was intense, and the victors were tired out: but the General saw that their enthusiasm would still sustain them through any effort. Towards nightfall, therefore, he moved eastward in the direction of Meerpore. Next day the Poonah horsemen rode up to the gates: the Lion forthwith fled to Omercote; and the people, Scindians and Hindoos alike, welcomed the strange troops as deliverers.

The General's next step was to despatch the Scinde Horse and the camel battery under Captain Whitlie towards Omercote, which lay about sixty miles further to the east. Anticipating the inundation of the Indus in his rear, he kept the main body of his army at Meerpore, that he might be able to return to Hyderabad, if the waters should continue rising, or, if they remained low, to reinforce the detachments which he had sent to Omercote. On the 1st of April, hearing that the Indus was rising rapidly, and that the garrison of Omercote would not surrender, he sent an order to the detachments to retreat. At the moment that Whitlie received the order, he heard that the Lion had abandoned Omercote. Remaining where he was, he sent a young officer named Brown to Meerpore for fresh instructions. Forty miles, under a blazing sun, Brown rode without a halt. Then having received an order directing Whitlie to march instantly on Omercote, he mounted one of the General's horses, and rode back as hard as he had come. On the 4th of April the inhabitants of Omercote opened their gates; and within a few days the garrison surrendered the fort.

Before this, Napier had received from the Governor-General a despatch informing him that he was to be Governor of Scinde. "I wish," he wrote, "he would let me go back to my wife and girls: it would be more to me than pay and glory and honours. Otherwise this sort of life is agreeable, as it may enable me to do good to this poor people. Oh! if I can do one good thing to serve them where so much blood has been shed in accursed war, I shall be happy."

The Beloochees, however, were not yet thoroughly mastered; and, busily engaged as he was in official correspondence and in thinking out the details of his administrative system;

* *Conquest of Scinde,* pp. 375-91; *C.S.* Suppl., No. 90; Life, vol. ii. pp. 350-52, vol. iii. p. 169.

Napier had to contrive a plan for the final overthrow of the Lion. As Omercote had been captured, and Emaumghur had long since been destroyed, no refuge in the desert remained for that prince except the northern fortress of Shah Ghur. To prevent him from reaching this stronghold, Napier placed a detachment on the side of Roree next the desert, with orders to intercept him, if he should flee in that direction. To hem him in between the desert and the Indus, and to hinder him from reaching the Delta, and joining various bands of robbers who were collected there, troops were stationed on the east, and the important posts of Omercote, Meerpore, and Ali Ka Tanda, which lay between Meerpore and Hyderabad, were strongly garrisoned. Meanwhile steamers moved up the river, and prevented the tribes on its right bank from crossing to reinforce the Lion. As the sultry weeks passed, the circle within which the doomed prince was confined became gradually smaller. On the 8th of June his brother, Shah Mahomed, was surprised and defeated at Peer Arres, on the further bank of the Indus, near Sehwan. On the 15th, Napier himself was at Nusseerpore, anxiously waiting for news from his lieutenants, and fearful lest the Lion should, after all, escape. The fierceness of the sun was terrible. Suddenly, as he stood in his tent, Napier felt himself staggering, and threw himself on the table. Fortunately the doctors were at hand, and promptly bled him. Drowsy as he was, he felt angry because they would not let him sleep. While they were binding up his arm, a horseman rode up, and announced that Jacob had defeated the Lion without the loss of a man. The message roused him from his lethargy; for he knew that the conquest of Scinde was at last complete.*

* *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 352-60, 367-72, 377-91 ; *Conquest of Scinde*, pp. 391-442.

V I.

Conquest was by Napier valued only because it paved the way for administration; and the work of administration he had already, even while busy with completing his conquest, begun. The Governor- General, who heartily admired and trusted him, had given him almost unlimited discretion. Slavery he was enjoined to abolish: otherwise he might act as he thought best. But even his brave spirit for a moment quailed before the herculean labour which it foresaw. "Now," he sighed, in the midst of the cares which succeeded the victory of Hyderabad, "now my fearful work of settling the country begins, and the heat is violent. I have to collect revenue, administer justice, arrange the troops, survey the country, project improvements, form civil officers, and appoint proper functionaries. I have to get a thorough hold of a conquered country, and establish a government, and have really hardly any one to assist me: all is confusion, and the military movements are still going on." The leading principle of his government was to keep order: he knew that, however earnestly he might toil for his subjects' good, he could not be loved unless he were also feared. As he once remarked, "The great receipt for quieting a country is a good thrashing first and great kindness afterwards: the wildest chaps are thus tamed." His first care was to secure the submission of the feudal chiefs. The prestige of his victories was a great help to him, and the generosity with which he used victory did the rest. Hundreds of chiefs came in to tender their allegiance. Anxious to impress their imaginations, Napier would introduce them, with much ceremony, to a portrait of Queen Victoria. But the idea of a woman's ruling was one which they could not comprehend: even the Governor-General himself was too far off to win their loyalty. "Sahib," said one chief, as he gazed upon the features of the young Queen, "she did not beat me at Meeanee: you are everything now."

Still, even after the chiefs had submitted, there was much to be done before Scinde could fully enjoy the blessings of peace. Danger was to be feared from the mountain tribes on the further bank of the Indus: murderers and marauders went unrestrained. To overawe the mountaineers, Napier formed a chain of detachments along the bank, while he kept steamers ready to patrol the river. To maintain internal tranquillity and repress crime, he forbade all except the chiefs to carry weapons abroad; and within a few weeks after the battle of Hyderabad he organised a strong corps of police. On one occasion two Beloochee horsemen plundered a merchant on the road, and then murdered him. Being caught, the criminals acknowledged their guilt, but threw the blame on their chief, who, they said, had ordered them to do the deed. Napier bade their tribe deliver the chief to his police. The tribe obeyed; and the chief was tried, condemned, and hanged with his two followers on the same gallows. There were no soldiers within sixty miles: yet not a finger was raised to hinder the execution. But the wife-murderers obstinately defied the law. It was hopeless to try to convince the Beloochees that there was any harm in slaughtering an unfaithful woman; and their astonishment when first a man was hanged for this crime was intense. "What!" said a chief who came to intercede for one of his followers, "what! hang him! he only killed his wife." But Napier was inexorable. "I will hang two hundred," he wrote, "unless they stop." Of course it appeared exceedingly arbitrary to punish men so severely for vindicating their honour as their fathers had done: but it was equally arbitrary to abolish suttee; and, if those fierce Beloochees were ever to be

restrained from taking the law into their own hands, mild measures would be of no avail. And, though Napier could never wholly blot out this crime, he did succeed, by steady, ruthless coercion, in materially diminishing it. Nor did his severity make him unpopular. The people understood him. "The Padishah is just," they would say; "he kills nobody for himself."*

The suppression of crime, however, was only one of the numerous objects which Napier determined to achieve. He had also to construct a framework of government, and to plan a system of administration. Radical reformer though he was, he had much of the caution, the sympathy for existing usage, which belong to a Conservative. "Make no avoidable change," he said to his officers, "in the ancient laws and customs: the conquest of a country is sufficient convulsion for the people without abrupt innovations in their habits and social life." One innovation, however, of a different kind, which he himself introduced, gave great scandal to old Indians. He chose his civil officers, not from the ranks of the covenanted civil service, but from the soldiers who had helped him to conquer the country. His chief reason for doing so was, that he considered military government best suited to the genius of the people. Civil rulers with their cut and dried theories of government they would, he asserted, despise; while they would respect a military man who went among them, observed their habits, ruled them according to the dictates of common sense, and punished them off-hand if they disobeyed. But he also had a low opinion of the covenanted civil servants generally. With much humorous exaggeration, but still with a measure of truth, he scoffed at the typical old Indian who imagined that no man could know India "except through long experience of brandy, champagne, grain-fed mutton, cheroots, and hookahs;" and he complained of three young civilians whom the Governor-General sent him, that they were afraid of hard work, and only wanted to amuse themselves.

But, with all their zeal, the young officers whom Napier delighted to honour had one serious defect. They were absolutely ignorant of the details of civil business; and it was their ignorance, not their cloth, to which the most intelligent critics took exception. When Napier decided to place Scinde under military government, he was right in principle: but he would have carried out his principle better if, like the first rulers of the Punjaub, he had entrusted the government to men who to the spirit of soldiers joined the technical knowledge and the experience of trained civilians. It must not, however, be supposed that he contemplated the permanence of military despotism: on the contrary, his dream was to prepare the people for self-government.

* The police, it ought to be noted, excellent as they proved in many respects, were not free from faults. The men frequently abused their powers, and tyrannised over persons of undoubted respectability. This, indeed, was an error to which the police in newly conquered countries were generally prone, and for which it would be unfair to hold Napier responsible. But this was not the only evil. It was impossible for the force, by its unaided efforts, to keep perfect order. Much depended on the local influence of the zemindars, or yeomen, and the efficiency of the village officers who, under the Ameers, had enjoyed the respect of the people. But the levelling force of Napier's rule had broken down the authority of the zemindars : the people, relying on the ignorance or indifference of their masters, were no longer punctual in paying the officers ; and thus, before the new system was perfected, much that was good and useful in the old faded away.

For administrative purposes, he divided the country into three districts,—Sukkur, Hyderabad, and Kurrachee,—each under a collector, who was assisted by three sub-collectors. Besides supervising the collection of the revenue, the collectors and their assistants acted as magistrates. Both their judicial and punitive powers, were, however, restricted; and capital cases, as well as others of a serious nature, were not decided until they had been thoroughly investigated by the collectors, the judge advocate-general, a military commission, and finally the Governor himself. The haughty Beloochee chiefs were deprived of the right of inflicting punishment, which they had exercised under the Ameers. The mode in which civil justice was dispensed underwent but little formal change though favouritism and venality were of course abolished. Simple cases were summarily decided by the magistrate: others, involving details which, to inexperienced Englishmen, would have been unintelligible, were submitted to native courts of arbitration, called punchayets. Vexatious imposts by which commerce had been fettered were abolished. Finally, in collecting the land-tax,—the principal source of revenue in India,—Napier greatly reduced the proportion of grain which the cultivators had to pay, and set before himself the pure and disinterested aim of relieving them from oppression, and encouraging them to work for their own good.

It must not, of course, be imagined that the system which he organised was perfect. Partly, indeed, its defects were such as no wisdom, in a period of transition, can prevent: but partly also they were due to Napier's inexperience of India, and to that mixture of self-conceit and prejudice which hindered him from profiting by the experience of others. Murderers and highwaymen trembled at his name: but minor criminals, finding that the rigour of their former masters had been exchanged for a too lenient code, and that the British gaols were comfortable, were as busy, if not busier then before. It was a common subject of complaint that, while the Governor hanged men for punishing faithless wives in the summary fashion which the Ameers had approved, he gave them no adequate legal redress for the wrong which they had suffered. Young officers were often called upon to try cases involving technicalities by which they were utterly bewildered;[*] and there can be little doubt that they sometimes unwittingly condemned innocent men. But it was in the collection of the land revenue that the most serious blunders were committed. During the first two years of Napier's government the old methods of assessment and collection necessarily remained unaltered. The collectors were, of course, totally ignorant of the complexities of the system: in fact, if it had not been for the assistance of the kardars, or native officials, they would have been absolutely helpless. The kardars might have been invaluable, if they had been properly treated: but, as soon as the collectors fancied that they understood the work, they flung them aside. The Governor himself was prejudiced against them: their salaries were greatly reduced: they were generally branded as rogues; and, some of them, on very doubtful evidence, were dismissed. As a natural consequence, all of their fellows who had any self-respect resigned. Their successors were quick to discover the ignorance of the collectors, and frequently took advantage of it to enrich them at the expense of the Government.[†]

[*] Especially of alleged frauds on the land revenue.
[†] See Addenda.

But these errors did not seriously detract from the general excellence of the administration. Indeed, the marvel is that a governor who started in ignorance of the language and manners of his people, and who, moreover, was liable, at any moment, to be summoned from his desk to the field of battle, should have been able to construct, from the foundation-stone, so solid a fabric of government. Even those who were keenest to detect blemishes in matters of detail, were all unanimous in admitting that for confusion, corruption, and tyranny, he had substituted system, integrity, and impartial law.

