NARRATIVE

OF THE

WAR IN AFFGHANISTAN.

IN 1838—39.

BY CAPTAIN HENRY HAVELOCK.

13TH REGIMENT (LIGHT INFANTRY),
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLOUGHBY COTTON,
G.C.B. AND K.C.H.,
COMMANDING THE BENGAL FORCES IN AFFGHANISTAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Description of Candahar—Its defences, streets, bazaars, buildings, costumes, and commodities—Flight and prospects of its late rulers—Title bestowed on Hajee Khan Kakur—Bombay troops reach Candahar—Recognition of Shah Shooja—He receives the officers of the British army in grand durbar—Murder of Lieutenant Inverarity—Preparations for an advance on Cabool—Shah Shooja encamps without the walls of Candahar—Observations. 1

CHAPTER II.

The army breaks up from Candahar—Its health and means of subsistence—Head-quarters fixed at Ghojun Symptoms of affection for Shah Shooja—Defection of the nephew of Dost Mahomet Khan—Reconnoissance of Ghuznee—Storm and capture of Ghuznee—Moohummud Hyder Khan made prisoner—Magnanimity of the Shah—Booty and loss on both sides—Flight of Dost Moohummud Khan—Capture of his artillery—Shah Shooja enters Cabool—Observations . . 39

CHAPTER III.

Cabool—Its fruit-bazaars and shops—Monument of Sooltan Baber—Abundance in the British camps—Pursuit and escape of the Ex-Ameer—Murder of Lieutenant-colonel Herring—Opening of the Kyber Pass—Affair of Kooloo-joo — Arrangements for the military occupation of Affghanistan—Head-quarters of the army of the Indus moved from Cabool towards the Indus—Insurrection of the Khyberees—Sanguinary defeat of the Nujeebs—Peshawur—Skirmishes with the Khyberees—Observations 131

APPENDIX NO. I.

Declaration on the part of the Right Hon. the Governor-general of India 237

NO. II.

General Orders by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief 248

NO. III.

General Orders by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief 258

NO. IV.

Orders by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief to the Army of the Indus 261

NO. V.

Orders by the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India 262

NO. VI.

General Orders by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief to the Army of the Indus . . . 265

NO. VII.

Orders by the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India 267

NO. VIII.

Orders by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief to the Army of the Indus 269

NO. IX.

Camp Sukkur, 15th February, 1839 . . . 272

NO. X.

Extract from General Orders by his Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., Commander in-chief of the Army of the Indus . 273

NO. XI.

Larkhana, 10th March, 1839 . . . 278

NO. XII.

General Orders by the Commander-in-chief . . 276

NO, XIII.

Extract of Orders by Major-general Sir Willoughby Cotton, commanding the Bengal column of the Army of the Indus 279

NO. XIV.

Extract from General Orders, dated Head-quarters, camp Ghuznee, 22nd July, 1839 . . . 280

NO. XV.

General Order by H. E. Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, Commander-in-chief of the army of the Indus . 285

General Order by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief 291

NO. XVI.

List of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir John Keane before Ghuznee, on the 21st July, 1839 . . 291

NO. XVII.

Roll of General and Staff Officers of Her Majesty's Service attached to the Bengal column of the Army of the Indus 294

NO. XVIII.

Roll of Staff Officers of the Honourable Company's Service attached to the Bengal column of the Army of the Indus 295

NO. XIX.

Disposition Return of the Army of the Indus . . 297

NO. XX.

Copy of a Report from Major Maclaren, commanding the 16th Regiment Native Infantry . . . 298

NO. XXI.

List of Members of the several classes of the Order of the Dooranee Empire, instituted by Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, at Cabul, 17th of September, 1839 . . 302

NO. XXII.

Copy of a Letter from Major Maclaren, commanding the 16th Regiment Native Infantry . . . 307

NO. XXIII.

Division Orders by Major-general Sir Willoughby Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H. 311

NO. XXIV.

Inscription on the Pediment of the Marble Mosque near the Tomb of Sooltan Babur . . . 314

NO. XXV.

General Orders by the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India 317

NO. XXVI.

Timour, in his Institutes, speaks of one of his own lines of operation against Delhi . . . 323

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THOUGH we had yet found no enemy capable of opposing our progress, it was not without some feeling of exultation that we moved across the plains towards the walls of Candahar. The length of the route since we had left our own provinces, the noble river, and lofty mountain ranges which we had crossed, the desert tracts

and arid plains which we had traversed, the privations which our troops had endured, and the harassing and vexatious, though paltry attacks to which they had been subjected, all forced themselves upon our recollection as we gazed upon the city, the possession of which was the present recompence of our exertions.

Candahar is situated on an extensive level, which is bounded on the north and west by picturesque mountains of primitive rock. The city is quadrangular, and its defences uniform. They consist of a wall of mud hardened by exposure to the sun, thirty-three feet in height, without *revetement* of stone or brick. The *enciente* is divided into curtains and semi-circular towers, is strengthened by a low *fausse braye*, and defended by a ditch ten feet in depth and twenty-four in width, at present only imperfectly filled with water, but which could in a few hours be well supplied from the canals of the Urghundab that intersect the city. The southern side of this vast area is thirteen hundred, the northern, eleven hundred, the eastern, sixteen hundred, and the western (which is, in fact, two sides meeting in a large angle,) nineteen hundred feet in length. There are four great gates in this extensive *shuhur-punah.** The northern is entitled

* City wall.

the *Eedgah;* the southern, the Shikarpore; the eastern, the Cabool; and the western, the Herat. Besides these, there are two less considerable portals in the eastern and western fronts of fortification, denominated the Berdooranee and the Topkhanu, or Artillery. The parapet is battlemented and loop-holed, and pierced, as is the custom in Asiatic fortresses, with apertures for the purpose of throwing vertical missiles into the ditch. The towers, including those over the gates and at the four grand angles of the place, are sixty-two in number, and on these guns might have been mounted, as the rampart is wide, and there are good embrazures in the parapet; but such had been the neglect of the Barukzyes, that we found their artillery, consisting of some twenty indifferent pieces, parked in the open space in front of their citadel. That defence consists of an inner quadrangle of two hundred yards retrenched in the centre of the northern face. Within its inclosure are the several courts and apartments of the royal palace, lately usurped, together with the rule of their master, by the brothers of Futih Khan. Its wall is protected on three sides by a good *fosse;* there is a large bastion in its southern face, and four small towers flank its eastern, and four more its western front. The principal angles

of the outer wall of the city are covered with circular counterguards. Such, as a place of strength, is Candahar. Even if treachery and pusillanimity had not opened its gates to us, it is not probable that it could long have resisted the fire of our batteries and the onset of our troops. The Sirdars might, if they had acted with ordinary resolution, have got together a garrison of three or four thousand troops, for which force they had ample supplies for a full month at least; but there was nothing in the nature of the bulwarks of this capital, or in the character of its constituted defenders, to have saved it from the rapid fall by which two of the strong holds of Central Asia have since been prostrated. Its gates were as vulnerable as those of Ghuznee or Kelat; and in any event, an extensive wall flanked only by very paltry towers could not have offered a protracted resistance to its assailants, if they had proceeded by the slower method of a regular siege.

But no such efforts had been demanded from us. A portion of the troops of Shah Shooja already held possession of the ramparts, gates, and citadel of Candahar, when on the morning of the 27th of April we arrived in front of it; and the population, it not in ecstasies of enthusiasm on occasion of the revolution which they had witnessed,

were at least tranquil, and disposed to be outwardly civil to the army of *Feringees* which had effected this great change. As we moved down towards the city, across plains much intersected by watercourses, but already covered with waving crops of barley and wheat, and verdant and luxuriant lucerne, the picture before us was fine. Above the line of the extensive battlements of Candahar were seen the domes of its great central mart, or Charsoo, of the monument of Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Dooranee dynasty, and of several mosques; and behind these the eye embraced a romantic range of hills. Amongst these was particularly distinguished the mount inclining over its base, which had attracted our attention at Khooshab by its singular conformation. Sir John Keane had pitched his tents in a very extensive garden, or orchard ground, of peach, plum, and apricot trees, belonging to Kohun Dil Khan, and situated near the south-western angle of the place. The cavalry, and the armament of the Shah, were encamped on the western side of the town, opposite the Heratee and Topkhanu gates; whilst the Bengal infantry and artillery were aligned, as their successive portions came up, in the plains to the southward. Our divisional head-quarters took up the ground which

we occupied during the whole of our long halt at Candahar. It was about a hundred yards from the Shikarpore gate, from which it was separated by some fields of barley and lucerne, fenced in with low mud walls. Our pavilions were fixed on a narrow strip of pasture ground of the most brilliant green; its herbage had been closely cropped by sheep, and its closely woven and elastic turf, so different from the covering of the naked and withered grass lands of Hindoostan, reminded us of English downs under their most verdant aspect. We were delighted at first with this little *chummun*, as Persians and Affghans denominate their flowery meads and inclosures of pasturage; but soon discovered its disadvantages. In the level around Candahar, water is found at the distance of from three to six feet from the surface, as we discovered by boring beneath the green carpet of our encampment. The consequence is, a damp most prejudicial to health, and especially productive of low fever, dysentery, and jaundice, which last is the most prevalent disorder of Western Affghanistan. The Bengal departments and the general of cavalry found space for themselves in the same succession of grazing fields, at no great distance from us. Shah Shooja at first occupied his tents under the walls, but on the

evening of the 27th April took possession of the palace of his ancestors in the citadel. The Envoy and Minister, and his assistants, and Sir Alexander Burnes, also occupied apartments within its walls.

Access to the city was at first, as a precautionary measure, denied to our soldiers and followers; but officers speedily made their way into it, curious to traverse the streets of the western capital of Affghanistan. During the period of exclusion, marts were established beyond the walls, to which the inhabitants freely brought their wares for sale. The temporary bazar near the Shikarpore gate was quickly crowded with vendors of rose-water in large green and blue bottles, of sherbet, and *skikunjubeen*—the former, simple water, vinegar, and sugar; the latter, a mixture of the same ingredients, with the juice of fruits. There, too, were seen traffickers in asses' loads of lucerne grass, of wheat, barley, wood, and chopped straw; whilst other small merchants claimed attention to their *poshteens* (sheep-skin pelisses), flowered linen *alkhaliks*, and carpets from Yuzd. The horse-dealers of Herat were not long in finding out that a glorious opportunity presented itself of getting good prices for their steeds, which they were seen hourly shewing off to the

best advantage in front of our camps, and our followers found no small attraction in places of resort, where they could procure, at any cost whatever, fowls, *doomba* sheep, onions, milk, tobacco, and spices.

From each principal gate of the fortification runs a street of houses of sun-dried brick. These four grand avenues meet in the centre of the city under the vast dome of a circular bazar denominated the Chuhar-soo, or "Four-ways." These lines of access, as well as the great building to which they lead, are filled with shops, and crowded from daylight to dark with horsemen and foot passengers, as well as asses and camels, laden with commodities. To the northward of the great *goombuz* is a covered bazar, over which is a gallery, containing the *noubut-khanu*, or *nakara-khanu* of the city. From this is heard at sunrise, mid-day, and sun-set, the dissonant clangour and din of trumpets, tabrets, pipes, and drums, with which strangers are always stunned at stated hours in Asiatic cities. In the shops is exposed for sale wheaten bread made up in cakes of an irregularly oval shape. It is soft, and a little acid, but not decidedly unpalateable or unwholesome. The smell of the *kubabs*,* which are to be seen in the stalls

* Messes of meat, cut into small pieces, and fried or roasted.

on every side, certainly does not belie the character for savoriness which the Affghans give them. Near them were seen on shambles the carcasses of *doomba* sheep, ready slaughtered, skinned, and cut in pieces.

The fruit season of Candahar had not yet fairly commenced, but red and white mulberries were, on our arrival, plentiful, and another fortnight brought us a profusion of plums and apricots. In the shops of other dealers are to be found horse furniture, looking-glasses, and ornaments of lacquered ware; blue writing paper of Russian manufacture; loaf-sugar, prepared in the same country; and tolerably good, but highly-priced tea, both black and green. The costumes of the people who crowd the various places of resort differ much. Some wear long cloaks or *chogas* of chintz, or of the woollen cloth, or *pushmeena* of the country, with turbans of very ample fold, their whiskers, moostaches, and beards being allowed to grow long and bushy, and the latter being often dyed red with the juice of the *hinna* (*lawsonia inermis*); others are closely shaven, and habited in jackets and trowsers of blue linen, or tunics of drab cloth with long pendent sleeves, their heads being protected by cotton skull-caps of various colours.

The streets are filthy to an excess not to be conceived by one who has not travelled in Asia, and mendicity is to be seen in them in its most loathsome and repulsive forms. Blind, maimed, deformed, ragged, and unspeakably squalid men, women, and children (the last in the greatest numbers), not only stand and sit, but lie grovelling in the dust and mire, and under the very horses' feet, perpetually exclaiming, "*Buraee khooda, buraee khooda!*" "For the sake of God." In the *chuharsoo*, and in other parts of the city, are public *humams*, or warm baths, where visitors, for the small sum of a rupee, are passed through a course of Asiatic ablution, and peeled, kneaded, and dried, after the Affghan fashion, which differs little from that of Hindoostan. The principal streets have been described as consisting of shops. The citadel contains the palace, and its various courts and gardens. In front of it is an open space, on which are parked the abandoned guns of the Sirdars. A battalion of the Shah's infantry are now also quartered on this *Champ-de-Mars* of Candahar, which is connected by a narrow street with the *Durwazu-i-topkhanu*. The mosques are neither numerous nor splendid, and worship appeared to me to be much neglected, though the sonorous voices of the *Moowuzzins* were heard

with great regularity at the stated periods of prayer. There is, to the westward of the Shikarpore gate, a large *suraee* for merchants and travellers, but it was, during our stay, empty, or nearly so.

The rest of the buildings which fill the extensive area of this city are the houses of *Moollas,* doctors of the Mahomedan law, *Akhoonds,* teachers of youth, and *Tubeebs,* physicians. In retired quarters of the town are also the residences of the sirdars, who were accounted influential under the Barukzye *régime.* That of Meer Ufzul Khan was one of the handsomest; the house was not large, but its outer walls were tastefully painted in *fresco,* and it looked down upon a pleasing garden of vines, cypresses, poplars, sycamores, and mulberry trees, in the centre of which was a piece of water. It was surrounded by a battlemented wall, also painted within in *fresco.* To all the better dwellings are attached *tuhkhanus,* or subterranean chambers, to which the inmates retire in the heat of the day, taking good care to avoid them at night, when the damp produces fevers. The retreat of Meer Ufzul, who will be remembered as the chief who so cautiously reconnoitred the Kozuk, suffered much in the late change of

masters. It was despoiled of the wood-work of its doors and lattices in that season of confusion, and would probably have been subjected to further devastation, had not the edifice and its surrounding courts been taken under the protection of Lieutenant Simpson, one of our Commissariat officers, who established in its outhouses the central depôt and magazine of the force.

I saw more of the dwelling of another refugee of the period, Moohummud Sudeeq Khan, son of the elder Barukzye, Kohun Dil. Sir Willoughby Cotton, and his personal staff, occupied it during the greater part of the months of May and June. A description of it may serve to give a general notion of the mansions of the wealthier Affghans. It consisted of two courts. In the outer area the retainers of the lord of the mansion had been quartered in a series of small apartments, connected by narrow staircases and passages. Below, the horses of the establishment had been stabled. A strong gate, and long dark passage, gave access to the inner quadrangle. In the centre of this was an oblong piece of water in a stone reservoir. On either side of this tank, in the wings of the building, were two small sleeping chambers, and

attached to these, to the westward, were a gallery and some apartments, which seemed to have been set aside for the women of the *zunanu.* The central pavilion looked towards the north, and the slanting rays of the rising and setting sun never touched it. It consisted of an ample chamber below the level of the court, which, from its situation, was tolerably cool even at mid-day in the month of July. Two flights of stairs conducted to the principal suite of rooms. The central chamber had an arched roof, and its doors and windows, and numerous *taqs*, or niches, were of a species of Moresco architecture. Above was a flat roof, or *Balakhanu*, which commanded a view of the city. All the walls of the several rooms were plastered with a glittering species of stucco, or *chunam*,* as it is called in Hindoostan. It is said to be composed of pounded and calcined *mica*, and has a smooth, but glittering surface. The Affghan builders divide this inner coating of their walls into compartments, and stamp it, whilst yet wet, with tasteful devices.

The finest monument in the city is the mausoleum of Ahmud Shah Abdallee, the founder

* *Choona* is the word, which is corrupted as above in common use amongst the English.

of that dynasty which we are labouring to restore. It is an octagonal building, raised on a stone platform, and surmounted by a dome, which is a conspicuous object in every direction from the plains beyond the walls. The materials are partly stone, partly sun-dried brick, coated on the outside with stucco. This covering is painted red and blue in the Persian and Affghan manner, with devices of chaplets of flowers in compartments. The pavement within is covered with a carpet, and a shawl is respectfully thrown over the *toorbut*, or sarcophagus of the monarch. The sepulchre itself is composed of a not very fine stone found in the mountains near Candahar, but is inlaid with wreaths of flowers of coloured marble. Twelve lesser tombs, which are those of the children of the Abdallee, are ranged near the receptacle of the ashes of the father. The interior walls are painted in devices similar to those which adorn the exterior, but the execution is more regular, and the colours, having been less exposed, are fresher and more brilliant. The lofty dome above the centre imparts an air of grandeur to the little temple, and its windows of trellis-work in stone admit a solemn and pleasing light. On the eight cornices under the niches of the building is the

following inscription in the Nuskh Taleek character:—

شاه والا جاه احمد شاه دوراني که بود
درخوانین آمور سلطنت کسرا منش
از نهیب قهرمان سطوتش در عهد او
شیر اهو را شیر خویش دادي پرورش
میرسید ازهر طرف درگوش بد خواهان او
از زبان خنجرش هردم هزاران سر زنش
روان شد جانب دارالبقا تاریخ بود
سال هجري یك هزاو یکصد وهشتاد وشش

The following is a nearly literal translation in prose of this poetic memorial:—

"The king of high rank, Ahmed Shah the Dooranee,
Was equal to Kisra* in managing the affairs of his government.
In his time, from the awe of his glory and greatness,
The lioness nourished the stag with her milk.
From all sides in the ear of his enemies there arrived
A thousand reproofs from the tongue of his dagger.
The date of his departure for the house of mortality
Was the year of the Hijra 1186."

The tomb which covers the remains of the sovereign is sculptured over with passages of the Koran, and a copy of the sacred volume is kept in the sanctuary, out of which a succession of moollas belonging to the establishment of the

* Cyrus, Chosroes.

place are wont to read aloud. Sir Willoughby Cotton made me the bearer of a handsome gratuity on the part of government to the *mootuwullee*, or superintendent of the mausoleum, and the Envoy and Minister was in like manner munificent. Ahmed Shah possessed many of the highest qualifications of a prince and a warrior, and it may be regarded as an act of piety to be generous to those who are charged with the care and reparation of his sepulchre, whilst the army of the Indus is contributing to perpetuate his renown by consolidating the empire which he erected, that nobler monument of his energy and genius.

In the meantime, what has become of the late rulers of Candahar? They have been permitted, without interruption, to fly towards the Helmund, accompanied by a cumbrous train of camels loaded with *kujawus*,* containing their women and treasure. Their troops have diminished by degrees, until at length their handful of horse barely suffices to guard their baggage animals. It is scarcely possible to conceive a less enviable position than that of these men. Antecedently to the occupation of Candahar,

* Panniers of wood or wicker work, which are slung over camels. In these, men and women ride, balanced on either side, and goods are conveniently carried.

they might, by timely submission, have received at the hands of the British government a comfortable provision, and an honourable asylum in Hindoostan. They have now no resource but flight into Persia. It is known that Moohummud Shah bribed them, with the promise of uniting to their rule the conquered state of Herat, to join in an alliance for its destruction. It remains to be seen what treatment they will receive at his hands now that they are overwhelmed with calamity, the result of adherence to his pernicious policy. But to reach Persia is for them no easy matter. The direct route through Herat they dare not take. Shah Kamran, against whom they have plotted, and who barbarously murdered their ambitious brother, the Wuzeer Futtih Khan, would shew them little mercy; and if they attempt a *détour* through Seistan, the predatory Beloochees of the desert of that country, who seldom allow a kafila to pass unmolested, will hardly suffer these sirdars to escape them, since they are reported to have yet a lack and a half of rupees on their camels. I must add, that I am wholly at a loss how to vindicate satisfactorily our own measures with respect to these fugitives. They abandoned the capital on the 24th; on the 25th Shah Shooja entered, and claimed it as his

own. Why was not a prompt pursuit commenced in the direction of the Helmund? There seems to be little reason to doubt that this branch of the Barukzyes was utterly contemptible in the eyes of those over whom they ruled, but the possession of their persons would secure the important advantage of preventing their becoming tools in the hands of the Persians and Russians, and the means of disturbing the peace of the restored empire. The most sagacious of the counsellors who have accompanied their flight is said to be one Moollah Rusheed, the owner of two mansions in Candahar, and a master in intrigue, as well as a graduate in Moohummedan theology.

The title of "Nuseer-ood-dowlut," "defender of the state," has been bestowed on Hajee Khan as a reward for his opportune change of sides in the plains to the southward of Candahar. It is said that the valley of Pesheen has also been assigned to him as a *jageer*. It is yet to be seen whether honours and emoluments will bind him to the cause of the king. He is reputed to aim at higher dignities, and to be of opinion that if, in consequence of the rebellion of the Barukzyes, the office of wuzeer should never be restored to that house, in which, according to the pristine usages of the empire, it is held to

be hereditary, it might be very fitly bestowed on himself. Nay, so high is he thought to rate his treason, as to have framed hopes that he might be selected to sit on the *musnud* of Kelat in case the delinquencies of Mihrab Khan should be requited with disgrace and deposition. If duplicity be the main qualification for rule in Beloochistan, and the motto of its diadem be "detur astutiori," it is hardly possible to conceive a more worthy candidate for such advancement than the four-times-sold chief of the Kakurs.

Now that April has worn away, the air is still cool, and even chilly, from an hour after sunset to an hour after sunrise. But the atmosphere has become already powerfully hot towards mid-day, and the change of season is severely felt by our troops under canvass, whose health had been shaken by excessive fatigue and exposure to the sun in the defile of the Kozuk. The thermometer, which sinks at night to 52°, ranges above 100° in the tents in the daytime. The horses of the cavalry and their artillery are still only the phantoms of steeds, though they have improved a little on the lucerne grass. It appears, however, that barley, the only grain in use in Affghan stables, will

not fatten the generality of quadrupeds bred and nurtured in Hindoostan.

The Bombay infantry brigade, afterwards commanded by Brigadier Baumgardt, the cavalry, under Brigadier Scott, and the artillery, under Brigadier Stevenson, the whole being led by Major-General Willshire, reached these plains on the 4th of May. This force is in the most splendid order; the troops are healthy, and the horses in good working condition. General Willshire has been opposed at every step of his progress through the Bolan pass by the myrmidons of Mihrab Khan. The whole of the forces of the army of the Indus, excepting the brigades of observation at Kwettah and Sukkur, the detachments at Dadur and Shikarpore, and the garrison of Bukkur, are now concentrated under the walls of Candahar. Here it appears plain that we must of necessity await the ripening of the harvest. Our magazines must be replenished from the plains around us before we can prosecute our advance towards Cabool. It is supposed by many that considerable stores of corn are secreted in the city, but the Commissariat have yet been able to collect very little. Lieutenant Palmer's convoy reached us on the 3rd of May; but in ad-

dition to his losses from the failure of camels, much grain had been abstracted by the native agents, without whose instrumentality the duties of this branch of the service can hardly be carried on, whilst little dependence is to be placed on their integrity. A seer of *ottah* is often now sold in Candahar for a rupee, a fact which sufficiently proves the necessities of our native troops and followers.

The 8th of May was fixed for the ceremony of the solemn recognition of Shah Shooja in the plains to the northward of the city, not far distant from the fatal field on which he lost all present hope of empire in 1834. But this spectacle I was not permitted to witness. As the Commander-in-Chief was required on this occasion to be in close attendance on the monarch, the command of the troops would have devolved on Sir Willoughby Cotton. But low fever had been creeping round the frame of the General since the day of our encampment on the Dooree. He had at first disregarded its symptoms, but on the 5th of May, became so ill as to render medical advice indispensable. On the 6th, with the view of avoiding the excessive heat of the camp, he removed to the vacant mansion of Moohummud Sudeeq Khan, in a street in the western quarter of Candahar.

He did not begin to recover until some days after, and on the 8th could not have sat upon his horse. General Willshire therefore commanded the troops, and I give from the report of actual spectators all that I have to record of the ceremonial. The monarch, attended by the Commander-in-Chief, the Envoy and Minister, and the *corps diplomatique*, accompanied by Syuds and Moollahs, and escorted by his own troops, issued from the Eedgah gate. A throne and splendid canopy had been prepared for him in the centre of the plain. Seated on this, in front of the deployed forces of the British army, Shah Shooja was honoured with every mark of gratulation and homage which the customs of Europe and Asia recognise and enjoin. Royal salutes were fired as he passed beyond and returned within the walls of the capital; the troops received him with presented arms, and defiled past him; *nuzzurs* were presented by the Envoy on the part of the British government, and by a certain number of distinguished Affghans in his suite, and one hundred discharges of ordnance shook the ground when he had taken his seat in the *musnud*. But unless I have been deceived, all the national enthusiasm of the scene was entirely confined to his Majesty's immediate retainers. The people of Candahar

are said to have viewed the whole affair with the most mortifying indifference. Few of them quitted the city to be present in the plains, and it was remarked with justice that the passage in the diplomatic *programme* which prescribed a place behind the throne for "the populace restrained by the Shah's troops" became rather a bitter satire on the display of the morning.

No charge of precipitation can be brought against our measures in pursuit of the ex-sirdars. On the 25th of April, Shah Shooja took possession of his capital; and now at length, on the 12th of May, a force consisting of three thousand of the Shah's horse, and a squadron picked from the Bengal 2nd and 3rd Light Cavalry, one hundred men of the 13th Light Infantry, the 16th Native Infantry, reinforced by disciplined foot of the Shah Shooja's army, to the strength of one thousand native soldiers, the camel battery, two eighteen pounders, and two five-and-a-half inch mortars, manned by European artillery men, has marched under Brigadier Sale for the Helmund. It seems not to be doubtful that the Barukzyes will fly before him, and that he will meet with no difficulty but the passage of a broad and rapid stream. It is stated that these fugitives remained, after the abandonment of the capital, eight days on the left bank

of the Helmund without the means of crossing it, in trembling expectation of pursuit, and no doubt as much surprised at, as delighted with, the forbearance, or unaccountable apathy, of their opponents. They have since so far taken heart as to send their families into the fort of Girishk, and to strive artificially to deepen the water of the Helmund at a point near it. Brigadier Sale, in his first march from Candahar, was impeded by several smaller streams besides the Urghundab, which, after flowing to the northward of the western capital, fertilizing the valleys near it, and supplying it with water, crosses the route to Herat a few miles from our encampments.

Shah Shooja, as if feeling that he now grasped firmly the sceptre of one portion of Affghanistan, appointed the 27th May for the public reception of the officers of the British army at his court. The slightest acquaintance with Asiatic rulers and their durbars suffices to convince that it is vain ever to expect punctuality in the atmosphere of oriental rule. The British officers were not therefore on this occasion much surprised at having to wait a full hour in one of the courts of the palace which constituted the residency of the Envoy. They felt that it was better that their time should be sacrificed than the dignity

of a newly restored monarch compromised by departure from an usage which European precision might deem reprehensible, and even a mark of bad taste, but which Asiatic stateliness regards as inseparable from true dignity. At length, a summons reached them to repair to the apartments of the King.

The Commander-in-Chief and the Envoy led the way, followed by about two hundred and fifty officers of all ranks and arms in full dress, to a garden in front of the royal dwelling. It was planted with cypresses and other trees, the inclosure walls, like those at the domicile of Meer Ufzul Khan, being painted in *fresco*. The monarch was seated in the Asiatic manner with crossed legs, upon a low *musnud*, or carpeted throne, erected under a crimson canopy on the edge of a piece of water, clear, and cooling to the air around. Before him was a table covered with brocade. He was fanned with the *chuonree* of the tail of the Tibet cow, and on either side of him, over and above a double row of menials in scarlet turbans, and *ulkhaliks*, were seen the commandant and his staff, and the other officers of his disciplined troops. The Shah, richly habited, looked kingly and well. His manner was, as it always had been towards the British, benign and affable; and he found something

courteous and apposite to say to each as the Commander-in-Chief and the Generals and Brigadiers were successively presented to him. He spoke in Persian, which Mr. Macnaghten and Major Todd interpreted. The ceremony of offering *nuzzurs* followed. His Excellency first laid at the feet of the Shah one hundred *ushrufees* in a red silk bag. Then each officer in succession made his offering by spreading or depositing the glittering ore on the steps of the *musnud.* Every general thus presented twenty-one gold mohurs, every field-officer five, and every captain and subaltern one. These sums had been previously disbursed out of the treasury of the Envoy. According to the custom of Oriental durbars, the British were covered in the royal presence, but each respectfully saluted the Shah as he passed the throne, and having presented his *nuzzur*, retired to the lower end of the garden. The monarch is not yet ashamed of a public profession of his gratitude to the army which has brought him to Candahar. Looking with an air of benignity on this occasion at the circle of officers around him, he said with apparent emotion, "I now feel myself to be a king indeed."

We have had a dreadful exemplification of the lawless state of the country, and the san-

guinary character of the people, in the barbarous murder of one of our officers in the immediate vicinity of our camps. The Urghundab flows a few miles to the northward of Candahar. Its stream is clear and rapid, and branches of irrigation from it carry fertility all over the surrounding country. In describing the environs of the city, mention has more than once been made of a remarkable mount, which seems to incline over its base; this eminence forms one side of a mountain pass. By skirting it, access is gained into a valley near the hamlet of Bala Wulee, picturesque, and planted with fine trees, and watered by the Urghundab. Attracted by the beauty of the spot, many of our officers have formed parties of pleasure to visit it during our prolonged stay at Candahar, and after amusing themselves with angling in the stream, have been accustomed to pitch their tents on its margin for their evening repast.

A fish closely resembling the trout is caught here, and in other parts of the empire.* It was remarked by our sportsmen, that the finny species of the Urghundab would rise to a bait, but never to an artificial fly. On the 28th of May one or two little groups, social and pisca-

* The real English trout (salmo trutta) has since been found in the streams near Bamian.

tory, had been formed in the valley. All the parties but one, however, broke up in good time, and the individuals composing them returned in safety to Candahar. Two young gentlemen only, Lieutenants Inverarity and Wilmer, of the 16th Lancers, lingered on the river bank till after sunset. The hazard of this was the greater, as armed men, whose appearance stamped them as belonging to some of the predatory gangs of this ill-governed country, had been seen in the morning lurking near the gorge of the neighbouring pass. With fatal imprudence these officers sent off to the camp their tents and servants, and prepared to return towards the capital wholly unarmed. As if to render escape impossible, they even parted with their horses, which their *syces* led in advance. The moon shone brightly, and, unconscious of the impending danger, the young men strolled leisurely up the *durru*. Lieutenant Wilmer remained considerably behind his companion. It would appear that the latter had not proceeded far alone, when he was assailed by armed men, who cut down, and savagely mutilated him. Lieutenant Wilmer, on reaching the scene of this atrocity, was himself attacked by from twelve to fifteen assassins. He parried their cuts for some time with his walking stick, and then taking to flight,

reached, with a single scratch in the face, the camp of a detachment of the Shah's infantry, not many hundred yards distant from the defile. The *syces* also saved themselves by a rapid retreat, abandoning both horses to the robbers.

Instant aid was afforded to Lieutenant Wilmer, when he arrived breathless at the tents of the contingent. An armed party returned with him to the fatal spot, and there his unfortunate companion was found, yet alive. He had received several mangling wounds across the shoulders, back, and loins, the direction of which fully proved that the assailants had rushed upon him from behind. One of his hands was nearly cut through, doubtless in the efforts which he had made to defend his head. The sufferer recognised his friend, faintly asked for water, cooled his parched lips, and soon after expired. Shah Shooja, when this outrage was reported to him, blamed indeed the imprudence of these young officers in remaining to so late an hour in so retired a spot, but expressed the utmost abhorrence of the crime which had been perpetrated, and declared his resolution to inflict condign punishment on the murderers, if they could be detected. He repeated often, with apparent emotion, during his conversation on the subject, "Oh! gentlemen, you must be

more cautious here; remember you are not now in Hindoostan."

Brigadier Sale's force returned from the Helmund on the 28th May. The ex-sirdars abandoned Girishk on his approach, and fled into Seistan, where they are believed to have obtained refuge for the moment in the territories of the petty chief of Bukwa. The Brigadier had ferried across his force, and guns, on rafts of timber buoyed up on empty rum casks, having previously fixed a rope to the right bank by attaching it to a shell, which was then projected from the mouth of a howitzer. Girishk is a miserable mud fort, on the ramparts of which one gun only was mounted. It is now garrisoned by the troops of the Shah. Lieutenant Edward Connolly, Assistant to the Envoy, has also taken up his residence there, with the intention, since fulfilled, not only of watching the movements of the Barukzyes, but of exploring Seistan. The Helmund is a grand barrier; but the country between it and Candahar, the first march down to the Urghundab excepted, is little better than a desert. The frontier river is in some places eight hundred yards in width, but in one point narrows to ninety yards, and is there of unfathomable depth, and tremendously rapid. Here the opposite bank

could of course be swept with artillery, and a passage forced. It is remarkable that on the Helmund the thermometer did not rise higher under canvass than 75°.

As the harvest ripened around Candahar, in the beginning of June, large quantities of grain were collected by the Commissariat, and every preparation made for an advance towards Cabool. The carriage cattle had been recruited in strength by repose, and had fattened on the *juwasa*, or camel thorn, which was found in abundance near Dih-i-nou, and other places, to which they had been sent in a body to graze, under escorts of irregular horse. An *elchee* (ambassador) arrived from Herat, whilst the affairs of that state were under discussion at the court of the Shah. Finally, Major Todd was directed to repair to the rescued city, accompanied by Captain Sanders of the engineers, and Lieutenant Abbott of the artillery. They were charged to negotiate a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Shah Kamran, and to proffer assistance in repairing and improving the fortications of Herat, so as to render them secure against any new attempt of the Persians.

His Majesty the Shah has experienced much mortification in all his attempts to bind to his allegiance the warlike and predatory tribes of

the Ghiljees. Their forts and cattle are thickly spread along both banks of the Turnuk, and up to the walls of Ghuznee, whilst detached *kheils* are found beyond Cabool, and even at the base of the Teera mountains. The seat of the rule of Abdooruhman, their principal leader, is Kelati Ghiljee. The refractory chiefs of this wild people, one of the most influential of whom is Gool Moohummud, more commonly known by the title of Gooroo, have received the gratuities scattered amongst them by the Shah's agents, and then sent back indignant and contumacious replies to his overtures, whilst their armed parties have been employed in the most audacious *chupaos* against our carriage cattle, even to the very walls of Candahar. In one of these, a very salutary lesson was read to the marauders by a party of sipahees of the 16th Native Infantry; and, in another, the Ghiljees surprised, shot, and cut down several unarmed soldiers of Her Majesty's 13th, who, at an unjustifiable distance from their protecting guard, were driving their camels to water. Their barbarity was likewise evidenced by their having decoyed into one of their forts, plundered, and savagely murdered, a portion of a party of about three hundred profligate, dishonest, and home-sick followers of our army, who had deserted their

masters, and, having formed themselves into a Kafila, were striving to escape into our provinces by way of Ghuznee and Dera Ismael Khan.