One of the secrets of his success was the galvanising example of his tireless devotion to the public weal. "When I see that old man incessantly on his horse," cried a subaltern, "how can I be idle who am young and strong? By God, I would go into a loaded cannon's mouth if he ordered me." He would readily give up part of his scanty rest to help or advise a promising officer, or to write a line of encouragement to a deserving private. And, despite his imperious temper, the youngsters knew that "Old Fagin," as, in allusion to his Jewish cast of features, they had nicknamed him, could appreciate a joke even at his own expense. He happened once to be holding a review before some native chiefs. Calling a young lieutenant, who was acting as his interpreter, he gave him an elaborate explanation of the manoeuvres which he intended to execute, and bade him translate it for the edification of the chiefs. The youth deferentially saluted. "Listen, you folk," he said to the dignified visitors; "the great man says there will be a fine bit of fun." "Have you explained all I said, sir," asked Napier. "Everything, sir," was the reply. "A most comprehensive language that Hindoostanee," remarked the general, as he rode off with his nose in the air.*

The tremendous strain which he had undergone during the past year was at last telling upon the old man's strength. From the sunstroke, indeed, which had prostrated him in June, he had rallied with such vitality that, a few days later, he plunged again into work: but the effort was exhausting; and to work there was added the thankless task of reading and answering long petitions from the captive Ameers, and vindicating the policy which had led to the conquest of Scinde. He longed to go home: but duty forbade him to quit his post; and in moments of despondency he feared that he would not live to see his relations again. All through July and August he struggled on: at times he was so weak that he could only write lying down: sick in body and mind, he could take no pleasure in his work, and continually had to spur himself to face it. "Oh! that I was forty," he wrote; " I could at that age work like a horse ; now I work like an ass without its strength." Early in September the doctors warned him that he must go to Kurrachee and rest, unless he wished to die. Leaving Hyderabad, he went down the river in a steamer, and for several days enjoyed long stretches of sleep. The peaceful voyage gave him new strength; and, taking up his abode at Kurrachee, he resumed his labours with reawakened hope.

To stimulate the progress of public works was his first thought. His ambition was to transform Kurrachee into one of the great commercial cities of the East. The difficulties that had to be overcome were serious enough. The town was not situated upon any of the mouths of the Indus; and the sea was so shallow, that, during the monsoon, it was

* Hitchman's *Life of Sir Richard Burton*, vol. i. pp. 156-57.

impossible for ships to enter the harbour. In order to remedy the former defect, Napier repaired an old canal which connected the harbour with the Indus ; while, for the convenience of shipping, he commenced a mole which, in course of time, was carried out two miles into the sea. The great expense which this and other plans entailed, provoked official remonstrances: but Napier persistently urged that a generous and timely outlay on works of permanent utility would, in the end, prove the truest saving. He designed lofty barracks, projected great roads, and formed a department for the construction of canals and the irrigation of the plains; and, though he was not able to execute a tithe of his schemes, what he actually accomplished was sufficient to change the face of the land.

For the moment, however, his efforts were paralysed by a great calamity. Towards the end of October, a strange malady, which had already passed over many other parts of India, swept down upon Scinde. The peasants could not till the ground; public works were at a standstill; the troops were prostrated. Few, indeed, perished of the disease: but such was the general weariness and despondency that many committed suicide. In the midst of this gloom dangers appeared from without. From the Punjaub and from Gwalior there came rumours of war. The mountain tribes threatened to descend upon the plains. Even Ali Moorad, thinking that the time was propitious to profit from the weakness of his allies, became insolent; and the Bombay journalists, who had long bitterly attacked Napier, prophesied that Scinde would be lost. But Napier, enfeebled as he was by the pestilence, confronted the danger with unabated spirit. One great advantage he possessed, which another, even if an abler, ruler would have been without:—he had twice beaten the Beloochees in a pitched battle. Now was the time for him to draw on that reserve of terror which he still inspired. He menaced the mountain tribes with vengeance, though he had hardly a company to back his threats; and they hesitated. To Ali Moorad he addressed a stern warning: "Remember Meeanee and Hyderabad. If your Highness offers the slightest insult to the British Government, I will consider you as an enemy, and your destruction will be inevitable." Ali expressed his sorrow in language of abject submission and flattery. Early in the ensuing year, however, the mountain hordes descended into the plains to plunder; and, as the pestilence had now disappeared, Napier despatched his camel corps against them, under Lieutenant Fitzgerald, a young officer of heroic strength, energy, and valour. Within two months they were all subdued. A hundred and fifteen chiefs came in one day to Kurrachee, to offer their submission. Receiving them haughtily, Napier bade them salaam to the Queen's picture. They obeyed. "We are now," he said, "fellow-subjects, and I am here only to do justice. But mark! If, after this, any chief plunders, I will enter his country, and destroy his tribe. I give now to each man his *jaghire*,* and all he had under the Ameers." "You are our King," they cried ; "we are your slaves."

But Napier's masters did not all judge his conduct so favourably as his subjects. Outram, on his return to England, showed to the Secret Committee of the East India Company the notes of the conferences which he had held with the Ameers just before the battle of Meeanee. These notes, recording as they did the passionate remonstrances of the Ameers, and unbalanced by other evidence, produced an impression that Napier had forced on an unjust war for his own ambition. Ellenborough too was disliked by the Directors; and his

* Jaghire,—an assignment of land and of its rent as annuity.

lieutenant had to bear the weight of his odium. The Examiner and the Morning Chronicle bitterly assailed the conqueror of Scinde: a large portion of the Indian press joined in the crusade; and one journalist went so far as to assert that he had attacked the Ameers for the sake of prize-money. Napier himself, though he took no public part in the controversy beyond replying to the questions which were officially addressed to him, was at times exasperated almost to madness by the taunts of his enemies. "I can tell those bucks," he once wrote, "I do not belong to the anti-dueling society, and am a devilish good shot; so if they goad too far, they may repent too late." His brother William, who, when his indignation was fired on behalf of those dear to him, was the fiercest and most reckless of partisans, flung himself into the fray, and, in a published letter, rebuked Outram for not having contradicted the aspersions of an Indian newspaper. Outram, in reply, disclaimed responsibility for the opinions of the press. Charles Napier was indignant. Positive that he himself was right on every point, his impetuous temperament hurried him into misjudging his antagonist; and, in a letter as bitter as it was unjust, he wrote to break off the friendship which had begun under such fair auspices. But gradually the tide began to turn. Early in 1844, he was deeply gratified by receiving from the Duke of Wellington the colonelcy of the gallant regiment which had won for him the battle of Meeanee. "The thanks of Parliament! Who cares for them? Not I. I want no thanks from the place-hunters who infest St. Stephen's." When, however, a month later, the thanks of Parliament, so long delayed, were at last voted, his proud heart softened; and he acknowledged himself grateful. With agitated feelings, he studied the report of the debate. The speech of Lord Howick, the opponent whom he most detested, provoked a characteristic outburst. "How dare he say I forced a war to gain glory! I deny the infamous motive he charges me with. Does he believe that I have no fear of God? Does he imagine that I was preparing by wholesale murder to meet the Almighty ?" Then with deep emotion he thought of the eulogies which Henry Hardinge, his old brother- in-arms, and Sir Robert Peel had lavished upon him. But there was one tribute which outweighed all others,—the simple commendation of the Duke of Wellington. "His praise," wrote Napier, "is, after all, the highest honour a soldier can receive. The hundred-gun ship has taken the little cock-boat in tow; and it will follow for ever over the ocean of time."

In obedience to an order of the Governor-General, Napier, on the 5th of April, issued a proclamation, summoning the jagheerdars* of Scinde to meet him at Hyderabad on the Queen's birthday, and make their obeisance to Her Majesty. Some three thousand chiefs, with nearly twenty thousand followers, assembled on the appointed day, and made salaam. Grasping the Governor's hand, one old man said, "I come to make salaam to you as my chief, but I fought at Meeanee. Eighty of my own family died in that battle, and now I am ready to die fighting by your side, and under your flag." Napier was highly-delighted, and boasted that chiefs and people were alike contented with his rule. But he was in too exalted a position to see below the surface. The middle and lower classes, indeed, were well pleased that the new government had lightened their taxes, and given them security, relief from oppression, and freedom: but the men of rank and their followers, while they all respected the Governor, and some of them were won by his personal fascination, chafed at the loss of power and importance, and bitterly resented the

* Jagheerdar,—the holder of a jaghire.

insolence with which they were treated by our native underlings. It was Napier's principle to break down the feudal system which had obtained in the time of the Ameers; and he cared little what the chiefs might suffer in loss of dignity, if only he could improve the lot of the poor. He therefore seized the occasion afforded by the assembly of the chiefs to introduce an important reform. To the sons of those who had fallen in the war he gave their paternal lands, on condition of their paying rent in lieu of military service. By this measure, which resembled one of the most fruitful reforms of King Henry the Second, he took the first step towards substituting a peaceful class of landed proprietors for robber-chiefs.

But a few weeks later an event occurred which robbed his career of half its zest. Lord Ellenborough was recalled. It was true that Sir Henry Hardinge was to succeed him: but even Hardinge, gallant old soldier, faithful comrade as he was, could never, Napier felt, be to him what Ellenborough had been. Ellenborough had given him the opportunity of his life; Ellenborough had enabled him to win fame and to do good: he had sympathised with him: he had defended him against obloquy: above all, he had permitted him to do what he liked. Napier could hardly find words to express the scorn which he felt for the Directors. In his rage and grief he prophesied that all the good which he had done would be undone by his successors. "Confound the luck," he wrote, "that makes me a general and not a sovereign! All the trouble, all the thought of a sovereign, but responsible to fools instead of to God!" [*]

There was another annoyance to which, partly from vanity, partly from pugnacity, but above all from conscious rectitude, he never learned to become indifferent. He affected, indeed, to laugh at the attacks of the press; but, as a matter of fact, he winced under the mildest criticism. The most determined assailant of his policy was Dr. Buist of the Bombay Times. Severely though this journalist censured the administration of Scinde, he seldom transgressed the bounds of propriety;[†] but to the irritable perception of Napier,

---

[*] *Life,* vol. ii. pp. 367, 371, 382-83, 409, 414, 416, 418-19, 424-26, 43I-32, 435, 446, 454; vol. iii. pp. 1-2, 9-13, 24, 27, 32-34,56-57,74, 84, 95, 97-99, 1o1-3, 106, "2, 127, 129-30, 156, 161-62, 353; vol. iv. pp. 4-16; *Hughes's Gazetteer of Sind*, pp. 49-50, 99, 114-16 ; Burton's Sindh, pp. 239-40, 243 ; *Third Report from the Select Committee an Indian Territories* (Parl. Papers), vol. xxvii., Sess. 1852-53; pars. 4875-76, 4880, 5198, 7331-40, 7346-59: Parl. Papers, 1854 (483), xlix. 1. (Sir G. Clerk's *Minute*, pars. 14, 18-19, 22-28, 30, 35, 41-42, 54, 62, 71 [11-12], 100, 183 ; Pringle's *Minute,* pars. 24, 31,.37, 47-48, 52, 55-58, 66, 69 ; Reports, &c., pp. 104-5, 110-13, 135, 230-32, 234-35, 242-43, 244-46, 255-59, 293, 297-302, 334-37); *Calcutta Review,* vol. xiv. (Article, — "British Administration of Scinde") pp. 7, 10, 12, 15, 19-21, 24-26, 28-31, 33-35, 37, 39; "Memo, of the Sind Police," by H. B. E. Frere ; Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 72, pp. 543-44 ; Examiner, Feb. 17, 1844, p. 99; Morning Chronicle, Feb. 13, 1844, p. 6, col. I ; E. Green's Compilation of the General Orders, &c., issued in 1842-47, by Sir C, Napier to the Army under his command, pp. 1-2 ; Life of Lord Lawrence (6th edition) vol. i. pp. 302-3.

[†] Readers of Sir W. Napier and Mr. Bruce will probably be startled by this remark. But it is true. Sir W. Napier frequently quotes scurrilous phrases about his brother, which he attributes to Dr. Buist, or prints, without comment, letters from his brother, in which similar phrases are quoted. "Incapable old ruffian," "imbecile old man," "the unscrupulous murderer of the soldiers of the 78th and 28th regiments," "the liar at the head of the Scinde Government,"—these are specimens taken at random. Some of these expressions Mr. Bruce reproduces. Now I have imposed upon myself a repulsive labour, which, I strongly suspect, Sir W. Napier shirked, viz., carefully going through the volumes of the Bombay Times for the period to which Sir W. Napier refers; and I have not been able to find one of the scurrilous expressions printed by him.