By the middle of June, corn had become comparatively abundant in the city and our camps; but our Commissariat could not yet venture to place the troops on their original footing as to rations. They persevered, however, in collecting grain with great diligence and success, and caused it to be ground at the numerous mills which are turned by the Urghundab. The Bombay troops continued healthy, but sickness amongst the European soldiers from Bengal had increased to a fearful degree. Exposure to heat under canvass in May and June, supervening on a variety of harassing duties, and the fatigue of continued marches, had made a great impression on the constitutions of the men. The flour in the bazars had also been shamefully adulterated by the banians* during the times of extreme scarcity; and the water of nearly all the streams in Affghanistan has a saline impregnation peculiarly hostile to human health. Diarrhœa, dysentery, jaundice, and fever of various types, the last commonly attended with much cerebral

* Native dealers.

determination, were daily consigning valuable soldiers to the grave. Notwithstanding these losses and adverse circumstances, all was preparation, during the three last weeks of June, for an advance towards the eastern capital. Treasure to the amount of twenty-two lacs had reached Candahar on the 5th. Its escort, under Colonel Dennie, had made a harassing march at a late season through Cutch Gundava, the Bolan pass, and over the Kozuk. A large supply of grain was likewise obtained from Mooltan by means of a numerous convoy of Lohanee merchants, who became the hired carriers of the government, and arrived at Candahar late in June under their Kafila Bashee, Surwur Khan.

A good deal of useful information was at this time obtained from a French adventurer of low extraction, who, if his autobiography might be believed, had crossed the Balkan in the service of the Turks. He was known to have been more recently employed in the Punjab by the Maha Rajah. He alleged that he had quitted Lahore in disgust, and was now endeavouring, evidently in a state of abject poverty, to make his way back to France by Bombay. As he had now, and on former occasions, travelled with smuggling caravans, whose object was to avoid the imposts of the Affghan and Belooche rulers,

he had become acquainted with several bye routes through the Teera mountains, and the country of the Ghiljees between Cabool and Candahar, as well as the road from the latter city to Kelat, and a precipitous defile, by which he affirmed that the Affghan *contrebandiers* travelled from the capital of Mihrab Khan to the town of Gundava.

Grapes, melons, and apples, and several varieties of the cucurbitous tribe have now taken the place, in the bazars of the city, of apricots and plums. But the people confess that the fruits of Candahar are far inferior to those of Cabool, and the heat of the weather renders even the moderate use of them at this season hazardous. The mornings are yet cool, but the mid-day sun is fearfully powerful, and in the evening a species of hot wind begins to blow, which is singularly oppressive. Towards mid-night it commonly lulls, when there is another sudden and chilling change of temperature, against which it is prudent to take precautions before retiring to rest. It is said that the fatal *simoom* often visits Candahar in June and July; but it was never felt whilst the army of the Indus reposed beneath its walls.

The present capital is considered to be little more than coeval with the Suddozye dynasty.

One of the few objects of interest in its vicinity are the walls of the ancient city of Candahar. They are to be found about three miles due west of our encampments, at the very foot of a range of mountains of primitive formation, which bound the plains in this direction. The road, perpetually crossed by water-courses, lies over fields of lucerne and clover, planted with rows, and groves of white and red mulberry. The vast and ruinous foundations of the former dwellings extend over an area of near a mile, and are surrounded by a mouldering wall, in which wide and deep breaches have been made by time. There is also a ditch of stagnant water. A portion of these remains are believed by some to belong to the Alexandrian period. The city had been built so close to the mountain as to be completely under command from it. In the centre of the old city is a kind of Acropolis, on which are the thin and spectral ruins of some lofty towers; and near the site of the deserted town, a pathway of more modern date has been elaborated up the side of the adjacent range of mountain. There were no inhabitants visible when I visited it, except about twenty Affghans, who were huddled in a circle around two Moollas, that were taking the lead in the devotions of the party in front of a small mosque.

On the 23rd of June, Shah Shooja, by way of preparation to accompany our further advance, quitted his palace, and took up his residence in the royal tents, which were pitched near the village of Dih Khoju, two miles to the eastward of the city. The wild *feu-de-joie* of his Affghan cavalry, as they escorted him through the Cabool gate, would have induced a stranger to their manners to suppose that there was insurrection within the walls, and that a sharp skirmish was going on in its streets. The undisciplined horse, which have gradually been drawn around the monarch, and taken into pay, already amount to several thousands. Our narrative has now reached the point of general preparation for an advance to Cabool.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is to be feared that a want of skill and perseverance in improving their advantages in war and policy is but too justly imputed to the British as a defect in their national character. The advanced columns of the army of the Indus reached the plains beyond the Gautee range under circumstances of distress almost amounting to disaster. Its cavalry and artillery horses were reduced so low in point of condition by various and protracted privations, that the arm

was scarcely effective, and the Commissariat had too good cause to think seriously of the probability of being compelled to have recourse to a yet smaller fractional division of rations. The troops needed repose, food, and some tangible acquisition at least, if they might not be indulged with a victory, to support their spirits, and prove to them that they were not toiling in vain. Doubtless they were fully equal to the task of reducing Candahar, and ardently desired to try their strength against it. But in a political point of view, the abandonment of the capital without a blow by the imbecile and irresolute Barukzyes was a saving of treasure, time, suffering, and blood; in this respect, therefore, substantive gain. Why then was not this advantage followed up? Why were not the fugitive chieftains promptly pursued, and every effort used to secure their persons? Was British India already placed so far beyond the risks of external peril that we could afford to furnish Russia with fresh tools for intrigue, or Shah Shooja's empire so firmly consolidated that we could leave at large, without solicitude, a vanquished pretender to a third of his dominions?

CHAPTER II.

The army breaks up from Candahar—Its health and means of subsistence—Head quarters fixed at Ghojun—Symptoms of affection for Shah Shooja—Defection of the nephew of Dost Mahomet Khan—Reconnoissance of Ghuznee—Storm and capture of Ghuznee—Moohummud Hyder Khan made prisoner—Magnanimity of the Shah—Booty and loss on both sides—Flight of Dost Moohummud Khan—Capture of his artillery—Shah Shooja enters Cabool—Observations.

THE army finally broke up from Candahar on the 27th June, the day on which our ally the Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh breathed his last. It moved on successive days in three columns. Head quarters were accompanied by the horse artillery of both Presidencies, by both brigades of cavalry, the 1st brigade of Bengal infantry, the camel battery, and the 4th local horse. The second column consisted of the 4th brigade of Bengal infantry, and the troops of Shah Shooja, at the head of which the monarch moved in person. Garrisons from his

contingent had been left at Girishk and Candahar. The guns and mortars of the Bengal siege train had likewise been deposited within the walls of the western capital, but the remaining *materiel* of the parc was escorted by the 4th brigade. The third column was composed of Brigadier Baumgardt's brigade of infantry, the battery of Bombay twenty-four pounder howitzers, and the Poonah auxiliary horse. It was commanded by Major-General Willshire. This was the usual order of advance from Candahar to Cabool.

We had anxiously awaited for three weeks the convoy of Lohanee merchants. Now that they had arrived with their grain, no possible persuasion could induce them to proceed with us beyond Candahar. They consented to sell their camels to the Commissariat at a very exorbitant rate; but constantly urged that being natives of the vicinity of Ghuznee, and subjects of the Ameer of Cabool, they dared not follow the army whilst their families were exposed to his vengeance. This alarm, which was probably well founded, sadly deranged our plans, as we had confidently reckoned on the supplies brought from Mooltan by these men as a valuable addition to the resources of our field commissariat. Notwithstanding, on the 27th of

June, our first column marched to Ubdoollah Uzeez. It reached Killa Azim on the 28th, having moved at two A.M. to gain the advantage of about two hours of moonlight. The valley of the Turnuk thus far presented an aspect of the most dismal sterility. The outline of the mountains which shut it in to the northward and southward is not devoid of beauty; but they are everywhere bare rocks; without clothing of tree, shrub, or herb of any kind, nor is there any object in the vale on which the eye can rest with pleasure, excepting occasional patches of cultivation and groves of mulberry trees around the villages. The hamlets themselves are only remarkable for the circular roofs of their huts. We fully proved to-day the advantages of early marching. Having moved at two, we were at our ground of encampment by six. Our baggage animals followed closely on our footsteps, and the troops even of the 1st brigade, which was encumbered with the charge of treasure, scarcely saw the sun before their tents were pitched for them, a timely provision for their safety, for though the morning had been chilly, at nine A.M. a gale of hot wind sprung up, and continued to blow throughout the day with unmitigated fury. Notwithstanding the barrenness of the region around us, sup-

plies are not as deficient as heretofore. Barley has fallen to a moderate price, the peasants bring us in from distant villages abundance of chopped straw for our camels, and these useful animals also find for themselves a sufficiency of the *juwasa* when they are permitted to graze at large.

The first trumpet sounded at midnight, and the troops again marched by the light of the moon, at one. The air was now again so chilly that few could endure the blast without the aid of their cloaks. By daylight the column found itself in the midst of a mountainous tract, producing literally nothing but varieties of the highly scented herbs which this army always remembers to have first seen on the Dusht-i-bee-doulut. The road was distinctly marked, which is not often the case in Affghanistan; but the constant undulations of the country delayed the advance of the artillery. A little after six A.M., we saw on our right the Turnuk, a shallow stream flowing between verdant banks fringed with shrubs of tamarisk. Near to the river were patches of wheat, some ready for the sickle, some recently reaped. The peasantry gathered themselves in groups to gaze at the troops as they passed. When we greeted and questioned them, they described themselves to

be Populzyes, and, if their own report might be received regarding their political creed, were stanch adherents of Shah Shooja. They seemed, at all events, to be peaceable and inoffensive, which is the character generally of the agricultural tribes in Affghanistan, whilst the pastoral Kheils, commonly mountaineers, are men of violent and lawless habits. The Populzyes mentioned Dost Moohummud in terms of bitter hatred. "Down to the earth with him," said their spokesman, suiting the action to the word, and vehemently striking the ground.

The village of the Kheil is remarkable for its picturesque situation on a sudden rise, for the well-built dome of a large tomb in the centre of it, and the roofs of its huts being flat, and not arched like those of the hamlets between it and Candahar. It was half-past seven before our infantry reached their ground, and the atmosphere soon after became insufferably heated, the wind, which fell little short of a simoom, again blowing with the same violence as yesterday. Shah Shooja, before leaving the western capital, had nominated his favourite son, Futih Jung, to fulfil nominally the duties of his *naib* or viceroy. In making this selection, he had passed over an elder brother, Moohummud Ukhbar, whose mo-

ther is a sister to the Ameer of Cabool. This son and the Shahzada Shapoor accompany our line of march; a fourth, the Shahzada Sufter Jung, has remained at Candahar. Major Leech exercises political functions there, and Colonel Herring, of the 37th native infantry, is at present the military commander.

From the 30th June to the 4th July, we pursued our route up to the right bank of the Turnuk, leaving our camps, morning after morning, by moonlight, and toiling on over a mountainous tract, our road being sadly cut up by the streams, which rushed across it from the hills on our left. At Shuhur-i-Soofa we found not even a hamlet or solitary hut. Nothing marked the spot but the remarkable hill of conical shape mentioned by the traveller Forster. At Teerundaz, we saw the little stone column erected to commemorate the successful archery of Ahmud Shah Abdallee. If the Dooranee conquerer did really, as is asserted, shoot an arrow from the hills above to the site of the pillar, he might justly have added Teerundaz, or the Archer, to his own titles, as well as giving the name to the scene of his exploit.

On the 4th of July we reached Kelat-i-Ghilgee, the principal hold of the tribes, whose forts and towers are scattered over the hills and val-

leys around it. In this fortress, of which we had heard so much, we were more disappointed than in any place to which we have hitherto bent our steps in Affghanistan. It is at this day nothing more than a tabular mound, such as abound in this district, on which the artificial *frustum* of a cone has been thrown up by way of citadel. Of the walls of the fort there is scarcely a vestige, and it seems probable that the place never was of more importance than the central receptacle of the plunder of a tribe of marauders. A spring of clear water, which bears the name of Nadir Shah's well, gushes out from the top of the natural eminence, and the stream from this source flows down the sides of the hill. They are clothed with luxuriant clover and camel thorn; but these and two or three mulberry trees are the only productions of the mount. About a mile from it, on the plain below, are an extensive orchard and a small town, near which are two square forts with towers at each angle. Even within reach of these more substantial dwellings, a portion of the population was seen dwelling like true *nomades* in tents of black felt.

If our spies were to be believed, the Ghiljees had boasted loudly before we came up, of their determination to defend their ancestral hills,

vales, and fortresses; but they did nothing to redeem their pledge. Two hundred horsemen of the tribe remained on a hill until the advanced guard of the Bombay cavalry approached within very long musket range, and then galloped off precipitately amongst the mountains, some northward and some southward, without firing a shot. Other smaller parties scampered off in equal haste from several points in the valleys at the same moment. The Commander-in-Chief's tent was pitched upon the height which the Ghiljees had a few minutes before abandoned.

The head quarters halted at the Kelat* on the 5th, where the Shah united his camp to ours. His Majesty has invested a Ghiljee named Samud Khan with the title of chief of the tribe in the room of their contumacious patriarch Abdoolruhman, whom he has formally deposed. A sentence of outlawry has also been pro-

* Kelat, Kulat, or Qulat, قلعت signifies simply fort. The plural قلع Qilu, or Killa, is more commonly in use, especially in the Hindoostanee, in the sense of a noun singular. The various towns popularly designated as Kelat have all, correctly speaking, a distinctive affix, as Kelat-i-Nuseer, the capital of Beloochistan, and of its celebrated ruler Nusseer Khan; Kelat-i-Nadir, the stronghold of that conqueror in Persia; and here, Kelat-i-Ghiljee, or the main fortress of the Ghiljees.

nounced against Gool Moohummud. Both these leaders are at the head of bodies of horse in the recesses of the mountains on our flanks, and will probably use their best efforts to harass us during our advance. A little beyond Asiya Huzaru (Huzaru's mill) we had crossed the boundary of the territory lately ruled by the Barukzye sirdars of Candahar into the provinces, in which, under all the revolutions of the empire, the Ghiljees have affected independence.

Our march through the midst of the fortresses of this tribe was for some days devoid of incident. Moving at a short distance from the Turnuk, we were secure of a sufficient supply of water. We did not hasten our advance, but carefully reserving the strength of our men and condition of our horses for any great effort which might be required of us, steadily advanced towards Ghuznee. We calculate that by getting over only ten miles daily we shall reach it about the 20th. On the 8th we found ourselves near mountains of a loftier and more picturesque outline than any we had been of late familiar with, and in one spot, the windings of the Turnuk at their feet partook of beauty and grandeur. Still the scene is ever remarkable for barrenness. The hills are without bush

or verdure of any kind, and little strips and patches of ripe grain, and a very few clumps of mulberry and apricot trees alone decorate the plains, which are blackened with the crackling plants of the acrid southernwood. The only music of the region is the shrill chirping of a large painted insect, apparently of the scaribœan tribe. Swarms of them congregate amidst the rushes of the dry *nullas*, and buz around the trees of the few groves. Now and then a bustard (*otis Bengalensis*) is seen upon the wing, and the waters of the Turnuk are alive with shoals of fish. Amongst them is found the same species which was caught in the Urghundab, and thought so closely to resemble the trout. We were reminded of the herring by the flavour of another kind, the only fresh water fish in which we remembered to have traced any affinity to that inhabitant of the ocean.

We have now no longer moonlight to guide us on our way; we therefore remain in our camps until near daylight. Our former plan of marching brought us earlier to our halting ground, but the present secures a longer period of unbroken repose to our harassed soldiers, followers, and baggage animals, and we are enabled by daylight to proceed with more confidence along the margin of the river, sometimes pre-

cipitous, and to cross with less risk the beds of the transverse streams. Grain has been brought into camp in such considerable quantities by the villagers in the plains as to cause something like abundance to prevail in our bazars. Wheat may be purchased at ten and twelve seers the rupee. Barley is dearer; but it has here been allowed to ripen fully. The cultivators around Candahar had reaped it in sickly immaturity, owing to their anxiety to clutch a portion of the wealth of the invaders. It was in this state found very unwholesome.

The mornings now are delightfully cool, the nights never oppressive, and the heat of the day quite endurable under canvass. This happy change is to be attributed to our having imperceptibly climbed to an altitude hardly short of six thousand feet above the level of the ocean. Still the sick increase in number; and the deficiency of vegetable jellies, and good farinaceous food, the indifferent quality of the flour, and want of tea, wine, and various stimulants and comforts, retard recovery in the hospitals. But these are paltry evils compared with those which part of our army is said to be encountering at Dadur and Shikarpore, and the plains around them. The fatal *simoom* is reported to have swept away whole detachments, stretching

in a moment the blackened corpses of officers and men on the shrivelled plains.

The leading column was on the 10th at Shufta, and on the 12th at Chushmi Shadee, or the "fountain of delight," so designated from a beautifully pellucid spring head on the left of the main road to Cabool. Our ascending course still lies between two ranges of mountains running nearly north-east, and south-west. At Tazee we had encamped at a greater distance than usual from the Turnuk, and now almost dread to think of parting with our familiar companion of so many marches. For this, however, we must be prepared at Mookloor, where we shall find the parent fountains of the stream. The Ghiljee chief Abdoolruhman was on the morning of the 12th in a village close to our left, and made an attempt to open a negotiation with the military commander; but as the Shah had come to a definite resolution regarding him, the parley was cut short, and he was warned that he must expect to be treated as an enemy if met in the field. The Ghiljee did not wait for a second intimation, but disappeared amongst the fastnesses of the mountain. The country hereabouts is profusely spotted with the forts and castles of the tribe; and as each of these is commonly enlivened with a few peach, apricot,

or mulberry trees growing in its vicinage, this portion of the valley wears a gayer aspect than the banks of the lower Turnuk. Whilst one Ghiljee leader thus watches us on the left, the light forayers of Gool Mahomed observe us on the right, always, however, at so cautious a distance as to avoid any collision with our cavalry patroles.

Head quarters were fixed at Ghojun on the 13th, and the armed parties of the enemy skirmished during the morning with our irregular horse. They attempted also, on ground where the deep bed of a dry *nulla* favoured them, to carry into effect one of their favourite little projects, called a *chupao*, on our stragglers, sick, and followers. In both instances they were foiled and repulsed. Our camp was pitched at length, on the morning of the 14th June, on the most inviting spot which we have occupied since we quitted Roree on the now distant Indus. The springs of the Turnuk gush out of the earth in four or more little fountains, close to a grove of poplar trees of gigantic girth, at the foot of a majestic range of wild crags of primitive formation, and on the edge of an extensive plain of elastic greensward. Our left rests on the rocky and romantic barrier which looks down upon the river head; whilst our

right is stretched out up to the walls of a cluster of the fortified, but abandoned, habitations of the Ghiljees, which a small body of infantry could hold long against the united forces of our cautious partizan foes, Abdoolruhman and Gooroo. The plain of Mookoor, or Mookloor, as it is variously called, is celebrated in the history of the intestine feuds of the Affghans.

The European portion of our force has now for five days marched without the aid of their spirit ration, the commissariat stores of rum having at length been completely exhausted. The sudden withdrawal of this species of stimulant is certainly a trial to the human constitution at a period when unwonted labour and exertion, the want of a good vegetable diet, and wholesome farinaceous food, and of pure water, form a combination of circumstances peculiarly unfavourable to a healthy state of the digestive organs. But I am full persuaded that when the soldier has by a few weeks' use become habituated to the change, his physical powers will gain strength, whilst his discipline improves, under this system of constrained abstinence, and the troops will enjoy an immunity from disease which will delight those who are interested in their welfare. It is probable that we shall not find the means of replenishing our

stock of ardent spirits until this important experiment has been fairly tried.

The Goorkha battalion of the Shah, commanded by Lieutenant Handscombe, skirmished on the 15th, with signal success, with a large body of Ghiljee marauders, who had the audacity to attack their line of march. The hardy little mountaineers of the Himalaya rushed with characteristic boldness and activity up the rocks, amongst which the assailants took refuge after their repulse, and completed their defeat with considerable loss.

The commander-in-chief, after a day's repose at Mookoor, advanced on the 16th to a line of Kahreezes in the district of Oba; on the 17th to ground near Karabagh; on the 18th to Mooshakee; on the 19th to a spot nine miles beyond it; and fixed his head quarters on the 20th at Nanee, eleven miles and a half from the fortress of Ghuznee. Between Mookoor and the Kahreezes of Oba, the peasantry for the first time exhibited something like hearty enthusiasm in favour of the restored monarch. The Populzyes of Kheil-i-Akhoond seemed rather to be animated with a dislike to the Barukzyes than very zealous in the cause of the older dynasty. But the simple-minded men whose villages we approached this morn-

ing ranged themselves in rows on the edge of their newly reaped fields, and inquired with every mark of sincerity and affection, though in barbarous Pushtoo, when "Shoojawool Baba," as they called their king, would arrive. They wete Huzaras, and said to be the only people of the tribe to be found in the plains. The rest of their Kheils inhabit the hills, and are there mischievous and predatory; these few agricultural peasants of the same clan are considered to be simple-minded and pacific. During the five days' advance from Mookoor to Nanee, repeated attempts at *chupaos* have been frustrated by the vigilance and activity of our cavalry and irregular horse. Grain has now become so plentiful that, from the 17th of July, the commissariat has been enabled to issue, as before the arrival of the force at Kwettah, full rations to the native troops, and half to the followers. Barley at present sells at from fourteen to sixteen seers the rupee.

As the columns moved down to their ground at Nanee, an Affghan cavalier of rather pleasing features and deportment, and well dressed and mounted, rode towards us, followed by fifteen Dooranee horsemen. He was evidently in an excited state of mind, and inquired earnestly for the Envoy and the Shah. This was Abdool

Rusheed, nephew of Dost Moohummud Khan, a youth whom the Ameer, in his high and palmy state, had always treated with mortifying and undeserved severity. In the day of trial, he had been sent to Ghuznee with his brother to aid in its defence. He had found a large garrison collected within its walls under the command of Moohummud Hyder Khan, one of the numerous sons of the Ameer, who had formerly fought bravely against the Seikhs at the battle of Jumrood. Both nephews seem soon to have exhibited symptoms of an inclination to espouse the cause of Shah Shooja. The suspicions of Moohummud Hyder were awakened. He sent first for his younger cousin, and receiving only doubtful and hesitating replies to his categorical demands touching his fidelity, ordered him to be forthwith put to death. Abdool Rusheed only saved himself from a similar fate by prompt and secret flight at the head of a few retainers, who diminished more than one-half in number before he reached the British camp. Sir Alexander Burnes considers Abdool Rusheed a very striking likeness of his uncle the Ameer of Cabool. He has given us some information respecting the fortress of Ghuznee, which will be serviceable in case of a siege or assault, and he is altogether an amiable and intelligent

person. As the Shah entered his tent this morning, the camel battery was directed to fire a royal salute. This might distinctly he heard by his subjects at Ghuznee, the hills adjacent to which are clearly to be seen through the telescope from our present position.

Unpleasant doubts have for some time been entertained as to the views and movements of Hajee Khan, the Kakur chief. Under various and frivolous pretexts, he remained at Candahar, after the march of the Shah, and in like manner, when put in motion against his will, delayed his advance to join his Majesty with the Affghans placed under his command. It was at length fully believed that he had once more changed sides, and would be found in the ranks of our enemies in front, flank, or rear, perhaps at the moment when his appearance might be least welcome. Finally, however, a stern and imperative mandate caused him to quicken his pace, and he is once more near the British camp. It is nevertheless shrewdly suspected that he is only waiting to see the issue of the struggle which may now be anticipated under the walls of Ghuznee.

Hajee Dost Moohummud Khan, the sirdar of Gurmseer, who personally gave in his adhesion at Candahar, is accused of more palpable

delinquencies. It is alleged that he has been inducing a number of Affghans to devote themselves upon the Koran to the destruction of Shah Shooja, or, according to the letter of Moossulman notions on such a subject, to become *Ghazees*, or the champions of the faith against a monarch banded with unbelievers. Near Nanee a respectable body of Tajik peasantry crowded around some officers of our divisional staff, and asked them, with apparent simplicity, and in very good Persian, whether all was true which they had heard of the equitable rule of Shah Shooja since he had returned with the Feringees, whose justice and forbearance, they added, was praised throughout the world. They told us that the affections of the former friends of the Ameer of Cabool had been entirely alienated by his violence and oppression, and that he would be deserted by everybody in his hour of need.

The earliest information of the morning at Nanee was to the effect that Moohummud Hyder Khan had abandoned Ghuznee, or certainly would retire from it without a contest. But towards evening the reports of our spies were of a more warlike character; and whilst the reconnoissances of the Quarter-Master-General's department proved that Ghuznee was

still occupied in force, secret intelligence was submitted to the Commander-in-Chief of the intention of the Affghan army to attack us by moonlight in our camp. This was an event which we ardently desired. Our position on hills sloping off to the northward, and supported on yet loftier heights, was sufficiently strong, and, by arduous forced marches, the 4th brigade and the whole of General Willshire's column were enabled to join us during the night. All the gorges of the mountain passes by which our enemy could debouche upon any portion of our line were forthwith guarded by picquets and outposts of cavalry. The whole force in line, piling their arms in front of their tents, lay down to rest on the greensward, fully accoutred, and ready to start upon their feet and open a fire on the approach of an enemy. But day broke without an Affghan having been seen in any direction. The army struck its camp, and, formed into five columns of attack, commenced its advance across the stony but open plains towards Ghuznee.

As the force moved off, fresh deserters from the enemy coming in maintained most positively that the fortress had been abandoned. The information of the Envoy and his political assistants was to the same purpose. Abdool

Rusheed, who rode with Sir Alexander Burnes in advance of the columns, would not venture to give any decided opinion as to the intentions of his countrymen. Thus we continued to march on in uncertainty until the grey walls and lofty citadel were full in view, and parties of horsemen were seen guarding the approach to the extensive gardens, inclosed with high walls, which now alone separated us from the *enceinte* of the place. This did not look like an intention to evacuate the fortress. Still the Envoy, relying on the value of his secret sources of information, seemed confident that no defence was meditated.

Sir Willoughby Cotton rode on to reconnoitre the principal road. The Affghan horsemen retired as he approached; but as soon as our advance guard had penetrated between the gardens, which lay on their right and left, a body of skirmishers began to fire upon the staff, as they were surveying the fortress through their telescopes. It was evident that all further reconnoissance must be conducted in force. The three regiments of the 1st brigade were therefore directed to move up towards the walls in three several directions, availing themselves of such cover as the ground might afford. It was rightly anticipated that if the ramparts were

still manned, this movement would draw some corresponding demonstration from the garrison. We were not left long in suspense; for as soon as the troops debouched beyond the outer line of gardens, a flash and curling smoke from the ramparts, and a round shot whistling over the heads of the soldiers of the most advanced regiment, very clearly and acceptably answered the question which we were silently proposing. A sharp fire of musketry was at the same time commenced from the garden walls around the fort, from an outwork which enfiladed the river at its foot, and from the battlements of the place, whenever our troops came within range of them.

Sir John Keane, with a view of inducing the Affghans further to display their force, placed some pieces of the Bombay artillery and of our camel troop in battery. They began a smart cannonade and bombardment; and the enemy, evidently supposing that we were projecting a serious assault on their works, brought four or five guns to bear upon our columns, and the advanced parties, which had been pushed down to the very margin of the river that flowed between us and Ghuznee. Thus a noisy skirmish, enlivened by a responsive cannonade, was kept up for a full hour. The Affghan *tirailleurs* had

been speedily dislodged from the gardens; but from the walls of the town, the citadel, and the little detached tower before mentioned, they replied warmly with round shot and musketry, whilst our soldiers, established within the surrounding inclosures, and our batteries, partly screened by some old buildings, repaid with interest the activity of their enemies. Time was thus afforded to the Commander-in-Chief calmly and fully to survey the southern face of the renowned *Dar-oos-sultunut-i-Ghuznee*,* now evidently occupied by a numerous garrison, from whose minds nothing seemed to be further removed than thoughts of retreat. The object of the reconnoissance having been fully attained, the troops and guns were slowly and deliberately withdrawn out of cannon shot, and the several brigades encamped to the southward of the fortress. The enemy gave us some, by no means despicable, specimens of artillery practice, at men and horses, as the troops drew off; and we afterwards heard that they exulted much in the thought of having compelled the British to retire. Ghuznee, one front of which we had thus satisfactorily reconnoitred, certainly far exceeded our expectations, and the tenour

* Seat of the Sultan's power. So Ghuznee was denominated in the days of the conqueror Muhmood.

of all the reports we had received, as regarded the solidity, lofty profile, and state of repair of its wall and citadel, and we now saw that we had at last before us an enterprise worthy of our best efforts.

In one respect we were ill prepared for the task which events had set us. Napoleon at Acre, Wellington at Burgos, Lord Lake at Bhurtpore, had each found cause to rue the hour in which they attacked fortifications, unprovided with a sufficient number of guns of breaching calibre. Not profiting by these familiar examples, we, giving too implicit credence to the often-repeated assurances of those who were supposed to be acquainted with the most secret springs of action of the Affghans, to the effect that they certainly would not defend either Cabool or the fortress of Ghuznee, after dragging our siege train laboriously from Ferozepore to Bukkur, from Bukkur to Kwettah, and from Kwettah to Candahar, had shrunk from the exertion, supposed to be supererogatory, of conveying it further, and had left it in the western capital. To say the least, this rendered more arduous and hazardous the attempt, from which it was now far too late to recede.

The force had not been encamped three

hours when it received an order to put itself again in march. The Quarter-Master-General and the Field Engineer had lost no time in closely reconnoitring the whole of the hostile circumference. They were of course saluted by a fire from its guns whenever they were perceived within range by its defenders. On their reports the plan of Sir John Keane was at once formed in his own mind. Observation had shewn, as we had before heard, that all the gates of the place had been bricked up, with the exception of that which gave egress northward to Cabool. Opposite to that opening, the line of our investing encampment was this night to be drawn, thus giving to Moohummud Hyder and his garrison the tacit but intelligible summons to surrender or die, since evasion by the only open road was thus barred.

About four, P.M., the force recommenced its march, moving off in columns, the cavalry to the right, and the infantry to the left. Thus circling round the fortress out of cannon shot, the army essayed to establish itself in its new line of observation. The troops were wearied by the march and exertions of the morning, and as they had the rapid Logur and several tributary streams to cross in their circuit, night had already interposed its curtain between them

and their wondering enemies, when the regiments of the 1st division found themselves at the foot of a lofty range of heights to the northwest of the place, and opposite to the guns of its citadel. These hills had to be ascended by a narrow and winding road. When we had reached the table summit, there was just enough of starlight to enable us to discern on the plain below those two lofty columns, memorials of the palmy state of Ghuznee, the rich and populous capital of the stern invader Muhmood, which we had before descried at a distance as we crossed the plains to the southward. They now sufficed to indicate to the wayworn columns that they were approaching their new line.

The descent was scarcely less laborious than toiling up the acclivity. It was at length, however, achieved by the glimmering light of a waning moon. But the baggage and followers of the division were far in its rear. It seemed doubtful whether by any exertion they could be brought before morning across the Logur, or the water-courses near it, even if they should escape interruption and plunder from the armed parties of the enemy. The regiments found their ground with some difficulty, and being without tents, rations, or followers, perceived

that, hungry and weary, they had another night of shivering bivouac before them. Dropping shots were heard from the fortress throughout the dark and lagging hours; but as the British sustained no loss in any quarter, the fire seemed to have no object but to testify the alertness of the garrison. Conjecture, too, was kept alive during the cold vigil, by seeing lights constantly displayed from the citadel, which were answered by corresponding fires in the plains and on the heights around.

It was known that Moohummud Ufzul Khan, another son of the Ameer of Cabool, had marched down from the capital with the view of deblockading Ghuznee, and was now close to us. The forces of the Ghiljees, Abdoolruhman, and Gool Moohummud, were in the field at no great distance. A party also of fanatics from the Soolueman Kheils, who had taken arms when a religious war had, as a last resource, been proclaimed by the tottering Barukzyes, now occupied the heights to the eastward of the valley in which the fortress stands. Reflections on these circumstances, and on our want of a battering train, the glimmering of the lights on the hostile battlements and in the plains, and the chill of the night air, effectually chased away slumber until day broke on the 22nd.

Its light enabled us to survey our position, and to compare the precipitous pathway by which we had in the darkness ascended and descended the heights, now on our right flank, with the safer Kotul up which our baggage soon after wound, and by which we also might have climbed. The first labour of the morning was, to collect our tents and foundered baggage animals, our followers and sick, out of ravines, and from the top of eminences, into and up to which they had needlessly plunged and mounted in the shades of night.* We now saw that a grand line of encampment was established to the northward of Ghuznee. The troops and court of the Shah were on the left, next to them the British cavalry, the head quarters of the Commander-in-Chief, and the artillery in the centre; near to it the infantry from Bombay, and our 4th brigade; and on the right, resting their flank on the heights to the north-west, were the brigades of the 1st division. A

* A medical officer of the 13th reproved a sick soldier for want of care of his health on account of the manifest effect produced on his wasted frame by exposure to cold during this night. The man said in his defence, "Why, sir, what could I do? The black fellows set down my *dooly* in the dark on the top of that mountain, and as I did not know how near the enemy might be, I was obliged to leap out, and take my arms, and *stand sentry over myself* the whole night." A new species of out-post duty.

road led from a spot very near our head quarters through the extensive ruins of the old capital, passing by the base of the two pillars built by rival architects in the age of Muhmood. These are the only monuments in tolerable preservation of the pristine splendour of the conqueror's metropolis.

This morning, Sir John Keane, accompanied by Sir Willoughby Cotton, took a calm survey of the fortress from the heights, and fixed in his mind the details of one of the most spirited and successful attempts recorded in the annals of the British in Asia. His written instructions were issued in the evening.* They were to be regarded in the light of confidential directions to generals of division until carried into effect, when they found a place in the orders of the day. In the meantime, as much of them as it behoved that each should know was communicated in writing to brigadiers and leaders of columns, and by them in the same manner to those under their command.

About two, P.M., our camps were put on the alert by the sudden appearance of a considerable body of Affghan horse on our left rear. They poured down the heights in that direction, as if intending to execute a *chupao* against the tents,

See Appendix No. 14.

and person of the Shah, towards the camp of whose contingent they were evidently directing their course. His Majesty's disciplined cavalry quickly turned out to repel the assailants, and, supported by the Bengal cavalry brigade, drove them back upon the heights. Here the Shah's horse manœuvred to hem in the Affghans; and having succeeded in detaching and surrounding a portion of them, cut down several, and took some prisoners. The affair proved to be an irruption of the fanatic bands before mentioned, who had been excited to take up arms against Shah Shooja in the character of *ghazees*, devoted to the destruction of a monarch that had been represented to them as impiously leagued with the enemies of the faith. These enthusiasts carried green banners, and were led on by Moollas and Syuds to the field, where, however, their valour scarcely kept pace with the zeal which they had professed for the cause of the prophet.

The Shah's troopers decapitated some of the slain, and brought their heads in triumph into the camp, a barbarous practice, too nearly akin to the customs of our opponents, and unworthy of imitation by the soldiers of a king acting as the ally in the field of the British. The captive Ghazees, when brought before their sovereign,

are said to have openly avowed their intention of putting him to death. They conducted themselves with treasonable insolence in his presence, and one of them, drawing a dagger concealed about his person, stabbed a *peeshkhidmut*, or attendant, in the durbar tent, before his arm could be arrested. The most audacious of them, after repeated warnings to desist from their traitorous invectives, were carried out, and beheaded by the royal executioners.