And yet I do not believe that he was for a moment guilty of wilful falsification. Doubtless Sir Charles, after hastily reading or hearing of some scathing "leader" by Buist, loosely wrote down, in his indigna-nation, what his memory

his articles appeared as wanton libels. Punning oh his name, the old General publicly dubbed him "the blatant beast;" and in his private letters, his vivid imagination prompted him to quote, as specimens of the editor's style, scurrilous epithets and phrases which he had never used. "Don't expect me," he wrote, "ever to be in a good humour until I am in my coffin, unless I can kill an editor, which would make me fat, sleek, good- humoured." With Buist Outram, he insisted, was leagued to besmirch his fair fame. Pages of his diary were filled with abuse, so exaggerated as often to be grotesque, of the man whom he had once loved; and, in his blind wrath, he caught at any idle gossip that reflected upon his character. Outram, it is true, provoked by the violent onslaughts of William Napier, said many bitter things in reply: but his motive was to vindicate the Ameers as much as to vent his own spleen; and self-love could never destroy his love for his old chief.[*] Charles Napier, on the other hand, if any one ventured to take Outram's part, deemed himself personally aggrieved, and was ready to pick a quarrel. Lord Howick, also,—indeed all who disapproved of his policy, were the objects of a vituperation half humorous, half savage. Thinking of Lord Howick's attacks, "If he were a top," he wrote, "and I a whip, Jupiter! how I would make him spin !" And again, "What harm does it do to me?" "None! To give him personal chastisement would give me pleasure, such as one feels at cutting a village cur dog with a whip; but I forgive all of them. After anger, contempt succeeds. I never feel angry in my heart against any one,—beyond wishing to break their bones with a broomstick."[†]

Still, work was always a distraction; and work, hard and engrossing, had now to be done. Quiet as the interior of Scinde had become, its northern frontier was continually disturbed. From the Indus westward to the Hala mountains stretched a clustered range of rocky heights, known as the Cutchee Hills. The tribes who dwelt in this rugged land boasted that, for six hundred years, the mightiest invader had never penetrated their borders; and some of the passes were strewn with the skeletons of British troops. Pouring down from thence, robber tribes made frequent raids among the helpless villagers of the plains, who piteously implored the Governor's protection; and one chief, Beja Khan, made himself notorious by deeds of wanton cruelty. The heroic Fitzgerald recklessly attacked this chief in his fortress, and suffered a disastrous repulse. The fame of Beja rapidly spread; for the moment even the Sheitan-Ka-Bhaee, — "the Great Devil's Brother,"—as Napier was designated by the mountaineers, was less dreaded than he. After long and anxious consideration, Napier resolved that he must, at all risks, extirpate this pest of civilisation; yet he felt a kind of tenderness for the fierce hillmen, and hoped that they too might be

---

suggested as the substance of the obnoxious criticism, and thoughtlessly presented his own rendering as the *ipsissima verba* of the detested editor. Sir William, equally convinced of the villainy of Buist, then probably accepted his brother's statement without enquiry.

The most severe articles in the Bombay Times occur on pp. 199, 223, 232, and 239 of the volume for 1844, and on pp. 841-42 of that for 1847 (which charges Napier with "wickedness," "dishonesty," and "fiction "in support of his policy). Frequently, as on p. 809 (1844), Buist praised Napier's gallantry, devotion, and military skill. When he was most severe, he generally kept as well within " the bounds of fair criticism," as, say, the Saturday Review in its more pungent articles, before the formation of the Liberal Unionist party, on Mr. Chamberlain, or the St. James's Gazette, when Mr. Greenwood was its editor, in its onslaughts on Mr. Gladstone. But, though he was far from being the scurrilous blackguard that Sir W. Napier represented him to be, it is not to be denied that, like Sir W. Napier, he wrote in the spirit of a bitter partisan.

[*] Life, passim ; Lift of Outram, vol. i. pp. 325-28.

[†] *Life,* vol. iii., pp. 106, 133, &c.

reclaimed, through war, for better things. Early in November, he started on a journey up the western bank of the Indus for the north. For several days the route lay along a plain as level as a bowling-green; then it passed through a wild country of rocks and hills and valleys. Deeply the General meditated as he pursued his march; now his heart swelled with pride as he noted among the people signs of contentment and loyalty to himself: now he braced himself to rebuke a blundering official, or to order the execution of a murderer. "Oh God!"—so we read in his journal,— "I am not stone in my feelings. No, I am not stern; I assume what is not in my nature to do my calling well." His indignation was great when he discovered that the decree against slavery had, in many instances, been disobeyed; for he did not know that the form of slavery which existed in Scinde was very mild, and that many of those who were emancipated, lost rather than gained by their freedom.

Early in the new year his troops were ready for the approaching campaign. Wullee Chandiah, an old Beloochee chief, whose devotion his generosity had secured, was on his side. But everywhere it was predicted that he would fail. Journalists scoffed at what they called his "madcap expedition." Even of his staff, who worshipped him, only one officer, the fiery McMurdo, believed that he would succeed. Yet, unmoved by all forebodings, he pursued his own way. He was sure, and he was determined to prove, that disciplined soldiers were stronger than the strongest mountaineers; and for himself, he felt that he had become a master of the art of war.

While he was pushing forward his material preparations, he tried, by every device which reflexion could suggest, to assure the success of his enterprise. He made columns move in many directions through Scinde, to create the belief that his real object was to undertake a march of conquest into Central Asia. In this way he hoped to overawe the Scindian chiefs, and to impress the imaginations of the surrounding peoples. He compelled Ali Moorad to take the field as his ally. Finally, in order to put his enemies off their guard, he spread a report that sickness among the troops at Sukkur would prevent his moving before the following year. The mode of attack which he contemplated was, in one respect, the opposite of that sanctioned by the maxims of civilised warfare. His vital principle was, instead of dividing his enemies, to drive them into masses, to cut them off from their wells, and to block their exit from the hills. Then, quarrelling among themselves, as they would be sure to do when huddled together, they must either be defeated or yield. Almost on the eve of his departure, his superstitious feelings were awakened by a seeming omen. "This time two years," he noted, "I marched against the Ameers, and a comet appeared : three days ago another comet appeared. Does this argue the same success? How these strange coincidences strike the mind, at least they do mine: they have not much influence upon me, but they have some. God's will be done, whether evinced by signs or not: my business is to do my duty."

On the 13th of January the campaign was opened. Napier's first object was to seize the principal defiles leading into the enemy's country. Within three days the most westerly of these was surprised by Wullee Chandiah; and Napier himself with the main column occupied the watering place of Ooch in the desert, to the south-east. The enemy fled in an easterly direction, while columns pressing up the ravines drove them on. Meanwhile

Napier sent orders to Ali Moorad to march eastward to the Gundooee Pass, and there wait until they should be driven into his clutches. Panic-stricken, Beja himself moved eastward across Napier's front. Napier might now, by a flank march, have easily caught him: but fearing that the hillmen, if thus menaced, would kill their women and children, he would not avail himself of the chance. Halting, therefore, until he had given them time to send their families out of danger, he marched in pursuit from Ooch towards the north-east. Parties of horsemen drove away the enemy's cattle, as they stole down at night to drink; and cavalry guarded every entrance to the plain along the foot of the hills. After struggling for three days through a long stretch of deep and heavy sand, Napier reached a point between the two defiles of Lalleeand Jummuck, which, one behind the other, crossed the two chief ranges of rock.

Holding these passes, he could enter or leave the hills as he pleased, communicate with his cavalry in the plain, and protect the approach of his convoys. He was now occupying a line extending thirty miles from north to south across the principal valleys, and had cut off the enemy from the western country and from most of their watering places. They were therefore compelled to move still further towards the east. AH Moorad, however, had failed to reach his post at Gundooee; and thus they escaped for the time. Now, too, an unforeseen difficulty occurred. The camel drivers, on whom Napier relied for his supplies, were so terrified by the hillmen that they refused to stir beyond Shahpore. "I am fairly put to my trumps," wrote Napier; "well, exertion must augment: I will eat Red Rover sooner than flinch before these robber tribes: my people murmur, but they only make my foot go deeper into the ground." The luxurious tendencies which some of his younger officers displayed, roused his indignation. "There are boys," he said, "in this camp who require and have more luxuries than myself, who am sixty-three and Governor of Scinde! The want of beer and wine is absolute misfortune to them. These boys are unfit for war, the essence of which is endurance; and not only that, but a pride and glory in privation, and a contempt for comfort as effeminate and disgraceful." At this crisis the four principal chiefs made overtures for a surrender. While negotiations were going on, Napier sent Fitzgerald with a portion of the camel corps to fetch supplies. Marching fifty miles without a halt, the fiery young soldier made his way to Shahpore, loaded his camels with forty- five thousand pounds of flour, and rejoined his General in less than three days after he had set out. Leaving a detachment in charge of the key passes of Lallee and Jummuck, Napier then moved on still further towards the east, and, after a nine day's march, arrived at the easternmost defile. Meanwhile the negotiations for surrender had failed. Hearing that the enemy were at Shore, about twenty-four miles to the north-east, he marched to surprise them. Arriving at Shore, after twenty-two hours' riding through a wild defile overhung by awful precipices, he found that the enemy, owing to the disobedience of some camp-followers, who by lighting a fire betrayed his approach, had fled. He now saw that Beja could retreat no further to the east, where the tribes were hostile, and must either double back towards the fertile plain of Deyrah, where he had a strong fort, or else throw himself into a famous stronghold called Trukkee, which was deemed impregnable. Leaving a force, therefore, at Shore, he marched for Deyrah, whither he arrived on the following day. He was now almost worn out by the anxieties and hardships of the struggle. "I long," he wrote, "for rest to my mind: to get up and feel that there is no work, and that there will be no neglect of duty. Now, every moment that the traces feel slack,

the whip of conscience cuts to the bone, and convulsive exertions follow." Meanwhile the enemy had fled northward. But Jacob had induced the Murrees, who dwelt among the northern hills, to close the passes against them; and Napier felt sure that they would finally make for Trukkee, which, as he had discovered, was in the neighbourhood of Deyrah. Nevertheless, he made every preparation for a march to the north. One evening, as he was sitting alone at dinner, a trooper galloped up, and told him that the enemy were within three miles of the camp. Out sallied the General with his guard. Presently he saw some fifty of the enemy's horsemen, who soon after disappeared in a cleft among the surrounding rocks. "Trukkee," exclaimed his guide. Feeling sure that at last the enemy were within his grasp, Napier posted a guard at the entrance of the cleft, and sent a swift camel- rider to tell the officer whom he had left in command at Shore to make a forced march northward, and block the northern entrance of the pass. Meanwhile he thought out a plan for storming the terrible stronghold. But the slaughter which such an enterprise would have involved was avoided. On the 4th of March Beja Khan, accompanied by the principal chiefs, came to Napier's tent, and asked for terms. Next day the northern entrance of the pass was blocked. Beja Khan fled but on the 9th he was captured; and the campaign was at an end.*

Napier lost no time in returning to Kurrachee, that he might resume his ordinary work. On his way he heard that the people of the plains were rejoicing over the peace which his victory had given them. He was, indeed, not a little elated himself. "The robber tribes," he afterwards wrote, "say that I am the first King that ever saw the inside of their hills. My name, in conjunction with Trukkee, has been bruited through all the Asiatic world." Nevertheless, he foresaw that some hundreds of the tribesmen who had escaped from Trukkee, as well as others who had never entered it, would sooner or later be forced by hunger to renew their depredations in Scinde. He therefore placed a garrison in Shahpore, and distributed his cavalry under various officers, so as to intercept the marauders. Of the robbers who had surrendered he made the wildest, who were unfit for civil life, enter the service of the Government as policemen. Bejaand his followers were compelled to settle on the eastern side of the Indus under the eye of Ali Moorad; and to the rest land was assigned on condition of their undertaking to oppose any of their kinsfolk who might make raids into Scinde. Napier now felt that his settlement of Scinde was virtually complete.

But his confidence was not justified. The robbers were not yet subdued. It is true that the hill campaign was a necessary preliminary to their subjection: but they were still powerful for mischief. Joining the tribes of Boordees and Khosas, they made frequent plundering raids. At last, in 1847, John Jacob was appointed to command the frontier; and by his vigilance, activity, and courage the predatory bands were finally dispersed.†

At this time British India was agitated by rumours of approaching war with the famous army of the Sikhs. For a long time past Napier had prophesied that this war must come,

* Life, vol iii. pp. 89, 157, 171, 175-272, 275; *Napier's Administration of Scinde*, pp. 165-241; *Bombay Times*, 1844, p. 174, 1845, p. 76.—*Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government,* No. xvii, New Series, Part I, pp. 129-31, 134, I49-51.

† Col. J. Jacob's *Views and Opinions*, pp. 317-28; Hughes's *Gazetteer of Sind*, pp. 163-65.

and that the Sikhs would prove formidable enemies. Accordingly, soon after his return to Kurrachee, he began to prepare for it. His first efforts were directed to improving the organisation of his baggage corps. Baggage had hitherto been the bane of an Indian army. The number of camp-followers generally exceeded the number of combatants in the proportion of five to one. Thousands of camels perished from over-loading and ill-usage: ruinous expense was incurred; and the movements of the General were continually impeded. Napier's plan was to reduce the quantity of baggage to the lowest possible point, and, by arming and drilling the camel-drivers and forming the baggage-corps in regiments, to make it able to protect itself.* In June he sent the Governor-General a memorandum expressing his ideas as to the best way of employing the army of Scinde in the coming war. His plan was to seize Mooltan, and then, starting from it as his base of operations, to co-operate with the army of Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, by making a diversion in any direction which the Governor-General might determine. But it was in vain that he endeavoured to induce Hardinge to tell him what to do. When he began, on his own responsibility, to prepare for the campaign, he was ordered to stop. It was not till the 24th of December that he received his instructions; and before that time the war had broken out. He was to assemble with all possible speed an army of fifteen thousand men at Roree. "Hardinge," he wrote, "promised me six week's notice! But my work is to remedy mishaps: it is half the glory of war to rise over the wave like a ship."

Instantly he set to work. Within two days his siege train had advanced a hundred miles towards Roree. On the 30th of January, 1846, he was steaming up the Indus, far on his way towards the same place. His soldiers, devoted to him and his fortunes, absolutely confident in his leadership, were burning to hurl themselves against the enemy, and, trained though they were to the highest pitch of discipline, could scarcely be held back even by his strong hand. Exulting in their loyal ardour and in the sense of his own ripened powers, he was looking forward to a last glorious campaign. But his hopes were shattered. The battle of Ferozeshah had just been fought; and the fate of India appeared to be trembling in the balance. Napier was ordered to send his army to Bhawulpore, and to hasten himself to headquarters, to confer with the Governor-General. His disappointment was such that he could hardly speak without tears. Thinking in vain of the brilliant results which he might have achieved, and grieving over the failures of the Governor-General, he travelled swiftly across the enemy's country. On his way he heard that the war was over, but that the Punjaub was not to be annexed. Condemning this as a halfhearted policy, and one that must, in the end, prove both costly and cruel, he confidently prophesied that the result of it would be another war. "At this moment," he said, "if I were at the head of the Sikh army, my head should be staked for having every captured gun back in a month, and sending the British army headlong back to Delhi." On the 3rd of March he joined the Governor-General at Lahore. The troops, although they had never seen him before, received him with enthusiastic cheers; and Hardinge and Gough, both of Whom, though he privately condemned their blunders, he sincerely loved, showed him every kindness.

* See Appendix L.

By the 11th of April, Napier had returned to Kurrachee. With the Beloochees his fame was greater than ever. They declared, as he told his brother William, that his kismet was a cubit longer than that of any other man alive; and, proud of his power over them, and of the fame which his exploits had won for him in Central Asia, he boasted that he could conquer the whole country between India and Constantinople more easily than Alexander the Great. But his mood was not one of pure elation. During his absence heavy arrears of work had accumulated; and he was in no fit state to cope with them. His rapid journey to and from Lahore had sown the seeds of a mortal disease. Henry Havelock, who had seen him there, had been so shocked by his appearance that he wrote, "It is impossible to conceive, without seeing it, a frame so attenuated and shattered, and yet tenanted by a living soul, as this old soldier's." So depressed was he that he believed he must soon die. While he was in this state, an appalling calamity burst upon Kurrachee. Cholera broke out with unprecedented virulence among the European and native regiments. Native servants and tradesmen fled in terror from the town. Napier separated the regiments as quickly as he could, and continually went round the hospitals, in order to cheer up the sufferers; but, in spite of all that he could do, hundreds of soldiers perished. When the disease had almost run its course, the worse was still in store for him. First his nephew John's child died: then, in terrible agony, John himself. "Merciful God," wrote the heartbroken old man, "how heavily the hand of the evil spirit strikes! But we go to Thee, and the struggle ends. My time cannot be very distant. I have no wish to hasten it; and my whole time is bent to correct myself and be indifferent about worldly happiness, which is out of my reach: hopeless to me!"

But no burden of sorrow could make Napier slacken in the performance of public duty. He felt that he had enough strength left to hold out for one year more; and it cheered him to know that, whatever Directors and editors might say, his rule was appreciated by those who could best judge its merits. The Nabob of Bhawulpore had begged to be placed under his government; and some five thousand poor people with their goods and cattle had flocked into Scinde, to enjoy his protection. He boasted that, since he had conquered the country, he had placed a hundred thousand pounds in the public treasury.*

---

* Whether his boast was true or not, I have failed to discover. His opponents maintained that his conquest was, financially as well as in other respects, a failure (see *Bombay Times,* May 1, 1847, p. 343). They complained that he misled the public by garbling his accounts: he brought a similar charge against the Home Government. I doubt if materials now exist for positively determining how far Scinde was, pecuniarily, a source of profit or loss to the Empire during his administration: but, as the value of the province has long been established beyond dispute, the question is, even to a student of history, comparatively unimportant.

Mr. Pringle, Napier's successor, after pointing out that, during the years 1844-47, the surplus of receipts over civil expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,300,140, says, "the balance would, doubtless, be turned considerably on the other side if the military charges were included, but I have no data for giving these with any degree of accuracy; and it might be a question of some difficulty to determine what portion of them are fairly debitable to this province alone." (Report, par. 65, pp. 56-7).

This, I think, is the truth in a nutshell.

Napier himself says (*Life,* vol. iii. pp. 15-16), "The large force maintained in Scinde are not here for Scinde, but for the Punjaub. .... 5000 men are more than sufficient for defence and for the preservation of internal tranquillity. I defy any politician or soldier to say with truth that, had the Ameers still ruled, we could have occupied Kurrachee and Sukkur with a smaller force than was here during the events of the last two years at Gwalior and on the Sutlej " (referring to the battle of Maharajpore1 and the first Sikh war).

He had prevented a pestiferous inundation of the Indus near Sukkur, and had improved the irrigation of the surrounding country. Finally he made feudal land-holders absolute owners of all the land which they had cultivated, and resumed the rest, with the intention of letting it out to the ryots,* who had hitherto been the mere slaves of the nobles. By this measure he hoped to create a class of independent yeomen, devoted to the Government, and strong enough to counterbalance the power of the nobles. He now believed that he had done all for Scinde that it was possible for him to do. If, indeed, he had had no ties,—and there were moments when he confessed that marriage was a drag upon military ambition,—he could not have brought himself to leave the country which he had conquered, and had launched in the stream of civilisation: but his wife and children were dearer to him even than Scinde. "I will go home," he said, "and patiently await the blow of nature, which I believe not far distant. I have conquered Scinde, but have not yet conquered myself."

Concerning the historical results of the work which Napier had just completed, our witnesses are all but unanimous. The first duty of a civilised government,—to assert the majesty of law,—he fulfilled in a way that left nothing to be desired. Agriculture, trade, and commerce grew under his fostering care. By his subjects his rule was regarded much as British rule has been regarded in most districts of the Indian Empire. Men of high degree chafed against it, because it diminished their importance: murderers chafed against it, because it sent them to the gallows; knavish officials who had grown rich by defrauding the Ameers, merchants who had thriven under their patronage, idle retainers who had fattened upon their generosity, were discontented because they found their occupation gone. But the mass of the people, if they were not loyal,— for loyalty to an alien government is a plant of slow growth, — acknowledged that the conqueror had ameliorated their lot. This is not a glowing picture: but from the people of a conquered country only an enthusiast would demand enthusiasm. There is no land under the sun in which, even if the Governor were an angel, the government would not find hostile critics; nor can the most beneficent revolution be accomplished without involving suffering to the innocent as well as to the guilty. The government of Napier was less perfect than he, with pardonable vanity, imagined: but it was a very noble creation of administrative genius. The faults of his system were mainly those which a pioneer of civilisation, forced to learn as well as to teach, can hardly avoid : its merits, above all the springing energy with which he made it move, were all his own. Having added a great province to his country's dominions, he laid the foundation of its material prosperity, and paved the way for its moral regeneration.

Even in the last few weeks which he spent in India he was not free from trouble. Noticing that an order published by the Governor-General had been construed as conveying a censure upon himself, he vented his indignation by a characteristic outburst. "Here am I now held up as a betrayer of confidential papers! I hope they will stop short of sending me to Sodom and Gomorrah! All else I have been accused of,—robbery, murder,

* Ryot,—a peasant cultivator.

dethroning innocent princes, refusing beds to princesses when in their extremity of labour, lying through thick and thin! In short the devil never turned such a complete job out of hand." But when he thought of his approaching union with his relations, his humour took a more playful turn. "Ere this reaches you," he wrote to his brother Henry, "I shall be at Malta or with the ghosts in the Red Sea. I hope not the last, as I am so like Moses that Pharaoh would shout, 'we have him at last,' and fall on me tooth and nail."

On the 1st of October he embarked at Kurrachee. An immense crowd of natives were assembled to catch a last glimpse of their departing ruler. As his friends pressed round, and, with faltering voices, bade him farewell, the old General could not restrain his tears. The vessel moved away: a hearty cheer rang forth; and soon the land where Charles Napier had immortalized his name was seen no more.*

* Bombay Times, Oct. 9, 1847, p. 809.

V I I.

On the 10th of December he landed at Nice, and spent some months there in the society of his brother George. Restless from want of occupation, he sometimes allowed himself to indulge in long rhapsodies, as in India he had often done, on the glory which he might have won as a conqueror, If fate had been kind. Then he would rebuke himself for vanity: but nature was too strong; and the next moment his imagination ran riot again. "Were I Emperor of the East, and thirty years of age, I would have Constantinople on one side and Pekin on the other before twenty years, and all between should be grand, free, and happy. What stuff is all this! Here am I, sixty-six years old and in bodily pain, fit for nothing but the grave, contemplating conquest and wise government! Vanity! Vanity! Begone. People write to me that I should be made Dictator of Ireland: that would be worth living for. In one year it should be the quietest country in Europe, and one of the happiest in two." Stopping at Paris, on his homeward journey, he met Soult, who paid him the highest compliments on his campaign. "Depend upon it," wrote Napier, "that, when a French soul is damned, it puts on a great-coat, and compliments the devil on his fine climate,—though *un peu froid*."

On his arrival in England, Napier met with a most cordial reception. Banquets were given in his honour: peers spoke enthusiastically of his achievements; and Sir Robert Peel said to him, "Were I to begin life again, and to be a soldier, I would enlist under you in preference to any other general." Yet he declared that the praises which he received only gratified him because they would exasperate the Directors. In September he took a house at Cheltenham for six months; and in October he paid a visit to Ireland, where the warmhearted people, amongst whom his boyhood had been passed, received him with an enthusiasm that gave him the keenest delight. Meanwhile he was watching, with the most anxious interest, the stirring events that led to the second Sikh War. Herbert Edwardes had gained his famous victories over the troops of the rebel Moolraj: but the outlook was still dark and threatening. Early in January, 1849, the national voice demanded that Gough should be superseded by Napier. The Duke of Wellington advised the Directors to appoint him Commander-in-Chief; but they were resolved that they would have nothing more to do with the man who had heaped upon them such open scorn. George Napier, whose name the Duke next suggested, they reluctantly consented to appoint: but, as Sir William Napier said, he loved his country and his brother too well to step into the place of the best man. Sir William Gomm was then selected for the post.[*] When, however, the news of Chillianwallah arrived, the people of England, with one peremptory voice, insisted upon the appointment of Charles Napier. Bitterly chagrined, the Directors were forced to yield.[†] But Napier's consent had still to be obtained. When the Duke told him of his appointment, he objected that his enemies in India would prevent his doing any useful

[*] According to the *Times* (March 5, 1849, P. 4, col. iv) Gomm was merely "directed to hold himself in readiness." Greville, however (*Memoirs*, 2nd part, vol. iii. p. 273), says that Lord John Russell told him that Gomm had actually been appointed.