During the continuance of this skirmish, a remarkable shot was fired from an ornamented brass forty-eight pounder gun, mounted in the citadel, to which the Affghans had given the designation of the "*Zubur-Zun*," or "hard-hitter." After a double *ricochet* in the intermediate plain, the ball entered the camp of the Shah, against which it was directed, and slightly grazed first the leg of a trooper, and then the thigh of a camel. The distance was certainly not less than two thousand yards, and the wounds in both cases were very slight; yet both the soldier and the unlucky quadruped died of them. Apprehension must surely have aided the injury in the case of animal instinct, as well as in that of human reason, as if it had appeared to either sufferer impossible to survive

a blow from such a missile as a ball from the *Zubur-Zun.*

But these less important details must no longer detain us from our narrative of the spirited little achievement of the 23d of July. On Sunday we have seen Ghuznee reconnoitred in force; on Monday, a line of half investment was described against it to the northward and eastward; on Tuesday, it was to change masters by a blow, sudden and unexpected, and with a celerity yet wholly inexplicable to its defenders. The confidential instructions of the Commander-in-Chief were calmly and quietly circulated on Monday evening, and began to be carried into effect at midnight. The strength of the lofty and scarped citadel of Ghuznee is somewhat impaired by the circumstance of a spur of the heights to the north-west of it stretching down to within two hundred and fifty yards of its walls. On one of the highest points of these eminences, which our columns had needlessly climbed on the Sunday night, is an old *Ziyarutgah;* and lower down, but nearer to the fortress, is another temple and a small Affghan village. It has been intimated that Moohummud Hyder had closed with masonry the other four gates of the fortress, leaving open that only

which led towards Cabool, directly in front of which, transversely to the line of road on which stand the two pillars of the age of Muhmood, the 1st brigade of the Bengal division was now encamped. It has likewise been specified that gardens and their walls run down to the edge of the ditch of the fortress, and might temporarily become places of lodgment either for the garrison or the besiegers.

On the above few *data* Sir John Keane based the notion of his bold and brilliant plan of attack. His want of a siege train precluded all hope of breaching; for he had seen that his guns, the largest of which were no better than field artillery, could make little impression on the well baked crust of the walls of Ghuznee. His project, therefore, pivoted on his ability to cause the ruin of the Cabool gate to supply the place of a breach. The weather was most favourable to the attempt. It blew so strongly, and in such loud gusts from the east at night, and towards dawn, as to render inaudible to the devoted garrison the tramp of columns, and the rattling of artillery wheels, and even to deaden the roar of guns of small calibre.

The road which led by the pillars to the Cabool gate was the line of attack. About and after midnight, four companies of the 16th native

infantry, and two of the 48th, established themselves in the gardens in the margin of the town, to the right and left of the spot where the head of the column was to rest previously to the assault. Somewhat later, three companies of the 35th regiment native infantry, under Captain Hay, making a *détour*, took up a position to the northward of the fortress, and distracted the attention of the garrison by keeping up a constant fire of musquetry against the works. Three had struck, and daylight was distant only one short hour, when more serious measures of assault began to be matured.

Field artillery, guided by the instructions of Brigadier Stevenson, was placed in a well chosen position on the commanding heights opposite the citadel, and began a cannonade, which soon induced the enemy to respond with every gun they could bring to bear upon the hills, whilst the nine-pounders of the camel battery directed a fire against the walls from the low ground on the left of the road at a range of not more than two hundred and fifty yards. Meanwhile, slowly the storm was gathering and rolling on to the fatal gate. Captain Thomson, with the officers and men of the engineer establishment, had crept down to the works, furnished with nine hundred pounds of powder in twelve large bags, which

was to blow into the air the strong barricade, behind which the enemy felt secure. Behind this simple machinery of destruction, a column stood arrayed upon the road, yet screened by the shades of night. It was subdivided, in the instructions, into an advance, a main column, a support, and a reserve.

The first of these was composed of the light companies of the Queen's, the 17th, and the Bengal European regiment, and of Captain Vigor's company of the 13th light infantry. It was led by Colonel Dennie. The second body, under the immediate command of Brigadier Sale, was made up of the remainder of the Queen's and Bengal Europeans, whilst, as an auxiliary to its efforts, the whole of the 13th, excepting its storming company, extended as skirmishers along the whole of the assailed point of the fortress. The support was, H. M.'s 17th regiment, led by Colonel Croker. The column denominated the reserve was personally commanded by Sir Willoughby Cotton, and composed of the unemployed companies of the 16th, the 35th, and the 48th.

The British guns were now in battery, and had opened; and the enemy was answering their smart fire by sending every now and then a round shot with a rushing sound through the

air on an errand of vengeance. From the southward, the fire of Captain Hay's musketry was heard, whilst, as our skirmishers along the whole northern face were from time to time descried, they were saluted with *juzail* (wall-piece) and musketry shots from the ramparts. The scene became animated. The Affghans exhibited on their walls a succession of blue lights, by aid of which they strove to get a clearer view of the efforts which were about to be made against them. But of the real nature of the mischief which they had to dread, they remained wholly ignorant. In expectation of a general escalade, they had manned the whole circumference of their walls.

The northern rampart at length became a sheet of flame, and everywhere the cannonade and fire of musketry became brisker and brisker. But these soon ceased, or were forgotten, for scarcely had day begun to break, when, after an explosion barely audible beyond the head of the column amidst the sighing of the boisterous wind and the rattle of the cannonade, a pillar of black smoke was seen to rise, and then, after a pause, the bugle sound to advance was distinctly recognised. The moment was interesting. It was yet dark, and the column was composed generally of young troops. A notion

pervaded it that a bastion had fallen in under the fire of the artillery; others thought that one of the enemy's expense magazines had blown up; but all who had seen the instructions of the preceding evening knew that the crisis had arrived, and that the attempt was now to be hazarded which was to make or mar the projectors of the enterprise.

The engineers had done their work boldly, prudently, skilfully. Captain Thomson and his coadjutors had crept silently along the bridge, or causeway, which afforded a passage across the wet ditch, and up the steep, defended by loopholes, which led to the gate. Close to the massive portal he had piled the bags, and fired the hose, or *saucisse*, attached to them. His explosion party effected this in about two minutes; and then retired under such cover as they could find, to watch the progress and results of their pyrotechny. The enemy were still in ignorance of the nature of the scheme laid for their destruction. Anxious, however, to discover the cause of the bustle which they partially heard in the direction of the important entrance, they now displayed a large and brilliant blue light on the widened rampart immediately above the gate. But they had not time to profit by its glare, when the powder exploded, shivered the

massive barricade in pieces, and brought down in hideous ruin into the passage below, masses of masonry and fractured beams.

The stormers, under Colonel Dennie, rushed, as soon as they heard the bugle signal, into the smoking and darkened opening before them, and found themselves fairly opposed, hand to hand, by the Affghans, who had quickly recovered from their surprise. Nothing could be distinctly seen in the narrow passage, but the clash of sword blade against bayonet was heard on every side. The little band had to grope its way between the yet standing walls in darkness, which the glimmer of the blue light did not dissipate, but rendered more perplexing. But it was necessary to force a passage; there was neither time nor space, indeed, for regular street firing, but in its turn each loaded section gave its volley, and then made way for the next, which, crowding to the front, poured in a deadly discharge at half pistol shot amongst the defenders. Thus this forlorn hope won gradually their way onward, until at length its commanders, and their leading files, beheld, over the heads of their infuriated opponents, a small portion of blue sky, and a twinkling star or two, and then, in a moment, the headmost soldiers found themselves within the place. Resistance was over-

borne, and no sooner did these four companies feel themselves established in the fortress, than a loud cheer, which was heard beyond the pillars, announced their triumph to the troops without.

But, oh! the fugitive character of human success, even in its brightest moments! How nearly was all ruined by the error of an instant! Brigadier Sale, whilst his skirmishers were closing by sound of bugle, had steadily and promptly pressed forward to support the forlorn hope. As he moved on, he met an engineer officer, evidently suffering from the effects of the recent explosion, and anxiously inquired of him how the matter went beyond the bridge. This gallant person had been thrown to the ground by the bursting of the powder, and though he had not received any distinct wound, fracture, or contusion, was shaken in every limb by the concussion. His reply was, that the gate was blown in, but that the passage was choked up, and the forlorn hope could not force an entrance. Brigadier Sale was too cool and self-possessed not to be able at once to draw the inference that to move on under such circumstances was to expose his troops to certain destruction. He ordered the retreat to be sounded. The tempestuous character of the weather, and the noise

of the fire of all arms did not prevent this signal from being heard even by the reserve; but it conveyed the order which British soldiers are always slowest in obeying. The column, however, made a full halt in the path of victory. But the check was not of long duration. The Brigadier, perfectly calm at this moment of supposed difficulty, addressed himself to another engineer officer, with whom he happily fell in at this interesting moment. He assured him that though the passage of the gateway was much impeded, the advanced stormers, under Colonel Dennie, had already won their way through it. The brigadier promptly gave the signal to move on.

But the delay, short as it had been, was productive of mischief. It had left a considerable interval between the forlorn hope and Brigadier Sale's column, and just as the latter, in which the Queen's regiment was leading, had pressed into the gateway, a large body of Affghans, driven headlong from the ramparts by the assault and fire of Colonel Dennie's force, rushed down towards the opening, in the hope of that way effecting their escape. Their attack was made upon the rear company of the Queen's, and the leading files of the Bengal European regiment. The encounter with these desperate

men was terrific. They fiercely assaulted, and for a moment drove back, the troops opposed to them.

One of their number, rushing over the fallen timbers, brought down Brigadier Sale by a cut in the face with his sharp *shumsheer.** The Affghan repeated his blow as his opponent was falling, but the pummel, not the edge of his sword, this time took effect, though with stunning violence. He lost his footing, however, in the effort, and Briton and Affghan rolled together amongst the fractured timbers. Thus situated, the first care of the Brigadier was to master the weapon of his adversary. He snatched at it, but one of his fingers met the edge of the trenchant blade. He quickly withdrew his wounded hand, and adroitly replaced it over that of his adversary, so as to keep fast the hilt of his *shumsheer*. But he had an active and powerful opponent, and was himself faint from loss of blood. Captain Kershaw, of the 13th, aide-de-camp to Brigadier Baumgardt, happened, in the *melée*, to approach the scene of conflict; the wounded leader recognised, and called to him for aid. Kershaw passed his drawn sabre through the body of the Affghan;

* Asiatic sabre.

but still the desperado continued to struggle with frantic violence. At length, in the fierce grapple, the Brigadier for a moment got uppermost. Still retaining the weapon of his enemy in his left hand, he dealt him, with his right, a cut from his own sabre, which cleft his skull from the crown to the eyebrows. The Moohummedan once shouted "*Ue Ullah*,"* and never spoke or moved again.

The leader of the column regained his feet, and feeling himself for the moment incapable of personal exertion, yet calmly directed the movements of his men, who, after a fierce struggle, in which many ghastly wounds were exchanged, had now established themselves within the walls. Substantive success began to shew itself on every side, and the Commander-in-Chief, who had taken his station with his staff near the higher Ziyarut gah, being assured from the prolonged shouting and sustained fire of British musketry within the area of the fortress that the walls were won, had ordered every gun of the batteries on the heights to be aimed at the citadel. To that point, also, Brigadier Sale, quickly recovering his strength, began to direct his personal efforts.

* "Oh, God!"

Meanwhile, the support under Colonel Croker was slowly winding its way through the gateway, obstructed by the ruins and by the *doolies*, by means of which the surgeons were collecting, and carrying to the rear, the wounded of the Queen's and Bengal European regiments. The reserve also had closed up to the walls; and so long as its advance was checked by the unavoidably slow progress of the troops before it, necessarily had to endure the fire of screened and hidden marksmen on the ramparts. At length the support, coiling in its whole length, disappeared within the fortress, and then, and not till then, the reserve, seeing the gateway cleared of troops, marched steadily forward.

Whilst this was enacting near the portal, the anxious glances of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff were directed towards the citadel, from which a prolonged resistance might yet be expected; but here the assailing force was signally favoured by the course of events. Moohummud Hyder, surprised by the sudden onset which had wrested from him the walls that he had deemed impregnable, abandoned in despair the mound, on which he might have renewed the contest, and when the British had ascended the winding ramp, which led to the Acropolis of Ghuznee, they found the gates yield to the

slightest impulse from without, and in a few minutes Sir John Keane had the satisfaction to see the colours of the 13th light infantry, and of the 17th regiment waving and flapping in the strong breeze on the ramparts of the Affghan's last stronghold.* Brigadier Sale, notwithstanding his wound, had climbed up to this scene of interest, and was guiding everywhere the exertions of the soldiers, who now, however, found little occupation beyond arresting the flight of the fugitives, and giving assurance and protection to the shrieking women of the harem.

The reserve, too, was now fairly within the walls, and no sooner did it feel its footing to be secure, than it wheeled to its left and ascended the eastern rampart, from which a galling fire had been directed against it whilst it was detained under the walls. As its files penetrated within the houses in that direction, driving before it all who resisted, a new character was imparted to the scene by its activity; for a body of concealed Affghans, perceiving that their hiding

* The narrator must be allowed to indulge the partiality of friendship in recording that the first standard that was planted on the rampart of the citadel was the regimental colour of the 13th light infantry, carried on that occasion by Ensign R. E. Frere, nephew of the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

places were explored in this unwelcome manner, rushed out madly, sword in hand, and endeavoured to cut a passage for themselves to the gateway.

At this moment groups of fatigued soldiers were resting on their arms in the low ground below the citadel, and many of the wounded had been collected there preparatory to their being carried to a place of security, whilst hundreds of horses of the vanquished Affghans, frightened by the fire, were galloping wildly about the area. Down with surprising activity came this troop of desperate fugitives amongst these detached parties, who sprung on their feet in a moment, and directed a fire against them. The Affghans, as they rushed furiously on, cut right and left with surprising force, and swords as sharp as razors, not only at armed and active soldiers and sipahees, but at the wounded as they lay, at their own terrified animals, at every object which crossed their path. A wild *fusillade* was opened upon them by the troops on the slopes of the citadel, and, in the midst of a scene of indescribable confusion, the native soldiers, gathering in threes and fours around each furious Affghan, shot and hunted them down like mad dogs, until the destruction of the whole party was completed.

The writer of this narrative happened to have an opportunity of observing closely the effect of one of the swords of these desperate men. A soldier of the Queen's had received a bullet through his breastplate. His blood had flowed in a crimson stream down to his very boots as he lay, apparently in a swooning state, in a *dooley*, with his right arm extended over the side of it. An Affghan, in his progress towards the gate nearly severed with one blow the exposed limb from the body of the prostrate and defenceless soldier. He arose, supporting it with the other hand, and staggered against the wall in speechless agony; but the balls of numerous assailants soon took vengeance for their comrade's sufferings. The scene now excited feelings of horror, mingled with compassion, as, one by one, the Affghans sunk under repeated wounds upon the ground, which was strewed with bleeding, mangled, and convulsed and heaving carcasses. Here were ghastly figures stiffly stretched in calm but grim repose; here the last breath was yielded up through clenched teeth in attitudes of despair and defiance, with hard struggle, and muttered imprecation; and there a faint "*Ue Ullah*," or "*buraee Khooda*," addressed half in devotion to God, half in the way of entreaty to man, alone testified that the

mangled sufferer yet lived. The clothes of some of the dead and dying near the entrance had caught fire, and in addition to the agony of their wounds, some were enduring the torture of being burnt by the slow fire of their thickly wadded vests, and singed and hardened coats of sheep-skin.*

There was throughout the affair no fair struggle for mastery excepting within, or in the immediate vicinity of the gateway; but as portions of Brigadier Sale's column, and afterwards of the reserve, traversed the town and swept its narrow streets, a desultory fire was kept up against them, which occasioned loss. It was whilst engaged in this part of the duty of the assailants that Major Warren, of the Bengal European regiment, who had shed his blood thirteen years ago in the escalade of Bhurtpore, was here again severely wounded. He was hit by three balls out of several which were fired at the same moment from one of the houses. One bullet struck him obliquely in the breast, touching in its passage a lobe of the lungs; a second penetrated his left wrist, and the third passed through the biceps muscle, and fractured the bone of his right arm. Lieutenant Haslewood of the same regiment survived some of the

* *Poshteens.*

deepest wounds which were inflicted by the Affghan swords in the gateway on this morning of bloodshed. The detached tower, from which so sharp a fire had been kept up on our parties during the reconnoissance of the 21st, was carried by the gorge by a small party of the 13th, under Lieutenant Wilkinson.

And now resistance seemed to be everywhere overpowered, and the Commander-in-Chief and his staff having entered by the Cabool gate, gazed upon the scene with feelings of self-gratulation, meditating on the important results of the exertions of two hours and a quarter, from the opening of the artillery at three, to the cessation of all continued firing at a quarter past five. Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, the personage most deeply interested in the issue of the struggle, was conducted up the ramp of the citadel by Sir John Keane and the Envoy. His Majesty had ridden down to the memorable portal before the contest was at an end within the walls; and it was an affecting sight to see this old man, so long familiar with agitations and vicissitudes, climb, under the influence of evident emotion, up to the summit of this celebrated hold, which he now once more felt to be his own.

"Thus was" Ghuznee "lost and won;"

thus, in little more than two short hours, a garrison plausibly estimated at three thousand five hundred men was dispossessed of a fortress, the walls of which, up to the moment of attack, had scarcely been grazed by cannon shot, the fire of the works being as entire as in the first hour of investment. This had been done without a ladder being raised in escalade. The enemy, convinced that the place could only fall after a protracted siege, had provisioned it for six months, and the plan of national defence of the Ameer of Cabool had been based upon the assurance of our being detained under the walls until the snows of winter, the hostility of the irregular hordes collected on the various ranges of mountain around us, and the appearance in the field of the main forces of eastern Affghanistan, would have rendered us happy to decamp in any direction which we might have found open.

Moohummud Hyder, in arriving from the capital to assume, at his father's bidding, the command of the place, had brought with him all his women, a proof of his opinion of the strength and security of the captured hold. Let it be recorded to the honour of the captors, that though Ghuznee was carried by storm, after a resistance stout enough to have roused the

angry passions of the assailants, the Affghans were everywhere spared when they ceased to fight; and it is in itself a moral triumph exceeding in value and duration the praise of the martial achievement of the troops, that, in a fortress captured by assault, not the slightest insult was offered to one of the females found in the zunanu within the walls of the citadel.

This forbearance, and these substantive proofs of excellent discipline, reflect more credit on officers and men than the indisputable skill and valour displayed in the operation. But let me not be accused of foisting in unfairly a favourite topic, or attempting to detract from the merit of the troops, when I remark in how great a degree the self-denial, mercy, and generosity of the hour may be attributed to the fact of the European soldiers having received no spirit ration since the 8th of July, and having found no intoxicating liquor amongst the plunder of Ghuznee. No candid man of any military experience will deny that the character of the scene in the fortress and citadel would have been far different if individual soldiers had entered the town primed with arrack, or if spirituous liquors had been discovered in the Affghan depôts. Since, then, it has been proved that troops can make forced marches of forty

miles,* and storm a fortress in seventy-five minutes, without the aid of rum, behaving, after success, with a forbearance and humanity unparalleled in history; let it not henceforth be argued that distilled spirits are an indispensable portion of a soldier's ration. The medical officers of this army have distinctly attributed to their previous abstinence from strong drink the rapid recovery of the wounded at Ghuznee.

One thing seemed wanting to render the victory complete—viz., the capture of Moohummud Hyder Khan. It was for some time suspected that he was concealed in the *zunanu*, disguised in women's habiliments, but it fell to the lot of Captain Taylor, of the Bengal European regiment, Brigade Major of the 4th Bengal brigade, to discover his real place of retreat. In a house near the Candahar gate, he observed a body of Affghans, who demanded quarter with cries of "*Aman*" when he first approached the dwelling. On his entering it, one of them fired upon him, and the ball, penetrating his jacket, slightly grazed his breast. This act of treachery, and the anxiety betrayed

* The 4th brigade and General Willshire's column had to march this distance in order to join head quarters previously to the attack of Ghuznee.

by the Affghans to prevent his entering into the inner apartments, increased his suspicions. He obtained the aid of a detachment of troops, and in a small and retired room discovered a stout and rather handsome young man, plainly dressed, who at once acknowledged himself to be the Umeerzadu. Captain Taylor took in the chamber the pistols of the captive, which were handsomely inlaid with silver. His sword, a valuable Persian blade, had been left in the *zunanu* at the moment of his hasty escape. There it was found by a soldier of the 13th, and made over to Brigadier Sale, from whose possession it again passed into that of the Commander-in-Chief, and was by him thrown into the general mass of prize property.

Moohummud Hyder was much agitated when brought into the presence of the Shah. He remarked that he now for the first time felt himself to be a rebel. But the monarch behaved to him with magnanimity, and said, with an air of dignified compassion, " That which has been, has been. You have deserved much evil at my hands. But you have this day comported yourself like a brave man. I forgive the past; go in peace." The Commander-in-Chief had previously stipulated with much earnestness for the

youth's life, and he was immediately placed in a tent under the *surveillance* of Sir Alexander Burnes.

The success of the day had cost the victors seventeen non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and eighteen officers, and one hundred and forty-seven non-commissioned officers, and privates, wounded. Of the Affghans, five hundred and fourteen are ascertained to have fallen in the town, since that number of bodies was buried by the British. The amount of their wounded cannot be exactly estimated. There is no reason to think that on this occasion it would fall short of the lowest proportion to the killed in most actions—viz., three to one. Sixteen hundred prisoners were taken, but many of them were armed inhabitants, not regular combatants. It is believed that one hundred more of the enemy fell under the sabres of the cavalry, the Bengal brigade having swept the plains to the southward, and intercepted all fugitives in that direction; whilst the dragoons from Bombay guarded the Cabool road, and were in readiness to repel any attack of the Ghiljees, *Ghazees*, or the regular army of Dost Moohummud's leaders. Upwards of one thousand horses, three hundred camels, a great number of valuable mules, vast stores of *ottah*, *ghee*,

and other provisions, a large quantity of powder, shot, and lead, nine pieces of ordnance, including the *Zubur-Zun*, arms of various kinds, *toofungs* (Affghan firelocks), pistols, *toofungchus*, (musquetoons), *shumsheers* (sabres), *peeshkubzes* (long daggers of a peculiar make), shields, and chain armour, with plain and embroidered pouches, powder horns, and other accoutrements of Asiatic manufacture, became the lawful booty of the captors, and were handed over to the prize agents.

The force employed by the British in the operation amounted to four thousand three hundred and sixty-three fighting men of all ranks. Since it is known that upwards of five hundred of the enemy were slain, and that more than fifteen hundred were made captive, and it may be conjectured that not fewer than one thousand, perhaps more, escaped from the fortress, either wounded or unhurt, the estimate which has quoted in round numbers the garrison at between three and four thousand can hardly be exaggerated. The number of well-sized horses which were found in the place, besides the stout and active *yaboos*, on which Affghan musqueteers are often mounted, fully prove that Moohummud Hyder had not fewer than five hundred cavalry in his force. The facts which have been cited

enable us to form a tolerable judgment for ourselves, independently of the statements of spies, and prisoners, and the Barukzye muster rolls.

The spirit-stirring events of the 23rd for some time occupied all minds. Until the novelty of the impressions of that day in some measure wore away, it was impossible to turn to observe with any attention the ruins of old Ghuznee, or even to visit the tomb of the stern invader Muhmood. About a mile and a half to the northward of the city is the vast *rouzuh*, or inclosure of gardens and orchards, which surrounds the monument. The almond tree, a species of long blue plum, the pear, and the apple, were at this season seen here loaded with fruit, not come to maturity. The apricot was in July covered with leaves alone, but the vines gave promise of an approaching vintage. This verdant area is traversed by several umbrageous lanes and alleys. At the angle of one of those, just where a stream of glassy water rushes forth into the plain beyond, is seen the building which contains the ashes of the great Ghuznevide conqueror.

After passing through a court-yard, once adorned with a series of marble lions and fountains, which are now miserably neglected, and through a dark, low-roofed temple, the cloisters

of which are filled with importunate beggars, the visitor finds himself in front of the mausoleum. Around the secluded spot are some venerable mulberry trees; but it produces a feeling of disappointment to find the remains of him for whose ambition all Asia seemed too narrow a space, deposited under a roof so humble, and without any concomitants of splendour or beauty. The famous gate of two leaves of sandal wood embossed with brass, which is said to have been brought from the old temple of Somnauth in Guzerat, does not correspond in size and magnificence with the consequence which history attaches to the expedition. The body of the conqueror is inurned in a low and plain marble sarcophagus, on which passages of the Koran are sculptured in the Cufic character. At the head of the tomb is seen the mace of the monarch, with which, according to his annals, he acted the part of so successful an iconoclast. As an appropriate decoration to the place, degenerate moderns have hung up some huge eggs of the ostrich, and the skin of an enormous tiger shot by a bold Affghan in the country of the Wuzeerees.

The ruins of ancient Ghuznee are to be traced over a considerable space in front of the encampment of our right and right centre.

The foundations are in best preservation to the eastward, but there is no monument remaining of the magnificence of the capital, of which the structures are said to have surpassed those of every metropolis in Asia, excepting the twin minarets before noticed in this narrative, and which, so long as they escape the ravages of time, will serve to mark the track of our victorious columns. The height of each is estimated at one hundred and fifty feet. Their pedestals, which are half of the whole altitude, are hexadecagonal, the shafts cylindrical. The material is brick; but description cannot easily give a notion of the grace and beauty of their proportions. The pillar nearest to the fort has a winding staircase within, and inclines considerably over its base.

Whilst the necessity for forming hospitals for the sick, and organizing depots and magazines, detained us at Ghuznee, one of the results of its capture was seen in the arrival in our camp of a negotiator in the person of Nuwab Jubbar Khan, brother of the Ameer Dost Moohammud, "the patriarch of Cabool," as he has been called by Sir Alexander Burnes, who has rendered him famous throughout Europe by his praises, in his volumes of travels, of the hospitality, frankness, and sincerity of his character. We

learn from the same good authority that he had little cause to be satisfied with the Ameer's treatment in the days of his prosperity. It necessarily tended therefore to raise him in our estimation when we saw him prepared to make an effort to prop his falling fortunes.

The pith of the propositions of which the good Nuwab was the bearer was, the acceptance by the Ameer of the provision repeatedly proffered by the British government, and an expression of his willingness to surrender the government of the state of Cabool into the hands of Shah Shooja, in order to spare the further effusion of blood. Thus far all read smoothly; but it was clear at once that the negotiation must be a failure, when it was added, that the Ameer would never consent to live, as had been proposed, under *surveillance* in the British provinces, and that whilst he freely relinquished the independent government of the state under his sway, he declared to be indefeasible his right, as the head of the Barukzyes, to fill the hereditary office of Wuzeer; in other words, that he consented to cease to be a king in Affghanistan on condition of being permitted to assume, like his unfortunate brother, Futih Khan, the character and offices of maker and controller of kings.

It was impossible to do more than listen civilly to such proposals as these. But the Nuwab professed to view them in a different light, and felt, or affected, the utmost indignation at their rejection. As his peculiar position was well known in the camp, perhaps his bluntness as a negotiator increased the sentiments of respect for him which the British had been prepared to entertain; but it was hardly possible not to smile when he wound up his parting harangue by reminding the Envoy and Minister that at the hands of the Shah and his counsellors would be required the lives of all the brave men who might fall in the contest if the reasonable and moderate demands of his relative were not complied with. He was treated throughout the conference with that politeness and consideration to which the uprightness and consistency of his private character, and his uniform hospitality to Europeans, so fully entitled him, independently of the sacred claims of his present office, as mediator in behalf of an unfortunate brother.

The army was put in motion on the 31st of July. The order of march was the same as that observed from Candahar to Cabool. The route lay through the gardens and orchards which surround the tomb of Muhmood. In

its immediate vicinity, indeed, all was verdant and productive; but no sooner had we left its inclosures behind than the troops found themselves once more between two ranges of dreary mountains, in valleys the very picture of barrenness and desolation. They climbed in ascending to Shushgao, or "the six cows," a pass which must have elevated them at least fifteen hundred feet above the lofty level of Ghuznee, and found there, on the morning of the 31st of July, a sharper and more bracing air than is enjoyed in any part of the British Indian provinces in November. There is a gradual descent towards Huftasiya, which is continuously perceptible as far as the valley of Cabool. At our second halting-place we met with Khurotee, who was leading the life of a *humsaya** amongst the Woorduks of this valley, and told us that he knew well the road from Dera Ishmael Khan to Ghuznee by Kaneegorum, the existence of which Surwur Khan, the Kafila Bashee of the Lohanees, had been disposed to deny. Another peasant described the route yet more circumstantially, but doubted the practicability of a portion of it for artillery in the winter season.

* Denizen. See Elphinstone's Cabool, passim.

The weather became hotter and the country less picturesque as we approached Hyder Kheil. Near Huftusiya, the valley and mountains had not been deficient in beauty. The peasantry hereabout are chiefly Woorduks. Daily since we left Ghuznee small parties of Kuzzilbashes have come in to offer allegiance to Shah Shooja. It is well known that this clan of foreign mercenaries were originally imported from Persia by Nadir Shah; they are fully naturalized at Cabool, and though a species of military exclusives, who live in a separate quarter of the city, denominated the Chundawul, and seldom intermarry into ordinary Affghan families, yet, like the Pretorian guards, or the Janissaries in their nation and day, they possess the power of giving a tone to the feelings of the whole of the warlike forces of the territory under the rule of Dost Moohummud. The desertion of these men may therefore be viewed as symptomatic of the total decay of his power. Shah Shooja has not fewer than ten thousand Affghan troops in his camp, but it is to be feared that little dependence could be placed on their fidelity, if the hopes of the monarch were to be dashed by the slightest reverse.

Head quarters were fixed on the 2nd of August at Sheikhabad. In order to reach our

encampment we had to cross, by a narrow bridge, the rapid but fordable Logur. That river is greatly increased in magnitude near Sheikhabad by the confluence of a considerable stream which flows down from the hills to the westward. On the right bank of the Logur, a road strikes off eastward to the town of the same name, whilst on the left another route over the mountains leads to Bamian. We halted here on the 3rd, and early that morning the Envoy and Minister joined us with the camp of the Shah. As he approached our head quarters, he was met by three several agents of his department, who had been sent forward to exert their influence in exciting the inhabitants of Kohistan to separate themselves from the cause of the Barukzyes. These men now returned in breathless haste, with intelligence which they thought had rendered supererogatory their further endeavours.

They related that the Ameer of Cabool had advanced at the head of his troops to Urghundee Bala, which we recognised as the very ground which he had taken up in 1834, when Shah Shooja had successfully penetrated as far as the walls of Candahar. A pretty direct route branches off from it across the mountains to Bamian. The Ameer, however, had on this

occasion declared his intention of not accepting battle on that ground, but of marching forward to Muedan on the Cabool river, amidst the defiles of which valley he had resolved to make a grand effort to check the Feringees. But his purpose, their narrative continued, had soon been shaken by the too manifest indications of an intention on the part of his troops in general, and of the Kuzzilbashes in particular, to desert his standard; he was even said to have had reason to suspect that ever turbulent and factious body of soldiery of having laid a plot to deliver him up to Shah Shooja. The scouts affirmed that at this painful conjuncture the Ameer had not disgraced by pusillanimity the lineage of Futih Khan. He had ridden, they said, with the Kooran in his hand into the midst of his refractory and perfidious troops, and had conjured them by that sacred volume not to desert the true faith, or basely transfer their allegiance to a ruler who had deluged the land with blaspheming Feringees, or, at the least, to save their own reputation and that of their chief by a few hours' honourable resistance. He reminded them of their obligations to himself.

"You have eaten my salt," he said, "these thirteen years. Since it is plain that you are

resolved to seek a new master, grant me but one favour in requital for that long period of maintenance and kindness—enable me to die with honour. Stand by the brother of Futih Khan, whilst he executes one charge against the cavalry of those Feringee dogs: in that onset he will fall; then go, and make your own terms with Shah Shooja." But the Ameer soon discovered that these bold words were wasted upon men, cowardly, or bent up to their treacherous purpose; and making, at last, a virtue of necessity, he came forward, and with a good grace formally gave the Kuzzilbashes their *rookhsut.** Abandoning his parked artillery, the Barukzye, accompanied by his family, and escorted by about three thousand troops who still remained faithful to him, took the mountain road to Bamian. The most important portion of this intelligence was proved, within twenty-four hours, to be correct, by the arrival at our picquets, of a large portion of the Kuzzilbash force, and of the other soldiers of the Ameer to proffer their homage to the Shah.

But there was now no disposition in our camp to build, according to the maxim of antiquity, a bridge for a flying enemy, as had been virtually done by the indifference evinced

* Dismission, permission to depart.

when the ex-rulers of Candahar were permitted to make their escape across the Helmund. The Commander-in-Chief and Envoy and Minister were equally alive to the importance of securing the person of the able, enterprising, and once popular Ameer. But this was more easily desired than accomplished. The Barukzye had already got more than twelve hours start of his pursuers, as he had left Urghundee on the evening of the 2nd, and the news of his flight did not reach Sheikhabad before the morning of the 3rd. Urghundee was twenty-one miles in advance of our head quarters. To follow the fugitive, therefore, by that route was hopeless. The only chance of coming up with him was afforded by taking the road to the frontier which runs over the mountains from Sheikhabad. But it was to be expected that the country between that place and Bamian would be found most difficult, and all but impracticable, and totally destitute of supplies for an armed body.

The Ameer was described as being still surrounded by a force, small, but composed of desperate men. If an active but trifling detachment was sent after him, it was not unlikely that they might overtake, but be unable to capture him, and even sustain defeat. If a large

body of cavalry were covered in pursuit, it might not be easy to supply their wants in the mountains. Judgments after the event deserve little credit for sagacity; but it seems now sufficiently clear that it would have been wisest to have detached such a force on the duty as could not have failed in capturing the refugee, if it had come in contact with him, although an increase of the strength of the armed body might in some small degree have diminished the celerity of its movements. Another difficulty arose from our imperfect knowledge of the routes. In considering this part of the subject, the thoughts of those in authority turned towards the Kakur renegade. He had been formerly the Governor of Bamian, and as it was supposed that he could not be animated by any sentiment of regard for the flying Ameer, he was selected to be the guide of the expedition. The man who is skilful to do evil is seldom found an effective aid in executing any project which is substantively good. The deliverance of Affghanistan from the dread of a disputed succession was an attempt too beneficial in itself to command the cordial co-operation of the Kakur. Nevertheless, as a pilot he was skilful, if unwilling, and if his functions had been confined entirely to such assistance, and

he had been attached for this purpose alone to the commander of an efficient force of regular cavalry, European and native, perhaps Shah Shooja would now be reigning without a rival over eastern Affghanistan.

But a different plan of pursuit from this was adopted. Captain Outram, Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief, one of the most resolute, intelligent, and active officers in the army, was well selected to command Dost Moohummud's pursuers. With him were associated nine officers, all bold and skilful riders, and volunteers in the cause, followed by one hundred and fifty chosen horse, fifty of the 2nd Bengal light cavalry, fifty of the Bengal 4th local, and fifty of the Poonah Auxiliary Horse. To these, one hundred of the Shah's cavalry were afterwards added. But this British and Hindoostanee force was to be backed by the renowned Hajee Khan, at the head of two thousand Affghans. Thus, instead of the Hajee being a mere guide, and pursuing with the noose about his neck, the fortunes of the pursuit were in a great measure placed from the first in the hands of this wily traitor.

He commenced his operations by a suspicious delay. Four, P.M., had been appointed for the turn-out of his Affghans to co-operate with

Captain Outram, an hour sufficiently late, seeing that the intelligence of the flight of the Ameer had reached Sheikhabad at 8, A.M.; but it was not until dark that the Kakur made his appearance at the point of rendezvous; and he then came at the head of only seven hundred men, four hundred of whom were mounted upon *yaboos* instead of horses. Thus unpromising at the outset was the complexion of this interesting *chupao.* Major Cureton had been in the meantime directed to move forward with two hundred regular cavalry on the road towards Cabool, and if he found things in the state which had been described, to take possession of the enemy's artillery abandoned at Urghundee, and push his reconnoissance up to the very walls of the capital.