[†] Greville (*Ibid.,* p. 276) flattered himself that the appointment was, in great part, due to his having adroitly brought about an understanding between the Duke and the Government. Previously, the Duke had said that it was not for him to offer any advice to Ministers about the choice of a Commander-in-Chief until he was asked.

work. “Well,” said the Duke, laughing, “If you don’t go, I must.” Not yet convinced, Napier went off and consulted his brother William. Finally he resolved that, as India was in danger, and the people of England believed in his power to save it, he ought to go. Even now, however, the Directors wished to exclude him from the Supreme Council. Lord John Russell, in the course of an interview with Napier, nervously hinted that such was their intention. Napier listened in fury. Springing from his chair, and thrusting out his clenched fist, he shouted, “ Look here, Lord John: If they can’t find a precedent for my going out with a seat, I will, by God, find one for a commander-in-chief not going out when offered the situation.” “Oh,” said Lord John, “they will, I am sure, find one.” Napier’s peremptoriness settled the question. The Directors again yielded. On the 18th of March they gave the customary banquet to the newly- appointed Commander-in-Chief. Napier was too candid and too combative to restrict himself to the delivery of smooth commonplaces. With an unmistakable look, he remarked, as he closed his speech, “You will, I think, all agree with me that the old proverb applies, — Least said is soonest mended.”[*] On the 24th the indomitable old soldier, tearing himself away from his beloved wife, and abandoning the rest to which he had so long looked forward, once more set his face towards the East.

Landing at Calcutta on the 6th of May, Napier was rejoiced to hear that the war was over, and that Gough had retrieved his reputation. But he felt uneasy when he reflected on the conditions under which he would have to work. Intensely self-reliant, and ever anxious that his duty should be thoroughly done, he could not be happy under control, unless his chief happened, like Ellenbprough, to be in perfect accord and sympathy with himself. “I do hate a master,” he once naively remarked. The master under whom he now found himself, was far from being a man after his own heart. Their first meeting was inauspicious. “I have been warned,” said Dalhousie, with a laugh, “against your endeavouring to encroach upon my power, and I answered that I would take damned good care you should not.” Napier was disposed, indeed, to like the Governor-General: but from the first he formed a low estimate of his ability. Still, whatever complaints he might give vent to in his journal, Napier was not the man to shirk his duty, however unpleasant it might be. For some months he laboured fifteen hours a day; and it was not until his health had become seriously affected that he began to allow himself a short time for recreation. His first object was to improve the moral tone of his officers and the discipline of the rank and file; and, though he dearly loved popularity, he would not abate the rigid exercise of his authority to gain it. Like other thoughtful leaders, he often felt how hard it was to temper severity with mildness. “How the devil,” he wrote, “could I make soldiers attend by sending a civil message to a rascal a thousand miles off, with, ‘Pray, sir, do me the favour not to get drunk at midday: do think how wrong it is! at least it is not quite right.’ By the Lord Harry it won’t do. Oak-trees cannot be chopped down with penknives, and so I must and do use the hatchet now and then.” By example, and, as far as tact would allow, by precept, he did his utmost to check extravagance and luxury. Of all the sins which a soldier could commit, these were, in his eyes, the most deadly. His own habits were simple to a fault. Two towels and a piece of soap,—these and a few indispensable articles of clothing, were all, he asserted, that a real soldier could want; and

[*] *Times,* March 19, 1849, p. 5, col. 4; *Life,* vol. iv., p. 154.

the brief inventory furnished a comic newspaper with a theme for much good-natured banter. "To drink unpaid-for champagne," he remarked, "unpaid-for beer, and to ride unpaid-for horses is to be a cheat, and not a gentleman." Stern, however, as he showed himself towards the faults of those under him, he was, as he had always been, careful of their welfare. Struck by the unhealthiness of the barracks which he visited on a tour of inspection through the North-Western Provinces and the Punjaub, he caused new ones to be erected at Meean-meer and Sealkote; and tried, though in vain, to induce the authorities to follow his example.

Nevertheless, strenuously as he laboured, his work was done against the grain. "My Lord," he said one evening, when he was dining with the Governor- General at Simla, "my Lord, it's no use; I might as well resign my authority at once as go on the present system. The whole authority is engrossed by the Military Board." "Not at all, Sir Charles," replied Dalhousie, "in all things your authority would be respected and appealed to." "You are mistaken," cried Napier: "the only people I have any authority over in all India are the apothecaries, and I could not give a dose of medicine to one of them without first obtaining leave of the Military Board to expend a certain quantity of their damned medical stores."* Not only the sense of restraint, but the multiplicity of petty details worried him. Often he would solace himself by dreaming of the magnificent reforms which he would carry out, if only he could be Emperor of India, and how utterly he would eclipse all that Dalhousie had done. Satisfied as he was of the boundless superiority of the system by which he had governed Scinde over any which civilians could devise, he ignorantly composed a violent attack upon the Government of the Punjaub, which John Lawrence calmly but unanswerably refuted. He was still ambitious, and, even when he most sincerely professed to detest war, he knew that his feelings were not quite unmixed. "I am glad, at least," he significantly added, "I pray to feel glad at having no more battles." Perhaps it was with a sense of relief that he laid aside his pen for a time to chastise the Afreedees, a hill tribe who had massacred some British troops on the road between Peshawur and Kohat. But this was the last occasion on which he was under fire; and there is a noble passage in his journal which shows us with what feelings the aged warrior looked back upon his past campaigns. "The feeling that when battle comes on like a storm, thousands of brave men are rushing to meet it, confident in your skill to direct them, is indescribable. It is greater than the feeling of gladness after a victory : far greater indeed, for the danger being then over, and brave men lying scattered about dead or dying, the spirit is sad. Oh! there is no pleasure after a battle, beyond rejoicing that we have escaped being slain. But when the columns bear upon an enemy as the line of battle forms, as it moves ma jestically onwards to conquer or die, as the booming of the cannon rolls loud and long, amidst pealing shouts and musketry, then a man feels able for his work and confident in his gifts, and his movements tell upon the enemy. There is no feeling to equal that exultation, which makes men seek to become conquerors, if religion does not aid reason to hold it in check. But' all is vanity.'"

If, however, Napier's actual battles were over, his spirit was as combative as ever; and, during the last period of his public career, he was engaged in a fierce strife with the

* Mawson's *Records of the Indian Command of General Sir Charles Napier*, Appendix, p. xvii.

Governor-General. For some years past Napier had observed with anxiety that the discipline of the Sepoy army was deteriorating; and he had even gone so far as to prophesy that there would one day be a mutiny. In July, 1849, soon after his arrival at Simla, he heard that two regiments at Rawul Pindee, which formed part of the army of occupation distributed over the newly-conquered Punjaub, had refused to receive their pay unless certain extra allowances were granted them. It seemed likely that other regiments would follow their example. Disregarding the advice of a member of his staff, who mistook indiscriminate severity for vigour, to disband the insubordinate regiments at once, Napier sent instructions to Sir Colin Campbell, who commanded at Rawul Pindee, to reason quietly with the men, but at the same time to hold a European force in readiness to awe them into obedience, if persuasion should fail. Before Campbell received these orders, the immediate danger passed; for the insubordinate regiments saw that it would be madness to persist in the presence of armed Europeans, and silently resolved to bide their time. But there was danger in other quarters. Proceeding on a tour of inspection through the northern provinces, Napier collected evidence which, in his judgement, proved that twenty-four regiments were only waiting for an opportunity to rise. An incipient mutiny at Wuzeerabad was only repressed by the tact of Colonel John Hearsey. Still Napier believed that the worst had not yet come. Making Peshawur his headquarters, he held himself in readiness to swoop down upon any point at which mutiny might appear. When, however, the crisis came, he was not called upon to face it in person; for it was met by the faithful courage of a sepoy regiment. The 66th Native Infantry mutinied at Govindghur; and the 1st Native Cavalry crushed them. Napier disbanded the mutinous corps, transferred its colours to a regiment of Goorkahs, and boasted that by this stroke he had taught the Sepoys that, whenever they showed a sign of discontent, a more warlike people would always be ready to supplant them. But, while he punished mutiny, he pitied the mutineers, for he believed that native disloyalty was the result, of British injustice; and, in this spirit of sympathy, he directed that an old regulation, which had granted compensation to the sepoys for dearness of provisions at a rate higher than that sanctioned by the one then in force, should be restored, and observed until the Governor-General, who was then absent from the seat of Government, should pronounce his decision upon the case.

Dalhousie was not the man to permit such an assumption of authority to pass unrebuked. For some time past he had been irritated by what he regarded as the insolence of the Commander-in-Chief's bearing; and he resolved to teach him that the Governor- General was his master. He therefore, in polished but very decided terms, reprimanded him for what he had done. The old soldier resented this rebuke as a personal affront, and a keen controversy arose between the two. Those who examine that controversy* without prejudice will come to the conclusion that, both in temper and argument, Napier was on the whole overmatched by Dalhousie. But of the numerous questions upon which they disputed, two only are of vital interest: first, were the forty thousand sepoys in the

* *Life,* vol. iv., pp. 214-67 ; Papers relating to the Resignation by Sir Charles Napier of the Office of Commander-in-Chief in India (Part. Papers, vol. xlvii. [1854*]); Comments upon a Memorandum of the Duke of Wellington and other Documents, censuring Lieut. Gen. C. J. Napier,* by Sir W. Napier*; Sir Charles Napier's Posthumous Work,* — Article by Sir H. Lawrence in vol. xxii. of *Calcutta Review.*

Punjaub really infected with a mutinous spirit or not? Secondly, was the Commander-in-Chief justified in putting forward, as he did the claim to act, in real or supposed emergencies, upon his own discretion? The former of these points cannot, for want of sufficient evidence, be positively determined: but the probability is that Napier greatly over-estimated the danger, and that the measure by which he tried to avert it was uncalled for. The other question is one which men will answer according to their individual temperaments. Assuming that Napier was right in his estimate of the danger, he would certainly have been unworthy of his high office if, for fear of incurring an official rebuke, he had shrunk from dealing with it promptly. But, while we may admire, as the highest and most valuable form of courage, the readiness with which a Nelson assumes responsibility upon occasion, we must admit that he should be very careful to make sure that the occasion is real.

Right or wrong, however, Napier was determined that he would no longer be subject to Dalhousie. As the controversy proceeded, he became more and more violent in his language concerning his chief, more and more incapable of estimating his true character. What wonder that keen observers were astonished that one who was endowed with so much greatness of mind could display such a lack of magnanimity. “Poor little pig;” “Lord Dalhousie is weak as water, and as vain as a pretty woman or an ugly man;” “this little goose is quite unfit for his place,”—such were some of the remarks in which the Commander-in-Chief permitted himself to indulge in speaking of the Governor-General, who, harassed as he was by a cruel disease, toiled for eight years in the service of his country with hardly a moment’s relaxation, and was pronounced by the bulk of his subordinates to be one of the greatest rulers whom India had ever known. It was certainly for the good of the State that he should sever his connexion with a chief for whom he had such a peculiar contempt. But, if the statesman and the soldier had not been prevented, by incompatibility of temperament, from bringing their great powers into harmonious co-operation, it is possible that the Indian Mutiny would never have taken place.

In December, 1850, Napier resigned his command. The sirdars* of Scinde showed their regard for their old conqueror and ruler by presenting him with a sword of honour; and at Bombay he was entertained at a banquet by a large body of Europeans of every class and condition, as well as by the principal natives. Early in February he started on his homeward voyage, and in the course of the next month reached England.

The last years of his life were spent chiefly at Oaklands, a small estate in Hampshire, which his wife had found for him. Thus the hope which he had so long cherished of a peaceful country life was at last realised. The reflexions with which he entered upon this long deferred enjoyment were characteristic. “It is harder for a rich man to go to heaven than for a loaded camel to go through the eye of a needle! When man is comfortable himself, he forgets those that want; when happy, he forgets those that mourn.”