On the morning of the 4th, the leading column of the force resumed its route, and made a painful march of nearly twenty miles over a difficult road to Muedan. It passed on its route at intervals large bodies of well armed and well mounted Affghans, who, drawn up in line, calmly awaited the approach of the Shah to place themselves under his banners. They gazed at our army as it passed them, some with serene and unconcerned, many with humbled and desponding, and a few with hostile and

angry looks. The most discerning amongst them might have derived consolation from the reflection, as they viewed our long cavalcade and well appointed artillery, that a protracted resistance could have availed nothing, and would only have prolonged the evils of war without ultimately improving the prospects of their chief.

The sun had become powerful, and the wearied columns had traversed eighteen miles, when, at the sudden opening of a narrow pass the troops found themselves in the valley of Muedan. Here at least the landscape was truly beautiful. The vale is shut in on every side by lofty crags, and through the midst of it the Cabool river winds its course between banks fringed with lofty poplars. Villages and mud forts completed the picture, which was soon enlivened with the moving files of our armament; and when these disappeared from view, was decorated with the white tents glittering in the sun of five thousand soldiers. The troops were on their ground by ten, but throughout the day the wearied baggage animals continued to labour on into the valley.

The moon arose over the mountains upon the silent camp a quarter before two, A.M. At two, a cannon shot was heard, and its reverberation amongst the craggy eminences had not

ceased when trumpet, bugle, and drum, echoing amongst the rocks, summoned all slumberers to the labours of another march, the last but one, as all hoped, before they should reach the capital of Shah Shooja's recovered kingdom. Onward moved the force, and an hour had elapsed since the day broke when it came full upon the abandoned ordnance of the fallen Barukzye. Twenty-two pieces of various calibre, but generally good guns, on field-carriages, superior to those commonly seen in the armies of Asiatic princes, were parked in a circle in the Ameer's late position. Two more were placed in battery in the village of Urghundee, at the foot of the hills. The whole had been, since the evening of the 3rd in the possession of a detachment of the Bombay native cavalry. One hundred and fifty bullocks in the highest condition were attached to this artillery.

It has already been said that the position of Urghundee Bala* is the same which Dost Moohummud took up when alarmed, in 1834, by the ill-fated advance of Shah Shooja to Candahar. The inducement was probably, in both instances, the same—the command of the

* Bala, affixed to the name of the place, gives it the signification of the higher Urghundee. A few miles nearer Cabool is Urghundee Paeen, or the Lower Urghundee.

mountain road, which runs off from the right rear upon Bamian, and facility of evasion thereby in case of reverse towards Bokhara. The Ameer would, indeed, if the Kuzzilbashes had remained faithful, have advanced to meet us in the defiles of Muedan. This notion, which we gathered from the reports of the scouts at Sheikhabad, was fully confirmed afterwards by the statements of his nephew, Abdool Rusheed. He might there, on the banks of the Cabool river, have posted his troops strongly, and would have been in less danger of being cut off from the route to Koondooz during the progress of the action. But even at Urghundee Bala cur foe might have shewn a formidable front. A numerous cavalry might have rested their right on the mountains, over which we saw winding the road to Bamian, which marked the path of the fugitive Barukzye.

The route by which we had advanced was flanked by a deep, impracticable ravine, on which the Affghan left would have rested. Here their artillery had been parked, and would probably from this point have swept the open plain, and searched the narrow defile by which we would have debouched upon it. Their front was open for the exertions of a bold and active cavalry, and here the Ameer might at least

have died with honour. Confining our views to secondary causes, we may say, without presumption, that he would have been defeated; for, before our two brigades of cavalry should have charged him and his guns in front, a well-served artillery would have carried death into the ranks of horse and foot; and during the continuance of this rough overture, seven regiments of stout infantry, the same which had triumphed at Ghuznee, now covered by a rising ground that would have masked their march, might have won their way without loss, though perhaps slowly, behind the mountains to the extreme right, debouched in column near Urghundee Bala, on the right rear of the astonished Barukzye, deployed and stormed the village, cut off the chief's retreat to Bamian, and jeopardized his whole right. Then our cavalry, charging across the plains in their front, would have decided the conflict. But these exploits are the visions of the imagination. Dost Moohummud Khan, like another Darius,

> "Deserted in his utmost need,
> By those his former bounty fed,"

has tasted the bitterness of helpless, though not perhaps, the circumstances of defection considered, ignominous flight; and even if favoured so far as to enter in safety the territories of

Moorad Beg, the Meer of Kondooz, will have there the additional mortification of appearing in the guise of a fugitive, if not a suppliant, before a treacherous and unwilling vassal of his forfeited authority. The Barukzye is accompanied by Moohummud Ukhbar, the boldest and most talented of his sons, who, recalled to his aid from the defence of the Khyber against Colonel Wade, is now said to be sinking under disease.

Our camp was fixed on the 5th at Urghundee Paeen, four miles in advance of the higher village of the same name, in a truly splendid plain. The sides of the mountains on the right and left were covered with verdant inclosures of fruit trees, the only wood, excepting the poplar and willow, to be found in this part of Affghanistan. Peaches, the largest we had ever seen, excepting the produce of the hot houses of England, were brought to our tents, with small, but ripe and juicy pears. We could scarcely believe that such fruits had been grown on standard trees, without the factitious aids of scientific culture, which are in Asia unknown. Information was this morning received that the fugitive Ameer had been delayed in his flight by the sickness of his son; and Captain Taylor, the fortunate captor of Moohummud Hyder

Khan, was permitted to lead in pursuit of him a small reinforcement of horse, accompanied by Lieutenant Trevor, of the 3rd light cavalry. These officers took the road across the mountains from Urghundee Bala. From the valley of this day's encampment we for the first time obtained a glimpse of one of the lower ranges of Hindoo Koosh, covered with perpetual snow.

Breaking up on the 6th from Urghundee Bala, we won our way over as bad roads as we had yet marched upon to Nanuchee, two miles and a half from the capital. Here we found a succession of forts, larger than those of the Ghiljee country, but otherwise resembling them, surrounded with poplars and fruit trees. Though encamped so near to Cabool, a range of heights entirely excluded the view of the suburbs from the infantry divisions. The cavalry and force of the Shah were, for the present, on the road from Nanuchee, somewhat nearer to the city. The monarch was encamped close to Killa Moohummud Jaffier. On the evening of the 7th he proposed to make his solemn, if we may not say triumphal, entry into his capital.

At 3, P.M., all was ready for the royal progress from Nanuchee to the Bala Hissar. However the principles of Shah Shooja may stand the

test of sudden elevation, surely the epithets memorable and auspicious are not wasted upon this event. It is not a small thing to have succeeded in establishing British influence in the place of Barukzye misrule on the right bank of the Indus even for an hour. Two squadrons of European and one of native cavalry were destined to escort the Shah to his palace, and a portion of the artillery of both Presidencies was stationed at proper points to announce the royal approach by salutes of ordnance. But it was felt that military display must partially lose its interest in a scene like this. The moral feeling of the occasion must either be a nonentity, or far surpass every emotion which external display could excite.

Here was an Asiatic monarch, the descendant of monarchs, given back by a strange providence to his people after thirty years of exile and varied vicissitudes, through the instrumentality of a nation, the capital of which was fourteen thousand miles distant from Cabool. It was surely a matter worthy of observation to mark how the sovereign would comport himself, and how his subjects would receive him. The King on this occasion was not, as usual, borne along in his *nalkee;* he rode a handsome white Caboolee charger, decorated with equip-

ments mounted with gold, in the Asiatic fashion. He wore the jewelled coronet of velvet in which he always appears in public, and an *ulkhalik* of dark cloth, ornamented on the arms and breast with a profusion of precious stones, whilst his waist was encircled with a broad and cumbrous girdle of gold, in which glittered rubies and emeralds not a few. It was impossible not to recollect, as the eye glanced on them, that the *koh-i-noor*,* which ought on this day to have shone out in all its splendour, is still in the casket of a Sikh usurper at Lahore.

The Shah was accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, by the Envoy and Minister, and Sir Alexander Burnes, the two latter in full diplomatic costume. In describing a pageant for the information of English country gentlemen, it is necessary to specify that this dress consists of a cocked hat fringed with ostrich feathers, a blue frock coat with raised buttons, richly embroidered on the collar and cuffs, epaulettes not yielding in splendour to those of a field-marshal, and trowsers edged with very broad gold lace. Two of the king's sons were in the *suwarree.* Moohummud Ukhbar rode,

* A celebrated diamond of that name, which signifies the "mountain of light." It was cruelly extorted from Shah Shooja in the day of his adversity by Runjeet Singh.

plainly habited, under the tutelage of Captain Macgregor, assistant to the Envoy, and the little Shapoor was at his father's side. The major-generals, brigadiers, and the whole of the departmental and personal staff of both Presidencies, with all the officers politically employed, were in attendance; and let me not forget to record that Moonshee Mohun Lall, a traveller and an author, as well as his talented master, appeared on horseback on this occasion in a new upper garment of very gay colours, and under a turban of very admirable fold and majestic dimensions, and was one of the gayest as well as the most sagacious and successful personages in the whole *cortège*.

The cavalcade had to traverse nearly three miles of rocky and very dusty road, the rays of the sun being at the time very inconveniently brilliant and fervid. The monarch enduring this for his people's sake, and we for his Majesty's, passed on. On our left, we saw in the plains little eminences, crowded with forts and towers, which looked exactly like those of the Ghiljees seen through a magnifying glass. But it was not until we nearly approached the town that we perceived wherein the true beauty of the site of Cabool consists. Above us, indeed, on our right, was only a bare mountain crowned

with an almost useless wall, but in the vale below were stretched out to such an extent that the eye vainly endeavoured to reach the boundaries of them, the far-famed orchards of Cabool.

A glorious sight they must be in spring, when crowned with blossoms, glorious in summer, when laden with their golden fruits; and now, in autumn, when their products are enriching the bazars of the city, yet covered with leaves of every shade of green they are not less than glorious; and must still be a glorious spectacle even when, denuded by the blasts of winter of their verdure as now of their fruitage, they are bowed down by the snows of a Cabool December. Under the trees of these inclosures grow Indian corn, and onions, leeks, cabbages, red and white carrots, the *buengun* (Indian egg plant, *solanum melonganum*), water and rock melons, and a great variety of cucurbitous plants, and, above all, beet root, of a size never seen in Europe. These will prove a valuable acquisition to our troops, so long strangers to a wholesome vegetable diet. The potatoe is not found in these gardens. British influence, the honour of which is concerned in the naturalization of that esculent in Affghanistan, is yet in its cradle at Cabool.

Onward the procession moved, and shortly after were seen before it in the valley the houses of a vast suburb interspersed with spreading and lofty trees, and overlooked by the capacious but unpretending dome of the mausoleum of Timour Shah, the weak and irresolute prince who knew not how to sustain the national edifice which the genius of his father had erected. We crossed the river by a paltry bridge, and were soon closely wedged together in narrow streets, which had been choked before we arrived with the dense files of the Affghan population. Never was any town seen more closely thronged by men; of women, glimpses only could be caught as they peeped furtively from the tops of houses. The extent of the population, and the eagerness of all ranks to behold the spectacle, was as apparent in the few open spaces of the city as in the narrow lanes, the passages of the covered bazars, and on the bridge of the clear and rapid Cabool river. An ocean of heads was spread out in every direction. They were for the most part cleanly, and becomingly turbaned. The features of the spectators were generally comely, and all lighted up with the emotion of curiosity. The Affghans are, like other Moohummudans, grave, sedate, and slow in their demeanour.

We did not hear on this occasion within the walls of Cabool the noisy acclamations of a British or an Athenian mob, but the expression of countenances indicated ready acquiescence, or something more, in the new state of things.

My conviction is, that the prevailing feeling was not one of much personal affection for Shah Shooja, who will probably as a ruler be less popular than the ex-Ameer; but then and afterwards there were the clearest manifestations of public satisfaction at having got rid of the exactions and oppressions (*zoolm*) of the Barukzye dominion, and of delight at receiving any king at the hands and under the auspices of the *Ungreeze Feringees*, whose character for substantive equity has widely overspread Central Asia.

It has been said that the people did not shout at the sight of their monarch; let it not, however, be supposed that noise formed no part of this *rentrée joyeuse*. The procession had now reached the termination of a long bazar, and saw before it the western gateway of the Bala Hissar and its loop-holed towers and bastions. As we prepared to pass its dry moat, a body of Affghan horse, carried away by curiosity and unbidden zeal to be present at the ceremony, broke in upon the line of our progress, which

had not indeed been conducted before with much regularity, and filled our ranks with the wildest uproar. As we passed the outward gate, the royal *noubut khanu* above it made the fortress echo with its instrumental din. A long street of shops between the outer and inner portal had then to be traversed. On arriving at the latter, the Shah's corps of *Zumboorukchees*, which he took into his service at Bhawulpore, were seen posted on either side of the entrance. As the royal cavalcade entered, a deafening fire was kept up by this small artillery, whilst the Affghan cavalry horses plunged, and bolted off with their riders in every direction.

Arrived in the inner court, the monarch first visited the great garden of the palace, in which are two really handsome and pleasant pavilions. A clear stream runs from a fountain at the upper end of the highly walled inclosure, and the walks, terraces, and parterres are laid out in by no means bad taste. This is the place of retirement and seclusion of the ruler in his hours of leisure, and was a favourite resort of the fallen Ameer. It has since been converted into the British Residency.

The Shah next repaired to the palace itself, which occupies the northern side of the fortress. It is lofty, and the apartments are not devoid of

comfort, and even some shew of magnificence. But the Barukzye had permitted it to fall into a shameful state of dilapidation. Shah Shooja, ascending the great staircase, ran with childish eagerness from one small chamber to another of the well-remembered abode of royalty, deplored aloud the neglect and damage which was everywhere visible, and particularly lamented the removal of the panels of mirror from the *sheeshu-muhul.** He then ascended to the *bala-khanu,*† and surveyed with the most lively satisfaction the prospect in the direction of Kohistan, now brought once more within his rule. If it would have been impossible to have withheld our sympathy from a peasant restored to the cottage of his father and grandfather after a thirty years' ejectment, it was surely not easy to stifle all

* The Moohummedans thus name their apartments, the walls of which are covered with squares of mirror conjoined by gold or silver frame-work.

† In the palace and garden retreat many courtesies and pleasantries passed on this day between the monarch and Sir Willoughby Cotton, whom his Majesty has always distinguished by a large share of his attention on all public occasions, particularly at the review at Shikarpore, and the grand durbar at Candahar. Nor has his kindness been confined to empty compliments, for when the General lay on a couch of sickness in the western capital, his Majesty was most assiduous in his inquiries, and almost daily sent, with an apparent kindness which enhanced their value, presents of fruit, ice, &c., during the period of his convalescence.

emotion, when we, who had watched Shah Shooja's course from Loodiana, now at length saw him resume possession of the royal *muhul* in the Bala Hissar, and remembered that, in the interval since he had last paced its halls, he had not only dragged on existence in a foreign land, a pensioner and an exile, but had become familiar with want and houseless wandering, with defeats, persecutions, imprisonments, and even personal indignities. The Commander-in-Chief, and all the superior officers of the army, after offering their respectful congratulations, left his Majesty within the fortress, under the walls of which his contingent had already begun to rear their tents.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. I have freely spoken of the military error of leaving at Candahar the siege train of the army, when it might have been required to aid in the reduction of two strongholds; for besides that the fortress of Ghuznee lay between the British force and the capital, the Bala Hissar, which is the citadel of Cabool, though its ramparts, like its palace, have suffered from neglect, and are besides under command from at least two adjacent points, might yet have been put in such a state of defence, before its foes could

have sat down before it, as would have rendered it desirable to bring against its walls heavier pieces than those of mere field artillery. This fault has been excused on the double ground of deficiency of means of transport, and of the information of the political department having constantly forbid the military commander to expect any hostile resistance after marching from Candahar. It was, at all events, promptly and brilliantly retrieved. The conception and execution of the attack of Ghuznee were alike masterly and soldier-like, and it is not adopting the language of adulation or hyperbole to characterize the capture of this place as the most spirited, skilful, and successful *coup-de-main* on record in the annals of British India. The device of blowing in the gate, though not exempt from risk of failure, was far preferable to an escalade, under the circumstances of the case, whilst the fire of the place remained entire, and its defences uninjured; and when this mode and single point of attack had been selected, the disposition of the artillery, the choice of troops and leaders, the partition of the force with a view to common support, the timing of the moment of assault, and of the false attack, the arrangement to intercept fugitives, and to meet and confound any attempt to interrupt the

progress of the enterprise, were all admirable, creditable to the skill, and indicative of the coolness, resolution, and self-possession of the commander, and well deserving of the signal success of the sequel.

The strength of the fortress had been much underrated before the British invested it. Party feeling has since exalted or decried its importance as has best suited its purpose. The judgment of our chief engineer is based on solid science and careful observation. His estimate, as far as it goes, may be taken as a safe guide in our search after historic truth. He has described Ghuznee as environed by a rampart, built on a scarped mound, above thirty-five feet in height, the altitude of the parapet above the level of the plain being from sixty to seventy feet. He considered that the irregular figure of its *enceinte* presented a good flanking fire from numerous towers, and that the height of the citadel neutralized the advantage to assailants of the command of the hills to the northward, protecting from their fire the interior of the place. A *fausse braye* encircled the main wall; the ditch had been cleared out, and was filled with water, believed not to be fordable, and an out-work, as has been seen, enfiladed the bed

of the Logur, the stream of which gave additional strength to the fortification on that side.

2°. Moohummud Hyder Khan and his Affghans displayed boldness and vigilance in the defence of their fortress. Their most desperate efforts were certainly those to which terror urged them, when, under its influence, two bodies of them attempted to break away by the Cabool gate; but the contest, at the same point, with the forlorn hope, under Colonel Dennie, was creditably maintained, and the panic which ensued appears to have been mainly attributable to all their calculations being baffled by the unexpected character of the blow aimed against them. There is reason to believe that, from the moment the fire of the false attack opened, the ramparts were everywhere manned, and preparations made to repel an escalade on every point of the circumference; but the garrison was thunderstruck when it saw a portion of the defences suddenly prostrated by a contrivance of which their experience did not enable them to form any notion; and when the spring-tide of combatants poured at once from the gate full upon the citadel, the defenders upon the ramparts found themselves taken in reverse, and saw no hope but in concealment or flight. It

cannot escape remark, that the affair might have assumed altogether a different aspect, if the Affghans had taken the obvious precaution of cutting away the bridge of communication with the Cabool gate, as soon as the British approached the place. How is their neglect to be accounted for? It is said that the garrison expected a reinforcement. But could they have formed the presumptuous hope of breaking through our investment, after our camp had been fixed to the northward? It seems probable that the prospect of succour might have induced them to leave the bridge untouched on the 21st, and that they afterwards omitted to destroy it, partly from their ignorance of any other mode of attack than regular siege or escalade, and partly from the spirit of procrastination inseparable from the Asiatic character, mingled perhaps with the dread of exposing their working parties, after we had once completed our bold circuit to the northward.

3°. In judging of the measures of Dost Moohummud Khan, it is always to be remembered that he had worthless and faithless tools to work withal. An inference unfavourable to his reputation has been drawn by some from the circumstance of his having twice taken up a position at Urghundee Bala, once in 1834, when

Shah Shooja was threatening Candahar, and again in 1839, when the British were advancing towards Cabool. The fact is remarkable, and, as regards the combinations of the latter period, has given rise to the imputation that the Ameer's calculations were, from the moment that his states were assailed, too much based on considerations of personal security. But this conclusion appears to be hasty and injurious.

It is true that the Barukzye finally used the line to Bamian merely as an outlet for the escape of himself and his family. But when the British had advanced beyond Ghuznee, his situation, in a military point of view, was most critical. Colonel Wade was advancing steadily, though slowly, by the Khybur route, and the Ameer had found it necessary to withdraw from that line of defence the mass of his infantry under Moohummud Ukhbar, which joined him by forced marches at Urghundee. The tenure of his capital was compromised. Sir John Keane and Colonel Wade were marching upon it in opposite directions, and had left him no line of retreat, excepting across the Hindoo Koosh; and it would have been possible for the former, when he reached Sheikhabad, to have sent a turning force round by the route of Logur, and Khoord Cabool, which would have de-

bouched to the eastward of Bootkhak, and screwed the Ameer in a vice, if he had retained any position nearer his capital than that which he actually assumed. The meer of Koondooz was his tributary; the king of Bokhara was supposed to be friendly to him. It will be difficult therefore to shew that he acted strategically wrong in taking up a position at Urghundee.

It was his intention thence to have advanced to Muedan, and there he would at least have fought a battle with a line open to him, by which he might have operated a retreat on Koondooz, and eventually on Bulkh and Bokhara. *He thus in fact took Independent Tartary for the basis of his future operations, purposing to retire upon his tributaries and allies.* It arose from circumstances which he could not control that he had afterwards to trace the route to Bamian as a fugitive, instead of at the head of an army. He appears more liable to censure for not having completed in time the repairs of the Bala Hissar, and left a garrison in it to overawe the capital and protract resistance. It would have been at least as difficult for him to have retired by the pass of the Hindoo Koosh, which leads to Goree, as by the line of Bamian; and he might have been cut off even from the

latter route, if his purpose had been anticipated, and a force sent on promptly from Ghuznee by the defiles afterwards ascended by Captain Outram. *But it will be remembered that the notion of the retreat of the Ameer into Koondooz by Bamian was treated in the British camp as visionary, until the receipt at Sheikhabad of the intelligence of his flight proved that it had been founded on a just estimate of the circumstances of the campaign, and character of the man.*

4°. When authentic accounts had reached our head-quarters of the flight of the Ameer, and the direction which he had taken, it was felt that the possession of his person was of the utmost importance to the consolidation of the Dooranee empire. The task of pursuing him was properly confided to one of the most active and energetic officers in the service of the Indian government. It is only to be regretted that he was not accompanied by a force which might have been justly esteemed, under any circumstances, capable of defeating the Ameer's followers, and that the functions of the Kakur chief were not restricted to the duties of a guide, instead of his appearing in the character of a most dangerous ally, at the head of an Affghan contingent, numerically superior to the body of our own troops detached on the expedition.

But even under such more favourable arrangements, the capture of the fugitive would have been an event rather to be desired than expected. He had a long start of his pursuers, on a mountain road.

5°. It is not possible to withhold approbation from the motive of sparing the effusion of blood, and a desire, even after war was declared, of mitigating its evils, and diminishing as far as possible the amount of human suffering. It was wise, as well as merciful, in the British government to instruct its political functionaries, whilst labouring to restore Shah Shooja, to rely greatly on moral means, and to aim at presenting him to his subjects as the object of their rightful allegiance, rather than to force him upon them by extreme measures of warlike coercion. But this principle might be acted upon to a dangerous extent, and it is not to be doubted that when the haughty and untractable Affghans saw us on our route to Candahar and Ghuznee scattering presents and *jageers* in our path, they adopted the insolent notion that we were a rich, but feeble and effeminate people, who could corrupt with gold, but knew not how to bring into subjection by the sword; and under this conviction, and a knowledge of the nature of our bargain, they must have smiled to

see us pay in gold mohurs for every hair in the beard of the traitor Hajee Khan. The affair of Ghuznee dispelled this illusion; "the posture of our blows" was from that moment known, and our military character appreciated; and the soldiers of Dost Moohummud Khan began to doubt whether, for the sake of upholding the cause of an usurper, it was worth while to risk another conflict with troops that had been seen to make themselves masters in two hours of the strongest fortress of the land.

CHAPTER III.

Cabool — Its fruit-bazars and shops — Monument of Sooltan Baber—Abundance in the British camps—Pursuit and escape of the Ex-Ameer—Murder of Lieutenant Colonel Herring—Opening of the Kyber Pass—Affair of Kooloojoo—Arrangements for the military occupation of Affghanistan—Head-quarters of the army of the Indus moved from Cabool towards the Indus—Insurrection of the Khyberees—Sanguinary defeat of the Nujeebs—Peshawur—skirmishes with the Khyberees—Observations.

After admiring and deploring as chorus to the king all that was splendid, venerable, or dilapidated in the Bala Hissar, the military party returned to their camp as fast as their horses could carry them over a slippery pavement, and long, narrow, and winding streets, obstructed at intervals by the strange fashion of building across them gates with high wooden thresholds, and through densely crowded bazars. In these last the shops forcibly attracted our attention.

First we gazed with admiration on those on which were exposed for sale the products of the

orchards. There were to be seen grapes of five different kinds—a small blue, a long blue, a long white, a middle sized blue, and a lesser white grape, which might more properly be called yellow, the bunches of which please the eye as much as they delight the palate. There too, unknown in Hindostan, were apples of a brilliant rosy red; and green as well as yellow pears, both sorts being ripe and juicy, together with peaches and melons in rich profusion. The Affghans distinguish the latter, of which there are many varieties, into "*surd*," cold, meaning the several species of water melon, and "*gurm*," hot, under which head they class the sweeter kinds. They use "*Khurboozu*" as a generic name, and "*Shukkurboozu*," to designate, I believe, a small and luscious sort of musk melon. Amateurs in our army considered some of the specimens of this fruit, as it is grown with little care in the orchards and fields of Affghanistan, superior in flavour to the melons of our native land, reared under all the advantages of the most elaborate horticulture. They reckoned the most delicious a kind unknown in England, of which the pulp and seeds, as well as the rind, were of a light green hue.

Besides these fruits, there were for sale almonds, pistachio nuts, walnuts, quinces, small

black cherries, and red and white mulberries. These, with all the vegetables that were enumerated in a former chapter, arranged to the best advantage in the open fronts of a hundred houses, made up a display which rivalled, if it did not surpass, the wealth of Pomona, as exhibited in the markets of the British capital. Intermixed with these *dookans* (shops) were those of the manufacturers of *shumsheers* and *peeshkubzes*, with scabbards and belts, of black, green, and Russian leather; of artists who fabricate shields and chain armour; and book-binders, who make very respectable covers for the manuscript copies of the Persian poets and historians.

The butchers' shambles wore an air of peculiar neatness. Pieces of fat mutton neatly cut up were there offered to the choice of customers transfixed upon the spikes of an iron framework. Public ovens were seen, out of which busy bakers were drawing loaves made up in the European fashion, as well as the more favoured cakes, in which the inhabitants of Cabool and Candahar delight. Though raised by a leaven slightly acid, they are yet neither unpalatable nor unwholesome. By the side of these necessaries of life were seen a variety of useful commodities. Earthen pots were set out in great varieties of form: there were pots to strain, to keep cool,

and to scatter water; and for drinking and smelling, sherbet, and *shikunjubeen*, and *uttur*. In other shops were several kinds of cloths, of Affghan, Persian, and Russian manufacture; and cloaks and half-cloaks, called *poshteens*, and *neem-asteens* of well-cured sheep-skins. The furriers have also for sale ermine, sable, and delicate black lamb-skins. Of these last are made the celebrated Kuzzilbash caps, which are of a conical form, and decorated at the top with a small piece of pendant red cloth or velvet, or sometimes of brocade.

Little sets of very pretty China and of Dresden porcelain were laid out to tempt purchasers in the outer apartments of the houses of these traders, whilst in their secret recesses are to be found very handsome and costly shawls, *pushmeenas*, *puttoo*,* the last of a better fabric than the production of the same kind manufactured in India, and well-wrought but gaudy silks, precious stones neatly cut and engraved in Persian characters, tea imported by way of Bokhara, and carpets made at Yuzd.

These, and many other articles of use and luxury, are offered for sale, according to law; and unfortunately for the morals of our soldiery at Cabool, though not at Ghuznee, is vended se-

* A kind of coarse and warm woollen cloth.

cretly a fiery spirit distilled from the grape. The preparation of this noxious stimulant is chiefly in the hands of a colony of Armenians, formerly numerous, but now reduced to about twenty families. A laudable decree of Dost Moohummud Khan interdicted this traffic altogether. I am not aware that Shah Shooja has formally repealed the regulation, as regards the consumption of his own subjects; but our commissariat, soon after our arrival, completed a contract with the Armenians for the supply of the troops with Cabool spirit in the place of Indian rum. Our soldiers had even before this found their way to the haunts of clandestine dealers in this baneful, but seductive beverage; and it is to be feared that the Affghans, like other nations invaded by our armies, will soon be taught the difference between Britons drunk and Britons sober. How strange are the contradictions in human character, and between the conduct of men and their outward professions! Dost Moohummud Khan, a usurper and reformed drunkard, during the latter years of his reign, restrained intemperance by law in conformity with the dogmas of his Koran. The armies of a nation professedly Christian replace the rightful sovereign on the *musnud*. The means of intemperance become once more plentiful in Cabool, the manufac-

turers of its spirituous liquors being the only Asiatics in Affghanistan who call themselves Christians.

Cabool is built on a plain at the foot of two mountain ranges, and, with the exception of a suburb, lies on the right bank of the clear and rapid, but shoal river, to which it gives a name. At the roots of the most eastern of the two hills, which form the natural shelter of the city, is seen the Bala Hissar, at once the royal palace and fortress of this capital. The citadel of the place is perched on an eminence above it, overlooking, not only the fastness itself, but the level all around it, and commanding the buildings stretched out at its foot. It is remarkable that in this smaller and loftier fort a brother of Dost Moohummud built a palace, since abandoned, to which he gave the name of "Koollah-i-Feringee," or "European Hat," an ominous designation for an eminence, on which there is now a guard of English soldiers and the hospital of the 13th light infantry.

The Bala Hissar is an irregular pentagon, and, from its *enceinte*, an old and battlemented wall, constructed of sun-dried bricks mingled with stones, runs up and down the sides and along the summits of the two mountains above mentioned, thus forming the *shuhurpunah*, or bul-

wark of Cabool. One extremity of this extensive inclosure rests, as has been intimated, on the royal citadel; the other comes down upon a suburb in the level on the road from Nanuchee, by which we first approached Cabool. In descending into the valley between the two lofty ranges, it crosses the Cabool river, and the main route from Candahar, from which we had diverged in our lateral movement from Sheikhabad to Muedan, and on which we were encamped shortly after the occupation of the capital.

The pass between the mountains is, at the point of intersection, narrow and defensible, and matchlock men might occupy with effect the mouldering battlements on either flank of the approach. But the defile can be turned by the road to Nanuchee; and from any point on that route, columns moving to their left may traverse the open and defenceless side of the city to the northward, and establish themselves on heights which overlook all but the upper fort of the Bala Hissar, and upon the road from Bootkhak to the eastward of the city, which leads to the Khyber and Peshawur. Such a movement would evidently take in reverse the whole line of the mountain wall. In short, although this range of castellated mountain is

nearly four miles in extent, and would therefore demand powerful battalia for its adequate defence, it yet leaves open an entire side of the capital which it was devised to protect.

There is no reason, however, why Ameer Dost Moohummud or any of his captains might not have made a stout defence at Cabool, as Moohummud Hyder Khan had dared to do at Ghuznee. The old wall on the mountain sides is indeed a puerile defence, because it becomes utterly useless the instant it is turned at Nanuchee, or the pass forced near Baber's tomb. Thus driven from his line of entrenchments, the Ameer must therefore have shut himself up in the Bala Hissar. The walls, as abandoned to us, were certainly much out of repair, but large quantities of brick had been collected in the eastern valley, and the labours of a population estimated at sixty thousand persons might soon have rendered the defences respectable. Already every gate had, as at Ghuznee, been closed with masonry, excepting that handsome one which leads to Lahore and the opposite portal, by which the monarch entered on the day of his triumphal progress.

The profile of the walls of the place is lofty, the towers and curtains are as well disposed as in most Asiatic fortresses, and a broad stagnant

moat runs round the place, which a few strokes of the spade would have filled with water. The ditch is also, as at Ghuznee, defended by a *fausse braye.* There is a little town within the walls of the fortress, the houses of which, if the inhabitants were excluded, and grain collected in them, would form tolerable barracks, and inexhaustible storehouses. A part of the lower works are, as has been intimated, under command from heights to the northward, but at a much greater distance than that at which Moohummud Hyder Khan's citadel was seen. A force established on the mountain to the southward would also overlook even the loftier towers of the upper fort; but the labour of forming a battery on so lofty and precipitous an elevation would not be a light one. It is not, at the same time, to be forgotten that the streets and bazars of the city, running up to the very counterscarp of the western ditch, afford a considerable facility for a favourable lodgment on that side. But, after all, here again was a fortress on which we could not have reasonably hoped to make an impression without the aid of a siege train, if it had been properly garrisoned and stoutly defended.

Once seized, the town of Candahar was easily kept, not only against external enemies, but in

spite of the efforts of popular insurrection. For the Charsoo was centrical, and heavy guns placed there would have swept its straight streets up to each of the four principal gates. Its citadel also had a commanding interior front, and a hostile populace would in vain have sought refuge in the remoter portions of any of the quarters of the town, whilst its lofty rampart, from which the tops of the houses were commanded, was manned with troops. The case would be different at Cabool. Though it is by far the finer city of the two, many of its streets are winding and thrown off from each other at oblique and uncertain angles, and some of them are so narrow that hardly by any effort could artillery be dragged over their defective pavement. Here then all depends, in a military point of view, on a firm hold of the Bala Hissar. It is the key of Cabool. The troops who hold it ought not to suffer themselves to be dislodged but by a siege; and they must awe its populace with their mortars and howitzers; for, in a land where every male has in his house, or about his person, a musket and long bayonet, which last, a fit emblem of the state of the land, is constructed so as never to unfix, a sword and shield, a dagger, a pistol, or a musketoon, a contest in crooked lanes of flat-roofed houses

with a population estimated at sixty thousand souls, would be unequal, excepting for very numerous forces indeed; in any case injudicious.

The Cabool river flows through the city; but so as to have on the right bank the great mass of its buildings, two-thirds of its *shuhurpunah*, the monument of Timour Shah, the Chundawul, and the principal bazars. On the left are only suburbs, gardens, the detached mansions of some Affghan noblemen, and one of the two intrenched mountains which guard the capital. The stream is rapid and clear, but not more than between thirty and forty yards in width. It is crossed in and near the town by four convenient, but not handsome, bridges.

The mausoleum of the father of Shah Shooja is a lofty octagonal edifice of brickwork, surmounted with a dome, conspicuous from many parts of the city, and surrounded with mulberry groves. The chief bazar is styled the Charchutta. It consists of four divisions of broad and lofty arcade, constructed with solidity, and plastered over and painted in fresco, under which, on both sides of a passage, crowded perpetually not only with human beings, but with horses, camels, and even elephants, goods of

various descriptions, silks, furs, jewellery, earthenware, embroidery, shawls, *pushmeenas*, carpets, skull-caps, Kuzzilbash *koollus* (hats), furs, and *roomals* (handkerchiefs), are exposed for sale. These really splendid cloisters are said to have been formerly adorned with fountains; but if ever completed, they have been allowed to fall into decay. The basins into which the waters might have played now alone remain.

The next bazar in point of magnitude and wealth is a long covered street, which leads from the Western gate of the Bala Hissar. Here articles of food, and delicacies to please the palate, are to be procured, whilst the Charchutta is more exclusively set apart for apparel. The bookbinders, sword-cutlers, ironmongers, and workers in leather, chiefly inhabit a street which runs from the Peshawur gate of the city up to the great bazar. The articles which generally strike a stranger as most curious in the shops of those artisans are the very neat *chagools*, or leathern bottles, which are made to carry water at the saddle bow in long journeys, the whips with lacquered handles, the snuffboxes, in shape like those in which pounce is contained in Europe, and the large iron pots, in which all the people of Central Asia delight in spoiling

tea, the blandest restorative in all nature's productions, by boiling it up with *ghee* (clarified butter), and salt.

Nearly all the houses of all classes are built of sun-dried brick; many have wooden fronts and balconies. The cold is excluded, and light admitted, by windows, or sliding lattices of the same material, constructed in a workman-like way, and sometimes edged with a kind of trellis work, very neatly finished. Glazing is almost unknown. When Sir Alexander Burnes improved the house in which he resided in the city, he gave light to its wooden sashes by the introduction of a number of Russian looking-glasses, from which he had caused the quick-silver to be scraped, an ingenious contrivance, which rendered his apartments more cheerful than even the royal pavilions in the garden of the Bala Hissar. I cannot give a better notion of the houses of the Ameers and people of distinction than by describing that of the Nuwab Jubbar Khan. He had accompanied his fallen brother beyond Hindoo Koosh, and his mansion was set apart as a residence for Sir Willoughby Cotton, though circumstances prevented the General from taking possession of it during the year 1839.

It was situated in a narrow and dirty lane.

From its great gate access was gained by a long and dark passage into a square court, three sides of which consisted of the two-storied dwelling-house, which has a flat-roofed *bala-khanu*, used by Asiatics for purposes of recreation at all seasons, and for slumber in the hot weather. The front of this mansion was plastered, and tastefully painted with devices. It had doors, windows, floors, and staircases of wood, and might contain some forty small apartments, easily divisible into five separate tenements, besides a bath, a kitchen (strange to say) on the first floor, and a kind of wooden cage for the ladies of the *zunanu* on the *bala-khanu*. There was a well in the centre of the court-yard, which was planted in parterres with *gool-i-abbas* (*mirabilis jalapa*), and other flowers. The residence was in charge of a shrewd old Syud, a native of Peshawur, who boasted of having been thirty years in the service of his master. Near it was a stable, which would accommodate a score of horses under good cover, and as many mules or camels in its area. Most of the houses of the people of distinction have court-yards and gardens attached to them. The mosques are numerous and well frequented, but have no pretensions to splendour.

There were two adventurers of British and

American extraction attached to Dost Moohummud previously to our occupation of his capital. Of these, Campbell had formerly been in the service of the Company, and had been afterwards employed with the invading force of Shah Shooja in 1834. He behaved with great bravery in the action under the walls of Candahar, but was wounded and taken prisoner, a circumstance which led to the panic flight of his royal master. He next followed the fortunes of the Barukzyes; was in favour, for some time, with the Ameer of Cabool, and resided in the *Boorj-i-Wuzeeree*, a fortified house and garden in the suburbs of the capital on the margin of the river, once inhabited by the celebrated Futih Khan. Before the British had reached Ghuznee, Campbell was sent across the Hindoo Koosh by order of Dost Moohummud, under Affghan *surveillance*. Harland, the American, belonged to the medical profession, and was treated with unmerited severity by the Ameer previously to his flight from Urghundee. We found him in Cabool when we took possession of it.

Here I may mention the unexplained existence of a smallt ombstone near the Lahore gate, purporting to mark the spot where repose the remains of one Thomas Hicks, and bearing

date 1666. Who was Thomas Hicks?* No one in our army could satisfactorily answer the question. But it is hardly to be doubted that he was a British subject, who had penetrated to Cabool before Forster, Joseph Woolf, or Lieutenant Burnes. Who erected his monument, and wrote its inscription in English? A surviving companion and countryman alone could have done this. The Affghan cemeteries and monumental slabs are very like our own, and the sculptors of Cabool engrave well in the Persian character both on tombstones and cornelian signets; but they could not execute an English inscription without British assistance. To whom, then, were the ashes of Thomas Hicks indebted for the "*munus inane*" of sepulture and memorial? The legend looks like the dictation of an illiterate English comrade, or relative, to an Affghan artist.

In the Armenian burying-ground, to the south-eastward of the Bala Hissar, are a great many grave stones with inscriptions in that language, though the members of this little colony of distillers all speak Persian. Their monumental tablets are universally, I think, horizontal; those of the Affghans are disposed perpen-

* See Appendix.

dicularly. The streets of Cabool are crowded to excess from sunrise to sunset with males of all classes, a great proportion of whom carry arms for their personal protection. Few of the women make their appearance abroad, and those who do so are completely enveloped in the long white veil, called *boorku*. It has eyelet and breathing holes, but so entirely shrouds the person as to give the form moving under it the appearance of a walking mummy. Not a glimpse can be obtained of either the features or the shape. I am assured, however, that common report has not spoken too highly of the beauty of the women of Cabool. Its men are generally tall and handsome. Pooshtoo is certainly much spoken here, especially in the villages; but it is not, as in the western capital, the most common medium of intercourse in the bazars and streets. All classes in the city appear to converse in Persian as in their mother tongue, and if inferior to that of Iran, the dialect is far purer than any to which the army of the Indus had before listened.

The little cemetery which contains the ashes of the philosophic yet romantic ruler, Sooltan Baber, is situated at the foot of one of the turreted mountains which protect the city to the westward, and not far from the point of con-

fluence of a tributary stream which flows down from the southward into the Cabool river. When our camps were pitched on the Candahar road, it was necessary to strike into a bye-path, and ford one river, and cross the other by a stone bridge, in order to reach the monument. The country hereabout consists of fields of rice and clover planted with groves, and hedgerows of willow and mulberry, and invested with all the charms of sylvan beauty. A sharp turn brings the visitor to the ruins of a palace, whence he proceeds into a grove of poplars, the height, foliage, and girth of which entitle them to be classed as magnificent forest trees. The rocks here begin to peep through the dark soil, and on a promontory formed by the picturesque crags at the foot of the mountain is perched a small stone summer-house, which is visible many miles off in the plains toward Candahar. A fine cascade of clear water gushing over an artificial mound of loose stones, compacted with mortar, gives animation to the picture. Near this stands a white marble temple, of simple, but pleasing architecture. On the entablature is a Persian inscription,* and in a little garden enclosure beyond it lie the ashes of the mo-

* See Appendix, No. 24.

narch, under a plain slab. A tomb-stone at the head of the grave records his power and his virtues, whilst the remains of his favourite consort are inclosed in a sarcophagus of white marble, surrounded by a screen of trellis-work, which may remind the observer of the more costly tomb of the wife of Shah Jehan at Agra.

The little edifice built by Shah Zuman, the blind brother of Shah Shooja, and perched on the summits above, and the grey and battlemented ridge of the yet more elevated mountain, give an air of simple beauty and grandeur to the spot in which pilgrims seek and find the dust of the once mighty and chivalrous Baber. It is said to have been a place of constant resort of the Ameer Dost Moohummud; he kept his numerous stud of horses in the grove, and visited it every evening. These excursions afforded his poorer subjects opportunities of approaching him, and their petitions were commonly received, and their reasonable requests granted, with a courtesy and benevolence which made a deep impression on the hearts of the people of Cabool, who, contrasting the mild and frank manners of the ex-Ameer with the repulsive haughtiness of their Shah, draw comparisons very unfavourable to the recently restored ruler. Having adverted to the feelings

of the people relative to the two dynasties, I have no hesitation in adding, that I believe Dost Moohummud Khan to have been personally more acceptable to all classes of Affghans in the capital than the legitimate successor will ever be; but that there is a general feeling of satisfaction at the recent change, because it has established British influence, which the inhabitants of Central Asia have already learnt to regard as a guarantee for the enjoyment of the advantages of equitable rule.

The Barukzye Ameer knew the art of winning golden opinions, and the general impression amongst his late subjects appears to be, that he was substantively just in his decisions between man and man. The following anecdote does not impugn his equity, but exhibits an instance of rather whimsical severity. It appears that at the time the line of the Khyber was assailed by the combined force of the British and the Sikhs, the ex-Ameer detected the wealthiest banker in Cabool in a correspondence with Colonel Wade. It came to his knowledge that a bill of exchange was in his possession, which he desired to wrest from him. He summoned the Hindoo to his presence, who of course denied all knowledge of the matter. Dost Moohummud calmly directed one of his Kuzzilbash

guards to attach his musket to the ear of the Affghan Rothschild, by letting down the lock upon its pendant lobe. Anxiety to get rid of this troublesome ornament soon produced the desired effect, and the *hoondee** was delivered up in full durbar.

The troops were encamped from the 6th of August at and around Nanuchee. On the 7th, as we have seen, the Shah took possession of the palace of his ancestors. The Envoy and Minister and his assistants were immediately afterwards established in the garden houses of the ex-Ameer, under the shelter of the ruins of the Koollah-i-Feringee. The British union was hoisted in that garden in which Dost Moohummud had so often paced up and down with his suite; and this part of the palace received the name of the Residency. Shah Shooja found his own apartments in even a worse state of repair than he had anticipated. Soon after he resumed possession of them, he narrowly escaped being crushed to death by the fall of the roof of the audience chamber. He had scarcely left it, for the purpose of attending to the forms of his religion, when the formidable *avalanche* of beams, rafters, and masonry took

* Bill of Exchange.

place. His devotional customs were in this instance serviceable to him; but the Moollahs have adopted the notion that he is only an indifferent Moossulman, and the opinion has operated to his prejudice amongst his subjects.

On the 10th and 11th, the camps of the army were removed from Nanuchee. Passing, not without some difficulty, over a rich, but recently irrigated country, the force which had before occupied the head of the road from Muedan was now disposed on four points on the main route. The Bengal Head Quarter camp was fixed at the distance of about three, the infantry of the first division of five, that of the second, and the whole of the cavalry and artillery, between six and seven miles from Cabool to the right and left of the route indicated. Sir John Keane fixed his head quarters in the poplar grove, near the tomb of Sultan Baber. The valley over which the British were thus cantoned was the richest it had yet seen in Affghanistan. Closed in on every side by lofty mountains, on the tops of which, even at this season, snow rests, its length and breadth cannot be estimated at less than six miles. The whole area produces an abundance of Indian corn, rice, and garden vegetables, and is planted with poplar, willow, mulberry, and other fruits

of various kinds. To the eastward is seen the pass which leads to the city, the grey wall above it on either side, and the lofty pleasure-house near the grave of Baber; and in the more distant valleys are descried little verdant nooks, in which are sheltered villages surrounded with trees. The lofty poplars on this level resemble, at a distance, the minarets of an Asiatic city, and are sometimes mistaken for the "starry-pointing pyramids" of the cypress. The turrets of the country residences and little forts of the principal men of Cabool add to the beauty of the prospect. In Affghanistan the English maxim is reversed, and "every man's castle is his house."

Plenty now reigns in our camps. Their bazars are well supplied with grain of various kinds by dealers who flock to them from the city, bringing in with them asses and stout *yaboos* loaded with peaches, apples, pears, grapes, and melons. From morning to night the cry is heard in the canvass streets, "*Khurbooza, shukurbooza, ungoor-i-biriyan, ungoor-i-biriyan, surda, gurma, naspatee, naspatee.*" "Water melons, rock melons, musk melons, ripe grapes, ripe grapes, pears, pears." These exquisite fruits are purchased by our soldiers and followers for the smallest piece of coin. Repletion

is now the only evil which they have to dread. In the midst of this abundance, the irregular habits of the population are displayed in the attacks which are nightly made by bands of bold, dexterous, and persevering depredators, who never hesitate to shed blood if interrupted or resisted in their attempts. The lawless people of this valley, so close to the capital, stab and cut down without remorse any luckless Hindostanee who wanders after dusk ten yards beyond our line of sentries, and a party of them have had the audacity to fire, without apparent reason or motive, into the camp of the Bengal head-quarters. The spirits of our officers are now raised by the improved state of our communications with the British provinces. Colonel Wade having debouched within a few marches of Jellalabad, numerous dawks have reached us by the Khyber route, and we hope soon to be able to receive dispatches at Cabool on the fifteenth day from their leaving the seat of Government at Simla.

Dost Moohummud Khan has finally escaped the grasp of his pursuers, passed the Hindoo Koosh in safety, and is now employed in intrigues in the territory of his former tributary, the Meer of Koondooz, the object of which is to avail himself of the resources of that country,

assemble an army of Uzbeks, and make an effort to regain a footing in Affghanistan. With this view he is also sedulously courting the alliance of the King of Bokhara.

The pursuit of Captain Outram was bold, active, and persevering. He followed the fugitive from the 3rd to the 9th of August, on which day the Ameer crossed in his flight the Affghan frontier at Sueghan, thirty miles beyond Bamian. The British troops endured the greatest privations, having lived on parched corn for several days, their horses picking up, at the same time, scanty and indifferent forage, in the small spots of cultivation in a mountainous tract. Holding cheap these difficulties, Captain Outram pursued his arduous course from Sheikhabad across the Pughman range; to Goda, Soofued Kadir, Joort, and Kurzar. thence he tracked the footsteps of the Ameer by Kaloo, up the tremendous passes of Hajee Guk and Shootur Gurdun to Bamian, leaving close on his right the awful eminences of Kohi Baba, twenty thousand feet in height.

But all his laudable endeavours and intentions were frustrated by the tricks and subterfuges of Hajee Khan. It very soon became evident that nothing was further from the thoughts of this accomplished traitor than to aid in the

capture of his former master. His excuses were varied and endless. At one time he urged the inability of his troops to proceed at so rapid a pace; at another, he permitted them to roam over the country in search of plunder, and then lamented their absence. Perpetually he urged upon the consideration of the bold leader of the chase, the formidable force, amounting to full fifteen hundred men, which Dost Moohummud Khan, after seeing his ranks thinned by desertion, still retained about him. Though believed to be intimately acquainted with the roads, yet between Soofued Kadir and Joort he suffered the detachment to be led into a defile in the mountains, from which there was no egress, and where they were obliged to dismount on a frosty night, and sit by their horses until the dawn enabled them to retrace their footsteps. He encouraged Captain Outram to believe that it was his intention to effect the detention of the Barukzye by raising the Hazaru tribes in his rear, and under this pretext urged him to slacken his pace. But when he found that his sagacity and determination were proof against privations, fatigue, entreaties, and every artifice, he at length threw off the mask so far as to tell him that he must not reckon on the aid of the Affghan troops if he attacked

Dost Moohummud, contrary to the advice of his guide, and that it would not be surprising if they should turn against the British in the *melée*. In one of the numerous altercations between Captain Outram and the Hajee, the latter used the remarkable expressions which will be long remembered against him. "I am hated in Affghanistan on account of my friendship for the English. *I am, next to the king, the most unpopular man in the country.*"

It seems scarcely doubtful that the Kakur was in constant communication with the ex-Sirdar. Arrived at Bamian, and feeling that further pursuit was fruitless, since in a few hours Dost Moohummed must reach Kamurd, in the Koondooz territory, where he would be joined by a large force of Uzbeks, Captain Outram dispatched a letter by a Syud to the fallen chief. He reminded him in this of his ancient friendship for Sir Alexander Burnes, and entreated him to believe that the counsel which he offered was the very same which that sincere wellwisher would give him if he were now at Bamian—viz., that, instead of condemning himself to the life of an exile amongst men who hated him, he should return and submit himself to his lawful sovereign, and accept the favourable terms which the British government was yet disposed

to guarantee to him. It is doubtful whether this remonstrance ever reached Dost Moohummud, since the messenger was procured by Hajee Khan; but Captain Outram, after waiting three days at Bamian to give time for a reply, withdrew his troops to the capital. The recorded opinion of this gallant officer is, that the British force under his orders was not sufficiently strong to have ensured the defeat and capture of the Ameer if he had come up with him, although he had determined to attack him at all hazards. This conviction seems to have tended to retard him, inasmuch as it produced the impression that he was on this account not wholly independent of the movements and support of the Hajee and his Affghans, over and above the service he was capable of rendering as a guide. On the return of the party to Cabool, the proofs of the treasonable intentions of Hajee Khan appeared so clear to the King and to the Envoy, that he was immediately arrested, and placed in close confinement in the Bala Hissar. Hajee Dost Moohummud Khan, the lord of Gurmsel, whose imputed delinquencies have been already mentioned, was at the same time put in durance.

On the 22nd and 23rd of August our camps were finally fixed on a succession of heights and

slopes, which command the valley to the eastward of Cabool, on the great route through Bootkhak to Jellalabad, the Khyber, Peshawur, and the Attok. The country on this side of the capital wore at this season an aspect of sterility, but a great portion of its flats were irrigated during our stay, for rice cultivation, and may before this be rich in waving crops. The outline, too, of the mountains on this side of Cabool yields in beauty to those of the vale which we have left, although the summits in the direction of Kohistan are lofty and imposing. A compensation for the loss of these natural beauties is found in the striking view of the Bala Hissar, its gate towards Lahore, its frowning citadel, and the grey battlements and towers of the wall which runs up the side and along the crest of the heights above it.

Whilst the force lingered here, occupation and amusement were sought in a review, which astonished and delighted the Shah and a numerous assemblage of his subjects; and in races, to the crowning triumph of which the monarch contributed by presenting a handsome sword of Persian manufacture to the owner of the winning horse. Here, too, it was that the feelings of the officers of the force were outraged by the intelligence of another barbarous murder perpetrated

on the person of an individual of their own body universally respected and beloved.

Lieutenant-Colonel Herring, commanding the 37th native infantry, had been employed in escorting treasure and stores from Candahar, where he had been left in command on the departure of the army in June. He reached Hyder Kheil without adventure on the 3rd of September. There, accompanied by three officers of his corps, he imprudently strolled out in the evening to the distance of between two and three miles from his camp. The whole party was unarmed The Colonel had given his sword to a servant, who remained at a considerable distance, and the rest of the officers had left their weapons in their tents. An orderly havildar and two sipahees indeed were in nominal attendance, and had their firelocks with them; but there was a long interval between them and their officers. The latter, on coming near a rising ground, were suddenly made aware, by the whistling of bullets around them, that they were attacked by bandits. There was no resource for men without weapons but to retire towards their camp; but no sooner had they turned their backs than the robbers sallied forth, overtook Colonel Herring, and, though he resisted stoutly, and felled one of the assailants to the ground with his walking-stick,

overpowered and put him to death with numerous wounds. It is believed that a ball had struck him before this completion of the catastrophe. The havildar and sipahees behaved with much resolution, but, opposed to overpowering odds, could only succeed in saving the body of their commander. It was brought to Cabool, and interred in a decent grave, with military honours, in the Armenian cemetery, near the remains of Brigadier Arnold, who had fallen a victim to disease on the 21st of August.

When Shah Shooja heard of this new atrocity, he zealously lent his authority to aid in the discovery and punishment of the murderers, and the active and indefatigable Captain Outram proceeded towards Hyder Kheil, at the head of three hundred Affghan horse, with full powers to use every necessary measure to bring the guilty to justice. He was commissioned at the same time, in concert with Major Maclaren, the British commander at Ghuznee, to reduce to submission some of the refractory chiefs of the Ghiljees. It need scarcely be added how deep a feeling of disgust was excited in the mind of every Englishman in Affghanistan by this additional proof of the depraved and sanguinary habits of the people of the country.

The authorities at Cabool had been made

aware in the second week of August of the success of the negotiations and operations of Colonel Wade on the side of the Peshawur frontier. His force, consisting of considerable but irregular levies of Moossulman Punjabees, partly led by British officers, conjoined to a small detachment of native infantry, and accompanied by two howitzers of our native horse artillery, had broken up from Lahore, intending to act in concert with a corps of the Sikh army. With this allied armament had moved the Shahzada Timour Shah, eldest son of Shah Shooja. No pains had been spared to obtain possession of the defiles of the Khyber by corrupting the Momunds on the left bank of the Cabool river, and the Khyberee tribes in the mountain fastnesses.

But these intrigues were not very successful, and Moohummud Ukhbar, the eldest and most energetic of the sons of the Ameer of Cabool, though driven from the pass and fort of Alee Musjid, continued at the head of a large force to preserve a bold front towards the invaders. He had improved the roads in his own rear, and, relying on the natural strength of the country which was threatened by the British and Sikh forces, shewed a willingness to give battle, with his left to the Cabool river and his

right on the mountains of the Teera range, whenever he might be attacked. But all his bold intentions were frustrated by the capture of Ghuznee. On receiving the news of that electrifying event, the Ameer sent his son a peremptory order to join him with his infantry for the defence of his capital against more formidable opponents than the Sikh British armament. By an incredibly rapid march, these troops fell back from the defiles of the Khyber to Urghundee Bala in the interval between the storm of Ghuznee and the advance of the British to Sheikhabad. The issue of that junction, and the circumstance of the subsequent sickness of Moohummud Ukbur, have already been related.

The force under the direction of Colonel Wade finding its enemies diminished in its front, penetrated the last passes of the Khyber, and after performing the acceptable service of establishing a chain of posts along the mountain route, and on the right margin of the Cabool river in the direction of Muchnee, took possession of Jellalabad, and advanced without further opposition to Bootkhak, one march from Cabool. On the morning of the 3rd of September, the Shahzada Timour Shah made his entry into the capital. The prince is thirty-

one years of age. In countenance he resembles his father, though the expression of his features conveys the impression of less acuteness and discrimination. He is in character far more like his grandfather, whose name he bears, than the adventurous Dooranee who founded the dynasty. Naturally timid, and, as well as his brothers, nurtured in seclusion and obscurity at Loodiana, (*sayupurwur*, nursed in the shade, as the Affghans phrase it,) he little appreciates the change of fortune which has placed his parent once more on a throne, and in his progress from the Sutlege bitterly complained to the British officers of the hard fate which had dragged him forth from the tranquillity and comfort of his peaceful retirement to endure the hardships of a soldier and the privations of a traveller, and to be bound hand and foot by the formalities of a court in the burning plains of the Punjab, the passes of the Khyber, and at the royal head quarters of an invading force. He was well mounted on this triumphal occasion, and sat gracefully on his grey charger.

The Bombay contingent, adequately supplied through the indefatigable exertions of Major Parsons, the commissary-general of the whole force, with means of transport and provisions, marched from Cabool in high order,

under the command of Major General Willshire, on the 16th September. It was directed to move upon Ghuznee, and then, approaching the Khoju Amran far to the eastward of the Kozuk, to effect the passage of the range in the district of Toba. Thus it will advance to Kwettah by a much shorter route than that of Candahar and the valley of the Turnuk. It will co-operate with a portion of the 2nd brigade, which it will find in Beloochistan, and effect the deposition of Mihrab Khan, returning to its own Presidency as circumstances and the information which its commander may collect on the spot shall dictate, either by the Bolan or the Gundava pass, or both, into Sinde.

This force halted, however, one day near Nanuchee with a view to its officers being present at the ceremony of the investiture in the Bala Hissar, by Shah Shooja, of the most distinguished of our belligerents and negotiators with the insignia of his new order. Meditating on the best mode of testifying his gratitude to those who had been instrumental in restoring to him his kingdom, the monarch had finally resolved on instituting a Dooranee order of merit consisting of three classes.* Into the first of these were at present to be admitted the Governor-

* See Appendix, No. 21.

General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Envoy and Minister, Sir Willoughby Cotton, Sir Alexander Burnes, and Colonel Wade; the second was to include all the other major-generals and the brigadiers present at Ghuznee, some staff-officers specially recommended, and Major Todd; the third was composed of officers commanding corps, field-officers of regiments, and a few staff-officers and minor diplomatists. The members were, as in the Bath, to wear in the first class, a star, with decoration suspended across the shoulder; in the second, a star, with decoration attached around the neck; and in the third, a decoration only, appended to the button-hole. The ribband was to be green and crimson, and the stars were in allusion to the designation, Dooranee, derivable from دُر (*door*), a pearl, to be enriched with those glittering and delicate productions.

It is gratifying to have to record the swift retribution which overtook some of the perpetrators of the sanguinary outrage at Hyder Kheil, and their accomplices in organized rapine. Captain Outram had repaired, as was before related, to the scene of the assassination of Colonel Herring, and, indefatigable in his inquiries, soon collected information which convinced him that the lamented officer had fallen

under the weapons of some of the sanguinary brethren of a tribe of freebooters called Khwajuks, whose stronghold was near Koloogoo, two long marches to the north-east of Ghuznee. That fortress being at this time partly garrisoned by the 16th native infantry, Captain Outram communicated the circumstances to its commander, Major Maclaren, and requested his aid in attacking the marauders. It was believed that they had descended in a body from their mountains, and encamped in a glen, not wholly inaccessible. The requisition was promptly and zealously complied with, and Major Maclaren breaking up from his camp near Ghuznee, arrived by daybreak, after a fatiguing night march, in sight of the robbers' position.

His troops consisted of a wing of his own corps, one hundred and fifty of Captain Christie's regiment of the Shah's cavalry, under Lieutenant Nicolson, fifty of the 1st Local horse, under Lieutenant Broadfoot, and one hundred and fifty Affghan cavalry, led by their Sirdar, Moohummud Othman Khan. He found the enemy strongly posted at the foot of a range of mountains of bare rock, and immediately made his dispositions to attack them. Lieutenant Nicolson was directed to turn their left, and Lieutenant Broadfoot their right, whilst the

16th native infantry assaulted in front. A few of the bandits fell under the musketry of our native soldiers whilst in their first position, but the main body retired up the heights. These they probably believed to be wholly inaccessible, as they were both steep and rugged.

The marauders, therefore, confident in the advantage of their post, opened a fire from their matchlocks, fixed, as is the Affghan and Beloochee custom, on rests, whilst their chiefs, waving their swords, dared the Hindoostanees to advance. As the grenadiers of the 16th moved directly against their enemy, the light company and another passed to their right, so as to prevent the escape of the bandits along the range of hills. Officers and soldiers experienced much difficulty in scaling rocks of so precipitous a character; but notwithstanding their vantage ground, their steadied aim and noisy vaunts, the brigands were speedily and utterly defeated. Many were killed, and the rest of the party, one hundred and twenty in number, some of whom were wounded, were all made prisoners. Not a man escaped. The loss of the British was trifling; and amongst the robbers who were captured, Major Maclaren succeeded in identifying in Moohummud Othman, the wounded chief of the tribe, and two

or three others of his people, actual participators in the murder of Lieutenant Colonel Herring. He found in the marauders' camp many articles of clothing belonging to European and native soldiers, and fragments of English letters. This may be accepted as a proof that the tribe had been actively engaged in the plunder of our stragglers and dawks.

During the last half of September, and the two first weeks of October, the principal subject which came under the consideration of the Commander-in-Chief, and the Envoy and Minister, was the military occupation of the country, the destinies of which late events had seemed to place in the hands of the British. When Dost Moohummud Khan first crossed the frontier, his fortunes appeared to be so utterly broken, that it was hoped that a single brigade of British troops in Eastern, and another in Western Affghanistan, would, in addition to the Shah's own army, suffice to maintain the restored monarch on the throne.

Doctor Lord, of the Bombay medical service, who had evinced much talent both when employed as assistant to Captain Burnes in his accredited visit to Cabool immediately before the war, and more recently during the Khyber operations, was selected to enter into such

negotiations beyond the Tartar frontier as might prevent the ex-Ameer from obtaining assistance from the Meer of Koondooz or the King of Bokhara in any hostile plans against the restored government of Affghanistan. But towards the beginning of October the aspect of affairs to the northward of the Hindoo Koosh was thought to be materially changed. The ex-Ameer appeared to be firmly established in the Koondooz territory, and to have obtained such a hold of its resources as to cause very serious alarm in the council chamber of the Bala Hissar, and to disturb the slumbers of Shah Shooja with visions of the appearance of the Barukzye to the southward of Sueghan, at the head of a combined force of Affghans and Uzbeks. To a desire to allay these apprehensions might be traced the plan of an enterprise patronized for a time by the Envoy and Minister, but judiciously abandoned in consequence of the well-timed remonstrance of Sir John Keane. It had been devised to send a brigade of troops at this advanced period of the year beyond the Hindoo Koosh to give weight to the diplomatic representations of Doctor Lord. To the simple apprehension of soldiers, it was clear that this would have been a strategical error. Cut off by the snows and glaciers of this vast mountain range from

all communication with the armament around Cabool, these troops might have had to sustain single-handed the attack of all the forces of Independent Tartary, without supplies, ammunition, or a base of operations. But soberer councils prevailed, and this project of a Trans-Caucasian expedition gave place to safer and less romantic measures of precaution.

It was determined that besides the regular army of Shah Shooja and his Affghan forces, the members of which were daily increasing, the whole of the Bengal division of infantry should remain to the westward of the Khyber. To this were to be conjoined the camel battery, and the 2nd light cavalry, whilst the remainder of the cavalry and artillery should accompany Sir John Keane in the middle of October to the Sutlege. These dispositions appeared to be definitive; the command of the force which was to remain in occupation was confided to Sir Willoughby Cotton, and the Commander-in-Chief prepared to thread the defiles of the Khyber, traverse the Peshawur territory, cross the Indus, and, marching through the Punjab, embark upon the Sutlege, and drop down the Indus to Bombay. Thence he proposed to return to his native land, where the approbation of a gracious Sovereign, and the welcome of a

grateful parliament and people awaited him. But just as his Excellency was about to turn his back on Cabool, a communication from Hindoostan led to a modification of this arrangement. Sir Henry Fane, after descending the Indus, had proceeded to Bombay, and watched from that distant point the progress of events in Central Asia. No successor to him as Commander-in-Chief in India had yet been appointed. Nevertheless, the war being at an end, he had declared his intention of embarking for England early in 1840. Major-General Ramsay, in the meantime, who had exercised the functions of Provincial Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, was preparing to leave Meerut in November, upon the expiration of his tour of staff employment. Sir Willoughby Cotton was the next to him in seniority; and to obviate the inconvenience of an interregnum, it was deemed advisable that he should return to the British provinces. He got ready, therefore, at a few hours' notice, to follow the route of Sir John Keane.

As a temporary measure, it was directed that the troops in Western Affghanistan should report to General Nott, and those around Cabool to Brigadier Sale. The cold of that capital is so intense between November and March, that

the Dooranee court always migrates to the eastward in the interval. The ruinous state of the palace was this year an additional reason for leaving the Bala Hissar. In former days, Peshawur was the place of royal resort, but that fine city is no longer subject to Dooranee rule. It was determined, therefore, that Shah Shooja should fix the seat of his government at Jellalabad until the return of spring. The reserve of the force, consisting of a brigade of infantry, and the 2nd light cavalry, and a portion of the Hindoostanee troops of the king, was to be encamped around that city. The 13th light infantry and a corps of native infantry garrisoned the Bala Hissar, another native regiment held Ghuznee. Two little posts of observation were established on the main routes across Hindoo Koosh, the one at Charekur, and the other at Bamian. Doctor Lord was politically employed in the vicinity of the latter.

The small force which was to move towards Hindoostan with Sir John Keane was divided into two columns. The lancers and horse artillery accompanied his head quarters; the 2nd light cavalry, 4th local horse, and numerous detachments, were to march under the command of General Thackwell. Sir Willoughby Cotton accompanied the last-mentioned body of troops

as an escorted traveller for the present, not as a leader. Henceforth my narrative, therefore, will be that of its progress. Our party and General Simpson, who had resigned the command of Shah Shooja's army, were willing tourists in the direction of the Sutlege. But there moved with us two for whom the British provinces had no charms; the one an honourable captive, Moohummud Hyder Khan, son of the ex-Ameer, the defeated but not disgraced commandant of Ghuznee; the other, that personification of all that is base in the Affghan character, the Kakur chief Hajee Khan. It had been determined at this period that both should be conveyed within the limits of the Agra Presidency, the one to reside there as a prisoner at large, and the other to expiate his presumed treasons by incarceration within the walls of a fortress.

The blast was piercingly cold as, before daylight on the morning of the 16th of October, we mounted our horses and rode from Cabool. Emerging from the little cemetery, in which we had been more than a month and a half encamped, and turning our steeds' heads towards Hindoostan, we reached in an hour the stream of the Logur, which we crossed by a good bridge a few miles above its confluence with

the Cabool river. The former is here deep and rapid, and about fifty yards in width. We halted, as the sun became warm, at the little fortified village of Bootkhak, and spent the forenoon in paying a visit to Moohummud Hyder Khan. He recounted to us with great gaiety and good humour the story of his adventures at the battle of Jumrood. From our encampment we took a long look, believing it might be the last, at the towers of the Bala Hissar, and the mountains which environ Cabool.

Before us lay the Lutabund pass, by which Kafilas commonly travel. It was considered, however, impracticable for artillery, and Sir John Keane's column had therefore taken a more circuitous route, to which we prepared to conform. An hour before daylight we had begun to move across the plain, accompanied by an escort of light cavalry. As we reached the mountains in front of us, we turned suddenly to our right, and found ourselves in a deep defile, through which a mountain-stream was murmuring. The wind blew piercingly cold down the funnel of the narrow Durru. The frozen bodies of a dead elephant on the roadside, and of numerous camels strewed in our path, were the first evidences which presented themselves

of the rigours of climate which we were to encounter in this valley of about four miles in length. We crossed the rivulet twenty-eight times in our course, and as the water splashed our horses' legs and their riders' boots it was congealed in a few seconds. Sir Willoughby Cotton was protected from the cold by a long hussar cloak, which, as he happened to be mounted on a strong hill poney, dipped in the stream as he forded. The blue cloth and red shalloon of this good defence against the weather was soon decorated with a border of ice a foot in width, the weight of which literally tore off five buttons. On our right and left we saw the caverns and *sungas*, or rude breastworks of stone, of the marauders of the region. In Affghanistan no pass is without its tribe of plunderers. Never did travellers hail with more joy the beams of the sun than we, when, emerging from this dreary defile, we came once more within their influence. At our encamping ground, in the midst of seeming sterility, we were supplied with abundance of barley, chopped straw, and lucerne grass for our cattle, loads of which were brought by the peasants on their asses over the mountains from the neighbouring villages.

Continuing our march over roads scarcely prac-

ticable, up and down painful ascents and declivities, and across numerous streams, we reached, on the 18th Teezeen, a valley marked by a singular natural column of pudding-stone at its entrance. We halted on the 19th at a Fukeer's Tukiya, where the peasantry pointed out a grave of gigantic dimensions. They affirmed that it covered the remains of a celebrated saint. On the 20th we encamped in a sterile hollow near Bareekab. Here we began visibly to descend, and the weather grew perceptibly warmer. Many of our officers experienced that sensation of giddiness which affects some persons during sudden transitions from the top to the foot, or from the base to the summit, of considerable altitudes. It is to be remembered that the plain of Cabool, which we had recently left, is upwards of six thousand feet above the level of the sea. Jellalabad, on which we were marching, is not more than three. Though, therefore, both cities are nearly in the same latitude—viz., about 34° 22′ north, the great difference in temperature is not surprising. We saw this morning Kafilas winning their way over the hills above us by the narrow route which leads to the capital by the Lutaband pass. On the eminences which we ourselves had scaled we found the bodies of three of our

unfortunate followers who had died from the effects of cold. The countenance of one of them wore the most dreadful expression of shivering agony which I had ever seen on mortal lineament.

There are two roads from the vicinity of Bareekab to the village of Jugduluk, which is situated on the slope of a hill, and embosomed in a little grove of trees. The route which was deemed preferable for our baggage animals, and which they took, presents no obstacles but hilly undulations. We rode by the lower way, which led us through another terrific defile, the rocks of which, said to be granite and sandstone, were piled one on the other in dark and frowning strata, sloping down on either side towards a mountain rivulet, for which they scarcely left room to flow. This *durru* is longer than that of Khoord Cabool, and a chilling wind blew along the bed of its rivulet, but its waters had no ice on their margin, a full proof of the comparative mildness of the climate. Our horses and camels had now for four successive days severely felt the want of grass and straw, and great numbers of the baggage animals died, or had their strength entirely prostrated by diarrhœa, brought on by feeding on a plant on the sides of the hills, said to be a species of *digitalis*.

From Jugduluk, the mountains, hitherto so bare, are covered with a few bushes and stunted trees.

We marched by moonlight on the morning of the 22nd, but before we reached the Soorkh or red river, near which our tents were pitched, the sun had grown hot to a degree which appeared almost frightful to men who had recently been frozen at Cabool. The stream flows rapidly, chafed by rocks, which impede its passage, under a bridge of single lofty and pointed arch, built by Alee Murdan Khan, the wealthy and munificent noble, in the age of Shah Jehan, who has left other monuments of his taste and public spirit in the eastern provinces of the Affghan rule. The stream escapes a hundred yards higher than the ford by which we crossed it from the mouth of a dark defile, which reminded us of Jugduluk and Khoord Cabool, and then flows on to join its vexed but crystal waters to those of the Cabool stream. Here was resumed the story of disaster which had been so little varied in all our marches from the Indus. Camels dead and dying strewed the road, and commissariat grain and officers' tents and baggage were on every side abandoned. To swell yet higher the amount of these misadventures, a numerous

train of carts had followed our columns from Cabool. Up to that point they had not been encumbered by any wheeled carriages but those of the artillery.