* Sirdar,—a chief.

But Napier had never been guilty of forgetting those who were in want. To the aged and helpless he gave freely and with delicacy; while, on pretence of making improvements, he employed fifty destitute labourers on his estate. Those who knew him only in the quiet of home life might have found it hard to believe that he could be so fierce in controversy, so stern in war. His courtesy to all, his tenderness to the young, were more than feminine,—they were of that winning kind which is an attribute only of the strongest men. He loved to make people laugh by humorous tales; and it was only when he spoke on some topic which he had at heart that, in his earnest tone and flashing eyes, the fire of his nature was revealed. Occupation and amusement he found in the quieter pursuits of a country gentleman. Although his fighting days were over, his feeling towards soldiers was as sympathetic as ever. " It makes me," he said, "when I go into Portsmouth, inclined to take the first soldier or sailor by the arm and walk with him, certain of knowing how to talk to him of matters with which he is familiar, and which would interest him. If he seems clean and smart, I paint him as he would be in action, his mouth black with gunpowder from biting off the ends of his cartridges, his hands also black and bloody, his eager, animated eyes bent fiercely on the enemy, and prompt to do my bidding; firm of frame, armed for the work, and of ready courage to follow and support me in all! Then it is that I feel that I can never do too much for them; and soldiers always know what their officers' feelings .towards them are." Meanwhile his interest in public affairs was unabated. Though he felt his health daily breaking under the disease which he had contracted during that fatal journey to Lahore, he composed an elaborate treatise, which, after his death, gave rise to bitter controversy, on the defects of the Indian government, and also produced a pamphlet which helped to pave the way for the formation of the Volunteer Force. The former of these was the most important and the most characteristic of his numerous works. Nothing that he published, indeed, belongs to literature: but everything is original. Written in a homely, vigorous, racy style, full of the suggestions of ripe experience and practical sagacity jostling with rash misstatements and invincible prejudices, of generous appreciation, of naive self-laudation, and of ferocious invective, his pages are always eminently readable.

Even in his declining years, he was not exempt from troubles. He was still harassed by the attacks of his old enemies; and such was his rage against Outram, whom he publicly charged with deliberate falsehood, that he looked forward eagerly to meeting him in a duel. A far heavier trial was the death of little Charles Napier, his nephew William's son, of whom he was passionately fond. Still, his temper was as buoyant, and his humour as ready as of old. A few days after he made the sad entry in his journal, recording his favourite's death, he jotted down an account of a visit which he had had from his cousin Pamela, Lady Campbell:—" When the devil tempted Dunstan in the form of a beautiful woman, he no more took hold of her nose with hot tongs than I would! Depend upon it, he had a daughter by the she-devil, and Pamela is certainly a descendant of hers; for nothing else could be so agreeable, so pretty, so wonderful as she!"

But the closing scene was at hand. In September, 1852, the Duke of Wellington died. When Napier heard the news, he could not help remembering for a moment that one of the last public acts of the Duke had been to pronounce that, in his controversy with Dalhousie, he had been in the wrong: but presently the glorious memory of his old chiefs

victories, his high example, his many acts of kindness towards himself, swept away all bitterness; and nothing but gratitude and veneration remained. When he assisted at the funeral as pall-bearer, many eyes were bent on him, and low voices were heard to say, "The next in genius stands by the bier."

While standing about after the service, he caught a severe cold, from the effects of which he never quite rallied: but so great were his courage and his interest in life that, for some months, his friends had no suspicion of his real state. In the following May he wrote his last letter to his long-loved brother, William. It expressed indignation at Hardinge's having presented Outram at Court. Early in June he took to his bed; and for two months he was slowly dying. He suffered severely and incessantly: 'but his two sons-in-law, William Napier and Montagu McMurdo, were never tired of ministering to his wants. Towards the end he desired that his charger, Red Rover, should be brought to his bedside, that he might caress him once more: but the horse was frightened and would not approach; so, with a sigh of disappointment, Napier turned round and begged his wife to take care of its comfort. At five o'clock on the morning of August the 29th, lying on his camp bed, and surrounded by his family and servants, he expired, while McMurdo, seizing the old colours of the 22nd, waved them above his head. Many mourned his death: but none more sincerely than Outram, who, though, smarting under a storm of calumny, he openly and often bitterly condemned his policy in Scinde, had never ceased to love him and to praise his noble qualities, had forgiven him everything, and had deeply grieved for the loss of his friendship.[*] Lord Hardinge, Lord Ellenborough, and many other distinguished officers and civilians came to attend his funeral. But that which most touched and gratified his sorrowing friends was the affectionate veneration displayed by the garrison of Portsmouth. Though none of them had ever served under Charles Napier, they thronged, unbidden, and most of them at a pecuniary cost, to see his remains committed to the grave. He was buried on the 8th of September, in the churchyard of the military chapel at Portsmouth. Conspicuous among the mourners was the majestic figure of William Napier, whose powerful pen had immortalised his brother's great deeds. When he tried to thank the crowds who had attended, his sobs came so fast that he could hardly speak. "Soldiers," was all he could say, "there lies one of the best men,—the best soldiers, the best Christians, that ever lived. He served you faithfully, and you served him faithfully. God is just."

Thus ended a life which, for romantic adventure and genuine heroism, stands almost without a rival in our national biography. The part which he had to play in the great drama was, indeed, comparatively obscure: but it gave no measure of his real genius. It is true that, whatever his powers may have been, we have no right to pronounce him a general of the first rank; for a soldier must be judged, not by his promise but by his performance; and what Napier actually accomplished in war was not enough to entitle him to the highest distinction. Nevertheless, he succeeded in every military operation which he undertook, against heavy numerical odds and great natural difficulties; while, as a leader of men, he was unsurpassed and unsurpassable. Nor was his ability shown only in war. He was a truly great administrator; and his literary talent was, perhaps, little

[*] Life of Outram, vol. i. pp. 352-53.

inferior to that of his brother William. But that which gives vitality to his story is the unique interest of his personal character,—his sensitiveness, his masterfulness, his fierceness, his tender sympathy, his vanity, his profanity, his humour, his passionate love of beauty, his leanings towards asceticism, his fervid aspirations after heavenly things.

Appendix A.

THE CHARACTER OF THE AMEERS' GOVERNMENT.

Regarding the details which I have given in this book on the various authorities, with scarcely an exception, are practically agreed (See Addenda.) Outram, however, Captain W. Eastwick, and two or three other witnesses whose opinions Outram collected (Commentary, pp. 513, 515, 517, 519-20) maintained that the government of the Ameers was no worse than the generality of native governments. Doubtless, as I have remarked in the text of this book, our natural tendency is to exaggerate the evils of an Oriental despotism; and, as I have freely admitted, the Ameers, if selfish, were personally good-natured and averse from tyranny. But, whether their government did or did not fall below the average native standard, even Outram allowed that the condition of large classes of their subjects was bad enough to call for British interference.

The remedy which he suggested (Commentary, p. 477) was "affording protection to the trading classes (who should seek to locate there) in the bazaars of our cantonments, and refuge to the serfs, as cultivators, in the proposed Shikarpoor farm." " I was sanguine," he adds, " that the mere force of example . . . must have caused them (the neighbouring chiefs) to promote trade, consequently cherish the Hindoo ; and foster agriculture, consequently improve the state of the serf. The facility of obtaining protection under British laws in the heart of Scinde must have compelled the rulers of Scinde so to govern their people as to prevent their seeking our protection." Such a half-hearted remedy as this, however, would have failed to reach many of the worst abuses of the Ameers' government. Outram's contention was that "the laws and institutions of Scinde were such as suited the genius of the people and the progress they had made in civilization." If he meant by this that the mass of the people were happier under the Ameers than under the British Government, his opinion is refuted by the testimony of all responsible critics who observed the effects of Napier's rule. And if, in some respects, even Napier's rule left much to be desired, there cannot be two opinions as to the value of the benefits which the rulers who came after him conferred upon Scinde.

Appendix B.

WERE ROOSTUM AND NUSSEER KHAN GUILTY IN THE CASES LAID DOWN BY ELLENBOROUGH AS THE BASE OF THE NEW TREATY ?

Richard Napier, in the pamphlet to which I have referred in several of my notes, Outram, in his Commentary, and J. Sullivan, in his speech of January 26, 1844, sum up the arguments for and against the guilt of the Ameers. Outram succeeds in establishing,—what I have admitted in the text, — that their guilt was not conclusively proved, and that no opportunity was given them of rebutting the charges. His own admissions, however,—recorded in the Blue Book, though unnoticed by him in his Commentary,—as well as the testimony of his brother officials, support the general conclusion at which I have arrived in the text. Sullivan shows, in my judgement, that the guilt of Nusseer Khan was not only not conclusively proved, but morally doubtful. There seems, however, to be little doubt that the notorious intriguer, Futteh Mahomed, was the author of the letter to Shere Sing: at least the officer (Captain Postans) who had the best possible means of forming an opinion felt no doubt; and Outram's suggestion that the letter might have been forged by Ali Moorad, in order to prejudice the British against Roostum, was founded upon nothing but a general estimate of Ali's character and aims.

No certainty on the matter is attainable; and indeed, as Nusseer Khan and Futteh Mahomed had unquestionably been engaged in various other intrigues, the matter is of very slight importance. The reader is requested to mark the sentence, "On the whole then . . . recent policy"

Appendix C.

THE EARLIER MILITARY PREPARATIONS OF THE AMEERS OF UPPER SCINDE.

Outram tried, in his Commentary, to prove that, until February, 1843, the military preparations of the Ameers were so insignificant that they "would have caused no apprehension in the mind of anyone better acquainted with Oriental character than "Napier, and that they were purely defensive. In a private letter, written at the time (*Life,* vol. i. pp. 300-301), he said, "The information I obtained during my voyage up the Indus (to join Napier), and my previous knowledge of the chiefs of Sind, satisfied me that the reports of their warlike preparations were . . . probably promulgated by themselves, in the hope that our demands would be less stringent, if we supposed them in any way prepared for resistance. ... I well knew that they themselves were quite conscious of their inability to oppose our power . . . and that nothing but the most extreme proceedings and forcing them to desperation would drive them to it." In another letter (*Ib.*, p. 310) he wrote, "I had ascertained . . . that they were instigated to feeble attempts to arm by mistrust of us, and with a view to defence." He also maintained that, by treaty, the Ameers had a right to as many armed followers as they liked.

That the preparations were purely defensive, in the sense that they would not have been made unless the Ameers had believed the intentions of the British to be aggressive, is certain; indeed it is possible that, if Napier had explained to the Ameers the nature of the proposed treaty, and if he had taken steps in time to procure the remission of the demand for the country between Bhoong Bhara and Roree, they never would have been made at all. As, however, Napier failed to do these things, what we have to consider is whether the Ameers intended to resist the treaty by force, or only armed in dread of an attack upon Khyrpore, and because they hoped, by making a show of resistance, to obtain better terms. The answer to this question partly depends on the credibility of the Intelligence (C.S., pp. 430, 432-36, 448-50, 452, 461-62, 464-65, etc.) which Napier received, through Major Clibborn, from his spies. Outram argues that the reports of the military levies and the warlike intentions of the Ameers were grossly exaggerated,— by themselves, in the hope of getting better terms, and by Ali Moorad (through his bribed tools) in the hope of prejudicing Napier against them. Certainly it was for the interest of Ali to force on a rupture between his kinsmen and the British General.

The real truth appears to be this. There was undoubtedly a good deal of bluster in the bellicose language of the Ameers (C.S., pp. 465, 470), and, if they ever had any intention of forcibly resisting the treaty, their resolve soon faded away; for, when Napier announced his intention of marching upon their capital, they never attempted to defend it, nor did they oppose the occupation of Bhoong Bhara and Subzulcote or the march to Emaumghur. But, as their temper was known to be suspicious of, if not hostile to the English, it was not unnatural for a new-comer like Napier to conclude that they were arming in earnest.

With regard to Outram's contention, that they had, by treaty, a right to as many armed followers as they liked, it may be remarked that, when the treaty was concluded, it was not contemplated that the "armed followers" should be used against the British. But really, Outram's appeal to the treaty was puerile and pedantic. Of course, the Ameers had a perfect right to collect troops, if they chose, in order to resist Lord Ellenborough's treaty: but Napier, whose duty it was to enforce that treaty, had an equal right to see that their troops were d1spersed. The question is, whether he did not exercise his right, —e.g., by his march on Khyrpore,—in such a way as to frighten the Ameers into the belief that he intended to attack them.

Appendix D.

WAS THE ALLEGED MESSAGE FROM ROOSTUM RECEIVED BY NAPIER ON DECEMBER l8, 1842, GENUINE?

1. Roostum himself repeatedly and solemnly denied that he had sent the message.
2. It is difficult to believe that Roostum offered to put himself in the power of one whom (C.S., No. 446) he suspected of a design to make him prisoner.
3. Napier did not confront the messenger with Roostum.
4. The messenger's assertion that Roostum had sent the message by him was not sufficient; for the messenger had taken bribes from the Ameer's ambassadors, and was afterwards convicted of treachery.
5. Outram (Commentary, pp. 133-34) forcibly argues that the messenger's "testimony bears tokens of its own falsehood."

On the other hand, Richard Napier (pp. 120-21) attempts to prove that the message was sent by Roostum. "On the morning of the 19th" (of December), says he, "Roostum's son and nephew were still with Ali Moorad at the fort, in prosecution of their joint intention . . . to make Ali Moorad chief of the Ameers. This was the day after the secret message had been sent to Sir Charles Napier, and strongly negatives Colonel Outram's assertion, that such a message was a forgery by Ali Moorad; since it is incredible that, at the very time his family were offering the Turban to him, he should send a message in Roostum's name to crave an asylum in Sir Charles Napier's camp. Everything might be lost, and nothing could be gained by that proceeding. Roostum might have acted on Sir Charles' reply offering to receive him in his camp; their meeting would lead to a discovery of the negotiation for the Turban, then pending, as the condition of Ali's separation from the English; while, on the other hand, this act of submission on Roostum's part would have secured his possession of the Turban for the remainder of his life." In this last sentence, however, the writer attempted to prove too much; for he had himself pointed out, a few lines before, that, at the time when the message was sent, Roostum's son and nephew were voluntarily offering the Turban to Ali Moorad, on condition of his aiding the cause of the Talpoors. Moreover, Outram never said that the message was forged by Ali Moorad.

Still, I confess that I can suggest no motive for the forgery, unless Ali were the forger, and knew Napier well enough to be able to reckon on his giving the answer which he did.

Appendix E.

DID ROOSTUM RESIGN THE TURBAN VOLUNTARILY ?

1. ALI MOORAD asserted that Roostum's cession of the Turban was voluntary. 2. Richard Napier (pp. 118-23) cites evidence to show that Roostum intended to resign the Turban to Ali Moorad before the (alleged) secret message was sent to Sir Charles Napier.

On the other hand, the mere assertion of a man of Ali's character (he was afterwards convicted of forgery) is worthless.

2. Very likely Roostum, or, at any rate, his son and nephew, did at one time propose that Ali should assume the Turban (see App. D.). But, when the younger Ameers abandoned Khyrpore, as they did immediately after Roostum put himself in Ali's power, and when it became apparent that Ali would not support him, what motive could Roostum have had for resigning the dignity? It is highly improbable that he would, without some prospect of advantage, have voluntarily ceded his birthright, to say nothing of a large tract of land, to a man with whom he had long had a bitter feud. 3. Captain Pope, who was sent by Sir Charles Napier in August, 1843, "to hear what Ali might have to adduce in proof that the cession was voluntary," says, "I had expressed to Sir Charles Napier my own conviction, founded on statements made to me, and the concurrent belief of all natives in Upper Scinde who ever mentioned the circumstance, that the cession was not voluntary, and I know that Sir Charles Napier himself did not believe it to have been so. Ali Moorad, as well as his minister, Ali Hussein, severally confessed to me that the cession was not voluntary." (See Mr. Willoughby's Minute, pars. 56, 61, 63, 82, 93-100, in Papers relating to the charge preferred against Ali Moorad.)

It appears to me that Captain Pope's testimony is conclusive.

Appendix F.

WAS ROOSTUM REALLY PREVENTED FROM MEETING OUTRAM AT KHYRPORE?

Outram believed that he was,—by persons in Ali Moorad's interest (*C.S. Suppl*., No. 24, 31). Ali Moorad's agent, in an interview with Roostum and his people, "dwelt," Outram tells us (*Life,* vol. i., p. 305), "on the obviously little influence I had with the General, and argued, therefore, that no dependence could be placed on my doing anything for them." On the other hand, both Sir Charles and Sir William Napier were sure that Roostum "humbugged "Outram. It would be rash, perhaps, to pronounce any positive opinion on the point: but, as it was the interest of Ali to prevent Roostum from making his peace with the English, I am convinced that Outram was right.

Appendix G.

WAS NAPIER'S LETTER, AUTHORISING OUTRAM TO GO TO HYDERABAD, INTERCEPTED ?

Outram and Napier both thought so. The letter was entrusted to Ali Hussein, Ali Moorad's minister. As Outram says (pp. 299- 301), "His (Ali Hussein's) *own horseman* always bore the General's despatches to me, and, had he been stopped on the way, the circumstance would, of course, have been reported. No living being but Ali Moorad and his minister had any interest in the interception of the document."

Appendix H.

1. WERE THE AMEERS, OR THE BELOOCHEE CHIEFS, DEFINITELY RESOLVED, DURING THE PERIOD OF OUTRAM'S NEGOTIATIONS AT HYDERABAD, TO ATTACK NAPIER? 2. DID THEY SPIN OUT THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER TO GAIN TIME FOR COLLECTING MORE TROOPS? 3. WERE THE AMEERS FORCED TO MAKE WAR BY THE BELOOCHEE CHIEFS ? 4. DID NAPIER'S ADVANCING BEYOND HALA PRECIPITATE THE WAR?

1. To answer the first of these questions with absolute certainty is impossible. But my firm belief is that, although the Ameers doubtless feared that war was imminent, and may have resolved to fight if Roostum's appeal were rejected, neither they nor their feudatories definitely made up their minds until February 13, 1842. For, as I have pointed out in the text of this book, the conclusion which Napier drew from the letter which he intercepted on the 12th of that month was not warranted. Again, the demeanour of the Ameers during their conferences with Outram was not that of men who had resolved to fight. Had they not wished to avoid bloodshed, why should they have taken the trouble, on the day after signing the treaty, to send their deputies to beg Outram once more for the restoration of the Turban lands, and frankly to warn him that unless their prayers were granted, they would be compelled to go to war. "I well knew," so he had written some weeks earlier, " that they themselves were quite conscious of their inability to oppose our power . . . and that nothing but the most extreme proceedings and forcing them to desperation would drive them to it." The Beloochee chiefs would not have sworn, on February 13,—in the solemn way they did, and after the failure of the Ameers to induce Outram to promise that Roostum's petition should be granted,—to fight, if they had already resolved to do so. Nor would the Ameers have failed to remove their women to Kurrachee, that they might be out of the reach of danger. But there is another argument on which I rely still more confidently. A letter was intercepted, dated February 14,1843, from Nusseer Khan and Mahomed Khan to the Governor of Kurrachee. In this letter occurs the following passage,— "The friendship which existed between the English Government and ourselves we intend to sever, because the English seem desirous of possessing themselves of our dominions. We ourselves and three other Ameers, viz., Sobdar, Shadad, and Hussain Ali, have, therefore, determined upon taking the field forth with, and this day intend leading our army against the English." Also, on February 22, Lieutenant H. Stanley, Officiating A.D.C. to Sir C. Napier, writes from Sukkur to the Secretary to the Governor-General,— "Letters have been received by the Shikarpore authorities from Meer Nusseer Khan, of Hyderabad, to the following effect,— "It is uncertain whether we shall subscribe to the terms offered us by the British Government.

In the event of our not doing so we shall commence hostilities, in which case you must arm likewise" (Enclosures to Secret Letters from India, 1843, No. 3—14-24—Inc. i in No. 197, and Board's Drafts of Secret Letters to India, &c.,—2nd Nov., 1842, to 27th Dec. 1843 [Letter of 22nd Feb., 1843]).

Would letters like these have been written if the Ameers or their feudatories had, as Napier maintained, all along wished and intended to fight.

2. It appears to me quite possible, though not proved, that the Ameers did spin out the negotiations in order to gain time, in case they should find it necessary to fight. But it is just as likely that, knowing the temper of the Beloochees, they begged for delay; because they hoped against hope to obtain some concession,

3. The evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the Ameers of Hyderabad, or, at all events, all except the two who led the attack on the Residency, were overborne by the Beloochee chiefs. But all that is certain is, that, failing all attempts to obtain justice for Roostum, the chiefs were determined, with or without the consent of the Ameers, to fight.

4. Napier's advancing beyond Hala could not have precipitated hostilities because, before the Beloochees knew of it, they had resolved to fight. He did not leave Sukkurunda, which is north of Hala, until February 14. It is, indeed, just possible that, if Outram could have given a pledge that Napier would not advance, war would have been prevented. But it is more likely that to halt at "the twelfth hour" would have been attributed to fear : it would certainly have given time for more Beloochees to assemble ; and therefore it may confidently be affirmed that Napier would, by halting then, have imperilled the safety of his army.

Appendix I.

WAS THE BURNING OF THE SHIKARGAHS USELESS?

Sir W. Napier (Conquest of Scinde, p. 302) maintained that it "turned greatly to the disadvantage of the British," because (1) the enemy, in the night of February 16, moved eight miles to their right, instead of occupying the shikargahs which Outram intended to burn, and (2) the two hundred men whom Sir Charles detached under Outram were not able to take part in the battle of Meeanee, To this Outram (pp. 401-402) replied that (i) the reason why the enemy moved to the right was that they received from their spies information regarding his plan of firing the shikargahs; and (2) the two hundred men were only convalescents, unfit to take part in a general action. "Fortunate, indeed," he adds, "was it that they did change their plan, and thus gave us an opportunity of deciding . . . in an open field the whole campaign^ instead of commencing by contesting the shikargahs before falling back upon the fort and city, in which jungle warfare we should have gained no decided advantage, should have lost many men, and then should have arrived before the place with an inadequate force to attack it."

Appendix J.

WAS OUTRAM RIGHT IN DISSUADING NAPIER FROM ATTACKING "THE LION" AFTER THE BATTLE OF MEEANEE?

SIR W. NAPIER (Conquest of Scinde, pp. 324-26) severely censures Outram for giving, and mildly censures his brother for taking this advice. Outram, on the other hand (pp. 443-47), argues that it would have been impossible,—even if it had been desirable,—for Sir Charles to march against and surprise the Lion.

Napier was a far abler and more experienced soldier than Outram; and he knew that, against an Asiatic foe, audacity may almost work miracles. Nevertheless, he himself admitted that, for two days after the battle, he dared not abandon the defensive; and he certainly could not have surprised the Lion, who had the best information, and could easily, with his fresh troops, have out-marched him. Probably, however, he would, even with his weakened army, have defeated him, if he could have induced him to accept battle; though it is not likely that such a victory would have been decisive. Whether he would have been justified in attacking, without making an attempt to preserve peace, a prince who had not committed any overt act of hostility, is another question.

Appendix K.

THE TREATMENT OF THE AMEERS AND THEIR FAMILIES AFTER THE BATTLE OF MEEANEE.

After the battle of Meeanee, various complaints were made by the Ameers (*C.S.* Suppl., No. 102-16, 118-23, 125-26, 129-32, i36-37, 148, 167-72, 179-80) and by Outram (pp. 429-38, 460-71) on their behalf, as to the treatment which they and their women experienced. Outram succeeds in proving that certain allegations of the Ameers remained unanswered. But, except for his conduct towards Sobdar and Mahomed, which I have mentioned in the text (pp. 89-90), neither Napier nor his officers were to blame, though some of their men may have been. All that Napier did was to place the Ameers under restraint just before the battle of Hyderabad, when he believed his army to be endangered by their (alleged) intrigues.

Nevertheless, considering that the Ameers were guilty of no offence except desiring to rid themselves of British domination and fighting for their patrimony, their punishment was very heavy. No doubt their expatriation was a political necessity. But it does not appear that they were treated with the generosity which Lord Wellesley displayed towards the family of Tippoo,—the implacable enemy of England; though surely the honour of the British Government, if not justice and mercy, required that every consideration should be shown to them in their fall.