We encamped the next day, and enjoyed the luxury of a halt at Gundamuk, in a delightful and well watered valley, fertile, and planted with spreading mulberry trees. On our right were the Teera mountains, and immediately above us, the lofty summit of Soofued Koh; on our left was a chain of hills, from which we were warned to be on our guard against any sudden inroad of our old enemies, the Ghiljees, a tribe of whom is established in the neighbourhood. We continued our route on the 25th, taking the left of two roads which both unite at Futtihabad. The Teera range was seen majestically rising on our right, and nearer to us, when we began again to descend, we descried in the centre of a well cultivated vale, irrigated by a mountain stream, the royal gardens of Neemla. We could not pause to visit them, but looked down with pleasure on the lofty square inclosure, over which shot up a dense grove of poplars and fruit-bearing trees.

We had not forgotten that this was the memorable spot on which Shah Shooja lost his crown thirty years ago, when his Wuzeer, Akram Khan,

at the head of fifteen thousand men, sustained a defeat from Futtih Khan, followed only by two thousand. Our camp was fixed this day in fields, from which it was plain that rich harvests had recently been reaped. The country was well watered by numerous streams which flow down from the Teera mountain, and clumps and groves of fruit trees lent freshness and variety to the scene. The landscape was yet more smiling at Sooltanpore, where we halted on the 26th. Grain was more abundant here than we had ever known it since we left the British provinces, and, for the first time in the Dooranee Empire, we saw numerous fields of lofty sugar cane. A long tract of valley under the mountains was covered with a succession of garden inclosures.

We marched to Jellalabad on the 27th October. Intelligence reached us here which affected the immediate plans of our party. Sir Jasper Nicolls had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, and might land at Calcutta before we could arrive in Hindoostan. There would be no need in that case of a Provincial Commander-in-Chief. Still we purposed to move on, if not recalled by a mandate from Lord Auckland; Sir Willoughby Cotton to a divisional command in India, and I to see the

"old familiar faces," and give this hasty narrative to the public.

News from a nearer point had also imparted an air of bustle to the precincts of Jellalabad. The Khyberees had threatened in force, on the 24th instant, the post of Alee Musjid, in which Captain Ferris of the 20th native infantry commanded. Three regiments of Nujeebs,* soldiers of the Punjab in British pay, embodied under the direction of Colonel Wade, were breaking up their encampment under the walls of the city as we approached them, with the view of proceeding to the scene of insurrection. Lieutenant Mackeson, whom we had known at Bhawulpore, but who had since played a conspicuous part in the operations and negotiations on the Khyber frontier, had already passed down the Cabool river on a raft, as the most expeditious mode of reaching the passes. The origin of the present resistance of these mountaineers was briefly explained to be as follows: When Colonel Wade had driven back the force of Moohummud Ukhbar, and entered the defiles of Khyber, he had held out hopes to the singular tribes

* A flattering title applied to certain irregulars in the East. It means literally *nobles*, and, in a more extended sense, *volunteers*; but is used in customary parlance to designate a particular class of militia, who are *not*, however, of aristocratic extraction, and do *not* perform gratuitous service.

which inhabit them of the confirmation by Shah Shooja of their ancient privileges, being, in effect, the quiet possession of their lands and villages in the vicinity of the pass, and the more questionable claim to a share in the transit duties levied from all Kafilas in the *Durru*, or a fixed commutation in lieu thereof. Two chiefs had also repaired to Cabool, who complained, like others, on their return, of the haughtiness of the monarch's reception.

Colonel Wade had obtained the sanction of the King to all his measures, and returned from the capital fortified with royal *sunuds** confirmatory of all the promises made to these hereditary bandits. He had summoned to a conference, as he repassed towards the Indus, the chiefs from the villages of Choora, Baghra, and Bazar, around Alee Musjid, and from Teera, the Khyberee capital. Either, however, the robber leaders had been, like true Asiatics, dilatory in repairing to his camp, or the Colonel had hastened his return, with some impatience, towards Lahore, where matters of importance demanded his presence; the interview never took place; in its stead, a message only was left for the chiefs, purporting that Lieutenant Mackeson would shortly follow his principal,

* Deeds of grant.

and was charged to deliver the *sunuds*, and make every satisfactory arrangement. But this proceeding, coupled with the coldness of the Shah, had roused the suspicions of these mountaineers, peculiarly susceptible, like all degraded people, of such impressions. Their clans were mustered with hostile intent, and after putting some queries to Captain Ferris, which he had no authority to answer, they attacked his post in force. His regular sipahees had all either fallen victims to disease or were in hospital at Peshawur, suffering from its lingering effects; five only remained in the fort; but with the body of Nujeebs at his disposal, Captain Ferris made good dispositions for the defence of his position, which gave him a command of the water in the valley, and repulsed the assailants with loss.

Jellalabad is a town of houses of mud, surrounded by a very poor wall of the same material; it may contain some ten thousand inhabitants, Hindoos, Tajiks, and Ukhwans, chiefly Tajiks. The Cabool river flows within a mile of it, a rapid and clear stream, about one hundred yards in width, but here, at this season, so shallow as to be navigable only on rafts. There are extensive plains around the city. To the northward are seen a secondary range of mountains running parallel with that of the In-

dian Caucasus; to the southward and westward, the Teera chain, with the lofty peak of Soofued Koh; and to the eastward, offsets from the same high boundary, which obstruct the route to Peshawur. The best house in or about Jellalabad is that of Moohummud Ukhbar, eldest son of the Ameer. It is surrounded by a garden, the cypresses of which distinguish it at a considerable distance. We pitched our tents under the battlements of the town, within a walled inclosure, which had been sown with clover. A white octagonal *mukburuh*, or tomb, surmounted with a dome, served as an excellent dining-room, and we had nothing to complain of during our two days' halt at Jellalabad but two several visits by night of bands of thieves, who, in spite of the vigilance of our native sentries, made prize of the clothes and cooking utensils of some of our domestics.

Our route was resumed on the 30th October. We marched eight miles to Alee Boghan, an inconsiderable village at the foot of the low range of the Teera hills, which we had seen to the eastward of Jellalabad. The Cabool river wound along at the distance of about three miles from our road, which carried us first over sandy plains, and then across a little stream, the sides of which were bordered for some hun-

dred yards with lofty reeds. Arrived at Alee Boghan, we had to the northward a fine view of the river, a string of villages beyond it, and the rich valley in which their towers are situated. We yet find every hamlet in the land a small fortification. The prospect in this direction was bounded by the mountains of Caffristan. Westward we could yet see Jellalabad; and looking towards the east, perceived that we had two routes open before us. We chose that which inclined most to the southward, and pursuing our way in that direction, on the 31st halted, after traversing a stony and sterile plain, at Fukeer's Tukiya, under spreading tamarisk trees. There are four hamlets near this spot, whence the locality derives its designation of Char Dih.* We had here, when we looked northward, a prospect similar to that which presented itself in the same direction on the preceding day, of the river, the tower of Kama, the groves and garden around it, and the Caffristan range as the frame of the picture. We had marched this day fourteen miles. We were enveloped early the next morning by some of the lower of the Teera hills. At the foot of one of them we found a large *kafila* of one of

* Four villages.

the mountain tribes encamped. They had journeyed to Cabool to dispose of their flocks, for both the skins and flesh of which there is a great demand in the capital.

I would define the pass of Khyber as commencing at Huzarnow, where we pitched our tents on the 1st November. This town is at the foot of an eminence. When the traveller has ascended this rise, he will find his path continually overhung by mountains until he finally debouches near Jumrood, full fifty miles distant. Onwards we proceeded on the 2nd, and found the mountains on our left coming close down upon our road for several miles. Our ascent, however, though considerable, was gradual until we approached within two miles of Duka, the termination of our march. Here, after conquering an acclivity, in ascending which we perceived that our path had been smoothed by the pioneers both of Moohummud Ukhbar and Colonel Wade, we emerged again into a spacious plain, and saw once more on our left the Cabool river, with the town of Lalpoora on its further bank. Nearly opposite to this was a post of Nujeebs, established by Lieutenant Mackeson. From the reports of this party, from the narratives of passing Kafilas, and small detachments of the newly-raised levies, which we

met on the road, it seemed clear that the Khyberees had been making fresh attempts on our posts in their mountains. Our informants always stated the result to have been unfavourable to the brigands; but there was a vagueness and contradiction in their stories, from which we did not augur well.

The little village of Duka is elevated above the plain. In proceeding towards Peshawur, the traveller leaves it to his left. Half a mile of gradual ascent over a stony expanse brings him to a point from which his road lies for eight miles between lofty hills, the intermediate valley not exceeding four hundred yards in width. On either hand, at short intervals, are seen a succession of the *sungas*, commonly large square field-works, of the Khyberees. From within a mile of Duka the low ground is not supplied with water in any shape; but just where it abruptly terminates in an eminence, which would be at first thought to bar all further progress, a mountain rill comes gurgling down from the recesses of a narrow inlet in the hills. Here, of course, our camp was pitched. We found space for the tents even of our diminutive force with difficulty. Near the point where the streamlet issues is seen, on an eminence, the remains of the old Khyberee fort of

Lundee Khanu. A rear-guard of the lancers and much of the baggage of Sir John Keane's column was yet on our ground when we arrived, and the latter could not be got off for three hours afterwards, so truly arduous was the ascent before us.

We renewed our labours by starlight on the morning of the 4th. At Lundee Khanu, the asperities of the Khyber route commence in earnest. We ascended a rocky eminence, and then found ourselves on a gallery similar to the well-known traverses of the Simplon. The road might be twelve feet in width, the lofty side of the mountain continually rising like a wall on the left, and a precipice yawning on the right. The ascent, by aid of the zig-zags, was for two miles and a half tolerably equable; but then succeeded some abrupt dips, and elevations, and some windings in the road, so toilsome, that though the case of the troops might be regarded as not beyond hope, the train of baggage and, above all, the carts, seemed to be condemned to be perpetually engulfed in the defile.

After surmounting these difficulties, we found ourselves on the table of the mountain; and, after riding on a few hundred yards, began very gradually to descend through a well cultivated

valley, bounded on either side by mountains, which left an interval between of from two to three miles. Near the village of Lal Beg is seen, on the left side of the road, a tope on a large scale, and in very fine preservation. It consists of a dome of solid masonry of stone, one part of the circumference of which has fallen in, constructed upon a large cubic pedestal. At the top of the antique building is grotesquely perched one of the little mud towers common in this district of robbers. I had no leisure for research or minute examination, but on a cursory view have formed the opinion that this is a finer monument than the tope of Manikyala, which I afterwards saw in the Punjab. The Khyberees, who live at its foot, and probably know less about it than anybody else, affirmed that it was built many years ago by a powerful Hindoo, named Ram Seth. It can hardly be doubted that it is one of a series, of which Manikyala, Belour, and the ruined specimen at Kwolsir, near Peshawur, are connecting links.

The descent continues even and easy from the top of the Lundee Khanu defile, on which there is a *choukee,* or guard-house, to the opening into the plains of the Peshawur territory. But about seven miles beyond the tope, the

valley narrows, and the road becomes nearly coincident with the course of a clear mountain stream, in which the finny race are seen sporting in shoals. A traveller from Affghanistan may pass by, almost without perceiving it, the fort of Alee Musjid; but when he has followed the rivulet a short distance down into the *durru*, he will, if he faces about, see its towers frowning from a lofty and insulated eminence, and completely commanding the only approach.

When the troops of the Ameer occupied this hold, they were posted in the fort itself, and on the summits of the mountains which inclose and overlook the valley and the rill. From these, Colonel Wade's Sipahees and Nujeebs drove them, by ascending the heights at distant points, and proceeding along the ridges. The howitzers of our artillery, under Lieutenant Barr, were placed in battery at the same time in the hollow, and dislodged the garrison of Alee Musjid with their shells. The locality is picturesque, and the atmosphere was, in November, pure and bracing, yet the post has become the grave of nearly all the soldiers who have been quartered there. Dysentery and intermittent fever have swept them off, or compelled them to seek refuge in the hospitals at Peshawur. It remains to be discovered how

malaria is thus powerfully generated amidst dry rocks, without a blade of vegetation. The stream in the valley, though beautifully clear, and filled with fish, is certainly impregnated with some substance unfavourable to health.

Sir John Keane halted near Alee Musjid on the 4th, and here we heard the particulars of the disastrous attack made by the Khyberees on a *sunga* near the point of junction of two roads about a mile below the fort. It was garrisoned by Nujeebs. Their numbers had been thinned, and the survivors worn down by continued sickness, when the Khyberees, estimated at six thousand strong, attacked their breast-work. They were long kept at bay, but the marauders were animated by the love of plunder, and persevered in their attacks. They were aware that the devoted Nujeebs had recently received their arrears of pay, and that the sum of twelve thousand rupees was buried on the spot, which was an old Khyberee haunt. Finally they carried the weak field-work, and mercilessly put to the sword four hundred of its defenders. They did not keep possession of it, but, after repeating their vain attempts on Alee Musjid, and Captain Ferris' posts in the valley, retired to their mountains.

Recruited by the repose of the 5th, we moved

down the valley, leaving on our left the scene of the slaughter of the Nujeebs and the road by Shadee Tungee. We followed the windings of the mountain stream. Having reason to expect an attack, our little column moved in close and guarded array; but about fifty only of the mountaineers shewed themselves on our right flank. They were men of dwarfish stature, and remarkable for a peculiarly wild air, unhealthy appearance, and mean and squalid clothing. They crept along cautiously out of point blank range of musketry, on the ridge of the mountain, and evidently regarded with curiosity and astonishment the files of our cavalry, and train of light guns. They were armed with muskets, long knives, and shields, but did not honour us even with a passing shot from their long firelocks, which have become so celebrated, and with which they could probably have reached us. We encamped near Kudum, just within the boundary line of the Dooranee territories, beyond the mouth of the *terrible* pass, close to the scene of the action at Futihgurh between the Affghans and Sikhs, in which the Sirdar Hurree Singh was killed, and our Ghuznee opponent, Moohummud Hyder Khan, received a wound. The Maharajah's general, Goolab Singh, was posted in observation, with twelve battalions,

under the walls of the little fort of Jumrood. A salute was fired from its ramparts as our Commander-in-Chief passed under them. Mindful of the events of former days, the Sikh soldiers crowded into our camp to obtain a sight of the son of the ex-Ameer, and of the Kakur Chief.

The first glance at the plains of the Peshawur territory relieved us from all feeling of surprise at the anxiety of the Ameer of Cabool to gain, and of the Sikh ruler to keep possession of, the province. It was evident that it was eminently productive in barley, Indian corn, and sugar-cane. We encamped on the 7th at Kwolsir, near the ruined tope; and on the morning of the 8th set out for Peshawur. Between seven and eight, A. M., we saw on our right, groves and ruined dwellings, which were pointed out to us by our guides as the remains of the once beautiful gardens of Alee Murdan Khan. We soon after passed under the walls of the fort, evidently a place of considerable strength. As we got nearer to the city, we found ourselves upon a broad and uniform road, which seemed to be in process of construction round the whole circuit of the *shuhur punah*. Whilst we pursued our way, attention was arrested by the unusual sight of the bodies of three Affghans suspended

from a cross piece of timber fixed between two of the trees of a little date grove. Seven more criminals were hanging from a gibbet a little further on. Passing these signs of a watchful and strong government, we arrived on ground to the eastward of Peshawur, on which the union flag of Sir John Keane was waving. We little thought as we dismounted from our horses how long we were to sojourn within the walls of this city.

We had heard much the day before of the hospitality of General Avitabili towards our comrades of the leading column. He is a Neapolitan by birth, naturalized in France, who had served in his youth in the army of Napoleon. Like his talented and amiable brethren in arms, Allard, Ventura, and Court, he had, after the "fatal day" of Mont St. Jean, sought to improve his fortunes in Persia, and subsequently entered the service of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh. His reputation as an excellent governor had been fully established in the Punjab, and had even reached India, whilst he was in charge of the town and the surrounding country of Wuzeerabad. Soon after Peshawur fell into the hands of the Sikhs, their Maharajah shewed his usual sagacity by entrusting that important acquisition to General Avitabili.

Whilst the British camps were fixed near the capital of his government, he gave a series of sumptuous entertainments to our officers, followed on particular occasions by grand displays of fireworks and *nautches*, the insipid diversion of the wealthy in Affghanistan as well as in India. The readers of Mr. Elphinstone's admirable work will remember his mention of a noble *suraee* as one of the sights of Peshawur, then in its splendour, under the rule of Shah Shooja. In this place the present Governor of the city has established his military head quarters, and his civil and fiscal tribunals. It is called the Gorkhutru,* and is a vast quadrangle, the length of each side being two hundred and fifty yards. This has been rendered habitable, first by building a suite of apartments over the gateway nearest to the country, and next by erecting a very handsome dwelling in the Persian fashion, consisting of three stories, and a *rez-de-chaussée* on the side near the city.

The Governor is a man of princely habits. His dress, chargers, and equipages all partake

* *Gor*, گور in Persian and Oordoo, signifies a burial ground, and खट, *khut*, in the Hindee, a couch or bedstead. The etymologists of Peshawur affirm that there was formerly a cemetery on the site of the great *suraee*, and that it afterwards became the *tukiya* of a fukeer, who placed his bed there.

of a splendour well calculated to uphold, by giving an *eclat* to his authority, amongst a people like the Affghans. He particularly, and very justly, piques himself on the excellence of his table, and keeps an establishment of not fewer than eight cooks, who are well versed in all the mysteries of Persian, English, and French gastronomy. He is, moreover, a frank, gay, and good-humoured person, as well as an excellent ruler and skilful officer. Notwithstanding his hospitality and magnificence, he is said to have amassed the sum of eight lakhs of rupees, which he has vested in British securities. I trust that the report of his wealth has not exceeded the truth, for I feel myself to be deeply his debtor for the kindest of receptions within the walls of the Gorkhutru. Sir Willoughby Cotton was detained at Peshawur from the beginning of November to the commencement of December, whilst the Governor-General had under consideration the matter of the command in Affghanistan, modified as its aspect had been by the arrival of the new Commander-in-Chief. During this long period, General Avitabili insisted on our considering ourselves as his guests, or, I might rather say, his kindness considered, a part of his family. Sir Willoughby Cotton and his first aide-de-camp occupied apartments

in his house, and my tent was pitched in the garden of the Gorkhutru.

Peshawur may contain forty thousand inhabitants. The circuit of its walls, which I often made, is not less than five miles. The houses are chiefly of mud and sun-dried brick, and have generally flat roofs, fenced round with a kind of stockade, within which the inmates sleep during the excessive heat of the summer months. By far the best view of the town is from the western windows of the Governor's house, or from its *balakhanu.* The great extent of buildings, bound in by a belt of gardens and orchards, is very striking. To the north is seen the garden of Timour Shah, full of yet beautiful cypresses; to the west, that of Alee Murdan Khan; and to the south, the extensive "pleasaunce" of the ambitious Wuzeer, Futih Khan. His mansions of delight and summer retreat are in ruins, and his alleys and parterres are desolate pictures of neglect and desertion; but there still remain, as monuments of his taste, two splendid double rows of orange trees, the foliage and girth of which remind the European traveller of the cherished specimens of royal care at Versailles.

The mosques of the city are said to have been once magnificent, and the principal temple near one of the northern gates certainly exhibits

proofs of former splendour in its lofty minarets. But the religious edifices of the Moslem faith have all been desecrated by the intolerant mandate of the great Sikh ruler, since the territory fell into his hands. The present fortress was built by General Avitabili on the site of the old palace of the Bala Hissar, in which Shah Shooja received Mr. Elphinstone in 1809. A square of about two hundred and twenty yards is strengthened by round towers at each angle, every curtain having in front of it a semi-circular ravelin. There is a *fausse braye* all round of substantial towers, and curtains corresponding with the inner *enciente*, and a wet ditch. This the General proposes to widen to fifty yards, adding a regular glacis. There is one gateway only, which is in the northward face, and protected by towers. In case of the first barrier, which is strong, being ruined, a column would have to win its way through two interior portals before it could make a lodgment in the body of the place. The walls are only of sun-dried mud, without brick or stone revetement; but it has been seen in Indian sieges how difficult it is to breach works of this material.

The walls of the place are not less than sixty feet in height, the *fausse braye* full thirty. There are extensive and well constructed magazines

and storehouses within the area of the fort, and under its ramparts, and the whole is kept in the highest order. The General, though in private life the mildest of men, rules the Peshawurees with a rod of iron; the only mode of governing a people so unprincipled as the Affghans, until their minds are opened, and their hearts softened by the benignant influence of education and religious instruction. During the first year of his government, five hundred of his Sikhs were assassinated by the people of the province; but the resolute Neapolitan soon put an end, by dint of severe examples, to these atrocities. We counted thirteen bodies, in all, on the gibbets around Peshawur, when we first arrived, and seven delinquents were executed during our stay. Even Khyberees, in the dens and caverns of their Kheils, tremble at the name of Avitabili.

But I must remember that though the consequences of many of the events to which my narrative refers will probably be influential for ages, the interest taken in them by the present generation will only endure until some newer political change shall put in its claim to engross attention. I hasten therefore to a conclusion. Sir John Keane reached Peshawur in very indifferent health on the 7th November, and the

second of our little columns on the 8th. On the 10th it was deemed advisable to throw a month's provisions and a considerable supply of ammunition into the fort of Alee Musjid. This was no easy operation now that the wrath of the Khyberees was fully roused, and their appetite for blood and plunder whetted by their success at the Nujeebs' *sunga*. Such small detachments of native infantry as could be got together proceeded, under the command of Captain Farmer, of the 21st native infantry, by the northern road to Alee Musjid.

They safely handed over their charge, but were attacked on their return in the narrowest portion of the pass by a body of these audacious little mountaineers. A detachment of five hundred Sikhs, which formed the rear guard, fled shamefully before their onset, and rushing headlong through the pass, threw into some disorder our sipahees, who, though they were ill supplied with ammunition, were boldly confronting the enemy. Profiting by this moment of confusion, the Khyberees came down with loud cries, and captured five hundred camels of the returning convoy. Lieutenant Mackeson, who had accompanied it, lost the whole of his personal baggage, and some valuable public property. Other officers fared no better; and these detach-

ments returned to Peshawur with the air of a worsted force. It was one of the consequences of this little reverse that the camp of the Commander-in-Chief was detained in the Sikh territories beyond the Attok, the loss of so many carriage animals being severely felt by the commissariat.

A further supply of ammunition was deemed necessary at Alee Musjid, in case of protracted attack, as the Khyberees in force prowled perpetually like wolves round the British post in the valley which secured the supply of water. Fortunately a small body of the Bengal Europeans, intended to become the *nucleus* of their second regiment, had marched down with us from Cabool to the frontier. Under their escort the magazine of this important mountain post was again replenished, but not without another skirmish, in which our detachments sustained a loss of two officers, and nine privates wounded. The Khyberees were, however, sharply repulsed.

During this commotion in the Teera mountains, our dawk communications were interrupted; but the Envoy, who had reached Jellalabad with the court, having been informed by express of the unsettled state of our relations with the Khyberee chiefs, and believing it to be the result of misapprehension respecting the

views of the King, determined himself to conduct a renewed negotiation with them on a clear and intelligible footing. He marched, therefore, down towards the frontier, accompanied by Brigadier Sale and the European regiment.

In the meantime Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler, of the 48th, at the head of his own and the 37th regiment, had moved by another route through the Teera range to Alee Musjid. On the day of his arrival, the Khyberee chiefs assembled there by Lieutenant Mackeson had fully accepted the basis of a treaty, by which the annual sum of eighty thousand rupees (eight thousand pounds sterling) was guaranteed to them, in consideration of which they were to be answerable for the tranquillity of the pass and the good conduct of the tribes. It caused some surprise, therefore, at Peshawur to hear that, as Colonel Wheeler pursued his way the next day towards that city, his rear guard was attacked by the mountaineers in considerable force. His native soldiers behaved with the most praiseworthy coolness, and repulsed the assailants, it is believed, with heavy loss. Colonel Wheeler on his part had about twenty sipahees wounded, and two European soldiers were left dead on the field. The attack was

most sudden and unexpected, and in the surprise of the moment, much of the baggage of the officers was plundered, and not a few followers were cut down by the mountaineers.

But before the intelligence of these last events reached Peshawur, the head-quarters of the army of the Indus were no longer under its walls. Sir John Keane marched from its vicinity to Pabbee on his route to Attock on the 23rd, and Major-General Thackwell on the 24th November. On the 3rd of December the Envoy and Minister, accompanied by Brigadier Sale, reached Peshawur, and was received with distinguished honours at the Gorkhutru by General Avitabili.* Guarded by the Bengal European regiment, he had passed without molestation through the defiles of the Khyber.

* It was at a grand entertainment given in honour of Mr. Macnaghten's arrival that a private letter from Sir Alexander Burnes conveyed to us at Peshawur the first intelligence of the gallant achievement of the Bombay troops, of their having won their way, after a sharp conflict, into the fortress of Kelat-i-Nuseer, and of our old enemy Mihrab Khan having half redeemed his character from the infamy of a long career of perfidy by falling like a soldier, with his sword in his hand, within the walls of his citadel. The assembled guests, leave being obtained from their kind and sympathizing host, did such honour to the event as it was in their power to do, by drinking with nine British cheers the health of the victors. The walls of the Gorkhutru had never probably echoed before to so loud a shout.

On the same morning a despatch from the Governor-General placed Sir Willoughby Cotton finally in command of the troops in Affghanistan. As his Lordship, when he came to this decision, was in possession of the news not only of the Khyberee insurrection, but of the advance of the Russians towards Khiva, it is to be supposed that he considered the state of the internal affairs and external relations of the Dooranee empire to require that the force left within its boundaries should be confided to a general officer at once of long standing, established reputation, and extensive and varied experience.

OBSERVATIONS.

1o. The return of part of the army of the Indus by the route of the Khyber afforded some of its officers an opportunity of forming an opinion of the resistance which might have been offered if the force had originally attempted to penetrate by this line. It is not to be doubted that its success would have been complete. It would have advanced from Ferozepore by a route of forty marches upon Peshawur, which is an excellent place of arms. From this city, and the fertile country around it and

behind it, the army would have drawn almost unlimited supplies of every kind. Certainly little dependence could have been placed on the active co-operation of our bearded allies, the Sikhs; but this would not have been needed. They would have protected our communications, which is all we should have asked at their hands.

The Khyberees are, without doubt, more formidable enemies in their barren defiles than the Belooches, or any of the predatory tribes of the mountains or plains which we encountered between Shikarpore and Cabool; but they are magnanimously indifferent to the politics of Affghanistan. "*Tros Tyriusve,*" Barukzye or Sudozye, Shah Shooja or Dost Moohummud Khan, are equal in their eyes. They care not which of these rulers lords it in the Bala Hissar, provided they are left in the undisturbed enjoyment of their ancient privileges of levying tribute from Kafilas, or of mercilessly plundering all that resist the exaction, or receive from the existing government a handsome annual stipend in commutation of the sums raised in virtue of these rights of prescription. If, therefore, the British had satisfied them on these points, those reprobate mountaineers would have proved very cold allies of the Ameer in repel-

ling the invasion. But supposing he could have contrived, by dint of bribes and promises, to enlist their sympathies strongly on his side, which is most improbable, at the worst they would have been a source of uneasiness to us only from the two gorges of the pass near Kudum and Jumrood to the town of Huzarnow, a distance of four marches. We could easily have afforded to keep this line of communication open by sowing it with posts, and traversing it occasionally with moveable columns.

But if the Ameer of Cabool had marched down to the Peshawur frontier with the flower of his forces, there is no reason to think that he could have arrested the progress of the army of the Indus. The two positions which he might most advantageously have taken up are—first, that of Alee Musjid; and next, the ground on which he actually meditated defence near the village of Duka. But from the turreted heights of the former it is probable that he would have been driven by our powerful batteries, whilst our highly-disciplined infantry would have gained, like Colonel Wade's irregular troops, the ridges of the mountains, and pressed him on both flanks. His left might have been turned at Duka by crossing the river below Lalpoora. The traverses between the table-land near Lal

Beg Gurhee and Lundee Khanu constitute a tremendous obstacle to an army marching from Cabool; but a force which has debouched on the cultivated slopes beyond Alee Musjid, and is directing its march towards the Dooranee capital, has the command from the top of the Lundee Khanu defile as far as Duka. We of the army of the Indus must not indeed forget that we did not see the Teera routes under their worst aspect, nor fail to acknowledge how much we owed on our return to the improving hand of Colonel Wade, whose pioneers had previously been employed for months in the passes; but making full allowance for this amelioration, we venture to think that we should, under any circumstances, have penetrated both the greater and the lesser Khyber.*

It becomes us to speak less confidently of the difficulties which have to be overcome between Gundamuk and Bootkhak. Certainly the succession of lofty ridges and wearisome ascents near Teezeen, Jugduluk, and Bareekab, would afford fearful vantage ground along the whole line; and if these heights were surmounted, it would not be an easy task to force either the Durru of Khoord Cabool or the Lutabund pass.

* The defiles between Duka and Huzarnow are commonly called the *khoord Khyber,* or little Khiber.

The army will not soon forget the frozen terrors of the former; and though it avoided the latter on its return, it is known from the reports of travellers, and of Lieutenant Mackeson, who traversed it with a small escort, to be one of the most tremendous and impracticable defiles in Affghanistan. Strong ground was indeed abandoned to us in the valley of the Turnuk, and between Ghuznee and Cabool, when an impression had once been made by our arms, but in truth none so formidable as these two passes. They are to be esteemed far more serious obstacles to the advance of an army than the Khyberee *durru*, with its now celebrated tower of Alee Musjid; yet it need not be doubted that a combined movement would have enabled us to pour out our squadrons and battalions upon the plains of Bootkhak, when the line of the Logur river would have been forced, and the siege of the Bala Hissar formed. The strength, in short, of the passes and mountain-holds of this route does not seem to outweigh the immense advantage of its being shorter and more direct. By this line our forces would have been brought rapidly, and in the highest order, upon the decisive points, instead of our troops being worn down, and our means of transport all but ruined, by tracking the extent of fifteen hundred miles

from Ferozepore to the Indus, from that river across the arid plains of Cutch Gundava, through the long frontier defiles of Beloochistan, and over the intervening wastes, mountain ranges, and valleys, to the eastern capital.

2°. The above is the opinion which, after traversing the ground, I have ventured to form of the Khyber route as a principal line of invasion; but in estimating the advantages of an attack from the Agra provinces on Affghanistan, commencing in the direction of its *eastern* capital, let me not be esteemed tedious if I advert once more to the notion, already partially developed in this work, of the great eligibility in many respects of the route by Dera Ismael Khan across the Soolueman range direct upon Ghuznee. It appeared to me, before the declaration of war had been issued, and does still, that it would have been good strategy to have produced the belief, by means of our allies the Sikhs, under their excellent commander, General Ventura, with whom the British troops of Colonel Wade's mission might have been associated also, that the grand attack was about to be made by Peshawur and the Khyber, whilst every disposition might have been secretly completed to enable the army of the Indus to march rapidly upon Dera Ismael Khan, establish its bridge

across the great river, or cross by means of the numerous boats which can be found upon its banks, and climb the Soolueman range, emerging at Ghuznee, which would then have fallen into its hands, and become the centre of its operations. Would not such a plan have abridged by some months the term of possible resistance of the Ameer of Cabool and the Sirdars of Candahar, against whom attacks might have been directed at will to the right or left from the captured fortress as a central point?

I have before mentioned that the practicability of this route was denied or doubted by Sir Alexander Burnes. No man in the army of the Indus could be more sincerely disposed than myself to defer to his opinion; but, besides the testimony to the contrary of peasants between Ghuznee and Cabool, I had at Peshawur an opportunity of questioning most pointedly on the subject Doctor Gordon, who had been a long time politically employed at Dera Ismael Khan. This very intelligent person assured me, as the result of the inquiries which he had instituted amongst the natives of the Soolueman range, that there were no fewer than three routes across these mountains from the above-mentioned town to Ghuznee, all and each of which our pioneers could have rendered practicable for artillery after

two or three days' labour. The best of these roads he considered to be that which followed the winding course of the Gomul river. On none of them did he apprehend any deficiency of forage or water.

At Lahore, Generals Ventura and Court, *savans* as well as able and intelligent officers, maintained in the strongest terms the advantages of advancing in this direction; and the latter, to prove the road passable, called as his witness Doctor Martin Honigsberg, a German medical officer, in the service of the Maharajah, who had traversed the route with an unwieldly *kafila* of loaded camels. Lieutenant Marsh, of the 3rd light cavalry, has since passed by the road to Dera Ismael Khan from Candahar; and Lieutenant Broadfoot, of the Bengal engineers, by one of those which conducts from Ghuznee to the same point on the Indus. I have not seen the reports of either officer, but cannot doubt, in the face of the testimony above adduced, that an armament might have successfully combined its operations with a force threading the defile of the Khyber, by moving from Dera Ismael Khan upon Ghuznee. If the insuperable aversion of our ally, the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, be urged as a decisive objection to this plan of operation, it can only

be replied, that the old ruler was probably too sagacious to have consented to forfeit entirely the advantages of his friendship with the British for the sake of these punctilios, if such a result had been pointed out to him as the absolute alternative in case of obstinate refusal. The line of advance might have been so chosen through the low country between Ferozepore, and Dera Ismael Khan, as not to have run offensively near to the Sikh capital.

3°. In the first of the two preceding sections, an endeavour has been made to shew the feasibility of a real and principal attack by the line of the Khyber; the second aims at demonstrating the advantages of a combined advance upon the eastern frontiers of Affghanistan, the weaker assault being made by the Teera defiles, and the decisive impression by the route of Dera and Ghuznee; yet I am not prepared, after mature reflection, to maintain that the soundest discretion was not after all manifested, when even subsequently to the raising of the siege of Herat, the army of the Indus persisted in operating on the line of Bhawulpore, Shikarpore, and the Durru of Bolan. The reasons which induced Lord Auckland to adhere to this plan were probably far more cogent than any which can be suggested in this work; but the

following considerations strike me as weighty, and may not be judged to be altogether nugatory by my readers.

(1.) Magazines had at a very early period been established upon the line of the Gharra, with a view to an advance to Shikarpore, and through Beloochistan. It would have been attended with a very grievous reduplication of the expense and much inconvenience to have changed the route in November, and the intelligence of the relief of Herat did not reach the Governor-General before that month.

(2.) The Bengal portion of the army of the Indus was concentrated at Ferozepore in the last week of November. If it had defiled by the Gomul, it is hardly to be doubted that it would have surmounted the mountain barrier and reached the plains around Ghuznee in thirty or forty marches, according to the obstacles it might have encountered during the latter part of its advance. It would there have been called upon to form the siege of the fortress, on the capture of which the result of the campaign would have depended, in the middle of January. The rigours of the climate at this season ought not to be forgotten or underrated. On the lofty table land on which Ghuznee is situated the troops would have found the tem-

perature far below the freezing point throughout the day, much lower than *zero* at night. The European soldiers might have braved the inclemency of the season, but our patient and faithful Hindoostanee battalions would have been tasked by the crisis almost beyond endurance. At present, the troops which garrison the ancient citadel of Muhmood can scarcely endure the cold when employed merely in the lighter duties of guarding our conquest. It is not easy to estimate all they would have suffered in the frozen trenches of a thirty days' siege. Ghuznee might only have fallen after a frightful loss in native soldiers and followers; unless indeed the genius and daring of the commander had cut the knot in the manner in which it was actually dissevered by Sir John Keane.* The army would have held cheaply the opposition which might have been offered on the route of Dera Ismael Khan and Ghuznee by the Wuzeeree tribes.

* At Ghuznee, Lord Keane caused Columbus' egg to stand on one end upon the table, but a crowd of sciolists, not taught by the fact, as the Spanish court was by the apologue, yet continue to stultify themselves by declaiming about the *simplicity* of the operation. How little do the majority of those critics know by experience of the nerve which is required to decide aright and act promply in a crisis like that of the 21st July! How few of their understandings would not have been prostrated by the emergency!

(3.) The wisdom of choosing the line of operation by the Bolan cannot be justly weighed, unless regard be had to the state of the British relations with Sinde. The Ameers constituted an integral and formidable portion of the confederacy which Russian and Persian intrigue had organized against the ruling power in Hindoostan. The army of the Bombay Presidency was naturally, from the vicinity of its posts to the Hydrabad frontier, employed to coerce the Sindians with a view to detaching them from their dangerous alliances, and compelling their acceptance of a treaty of guarantees. When it was once determined to send that force into the field, it might justly be regarded as a strong recommendation in favour of an advance by the Bolan, that it enabled the Bengal troops to cooperate with their comrades of the western coast of India. A movement either by the Khyber or the road from Dera Ismael Khan, would have disconnected the efforts of the two Presidencies.

(4.) The native rulers of India have always regarded it as an acknowledgment of inferiority akin to vassalage to permit a body of the troops of another state to pass through their dominions. Nevertheless it seems probable that Runjeet Singh would have yielded to a categorical de-

mand. But let us suppose that he had remained intractable. War with him must have been the alternative. The loss of an ally on the eve of a great enterprise is in itself an evil; the risk of this was avoided by operating through the Bolan. On the other hand, by taking the line through Sinde we gained two positive advantages, whilst we forced a passage for our troops; for we had a *casus belli* with the Sindians on account of their Persian connexion, and whilst we expelled the Barukzyes, we effectually opened the Indus to our commerce.

(5.) In advancing by either the Khyber or the Gomul, as principal lines, the rear would have been exposed to the hostility of the Sikhs, if reverse had emboldened them to forget the claims of professed amity. The presence of General Duncan's division on the Sutlege provided in some measure against this danger, since at Ferozepore he could have been only five short marches from the Sikh capital. Perhaps a yet firmer ground of confidence was to be found in the hatred which existed between the Dooranees as Moohummedans, and the true disciples of the Grunth.* If the adequate notions which Runjeet entertained of our power had kept him

* Sacred code of the Sikh religion, composed by Nanuk Shah.

consistent to the end, still on the demise of the crown of the Punjab, which actually took place in July, 1839, his successor might not have been so discreet. To men of sanguine temperaments the danger may appear visionary, but the commander who found himself engaged with an enemy in his front at the eastern extremity of the Khyber, whilst forty thousand disciplined Sikhs interrupted his line of communication by occupying the defiles of the Jelum, or the Attock, or who, when hotly disputing with Affghans the road to Jellalabad, should have been made aware that the armies of the Maharajah blockaded the gorges of the Teera range near Jumrood, might have had cause to inveigh against the plan of campaign on which he was sent to act.

4°. On the whole, since it has been accepted as a maxim that the practice of war consists in a wise selection from the midst of conflicting evils and difficulties, the truth appears to be that though if the objections of the Sikh ruler had been wisely disregarded, the power of the Ameer of Cabool might have been rapidly beaten down by an assault by the army of the Indus on the single line of the Khyber, upon which the destruction of the Candahar princes would have speedily supervened, and though the same result would probably have been pro-

duced with as much certainty and more dispatch by the combination of a feint of the Sikhs against the Teera passes, and a real attack by the Goomul and Ghuznee, yet the safest, though slowest, and the best adapted to the general exigences of the crisis, was the project actually carried into effect, of causing the Bengal forces of the army of the Indus to sweep the left bank of the Gharra, to overcome and pacificate, in conjunction with the Bombay armament, the fraternity of Sindian rulers, and then to penetrate into Affghanistan by the more gradual ascents of the Bolan.

Duly subsidiary to this was the task of Colonel Wade, who passed the Jumrood frontier with the Sikh British force, and of General Duncan, who watched with his division from Ferozepore the Punjab on his right, and the Bhawulpore territories on his left. Will not this course, as actually pursued, appear to an impartial posterity to have been of all the most secure with a general view to our rather complicated relations and objects at the period at which hostilities were undertaken, although it was inseparable from the grievous disadvantage of a most extended and often interrupted communication?

This, or not far different from this, will, I venture to think, be the decision of the unpre-

judiced, when the several plans of Affghan invasion come hereafter to be weighed in the scales of historic judgment. Criticism, reviewing at the same time the whole course of the execution of the project, will enumerate as its defects the error of making the descent of the Bombay forces upon Sinde a maritime expedition instead of an organized advance by land; the imperfect reconnoissance before passing it of the mountain range of Khoju Amran; the neglect of the prompt pursuit of the Candahar Sirdars, when the reins of government had slipped from their hands; the leaving in their territories the battering train, which ought in prudence to have been carried on at any cost to prostrate the walls of Ghuznee and the Bala Hissar; and the detaching an inefficient force in the track of the fugitive of Urghundee Bala. These imputed mistakes are mentioned without reserve, because narratives like this can only be useful in proportion as they are candid and honest in their censures, without respect of persons. But this task performed, let it not be deemed a descent to the vile trade of adulation if a tribute of applause is as sincerely bestowed on the sound discretion which dictated the lateral movement into lower Sinde; on the decision and activity of the advance of a portion

of the Bengal force from Shikarpore upon Dadur and Kwettah; on the wisdom which forbade us to hazard our success and reputation by an ill-timed expedition beyond Hindoo Koosh; and the retrieving energy and well-balanced subsidiary arrangements which placed the citadel of Muhmood in our hands in little more than two hours, and transferred at once the tiara of the Dooranee empire to the brow of its rightful sovereign.

5°. Shah Shooja has been replaced on his throne, and since that event successive accounts from Koondooz have indicated that the most formidable enemy of his power, the ex-Ameer of Cabool, has daily become in himself less and less capable of any effort to disturb the peace of the restored empire. The number of his few remaining followers has been from time to time diminished by desertion. They have crossed the frontier line and repaired to our post at Bamian to tender their allegiance to the grandson of Ahmed Shah. This weakness and the snows of Hindoo Koosh have combined to give security to the Tartar frontier during the winter of 1839-40. Jellalabad was perhaps less closely connected with Cabool than could be desired for the post of the reserve of our line of defence towards Bulkh and Bokhara. The actual dis-

tance is only ten marches, but the exceedingly rugged character of the intervening country, and the difficulty of marching to the succour of the more advanced troops, would render an head-quarter beyond the Soorkhab the abode of anxiety, did we not reflect that at the period of the annual *villegiatura* of the court, the ice and snow, which only aggravate the difficulty of the communication between the capital and Jellalabad, wholly bar the passes of Hindoo Koosh. But this consideration, too, lost much of its importance whilst all prospects seemed to be closed upon Dost Moohummud Khan, save those of a wandering refugee (*quo fata vocent*) in Koondooz, Bokhara, or Persia.

This declension of his fortunes diminished, too, the evil of the Khyberee insurrection, which had, in November 1839, become sufficiently serious to cause the withdrawal from Jellalabad of every infantry regiment posted in that town. In the last week of that month, though Alee Musjid was still in our possession, a single camel-load of provisions could not be safely sent to it from Peshawur under a smaller escort than the wing of a regiment. Notwithstanding that opportune diversion, all remained actually tranquil on the frontier (the skirmishes of Doctor Lord with the Usbeks and Huzaras are

not material exceptions) throughout the first winter of Shah Shooja's restored reign; and in the interval it is to be hoped that his Hindoostanee troops have been effectively recruited, and that his Affghan levies have assumed a respectable form. It is known that the largest convoy of clothing, provisions, ammunition, and treasure ever sent from our provinces for the supply of the armament beyond the Attok, leaving Ferozepore in February, 1840, safely reached Jellalabad in April.

6°. The movement of the Khyberees, in October and November, 1839, was an event from which more evil was anticipated than has yet shewn itself. It may, without disparagement to an able and zealous servant of the state, peculiarly well versed in the history, and expert in the customs of the people around his own sphere of political activity, be attributed to the inauspicious haste of Colonel Wade on his return across the Indus. The Khyberees, understanding the nature and value of Affghan promises, and utterly incapable of comprehending British faith, believed that they had been cheated, and were filled with thoughts of vengeance, which Bacon has well defined to be only "a wild kind of justice." Hence the massacre of the Nujeebs and the attacks on our

posts and convoys. The Sikhs at Peshawur and these mountaineers keep a sort of running account of bloody and barbarous retaliation. It is owing to this circumstance that the troops of the Maharajah can with difficulty be persuaded to march beyond the Jumrood frontier, or enter the jaws of the *terrible* pass. It has been seen that on the 12th November they took to panic flight on the first onset of the ferocious little bandits. Our own sipahees defeated them wherever they fairly met them; but it must be acknowledged that they deserve the character of the most resolute and warlike of all the marauding tribes which harassed the columns of the army of the Indus.

The accounts of the population of the Teera mountains are rather rough guesses than statistical estimates; but it is believed that the different chiefs, if united, could collect six thousand armed men. This is a mountain militia justly to be accounted formidable when opposed in passes, of which its self-drilled soldiers have a perfect knowledge. Every Khyberee has been trained from infancy to aim with a long musket, the range of which far exceeds that of the ordinary firelock in use in the British ranks, and gives the brigands a great advantage in skirmishing on mountains scarcely accessible. It

is well known that for centuries this strange people have considered it their indefeasible right to levy imposts in the pass. Nadir Shah paid them an immense sum for the uninterrupted transit of the plunder of Delhi. Ahmud Shah, Timur Shah, Shah Shooja, and Dost Moohummud Khan have successively consented to be their tributaries. It is hoped that the conciliatory measures of the Envoy and Minister, fully in unison with the most favourable overtures of Lieutenant Mackeson, have pacificated the Khyber.

The mountain chiefs are to receive from Shah Shooja's government eighty thousand rupees annually. With this they may perhaps rest satisfied; but should the untamed spirit of outrage and rapine break forth again, a war of extirpation is the only alternative. It would appear that this could hardly be brought to a favourable conclusion by a smaller force than two brigades of infantry. General Avitabili, who knows the Khyberees well, considers it to be the task of seven thousand good troops. The mountain chiefs, Fuez Tulub Khan, Khan Bahadoor Khan, Abdoolruhman, Misree, and others, are parties to the recent compact, and must feel it to be their interest to cause its conditions to be respected. Much will depend,

therefore, on the extent of their influence over their clans. Hereafter, the system of employing the mountaineers as local troops may be adopted with advantage. It is said, through the exertions of Captain Bean, the political agent at Kwettah, already to have given tranquillity to the Bolan pass, and security to Kafilas in its defiles. By the measure of local enlistment, the *virus* of predatory dispositions has always been absorbed, or converted into a useful prophylactic.

7°. The army of the Indus has, by the blessing of God, beaten down the Barukzyes, and Shah Shooja is reseated on the *musnud* of his ancestors. The first vast web of Russian cupidity and dissimulation, which was to have held fast all the Affghan tribes, has been swept away, and the artifices of the Autocrat with respect to the politics of Persia, Herat, Candahar, and Cabool, have been so thoroughly unmasked and defeated as to cause him to look small in the eyes of the potentates and statesmen of Europe. He has, when boldly questioned as to the motives and meaning of his policy, disavowed the acts of his minister, who again has sacrificed his inferior agents. Deceived and deserted by this great power, Kohun Dil Khan and Dost Moohummud Khan wander nameless and power-

less fugitives. In all this the British ought to see much cause for thankfulness; but to the Governor-General of India, *whose influence through his Envoy and Minister ought to be paramount and uncontrolled at the court of the Bala Hissar*, may well be addressed at this moment the admonition of Milton,

"Oh, yet a nobler task awaits thine hand!"

Our connexion with the Dooranee empire is of a peculiar nature, and ought not to be restricted by the ordinary rules of intercourse with Asiatic states. It owes to us its being; we have resuscitated, recreated it; we have a right to exercise an unlimited influence over its councils, and are justified in the most unrestrained interference in its affairs. We owe it to the Affghan people to make Shah Shooja's government a blessing to them;* and this can only be done in one way, by gradually but steadily uprooting that imperfect species of feudal system which has been their curse, which "neutralizes the authority of the king, without giving any substantive or useful enjoy-

* No man can be better fitted for this task by the prudence of his character, his extensive experience in Asiatic affairs, and enviable acquaintance with the languages of the higher orders in Persia and Affghanistan than the present Envoy and Minister. Few servants of the Indian government have of late days enjoyed a grander opportunity of doing permanent good.

ment of power to the chiefs,"* and keeps alive that spirit of envy of which Sir Alexander Burnes has well said, that it "has dethroned their kings, and butchered their nobles." *In the place of this, we must substitute everywhere a British intendancy.* A modus of equable and regular taxation must be established in every district, and a vigilant and effective police organized for the protection of person and property. These are advantages which the Affghans would soon learn, like other nations, to appreciate, though they would be entirely new to them.

It is a mistake to suppose that any people can love to be oppressed, ground by arbitrary and uncertain exactions, or robbed and murdered in villages and on highways, to whatever extent custom may have reconciled them to the inevitable endurance of these mischiefs. Let not the people of England suppose that by such reforms as have been adverted to we should impose a grievous yoke on the necks of the Dooranees. The truth is, that if their choice lay between Dost Moohummud Khan and Shah Shooja,

* These are almost word for word the terms in which this system was described to me by one who know the Affghans well, Major Pottinger, the defender of Herat. I was struck with the fidelity of the picture; and the substance of the remark fully confirmed my own opinion formed in the country.

uncurbed by any external power, it is probable that they would prefer the former; but the rule of the latter is acceptable to them *because* they consider him under the guidance of the Feringees, and they would be still better pleased to bend to the undisguised and direct control of the British, since they have already felt their presence to be a source of wealth and prosperity to them, and perfectly understand that their government is a guarantee for equitable rule and personal security. The more they are made to feel the advantages of our influence, the less likely will they be to sigh for the return of the Barukzyes, or to desire the approach or domination of the *Ooroos.**

8°. As regards our power of retaining that position in Affghanistan which we have gained at the expense of some blood, and not a little treasure, an important consideration is, the state of our communications through the Punjab, and our relations with its ruler. It is well known that the late Maharajah, like all Indian potentates, had an undisguised aversion to his territories being traversed by our troops. But the best proof of this old prince's natural tact and sagacity was, the rational estimate which he had

* Thus Asiatics denominate the Russians.

formed of the British power. This rendered the task of negotiation with him comparatively simple. But the "Lion of the Punjab" paid the debt of nature on the day on which the British marched out of Candahar.

Kurruck Singh, the eldest son of Runjeet, who now occupies the *guddee*, is a prince of the most limited range of intellect, and of a disposition which peculiarly fits him to become the dupe of designing men. Accordingly, the first incident in his reign was his bestowing on an upstart relation, named Cheth Singh, such a proportion of his favour as alienated the affections of his father's counsellors, and roused the jealous feelings of the Sirdars. A conspiracy was speedily formed against this minion, which was headed by Nou Nihal Singh, the son and heir apparent of the ruling Maharajah. Dhyan Singh, the Rajpoot favourite of Runjeet, and his brothers, Goolab Singh and Soochet Singh, the three boldest, most powerful, and most independent chiefs in the empire, were actively engaged in the complot, as were the Jemadar Kooshial Singh, and nearly all the most considerable Sikhs about the court. The measures of the conspirators were quickly concerted. Kurruck Singh was at the time at the palace at Umritsir, whither the enemies of the new fa-

vourite repaired, full of schemes of vengeance. A sentinel was put to death at the gate of the *muhul*, with the view of gaining admission to it, and the unfortunate Cheth Sing dragged out from the presence of the Maharajah, and put to death in an adjoining chamber with circumstances of great barbarity, and of marked indignity towards his master. It was Nou Nihal Singh who brought out the victim from the feet of his father, and delivered him over to his executioners. His own hands were afterwards imbrued in the blood of the royal confidant, and he looked on and applauded the deed when Goolab Singh dealt the finishing stroke, which cleft his skull. Condign punishment has never been inflicted upon the murderers, nor has the outrage to the feelings of the Maharajah in his own palace ever been properly resented.

Since this event, Nou Nihal Singh has exercised a paramount influence over his imbecile father, being himself entirely under the control of a foolish and ambitious mother, and she under that of a low-born and despicable paramour, named Ram Singh. It is hard to say in what this state of things may end. The ruler being a cypher, there is a continual struggle for preeminence amongst the Sirdars. Out of these elements of discord it seems not improbable

that, as has occurred at other native courts, a party at no distant period may be formed inimical to British interests. At present, the professions of the Sikh ruler and his son are the very reverse of this. They lavished hospitalities and marks of their consideration upon the small fragment of the army of the Indus which traversed their territories, and their victorious leader. This is well: but as all our convoys of supply for our troops in Affghanistan must necessarily traverse a part of the Sikh dominions, for which permission has hitherto been granted with undisguised reluctance, it is natural that we should henceforth regard with a peculiar interest all the variations of politics in the Punjab. The British have no desire to despoil their neighbours, least of all to seek to deprive an ally of that which they have solemnly guaranteed to him; but the unsatisfactory state of their communications with Affghanistan through the Punjab must strike every observer. If they are wise, they will as soon think of ceding Fort William as of relaxing their hold on Cabool; yet they are unable to send direct from the Agra provinces a single soldier or camel load of provisions into the Dooranee empire without leave specially obtained from a foreign power.

Henceforth there can be no medium, there-

fore, in the character of our relations with the Sikhs; they must either be established on a footing of the closest intimacy, and of undissembled confidence, or change at once into avowed hostility. This view of our policy may, in truth, be extended to our connexion with every independent state in Asia; for whilst this imperfect sketch has been making its way through the press, rumour has been converted into certainty, and it has become known that Russia, instead of using, as against Herat, the arm of another, has now employed her own battalions in the invasion of a part of Independent Tartary. However fair the pretexts may be for this first step in her career of acquisition in this part of Central Asia, it has justly been regarded as a measure of retaliation for our successful interference in the affairs of Affghanistan. Russia has therefore formally confronted us, and made a rival exhibition of her power in Asia. She has by this act divided at once a whole quarter of the globe into two distinct parties; for we ought not henceforth to give credence to any professions of neutrality from the lips of our neighbours. Those who are not decidedly for us may be justly assumed to be unequivocally against us, and every act which deviates ever so little from the path of consistent amity may be

safely regarded as a tendency to participation in the schemes of our gigantic competitor. If we are asked what these are apprehended to be, there is but one answer to be given to the inquiry, *ambition has a thousand objects, but no definite end.* Two such large masses as England and Russia cannot approach each other on the ocean of Asiatic influence without drawing after either the one or the other, all the smaller bodies which are floating around them.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

DECLARATION ON THE PART OF THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

Simla, October 1*st*, 1838.

THE Right Honourable the Governor-General of India having, with the concurrence of the Supreme Council, directed the assemblage of a British force for service across the Indus, his Lordship deems it proper to publish the following exposition of the reasons which have led to this important measure.

It is a matter of notoriety that the treaties entered into by the British Government in the year 1832, with the Ameers of Sinde, the Nawab of Bahawulpore, and Maharajah Runjeet Singh, had for their object, by opening the

navigation of the Indus, to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British nation in Central Asia that legitimate influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce.

With a view to invite the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Affghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those treaties, Captain Burnes was deputed, towards the close of the year 1836, on a mission to Dost Mahomed Khan, the Chief of Cabul. The original objects of that officer's mission were purely of a commercial nature. Whilst Captain Burnes, however, was on his journey to Cabul, information was received by the Governor-General that the troops of Dost Mahomed Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally, Maharajah Runjeet Singh. It was naturally to be apprehended that his Highness the Maharajah would not be slow to avenge this aggression; and it was to be feared that the flames of war being once kindled in the very regions into which we were endeavouring to extend our commerce, the peaceful and beneficial purposes of the British government would be altogether frustrated. In order to avert a result so calamitous, the Governor-General resolved on authorizing Captain Burnes

to intimate to Dost Mahomed Khan that, if he should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maharajah, his Lordship would exert his good offices with his Highness for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two powers. The Maharajah, with the characteristic confidence which he has uniformly placed in the faith and friendship of the British nation, at once assented to the proposition of the Governor-General to the effect that, in the meantime, hostilities on his part should be suspended.

It subsequently came to the knowledge of the Governor-General that a Persian army was besieging Herat; that intrigues were actively prosecuted throughout Affghanistan for the purpose of extending Persian influence and authority to the banks of, and even beyond, the Indus; and that the court of Persia had not only commenced a course of injury and insult to the officers of her Majesty's mission in the Persian territory, but had afforded evidence of being engaged in designs wholly at variance with the principles and objects of its alliance with Great Britain.

After much time spent by Captain Burnes in fruitless negotiation at Cabul, it appeared that Dost Mahomed Khan, chiefly in conse-

quence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted, as respected his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, in urging the most unreasonable pretensions, such as the Governor-General could not, consistently with justice and his regard for the friendship of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, be the channel of submitting to the consideration of his Highness; that he avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command. Ultimately, he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Affghanistan, of the unfriendly and injurious character of which, as concerned the British power in India, he was well apprized, and, by his utter disregard of the views and interests of the British government, compelled Captain Burnes to leave Cabul without having effected any of the objects of his mission.

It was now evident that no further interference could be exercised by the British government to bring about a good understanding between the Sikh ruler and Dost Mahomed Khan; and the hostile policy of the latter chief shewed too plainly that, so long as Cabul remained under

his government, we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian empire would be preserved inviolate.

The Governor-General deems it in this place necessary to revert to the siege of Herat, and the conduct of the Persian nation. The siege of that city has now been carried on by the Persian army for many months. The attack upon it was a most unjustifiable and cruel aggression, perpetrated and continued, notwithstanding the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the British Envoy at the court of Persia, and after every just and becoming offer of accommodation had been made and rejected. The besieged have behaved with gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause, and the Governor-General would yet indulge the hope that their heroism may enable them to maintain a successful defence until succours shall reach them from British India. In the meantime, the ulterior designs of Persia, affecting the interests of the British government, have been, by succession of events, more and more openly manifested. The Governor-General has recently ascertained by an official despatch from Mr. McNeill, her Majesty's Envoy, that his Excellency has been compelled, by the re-

fusal of his just demands, and by a systematic course of disrespect adopted towards him by the Persian government, to quit the court of the Shah, and to make a public declaration of the cessation of all intercourse between the two governments. The necessity under which Great Britain is placed, of regarding the present advance of the Persian arms into Affghanistan as an act of hostility towards herself, has also been officially communicated to the Shah, under the express order of her Majesty's government.

The chiefs of Candahar (brothers of Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabul) have avowed their adherence to the Persian policy, with the same full knowledge of its opposition to the rights and interests of the British nation in India, and have been openly assisting in the operations against Herat.

In the crisis of affairs consequent upon the retirement of our Envoy from Cabul, the Governor-General felt the importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards our own territories.

His attention was naturally drawn at this conjuncture to the position and claims of Shah-Sooja-ool-Moolk, a monarch who, when in

power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British government, and who, on his empire being usurped by its present rulers, had found an honourable asylum in the British dominions.

It had been clearly ascertained, from the information furnished by the various officers who had visited Affghanistan, that the Barukzye chiefs, from their disunion and unpopularity, were ill fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies to the British government, and to aid us in our just and necessary measures of national defence. Yet so long as they refrained from proceedings injurious to our interest and security, the British government acknowledged and respected their authority. But a different policy appeared to be now more than justified by the conduct of those chiefs, and to be indispensable to our own safety. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should have on our western frontier an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement.

After a serious and mature deliberation, the

Governor-General was satisfied that a pressing necessity, as well as every consideration of policy and justice, warranted us in espousing the cause of Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Affghanistan had been proved to his Lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the Governor-General was further of opinion, that it was just and proper, no less from the position of Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British government, that his Highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations; Mr. Macnaghten was accordingly deputed, in June last, to the court of his Highness, and the result of his mission has been the conclusion of a tripartite treaty by the British government, the Maha Rajah, and Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, whereby his Highness is guaranteed in his present possessions, and has bound himself to co-operate for the restoration of the Shah to the throne of his ancestors. The friends and enemies of any one of the contracting parties have been declared to be the friends and enemies of all. Various points have been adjusted, which had been the subjects of discussion between the British government

and his Highness the Maha Rajah, the identity of whose interests with those of the honourable Company has now been made apparent to all the surrounding states. A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be tendered to the Ameers of Sinde; and the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected; while by the measures completed or in progress it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British government will gain their proper footing among the nations of central Asia, that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India, and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment.

His Majesty Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk will enter Affghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The Governor-General confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The Governor-General

has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the British crown; but he rejoices that in the discharge of this duty he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Affghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit, to reconcile differences, to secure oblivion of injuries, and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Affghans have been impaired. Even to the chiefs, whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British government, it will seek to secure liberal and honourable treatment, on their tendering early submission, and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures which may be judged the most suitable for the general advantage of their country.

By order of the Right Hon. the Gov.-Gen. of India.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Sec. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov.-Gen.

NOTIFICATION.

With reference to the preceding declaration the following appointments are made:—

Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, secretary to Government, will assume the functions of Envoy and Minister on the part of the government of India at the court of Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk. Mr. Macnaghten will be assisted by the following officers:—

Captain Alexander Burnes, of the Bombay establishment, who will be employed under Mr. Macnaghten's directions as Envoy to the chief of Kelat or other states.

Lieutenant E. D'Arcy Todd, of the Bengal artillery, to be Political Assistant and Military Secretary to the Envoy and Minister.

Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay Artillery; Lieutenant R. Leech, of the Bombay Engineers; Mr. P. B. Lord, of the Bombay Medical Establishment, to be Political Assistants to ditto ditto.

Lieutenant E. B. Conolly, of the 6th regiment of Bengal cavalry, to command the escort of the Envoy and Minister, and to be Military Assistant to ditto ditto.

Mr. G. J. Berwick, of the Bengal Medical Establishment, to be Surgeon to ditto ditto.

W. H. Macnaghten,

Sec. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov.-Gen.

No. 2.

GENERAL ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Head Quarters, Simla, 13*th Sept.* 1838.

ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Secret Department, Simla, 10*th Sept.* 1838.

It being the intention of the government to employ a force beyond the north-west frontier of India, and his Excellency General Sir Henry Fane, G. C. B., Commander-in-Chief in India, having acquiesced in the wish of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, that he should take upon himself the command of the troops to be assembled on the occasion, his Lordship avails himself of his services; and his Excellency is accordingly requested to issue such orders for the organization of the force as he may deem expedient.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Sec. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

WM. CASEMENT, M.G.
Sec. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

1. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is pleased, with the sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, to make the following appointments of officers for the staff duties of the troops under orders for field service:—

To be Brigadiers of the 2nd Class.

Colonel W. Nott, 42nd regiment native infantry.
Colonel J. Dennis, her Majesty's 3rd buffs.
Colonel R. H. Sale, C.B. her Majesty's 13th lt. infantry.
Colonel R. Arnold, her Majesty's 16th lancers.
Lieut. Colonel T. Worsley, 28th reg. native infantry.
Lieut. Colonel A. Roberts, European regiment.
Lieut. Colonel C. Graham, 1st brigade horse artillery.

To be Majors of Brigade.

Brevet Major T. C. Squire, her Majesty's 13th lt. infan.
Captain T. Polwhele, 42nd reg. native infantry.
Captain H. C. Boileau, 28th reg. native infantry.
Captain P. Hopkins, 27th reg. native infantry.
Brevet Captain J. B. Backhouse, 1st brigade horse artil.
Captain A. W. Tayler, European regiment.
Brevet Captain C. F. Havelock, her Majesty's 16th lan.

To be an officiating Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General of the 2nd Class.

Lieut. A. Sanders, 44th reg. native infantry.

To be Chief Engineer.

Captain G. Thomson, commanding sappers and miners.

To be Field Engineers.

1st Lieutenant H. H. Duncan,
2nd Lieutenant J. Laughton.

To be Commissary of Ordnance.

Captain E. F. Day, 5th battalion of artillery.

To be Field Surgeon.

Surgeon R. M. M. Thomson, 14th reg. native infantry.

To be Medical Store-Keeper.

Assistant Surgeon M. J. M. Ross, Her Majesty's 16th lancers.

To be Baggage Master.

Brevet Captain C. Troup, 48th regiment native infantry.

2. The above appointments are to have effect from the 1st of November next, inclusive.

3. The officers commanding the artillery with the force, her Majesty's 16th lancers, 3rd buffs, and European regiment, will forward to head quarters the names of non-commissioned officers of their several corps; the first to fill the office of Provost Marshal, the second for that of Assistant Baggage Master, and the two last for the appointment of Deputy Provost Marshal to the divisions to which their regiments respectively belong.

4. The troops are to be formed into divisions and brigades, and the staff officers are to be attached to them in the manner set forth in the annexed detail.

5. The general officers named to command divisions will be pleased to take care that good ground is early selected near to Kurnaul, for the proper encampment of the several corps on

their arrival; and that all necessary commissariat arrangements are completed.

6. They will proceed, without any delay, to organize the several brigades, and to form their respective divisions, in conformity to the ordered detail.

7. They will carefully ascertain that the equipments of the corps under their respective commands are in all respects complete, and as they should be; and also that all the arrangements directed have been carried into effect respecting the depots for the recruits, and heavy baggage; and for the soldiers' families.

8. For these purposes the troops will halt six days at Kurnaul; after which they will march in four columns on Ferozepore on the Sutlej, where the army will be assembled.

Routes for their respective marches will be furnished hereafter.

9. The bulk of the Engineers' tools and stores will be sent from Delhi with the park of the heavy artillery, with such guard of sappers as Captain Thomson may deem necessary; and the residue of the companies will march with their respective divisions of infantry, having with them the requisite portion of tools, to aid in overcoming any impediments which may present themselves on their lines of march.

10. The officers appertaining to the general staff, who may assemble at Kurnaul, will march with the right column of the army, by Umballah; and will assume their respective posts at Ferozepore.

11. The Superintending Surgeon will take care that the medical officers of divisions have all proper arrangements made for conveying forward casual cases of sickness which may occur on the march.

12. In some of our marches the supply of water may prove scanty, and where it must be drawn from wells for a large body of troops, careful arrangement is always necessary; and the commanding officers of regiments should establish strict regulations to preserve order at these places.

13. The soldiers must be taught always to recollect that many of their brother soldiers are marching behind them; and that needless injury can never be done, or waste committed, on a line of march, which does not bring trouble or inconvenience on those following them.

GENERAL STAFF.

His Excellency General Sir Henry Fane, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India, to command the force.

Colonel M. Beresford, Military Secretary.

Lieut. Col. H. Fane, H. M.'s 11th drag.,
Captain J. Michel, H. M.'s 3d buffs,
Lieut. H. Fane, H. M.'s 17th reg.
Lieut. R. H. Yea, H. M.'s 4th reg.
} Aides-de-Camp.

Captain J. Hay, 35th regiment native infantry, Persian Interpreter.

Dr. A. Wood, H. M.'s 3d light dragoons, Surgeon.

Major P. Craigie, Depy. Adjt. General.

Major J. Byrne, Assistant Adjutant Gen. Queen's Troops.

Major W. Garden, Deputy Quarter Master General.

Captain G. Thomson, Chief Engineer.

Major J. D. Parson, Deputy Commissary General.

Captain H. R. Osborn, Assistant Commissary General.

Captain T. J. Nuthall, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, (in executive charge at head quarters.)

Surgeon G. Playfair, Superintending Surgeon of the Meerut division, Superintending Surgeon.

Surgeon R. M. M. Thomson, 14th regiment native infantry, Field Surgeon.

Brevet Major W. Hough, 48th regiment native infantry, Deputy Judge Advocate General, Dinapore division, Deputy Judge Advocate General.

Brevet Captain C. Troup, 48th regiment native infantry, Baggage Master.

DIVISIONAL STAFF.

1st Division of Infantry.

Major General Sir W. Cotton, C.B. and K.C.H., to command.

Captain W. Cotton, H. M. 44th reg. Aide-de-Camp.

Captain J. D. Douglas, 53d regiment native infantry, Assistant Adjt. General.

Lieut. H. Kewney, 50th regiment native infantry, Depy. Assist. Quarter Master General.

Lieut. J. Laughton, Field Engineer.

Captain A. Watt, Depy. Asst. Commissary General, commissariat officer.

The Rev. ———, Chaplain.

BRIGADE STAFF.

1st Brigade.

Colonel Sale, C.B., H. M. 13th light infantry, Brigadier.

Brevet Major Squire, H. M. 13th light infantry, Major of Brigade.

Lieut. Simpson, Sub-Assistant Commissary General, commissariat officer.

Corps.

16th regiment native infantry.

Her Majesty's 13th light infantry.

48th regiment native infantry.

2d Brigade.

Col. Nott, 42d regiment native infantry, Brigadier.

Captain Polwhele, 42d regiment native infantry, Major of Brigade.

Corps.

42d regiment native infantry.

31st regiment native infantry.

43d regiment native infantry.

3rd Brigade.

Colonel Dennis, H. M. 3rd buffs, Brigadier.

Captain Hopkins, 27th regiment native infantry, Major of Brigade.

Corps.

27th regiment native infantry.
Her Majesty's 3rd buffs.
2nd regiment native infantry.
A company of sappers and miners.

DIVISIONAL STAFF.

2nd Division of Infantry.

Major General A. Duncan, to command.
Lieutenant A. H. Duncan, 43rd regiment native infantry, Aide-de-Camp.
Captain L. N. Hull, 16th regiment native infantry, Asst. Adj. Genl.
Lieutenant A. Sanders, 44th regiment native infantry, Depy. Asst. Quarter Master General.
Lieut. H. H. Duncan, Field Engineer.
Lieut. Skinner, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, commissariat officer.
The Rev. ——— Chaplain.

BRIGADE STAFF.

4th Brigade.

Lieut. Colonel Roberts, European regiment, Brigadier.
Captain Tayler, European regiment, Major of Brigade.

Corps.

35th regiment native infantry.
European regiment.
37th regiment native infantry.

5th Brigade.

Lieut. Col. Worsley, 28th reg. native infantry, Brigadier.
Capt. Boileau, 28th reg. native infantry, Major of Brigade.

Corps.

5th regiment native infantry.
28th regiment native infantry.
53rd regiment native infantry.
A company of sappers and miners.

BRIGADE STAFF.

Cavalry Brigade.

Col. Arnold, H. M. 16th lancers, Brigadier.
Brevet Captain Havelock, H. M. 16th lancers, Major of Brigade.
Lieutenant Reddie, Sub-Asst. Commissary General, commissariat officer.

Corps.

2nd regiment light cavalry.
Her Majesty's 16th lancers.
3rd regiment light cavalry.

BRIGADE STAFF.

Artillery.

Lieut. Col. Graham, horse artillery, Brigadier.
Brevet. Capt. J. B. Backhouse, horse artillery, Major of Brigade.
Captain E. F. Day, 5th battalion artillery, Commissary of Ordnance.
Lieut. Newbolt, Sub-Assistant Commissary General, commissariat officer.

Corps.

2nd troop 2nd brigade horse artillery.
3rd troop 2nd brigade horse artillery.
3rd company 2nd battalion.
4th company 2nd battalion.
2nd company 6th battalion.

14. A strict performance of all duties by guards and picquets must be carefully enforced from the commencement of the march, so that proper habits may be early established. The details for these should never be larger than circumstances render imperative, as the more soldiers on service are spared from unnecessary fatigue the better.

15. An officer in command of a brigade must never be satisfied until he has personally seen that the picquets of his brigade are properly posted.

16. The greatest happiness which could befal his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the reflection which would be most gratifying to him during the remainder of his life, would be, if he could be enabled to carry through the duties entrusted to him without the infliction of any punishment whatever. It is only from good discipline that such a result can be possible, and he calls on every officer and non-commissioned officer, with the army, to aid him in maintaining that which is so very desirable.

17. At the same time that he proclaims what he so much wishes, he makes known to the soldiers that the necessity for good behaviour on their part is so important for their own advantage as well as for the general success, that he

will repress disorders, and breaches of discipline, and neglect of duty, with a strong hand.