Appendix L.

NAPIER'S BAGGAGE-CORPS.

The efficiency of the baggage-corps was decried in a pamphlet (see Appendix M., No. 53) by Lieut.-Col. W. Burlton, and by Col. J. Jacob (16., No. 31). Major McMurdo replied, convincingly, in my judgement, to the former (16., No. 28). Napier himself, in a letter to Sir. J. Hobhouse (16., No. 27), gives an elaborate account of the corps. Sir Richard Burton (Sind Revisited, vol. ii. pp. 219-20) pronounces that it was very efficient in war but very costly in peace; and this, as far as I can ascertain, expresses the opinion of the best informed judges.

Appendix M.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES FOR THE LIFE OF SIR CHARLES NAPIER

The authorities may be grouped in three classes, viz. (1) original; (2) partly original,—either because they contain some original matter, or because the writers had an intimate personal knowledge of India or of Sir Charles Napier; (3) works that do not come under either of the above heads.

1.

1. The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles Napier, by Lieut. Gen. Sir W. Napier, 4 vols. 2nd edition, 1857.

2. Corrections of a few of the errors contained in Sir W. Napier's Life of Sir C. Napier, by G. Buist, 1857.

3. Memoir on the Roads of Cephalonia, by Col. C. J. Napier, 1825.

4. The Colonies,—treating of their value generally, of the Ionian Islands in particular : strictures on the Administration of Sir F. Adam, by Col. C. J. Napier, 1833.

5. General Sir F. Adam, by A. Von Reumont, 1855.

6. Boards' Drafts of Secret Letters to India (ms.).

7. Enclosures to Secret Letters from India (ms.).

8. Correspondence relative to Sinde, 1836-1838.

9. Returns relative to European and Native Soldiers of the Indian, Armies employed in Scinde, &c.

10. Return to an order of the House of Commons for Further Papers respecting Scinde communicated to Court of Directors.

11. Papers relating to the Charge preferred against Meer Ali Morad.

12. Correspondence relative to Sinde, 1838-1843.

13. Correspondence relative to Sinde, supplementary to the Papers presented to Parliament in 1843.

14. a. Selections from the records of the Bombay Government,: No. xvii. New Series, 1855. b. Memo, on the Scinde Police, by H. B. E. Frere.

15. "British Administration of Scinde,"—article in vol. xiv. of the Calcutta Review.

16. History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough in his Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, edited by Lord Colchester, 1874.

17. Compilation of the General Orders, &c., issued in 1842-47 by Sir C. J. Napier to the Army under his command, by E. Green, 1850.

18. Narrative of a visit to the Court of Sinde, by J. Burnes, 1829.

19. Rough Notes of the Campaign in Scinde and Afghanistan in 1838-39, by Capt. James Outram, 1840.

20. Personal Observations on Sindh, by T. Postans, 1843.

21. Sindh and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus, by Richard F. Burton, 1851.

22. Scinde, or the Unhappy Valley, by Richard F. Burton, 1851.

23. Sinde revisited, by Richard F. Burton, 1877.

24. James Outram, a Biography, by Major-Gen. Sir F. J. Goldsmid, 2nd edition, 1881.

25.

a. Account of the Battle of Meeanee, by Major Waddington (vol. ix. of R. E. Prof. Papers).
b. Explanation of the Battle of Meeanee (vol. x. of ditto).
c. Reply to the Observations of Major-Gen. Sir W. Napier (vol. i. New Series of ditto).

26. Report on Upper Sindh and the Upper Portion of Cutchee, by Lieut. Postans (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 12, Part 1).

27. A Letter to the Right Hon. Sir J. Hobhouse on the Baggage ol the Indian Army, by Gen. Sir C. J. Napier, 1849.

28. Sir C. Napier's Indian Baggage-Corps. Reply to Lieut.-Col. Burlton's attack. By Major W. M. S. McMurdo, 1850.

29. Records of the Indian Command of Gen. Sir Charles Napier, compiled by John Mawson, 1851.

30. Papers relating to the Resignation by Sir Charles Napier of the Office of Commander-in-Chief in India (Parl. Papers, vol. xlvii. [1854])-

31. Remarks on the Native Troops of the Indian Army, and Notes on certain passages in Sir Charles Napier's Posthumous Work on the Defects of the Indian Government, by John Jacob, 1854.

32. Views and Opinions of John Jacob, 1858.

33. Petition of His Highness Ameer Al i Morad Khan Talpoor of Khyrpoor, 1856.

34. Recollections of the late Sir Charles Napier (Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, vol. 20 [1853], pp. 233-4.)

35. "The Greville Memoirs, Second Part, vol. 3, 1885.

36. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vols, 66, 69-72.

37. The Times, Morning Chronicle, Examiner, Spectator, and Indian newspapers (especially, the Bombay Times),

II.

38. Life of General Sir Charles Napier, by W. N. Bruce, 1885.

39. The Conquest of Scinde, with some Introductory Passages in the Life of Major-General Sir Charles James Napier, by Major-General W. F. P. Napier, and edition, 1845.

40. The History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde, and Campaign in the Cutchee Hills, by Lieut-Gen. Sir W. F. P. Napier, 3rd edition, 1858.

41. The Conquest of Scinde, a Commentary, by Lieut.-Col. Outram, 1846.

42. Remarks on Lieut.-Col. Outram's work, entitled "The Conquest of Scinde, a Commentary," by Richard Napier, 1847. .

43. Speech of Captain William Eastwick, on the Case of the Ameers of Scinde, 3rd edition, 1844.

44. General Sir C. J. Napier and the Directors of the East India Company, by Sir William Napier, 1857.

45. Comments upon a Memorandum of the Duke of Wellington and other Documents, censuring Lieut.-General Sir C. J. Napier, by Sir W. Napier, 1854.

46. Sir Charles Napier's Posthumous Work,—article by Sir H. Lawrence in vol. xxii. of Calcutta Review.

III.

47. The Affairs of Scinde, by an East India Proprietor, 1844.

48. Case of the Ameers of Sinde, by J. Sullivan, 1844.

49. The Scinde Policy: a few comments on Major-General W. F. P. Napier's Defence of Lord Ellenborough's Government, 1845.

50. India and Lord Ellenborough, 1844.

51. Reply to "India and Lord Ellenborough," by Zeta, 1845.

52. Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough, by a Bengal Civilian, 1845.

53. A few brief comments on Sir C. Napier's letter to Sir J. Hobhouse " On the Baggage of the Indian Army," by Lieut.-Col. W. Burlton, 1849.

54. Speech of Viscount Jocelyn, M.P., in the House of Commons, on the Case of the Ameers of Upper Scinde, June 23, 1852.

55. The Case of Meer AH Morad Khan.

56. The Career and Character of C. J. Napier, by W. MacCall, 1857.

57. General Sir C. J. Napier, by P. L. MacDougall.

58. Sir Charles Napier in Scinde (New Monthly Magazine, vol. 94 [1852], pp. 144-54).

59. Sir Charles Napier and the Unhappy Valley (Bentley's Miscellany, vol. 31 [1853], pp. 82-8).

60. The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Napier, G.C.B. (New Quarterly Review, vol. 6 [1857], pp. 189-97).

61. Conquest of Scinde (Edinburgh Reviav, voL 79 [1844], pp. 476-544).

62. Napier, (Ibid., vol. 196 [1857], pp. 322-55).

63. Sindh—Dry Leaves from Young Egypt (Quarterly Review, vol 91 [1852], pp. 379-401).

64. Life of Sir Charles Napier (*Ibid.,* vol. 101 [1857], pp. 202-42, & vol. 134 [1858], pp. 475, 515).

65. Life of Sir Charles J. Napier (Blabkwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 82 [1857], pp. 94-uo, 241-63).

66. Eclectic Magazine, vol. 30 [1853], pp. 469-80,—Charles James Napier.

67. Life of General Sir Charles Napier (*Christian Observer*, vol. 57 [1857], pp. 807-27).

68. Lieut.- General Sir Charles James Napier, G.C.B.(*Dublin University* Magazine, vol. 32 [1848], pp. 546-62).

69. The Conquest of Scinde (*Ibid*., vol. 26 [1845], pp. 100-9).

70. Administration of Scinde (*Ibid.*, vol. 39 [1852], pp. 363-72).

71. Sir Charles James Napier (*Ibid.*, vol. 49, [1857], pp. 556-80).

72. Sir Charles Napier in India (*Ibid.*, vol. 50 [1857], pp. 129-39).

73. The Ameers of Sindh (*Calcutta Review*, vol. I, pp. 217-45).

74. The Sindh Controversy *(Ibid.,* vol. 6, pp. 569-614).

I have also had the advantage of private correspondence on various points relating to the administration of Scinde with two civilians who served in the country during the years that immediately followed Napier's departure. Both of these expressed a very high opinion of his work.

1. The biography by Sir W. Napier is the primary source of information regarding the character, the private life, and the first sixty years of the public life of Sir Charles. But the reader may rest assured that, over every part of the hero's career which has been the subject of controversy, it is a most unsafe guide. William Napier was a man absolutely incapable of literary or any other dishonesty: but passionate fraternal love upset the balance of his judgement, and insensibly corroded his love of truth. He was grossly, often ludicrously, unjust to almost everybody who opposed his brother, and especially to Sir Frederick Adam, Outram, and Dr. Buist. Indeed, I question whether any other writer, posing as a grave historian, was ever responsible for so many and such cruel calumnies. It will hardly be believed, but it is true, that he stigmatised Outram, the Bayard of India, the bravest of the brave, as a coward. To say nothing of the heightened, and sometimes even false, colouring which he gave to important episodes in his brother's career, his book,—in certain parts relating to India,—literally bristles with inaccuracies on points of detail, a small fraction of which were exposed by Buist. Many of these blunders, it is true, were contained in Charles's letters and journals; but William let them pass without comment or enquiry, or rather he virtually adopted them as his own; although some had been

previously refuted. From a literary point of view, the work suffers greatly by comparison with the History of the Peninsular War and even the Conquest of Scinde. The arrangement is bad: irrelevancies are frequent; and the bombast of the author's manner is exaggerated. Nevertheless, passages of real eloquence are scattered among the volumes; and any intelligent reader who has the patience to read them through, while he may feel that he is still far from knowing the truth about the conquest and administration of Scinde, will form a tolerably correct idea of the man, Charles Napier.

6-7. These MS. records (to be found in the Political Department of the India Office) contain a good many despatches that do not appear in the Blue Books. Only a small percentage, however, of the unpublished documents is of historical or biographical value.

15. This article, apparently written by "one who knew," and thoroughly impartial in tone, is essential to a just appreciation of Napier's administration of Scinde. Still the writer appears to me to make too much of the demerits of that administration, and not sufficiently to emphasize its merits.

25 *a.b.c.* These papers have already been discussed in a note.

31-32. These are a necessary antidote to some of the misstatements contained in the works of the brothers Napier relating to Scinde. They are, however, marred by personal spite; for Jacob, not indeed without provocation, indulged in the language of Billingsgate almost as freely as Sir William, himself. Such phrases as "beastly falsehood" frequently occur.

37. The newspapers, of course, are only available for the later years of Napier's life,—the historical period of his career: they supply but very ton fresh details that are both interesting and credible; and, for the most part, they are only useful as showing how his contemporaries judged him.

39-40. Much of what has been said of Sir W. Napier's biography of his brother is also true of his two special works on Scinde. They deserve to be read, if only for their brilliant battle-pieces: but the student is warned to maintain a skeptical attitude while he reads, and to keep the original authorities at hand.

41 and 42 ought to be studied simultaneously. Outram makes some effective points against Sir W. Napier: but much of his argument, even if sound, is devoid of historical interest. The style is so different from and so much superior to that of his letters, that I doubt whether he actually wrote the book as it stands. Were his sheets revised by Mr. Willoughby of Bombay? Sir F. Goldsmid could probably answer this question. [I am informed that the sheets were revised by Outram's friend, Dr. Ogilvie.]

43-44, 47-52. Of the pamphlets those by Captain Eastwick (who had an intimate personal knowledge of Scinde), Sullivan, and "an East India Proprietor" are the best.

THE END