18. He has the utmost confidence in the courage of the troops placed under his command, and if with that good quality, strict discipline be combined, his Excellency doubts not that the detachment of the Bengal army will return to Hindoostan having acquired high honour for themselves and advantage for their country.

No. 3.

GENERAL ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Head-Quarters, Simla, 22*nd October,* 1838.

1. With the approbation of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, the army assembling for duty in the field will be denominated "The Army of the Indus."

2. Previous to the advance of the troops from the Jumna, his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, having in view the unusual duties which many of the officers will be called on to discharge for the first time, offers, for their consideration, a few topics, the result of his experience.

3. All know that discipline is esteemed the first quality in an army to ensure success in any

military operation; but all are not aware of how small a part of the discipline of an army in the field is comprised in what is considered "discipline" in the ordinary acceptation of the term.

4. One of its most essential points on service is, the watchfulness which every individual should bestow on the manner in which the grades below him discharge their duties; and in every officer's not only performing his own duty with correctness, but in his seeing that the duties of the class immediately below him are also correctly discharged.

5. Thus, the officers commanding divisions must be watchful over the commanders of brigades; and they over the officers commanding regiments; who, in their turn, must take care that their captains perform their duties strictly; and so through all grades down to the non-commissioned officers of squads.

6. Officers on service in the field must esteem their own personal convenience but the secondary consideration; the care of the soldiers under their charge the first. No commanding officer of a regiment or a company, on the termination of a march, must attend to his own business until the soldiers under his command are properly disposed of in their camp, and the necessary arrangements are in progress for the

supplies for the men or forage for the horses. The casual sick also require immediate attention.

7. A troop or company on service should never be dismissed after a march until a scrutiny has been made by the officers belonging to it, into any accident which may have happened to the arms or accoutrements of their men or horses during the previous movement, and orders are given for the requisite repairs. At the evening parades everything should be again in order. The ammunition in pouch should be carefully looked to; and the act of making away with any be invariably punished.

8. Officers commanding regiments must be very attentive to the regularity of their column of march, since the more or less of fatigue to their men greatly depends on this point.

The falling out of the ranks by individuals should always be checked as much as possible; and when a man does fall out, his firelock is invariably to be carried forward by his next file under orders from the commander of the section. A halt and a piling of arms for five minutes in every hour prevents the necessity for individuals frequently quitting the ranks.

9. Good conduct towards the inhabitants of a country passed through, both on the part of

officers and soldiers, is another very essential part of good discipline. All plundering or ill-treatment of them must be most carefully repressed; and in foraging, or other unavoidable encroachments on their property, every unnecessary injury should be abstained from.

10. All encouragement by good treatment should be given to the country people bringing articles for sale to the bazars, as many of the comforts of the army may depend much on this point.

11. Whenever camps are near to towns or villages, safeguards must be placed in them to prevent all pillage or marauding, or misconduct of any kind, by stragglers from the army, or its followers; and when such places are passed on the line of march, small guards should be detached from the head of the column to prevent stragglers entering them; which guards should join and come forward with the rear guard of the column.

No. 4.

ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp Munny Mojra, 8th November, 1838.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General having been pleased to authorize the ap-

pointment of a second aide-de-camp to each of the Major Generals commanding a division of infantry in the army of the Indus, Major-General Sir W. Cotton and Major-General A. Duncan are requested to forward to head quarters the names of the officers they may severally select for the duty.

No. 5.

ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Secret Department, Camp Budder, 8th November, 1838.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General of India is pleased to publish for general information the subjoined extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart, dated Herat, 10th September, 1838, and addressed to the Secretary to the Government of India.

" I have the honour, by direction of her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and the honourable the East India Company's Envoy at the court of Persia, to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in council, that his Majesty, the Shah of

Persia, yesterday raised the siege of this city, and with the whole of the royal camp marched to Sung-butt, about twelve miles, on his return to his own dominions. His Majesty proceeds without delay by Toorbut, Sheekh-i-jaum and Meshid, to Teheran.

"This is in fulfilment of his Majesty's compliance with the demands of the British government, which I had the honour of delivering on the 12th instant, and of the whole of which his Majesty announced his acceptance on the 14th of August. His Majesty, Shah Kamran, and his Wuzeer, Yar Moohummud Khan, and the whole city, feel sensible of the sincerity of the British government, and Mr. Pottinger and myself fully participate in their gratitude to Providence for the happy event which I have now the honour to report."

In giving publicity to this important document, the Governor-General deems it proper at the same time to notify, that while he regards the relinquishment by the Shah of Persia of his hostile designs upon Herat as a just cause of congratulation to the government of British India and its allies, he will continue to prosecute with vigour the measures which have been announced with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern pro-

vinces of Affghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon our north-west frontier.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General is pleased to appoint Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay artillery, to be Political Agent at Herat, subject to the orders of the Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk. This appointment is to have effect from the 9th September last, the date on which the siege of Herat was raised by the Shah of Persia.

In conferring the above appointment upon Lieutenant Pottinger, the Governor-General is glad of the opportunity afforded him of bestowing the high applause which is due to the signal merits of that officer, who was present in Herat during the whole of its protracted siege, and who, under circumstances of peculiar danger and difficulty, has, by his fortitude, ability, and judgment, honourably sustained the reputation and interests of his country.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India,

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Sec. to the Govt. of India with the Gov.-Gen.

No. 6.

GENERAL ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ferozepore, 27th November, 1838.

1. Circumstances in the countries west of the Indus have so greatly changed since the assembly of this army for service, that the Right Honourable the Governor-General has deemed that it is not requisite to send forward the whole force; but that a part only will be equal to effecting the future objects in view.

2. His Lordship has therefore been pleased to instruct his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief as follows:—

The whole of the cavalry, one troop of horse artillery, one battery of 9 prs. and the artillery of the park, the sappers and miners, and three brigades of infantry, shall go forward; and the remainder of the troops will await further orders at Ferozepore.

3. The lot to go forward has fallen on the troops enumerated as follows:—

The 2nd troop 2nd brigade of horse artillery.

The camel battery of 9 prs.

The 1st, 2nd, and 4th brigades of infantry.

The division of infantry to be commanded by

Major-General Sir W. Cotton, being the senior major-general.

4. The troops to go forward and those to remain in Hindoostan may make their arrangements accordingly. The head of the column will move on as soon as possible after the army shall have been reviewed by the Rt. Hon. Governor-General and the Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh.

Whatever alterations may be requisite in the details of the staff will be communicated in a future order.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief deems this a fitting opportunity for expressing the gratification which he has received from witnessing the alacrity evinced by all ranks of the army to serve their country on the present occasion, and from their excellent conduct on their march from the Jumna to the Sutlej. He assures them that had their services been still required in advance, and had he had the pleasure of leading them forward, he would have met any troops which might have been opposed to them with a full confidence of success, founded on their courage and excellent discipline, and on the zeal of the officers he has had the honour to command.

By order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

P. Craigie, Major,
Depy. Adj. Genl. of the Army.

No. 7.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ferozepore, 4th Dec. 1838.

The following notification having been received by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, he publishes it for the information of the army:—

NOTIFICATION.

ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Secret Department, Camp at Ferozepore, 30th Nov. 1838.

The retreat of the Persian army from before Herat having been officially announced to the government, as notified to the public on the 8th instant, the circumstances no longer exist which induce the Right Honourable the Governor-General to solicit a continuance of the services of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with a view to his conducting military operations to the west of the Indus, and, as it is probable that her Majesty will graciously acquiesce in the wish of the Commander-in-Chief, to be relieved from his command in February next, the Right Honourable the Governor-

General is pleased to dispense with his Excellency's services in the field, and will direct other arrangements for the command of the army of the Indus.

The Governor-General has on this occasion to record his grateful sense of the readiness with which his Excellency has been (as he is yet) prepared to postpone every personal consideration to the service of his country.

By order, &c.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,

Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Gov.-Gen.

Under these altered circumstances, the command of the detachment of the Bengal army is to be assumed by Major-General Sir W. Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H., who will hereafter receive instructions for his proceedings. The temporary command of the first division of infantry will devolve on the senior Brigadier of the division, and the command of his brigade on the senior officer commanding a regiment of the division.

By order of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,

J. R. LUMLEY, Major-General,

Adjutant-General of the Army.

No. 8.

ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ferozepore, 4th Dec. 1838.

In furtherance of the foregoing Army General Orders, Major-General W. Nott, of the 2nd brigade, is appointed temporarily to the command of the first division of the army of the Indus; and Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, the senior officer of the force not holding a Line command, is nominated to the command of the 2nd brigade during the period Major-General Nott may remain in charge of the 1st division.

Major-General Sir W. Cotton's column will commence its march on the 10th instant, and it will proceed in the following order—viz., Brigadier Arnold's brigade, with the 2nd troop 2nd brigade horse artillery attached to it; the brigades of infantry by brigades on three successive days; the camel brigade of nine pounders to march with the 2nd brigade, and it is to be considered as attached to the division of infantry in future movements; one risallah of local horse

is to march with each brigade of infantry, and brigadiers will take especial care of them, and see that they are not unnecessarily harassed. Brigadier Skinner will make this distribution.

The artillery and engineer train will march the next in succession, and they also will be accompanied by a risallah of horse. The remainder of the local horse will close the rear of the column on the sixth day, and Brigadier Skinner will have an eye to stragglers and to all irregularities.

Major Pew, of the artillery, will consider the battery of the division and the train under his especial supervision; and when the whole body of artillery chance to be together, he will exercise the ordinary control over the whole as senior officer. The Commissary of Ordnance will, of course, be in charge of the park and the stores.

Major-General Sir W. Cotton will be so good as to see that every brigade is fully equipped in accordance with the regulations before it departs, and has its due supplies and commissariat means.

His Excellency takes this opportunity of reminding commissariat officers that, after their departure from Ferozepore, the army will depend for its resources on them alone, and that failure on the part of the civil officers will not be con-

sidered by him as a justification for any wants whatever.

He desires them to reflect on the highly-important consequences to the army and the government of failure in their department. The commissariat officer of each division or brigade will be considered by the Commander-in-Chief as strictly responsible on these subjects.

The bridge of boats over the Sutlej will probably be removed on Thursday evening or Friday morning. The officer left in charge of the sappers will take care that the supplies for the men who go down with the bridge, are prepared for embarkation in time, so that an hour may not be lost in going forward. The commissary in charge of provisions will attend to this point.

The officer in charge of the bridge (Lieutenant Sturt) will report what accommodation in tonnage the boats of the bridge can afford, plus its own equipments and the engineer stores.

This officer, on his passage down, will take care to open a communication with the chief engineer on his march as soon as practicable.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

(Signed) P. Craigie, Major,

Dep. Adj.-Gen. of the Army.

No. 9.

Camp Sukkur, 15th February, 1839.

The Major-General commanding the Bengal column begs to offer to Captain Thomson, the chief engineer, and to Captain Sanders, commanding the sappers and miners, his strongest approbation and thanks for the admirable manner in which they have performed the arduous undertaking of forming the bridge over the Indus, which reflects the greatest credit on their military abilities; and he begs these officers will make known to the officers and men of their respective corps how fully he appreciates the active services and co-operation they have afforded in rendering this work so perfect.

No. 10.

Extract from General Orders by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus:—

Larkhana, 4th March, 1839.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General of India having, in a notification, dated Camp

at Ferozepore, 30th November, 1838, announced for certain reasons therein stated, especially that circumstances no longer existed which originally induced his Lordship to solicit the continuance of Sir Henry Fane's services, with a view to conducting military operations west of the Indus; and his Lordship having notified, under date 8th Dec. 1838, that he had transferred their important command to his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, it is accordingly announced to the troops of the two Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay forming the army of the Indus.

2. Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane avails himself of this opportunity to assure the troops that he feels very proud of the honour thus conferred upon him, and that it will be his study to attend to their comforts and happiness, as much as it may be possible to do, during the service in which all are engaged.

3. The character for high discipline and good conduct which Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton has given of the Bengal column during its long and arduous march from Ferozepore to the Sinde territory, and crossing the Indus, is highly creditable to the troops, and very gratifying to Sir John Keane to learn.

4. His Excellency having already intimated to the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India, and to the Bombay Government, his sense of the admirable conduct of the troops that quitted Bombay under his own immediate orders since the period of their landing in Sinde last November up to the present time, it now only remains for him to express publicly the satisfaction he has derived from commanding such troops.

5. The troops of the two Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay composing the army of the Indus, as far as concerns the native officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers and privates, gun or tent lascars, pioneers, and other permanent establishments drawing half or full batta, and regularly enrolled, will, under instructions from the Right Honourable the Governor-General, be placed on a perfect equality in regard to pay and allowances, from the period when the Bengal troops crossed the Indus, the date of which will be hereafter announced in General Orders.

6. Notwithstanding what is above notified, and which relates alone to pay and allowances to natives of all classes in the regular service or permanent establishments, the troops of the two

Presidencies will continue to observe, and to be governed by the regulations of their own particular Presidency, which differ in many points.

7. The staff officers already appointed to the troops of each Presidency, will continue to exercise their functions distinctly as much as it can be done, the heads of departments taking their orders separately from the Commander-in-Chief in what relates exclusively to the troops of their own Presidency. To this one exception will, probably, be made hereafter as regards the commissariat, which it appears to his Excellency, with a due regard to the interests of the service, should be under one head.

8. Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H. to command the whole of the infantry of the Bengal Presidency, formed into three Brigades, as already ordered, and to be called the 1st division.

9. Major-General Willshire, C.B., to command the whole of the infantry of the Bombay Presidency, formed into two brigades, and to be called the 2nd division.

10. The cavalry division to be under the command of Major General Thackwell, C.B., and to be composed of the two brigades, commanded by Brigadier Arnold and Brigadier Scott.

11. The artillery of the Bengal and Bombay divisions to be under the command of Brigadier Stevenson, the senior officer.

12. The brigade ordered from Bombay to act as a reserve to the corps d'armée previously sent, will continue its head quarters at Curachie until further orders, sending a detachment to Tatta of the strength which will be ordered.

13 Under this arrangement, which has appeared to his Excellency the most eligible that could be made, when he has occasion to issue any General Order affecting the troops of both Presidencies, he will cause it to be signed by his officiating military secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, the Deputy Adjutant General, Queen's troops, Bombay army.

No. 11.

Larkhana, 10th March, 1839.

1. Circumstances rendering it necessary to make a new organization of the infantry of the Bombay force, the following arrangement is made:—

The 1st brigade to consist of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th regiments of foot, and 19th native

infantry. The 2nd brigade to consist of the 1st, 5th, and 23rd regiments of native infantry.

2. The 2nd brigade, under the command of Brigadier Gordon, will remain for the present in Upper Sinde, one of the regiments to be quartered in the fortress of Bukkur, relieving the 35th regiment of Bengal native infantry, which is to join the brigade of the Bengal infantry at Shikarpore.

3. The 2nd, or Brigadier Dennie's brigade of Bengal infantry will continue at Shikarpore until further orders, but to be prepared to move in advance at the shortest notice; and Brigadier Gordon will, on its departure, send a strong detail to occupy Shikarpore, and to protect the depôt there.

4. A detail of the 1st regiment light cavalry of the strength of a troop, and to be commanded by a subaltern, will be selected by Lieutenant-Colonel Sandwith, under the superintendence of Brigadier Scott, to remain with Brigadier Gordon's infantry brigade.

5. Brigadier Gordon will take upon himself the general superintendence of all military details, and the duties of all persons in subordinate authority at the depôt, which is to be established on a large scale at Bukkur, for the general purposes and supply of the army of the

Indus of Bengal and Bombay, and the troops of his Majesty Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk.

No. 12.

GENERAL ORDERS BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Head-Quarters at Koochlak, 7th April, 1839.

1. The commander-in-chief having established his head-quarters with the advanced column, avails himself of the opportunity of expressing his gratification at the proud position in which he is placed, by having the command of such fine troops.

2. His Excellency is also gratified at having received the charge from his friend and former companion in the field, Major General Sir Willoughby Cotton, to whom he begs to return his best thanks for the able and judicious manner in which he has conducted the march of the Bengal column over the great distance of country between Ferozepore and this, including the crossing of the Indus; but especially the manner in which he surmounted the difficulties he met with in the march from Shikarpore to Dadur, and the passage through the Bolan Pass with artillery, cavalry, and infantry;

and the Commander-in-Chief will not fail to state his sentiments in these terms to his Lordship the Governor-General.

No. 13.

Extract of orders by Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, commanding the Bengal column of the army of the Indus :—

Camp Quettah, 7th April, 1839.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief having arrived in camp, and assumed the command in person of the army, and having directed Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton to resume the command of the infantry of the 1st division, he cannot give up the charge of the Bengal column without expressing, in the strongest and warmest terms, his thanks to Major-General Thackwell and the brigadiers and commanding officers of the cavalry and horse artillery, and to Major-General Nott, and the brigadiers and commanding officers of regiments of infantry, and the officer commanding the camel battery, to Major Pew, and the officers of the park, and to Captain Thomson and the officers of the engineer department,

and to the men composing the various corps, for the admirable manner in which the superior officers have conducted a march of upwards of eleven hundred miles, and for the good conduct and soldierlike behaviour of the men. To the Deputy Adjutant General and Quarter Master General, and the officers of their departments, and to Major Parsons, Deputy Commissary General, and the officers of his department, and to Doctor Thomson, and the medical department, Sir Willoughby Cotton begs to offer his recorded approbation of the assistance he has received from them, and of the manner in which these officers have conducted their duty.

No. 14.

Extract from General Orders, dated Head-Quarters, Camp, Ghuznee, 22nd July, 1839.

The following movements are directed for to-morrow :—

At 12, P.M., the artillery will commence moving towards the fort, and the batteries will follow each other in succession, at the discretion of the Brigadier commanding. The guns must be placed in the most favourable positions,

with their right above the village in the hills to the north-east of the fortress, and their left amongst the gardens below the Cabul road. They must all be in position before daylight; and as in their progress down they cannot avoid being heard, and fired upon, they should make a return sufficient to attract the enemy's attention from the gateway about 3, P. M.

The first battery will be accompanied by the sappers and miners, and by six companies of native infantry from the 1st division. Four of these companies are intended to clear the gardens on the left of the road, and to support the sappers; the other two companies will be formed on the right of the artillery for the protection of that flank.

The storming party will be under the command of Brigadier Sale, C.B., and will be composed as follows:—

"An advance," to consist of the light companies of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th regiments, and of the European regiment, and of a flank company of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, C.B.

The main column will consist of her Majesty's 2nd regiment of foot, and the European regiment, with the remainder of her Majesty's

13th light infantry, formed as skirmishers on the flanks. The latter will push into the fort with the rear of the main column. Her Majesty's 17th regiment will be formed in support, and will follow the storming party into the works.

The whole must quit their respective encampments, formed in column of companies at quarter distance, right in front, so as to ensure their arrival at the place appointed for the rendezvous by two o'clock. Officers from her Majesty's 2nd regiment, 17th, and European regiments to be sent to Brigadier Sale's camp this afternoon at six o'clock, for the purpose of having their place of assembly pointed out to them.

At half-past two o'clock the companies of the 13th light infantry intended to act as skirmishers will move up to cover in front of the gateway, and be ready to keep down any fire on the party of the engineers who proceed to blow it open. This last party will move up to the gateway just before day-break, followed slowly and at some distance by the assaulting columns.

On the Chief Engineer finding the opening practicable, he will have the advance sounded for the column to push on; when the head has

passed the gateway, a signal must be made for the artillery to turn their fire from the walls of the town upon the citadel. The nature of the signal to be arranged by Brigadier Stevenson.

At twelve o'clock, P. M., three companies of native infantry will quit camp, and move round to the gardens on the south of the town, where they will establish themselves; and about three, A. M., open a fire upon the place, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the garrison.

The infantry of the 1st division not named for duty in the foregoing part of this order, will be formed as a reserve, and will be under the personal command of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton.

A regiment of cavalry will quit camp at twelve o'clock, P. M., and will move towards the southern face of the fort to cut off any parties making their escape from it. All these movements must be made without the sound of bugle or trumpet.

The remainder of the cavalry will be employed in observation on the Cabul road, and in such manner as the Major-General commanding may think the best calculated to prevent the operations before the fort from being interrupted, and for the protection of the camp.

The camp guards of the infantry must continue at their posts; but it is expected that corps will muster on the present occasion as strong as possible. Each commanding officer to be provided with a return, shewing the exact number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, under arms with his regiment.

The superintending surgeons will arrange for having a portion of the field hospital established in the vicinity of the batteries; but in a hollow of the mountain, and out of the range of fire.

The Assistant Quarter-Masters General of cavalry and infantry will furnish guides to the detachments from their respective divisions proceeding to the south of the town.

*** The above instructions were published in General Orders on the 23rd, but issued as confidential on the evening of the 22nd to the superior officers of the army, who made known in a similar manner to those under their control that portion of them which each had to carry into effect on the succeeding morning.

No. 15.

GENERAL ORDER BY HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN KEANE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Ghuznee, 23rd July, 1839.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane most heartily congratulates the army which he has the honour to command on the signal triumph they have obtained in the capture, by storm, of the strong and importrant fortress of Ghuznee. His Excellency feels that he can hardly do justice to the gallantry of the troops.

The scientific and successful manner in which the Cabul gate (of great strength) was blown up by Captain Thomson, of the Bengal engineers, the chief of that department with this army, in which he reports having been most ably assisted by Captain Peat, of the Bombay engineers, and Lieutenants Durand and Macleod, of the Bengal engineers, in the daring and dangerous enterprise of laying powder in the face of the enemy, and the strong fire kept up upon them, reflects the highest credit on their skill and cool courage; and his Excellency begs

Captain Thomson will accept his cordial thanks. His acknowledgments are also due to the other officers of engineers of both Presidencies, and to the whole of the valuable corps of sappers and miners under them. This opening having been made, although it was a difficult one to enter by, from the rubbish in the way, the leading column, in a spirit of fine gallantry, directed and led by Brigadier Sale, gained a footing inside the fortress, although opposed by the Affghan soldiers in very great strength, and in the most desperate manner, with every kind of weapon.

The advance under Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, of her Majesty's 13th, consisting of the light companies of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th, and of the Bengal European regiment, with one company of her Majesty's 13th; and the leading column, consisting of her Majesty's 2nd, or Queen's, under Major Carruthers, and the Bengal European regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, followed by her Majesty's 13th light infantry, as they collected from the duty of skirmishing, which they were directed to begin with, and by her Majesty's 17th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Croker.

To all these officers, and gallant soldiers under their orders, his Excellency's best thanks

are tendered; and in particular he feels deeply indebted to Brigadier Sale for the manner in which he conducted the arduous duty intrusted to him in command of the storming party. His Excellency will not fail to bring it to the notice of his Lordship the Governor-General; and he trusts the wound which Brigadier Sale has received is not of that severe nature long to deprive the army of his services. Brigadier Sale reports that Captain Kershaw, of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, rendered important assistance to him and the service in the storming.

Sir John Keane was happy on this proud occasion to have the assistance of his old comrade, Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, who, in the command of the reserve, ably executed the instructions he received, and was at the gate ready to enter after the storming party had established themselves inside, when he moved through it to sweep the ramparts and to complete the subjugation of the place with the 16th Bengal native infantry, under Major Maclaren, Brigadier Roberts with the 35th native infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Monteith, and the 48th native infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler.

His arrangements afterwards, in continuation

of those Brigadier Sale had made for the security of the magazine and other public stores, were such as met his Excellency's high approbation.

The Commander-in-Chief acknowledges the services rendered by Captain Hay, of the 35th native infantry, sent to the south side of the fortress to begin with a false attack, and which was executed at the proper time and in a manner highly satisfactory to his Excellency.

Nothing could be more judicious than the manner in which Brigadier Stevenson placed the artillery in position. Captain Grant's troop of Bengal horse artillery, and the camel battery under Captain Abbott, both superintended by Major Pew, the two troops of Bombay horse artillery, commanded by Captains Martin and Cotgrave, and Captain Lloyd's battery of Bombay foot artillery, all opened upon the citadel in a manner which shook the enemy, and did such execution as completely to paralyse and strike terror into them; and his Excellency begs Brigadier Stevenson and the officers and men of that arm will accept his thanks for their good services.

The 19th regiment Bombay native infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Stalker, having been placed in position to

watch any enemy that might appear on the Cabul road, or approach to attack the camp, had an important post assigned to them, although, as it happened, no enemy made an attempt upon them.

In sieges and storming it does not fall to the lot of the cavalry to bear the same conspicuous part as the other two arms of the profession. On this occasion Sir John Keane is happy to have an opportunity of thanking Major-General Thackwell and the officers and men of the cavalry division under his orders, for having successfully executed the directions given to sweep the plain, and to intercept fugitives of the enemy attempting to escape from the fort in any direction around it; and had an enemy appeared for the relief of the place during the storming, his Excellency is fully satisfied that the several regiments of this fine arm would have distinguished themselves, and that the opportunity alone was wanting.

Major-General Willshire's division having been broken up for the day to be distributed, as it was, the Major-General was desired to be in attendance upon the Commander-in-Chief. To him and to the officers of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master General's department of the

Bengal and Bombay army, his Excellency returns his warmest thanks for the assistance they have afforded him.

The Commander-in-Chief feels, and in which feeling he is sure he will be joined by the troops composing the army of the Indus, that after the long and harassing marches they have made, and the privations they have endured, the glorious achievement and the brilliant manner in which the troops have met and conquered their enemy, rewards them for it all. His Excellency will only add, no army that has ever been engaged in a campaign deserves more credit than that which he has the honour to command, for patient, orderly, and cool conduct under all circumstances, and Sir John Keane is proud to have the opportunity of thus publicly acknowledging it.

By order of his Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Keane, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus,

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, Lieut.-Col.
Military Secretary and Dy. Adjt. General
Her Majesty's F. Bombay.

GENERAL ORDER BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ghuznee, 27th July, 1839.

The circumstance of Major Tronson having fallen into the command of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, on the morning of the 23rd instant, was overlooked at the time that the General Order of that date was issued, and his name was in consequence not mentioned in it. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief willingly rectifies the omission by thus publicly acknowledging Major Tronson's services at the head of his regiment, when it followed the storming party into the works of Ghuznee.

No. 16.

1. List of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane before Ghuznee, on the 21st July, 1839:—

2nd Troop Bengal Horse Artillery—3 horses wounded.
3rd ditto Bombay ditto ditto—2 rank and file, 2 horses wounded.
4th ditto ditto ditto ditto—1 horse killed.
2nd Regiment Bengal Cavalry—1 horse killed, 1 rank and file wounded.

4th Bengal Local Horse—1 rank and file, and 1 horse missing.

Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—1 rank and file killed.

16th Bengal Native Infantry—1 Captain wounded.

48th ditto ditto ditto—1 Lieutenant, and 2 rank and file wounded.

Total killed—1 rank and file, and 2 horses.

Total wounded—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 5 rank and file, and 6 horses.

Total missing, 1 rank and file, and 1 horse.

Names of Officers Wounded.

Captain Graves, 16th Bengal Native Infantry, severely.

Lieutenant Vanhomrigh, 48th Bengal Native Infantry, slightly.

2. List of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., in the assault and capture of the Fortress and Citadel of Ghuznee, on the 23rd July, 1839:—

General Staff—1 Colonel, 1 Major, wounded.

2nd Troop Bombay Horse Artillery—1 rank and file wounded.

4th ditto ditto—1 rank and file and 1 horse wounded.

Bengal Engineers—3 rank and file killed, 2 rank and file wounded, 1 rank and file missing.

Bombay Engineers—1 Lieutenant, 1 rank and file wounded.

2nd Bengal Light Cavalry—1 rank and file wounded.

1st Bombay Light Cavalry—1 havildar killed, 5 rank and file and 7 horses wounded.

Her Majesty's 2nd Foot (or Queen's Royal)—4 rank and file killed, 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Serjeant and 26 rank and file wounded.

Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—1 rank and file killed, 3 Sergeants and 27 rank and file wounded.

Her Majesty's 17th Foot—6 rank and file wounded.

Bengal European Regiment—1 rank and file killed 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Sergeant, 51 rank and file wounded.

16th Bengal Native Infantry—1 Havildar, 6 rank and file wounded.

35th ditto ditto—5 rank and file killed, 1 havildar, 8 rank and file wounded.

48th ditto ditto—2 Havildars killed, 5 rank and file wounded.

Total killed—3 Serjeants or Havildars, 14 rank and file.

Total Wounded—1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Majors, 4 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 7 Sergeants or Havildars, 140 rank and file, 8 horses.

Total Missing—1 rank and file.

Grand Total—on the 21st and 23d of July killed, wounded, and missing—191 officers and men, and 16 horses.

Wounded.

Names of Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing.

General Staff—Brigadier Sale, H. M.'s 13th light infantry, slightly; Major Parsons, Deputy-Commissary-General, ditto.

Bombay Engineers—Lieut. Marriott, slightly.

Her Majesty's 2nd (or Queen's Royal)—Captain Raitt,

slightly; Captain Robinson, severely; Lieutenant Young, ditto; Lieutenant Stisted, slightly; Adjutant Simmons, ditto; Quarter Master Hadley, ditto.

Bengal European Regiment—Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, slightly; Major Warren, severely; Captain Hay, slightly; Captain Taylor, ditto; Lieutenant Broadfoot, ditto; Lieutenant Haslewood, severely; Lieutenant Fagan, slightly; Lieutenant Magnay, ditto; Ensign Jacob, ditto.

No. 17.

ROLL OF GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS OF HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE ATTACHED TO THE BENGAL COLUMN OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp Candahar, June 1st, 1839.

Commanding 1st division of infantry, Major-General Sir W. Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H.

Aides-de-camp to Major-General Sir W. Cotton, Captain Willoughby Cotton, H.M.'s 44th reg., and Captain Havelock, H.M.'s 13th light infantry.

Commanding cavalry of the army of the Indus, Major-General J. Thackwell, C.B. and K.H., H.M.'s 8th light dragoons.

Aide-de-camp to General Thackwell, Cornet Edmund Roche, H.M.'s 3rd light dragoons.

Assistant adjutant general of cavalry, Major C. R. Cureton, H.M.'s 16th lancers.

Commanding Bengal cavalry brigade, Brigadier Robert Arnold, ditto, ditto.

Aide-de-camp to Brigadier Arnold, Lieutenant J. R. Pattenson, H. M. 16th Lancers.

Commanding 1st brigade infantry, Brigadier R. H. Sale, C.B., H.M.'s 13th light infantry.

Aide-de-camp to Brigadier Sale, Lieutenant J. S. Wood, ditto, ditto.

Brigade major 1st brigade of Infantry, Bt. Major T. C. Squire, ditto.

Medical storekeeper, Assistant Surgeon M. J. M. Ross, H.M.'s 16th lancers.

No. 18.

ROLL OF STAFF OFFICERS OF THE HONOURABLE COMPANY'S SERVICE ATTACHED TO THE BENGAL COLUMN OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, Major P. Craigie, 38th regiment N.I.

Deputy Quarter-master General of ditto, Major W. Garden, 36th ditto, ditto

Deputy Commissary General of ditto, Major J. D. Parsons, 58th ditto, ditto.

Deputy Judge Advocate General of ditto, Brevet Major W. Hough, 48th ditto, ditto.

Deputy Assistant Commissary General, Captain A. Watt, 27th ditto, ditto.

Field Paymaster, Captain B. Bygrave, 5th ditto, ditto.

Post-master, W. Sage, Bt. Major, 48th ditto, ditto.

Baggage-master, Captain J. Nash, 43rd ditto, ditto.

Chief Engineer, Captain G. Thomson, engineers.

Assistant in the Office of the Deputy Adjutant General, Lieutenant R. D. Kay, 2d regiment N. I.

Dep. Assistant Quarter-Master General, Ensign M. Beecher, 61st regiment, N. I.

Assistant in the Office of the Quarter-Master General, Cornet W. T. Tytler, 9th regiment light cavalry.

Superintending Surgeon, Surgeon James Atkinson.

Field-Surgeon, Surgeon R. M. M. Thomson, European regiment.

Chaplain, Rev. A. Hammond.

No. 19.

DISPOSITION RETURN OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp at Candahar, 4th June, 1839.

Where Stationed.	Detial.	Serjeants & Havildars.	Trump. & Drums.	Rank & File.	Serjeants & Havildars.	Trump. & Drums.	Rank & File.
With Head Quarters at Candahar.	2d Troop 2d Brigade Beng. Horse Artillery,	5	3	88			
	3d and 4th Troops, Bombay ditto...	16	4	175			
	2 Squadrons Her Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons	10	4	219			
	Her Majesty's 16th Lancers...	28	6	363			
	1st Regiment Bombay Light Cavalry... ...	22	7	289			
	2d ditto Bengal ditto	24	6	402			
	3d ditto, ditto, ditto	26	6	408			
	4th Company 2d Battalion Beng. Artillery	5	2	76			
	2d ditto 2d ditto Bombay ditto	4	1	73			
	2d ditto 6th ditto Bengal ditto	7	2	91			
	2d and 3d Companies Bengal Sappers and Miners	8	6	241			
	Detachment Bombay Sappers, Miners, and Pioneers	10	3	198			
	Her Majesty's 2d (or Queen's Royal) Regt. of Foot	31	11	521			
	—— 13th Light Infantry	34	12	405			
	—— 17th Regiment of Foot ...	35	10	531			
	Bengal European Regiment...	36	18	471			
	16th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry ...	45	16	652			
	19th ditto Bombay ditto	47	18	627			
	35th ditto Bengal ditto...	36	15	651			
	37th ditto, ditto, ditto	26	10	364			
	48th ditto, ditto, ditto	47	16	620			
	Detachment's Regt. Bengal Local Horse ...	...	...	92			
	4th Regiment...	4	4	269			
	Poonah Auxiliary Horse	14	...	276			
	Present fit for duty at Head Quarters				520	180	8102
At Quetta.	1st Company 2d Batt. Bombay Artillery ...	5	1	61			
	6 Companies 31st Regt. Bengal N. I.... ...	46	16	485			
	Detachment 42d ditto	22	9	274			
	43d Regiment ditto	43	13	659			
	Detachment 4th Regt. Beng. Local Horse...	4	...	80			
	Present fit for duty at Quetta				120	39	1559
At Dadur	2 Companies 31st Bengal Native Infantry ...	2	...	135			
	Present fit for duty at Dadur				2	...	135
In Sinde.	1st Grenadier Regt. Bombay N. I.	47	15	537			
	5th Regiment of ditto	46	18	634			
	23d ditto, ditto	47	16	654			
	4 Companies 42d Bengal N. I.	26	9	350			
	Detachment of Bombay Artillery	3	2	71			
	Ditto of 1st Regt. Bombay Light Cavalry	4	...	80			
	Ditto of 52d Regt. Bengal N. I. ...		Notknown				
	Present fit for duty in Sinde				173	60	2326
			Total		815	279	12122
			Grand Total			13,216	

The Sick, and those at the Depots, or on Detachment at a distance from the Army, have not been included in the return. (Signed) P. Craigie, *Major, D. A. Gen.*

Followers attached to the Army, and now at Head-Quarters.

Bengal Column	24,326
Bombay Column	5,720
Total	30,046

No. 20.

Copy of a report from Major Maclaren, Commanding the 16th regiment native infantry:—

Camp Kilah, Futtoolah, near Kooloogo, 22nd Sept. 1839.

Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that information having been brought in that the Khajuck tribe of plunderers, to the number of upwards of two hundred, had left the hills and come down to a glen in the lower range; at the request of Captain Outram, political agent, I immediately determined to move off at twelve o'clock at night with a wing of the 16th regiment, one hundred and fifty of Christie's horse, under Lieutenant Nicolson, fifty of Skinner's, under Lieutenant Broadfoot, and one hundred and fifty of his Majesty's Affghans, under Moohummud Osman Khan, leaving our camp and guards standing, with three hundred horse in addition for its protection.

I came in sight of the encampment of the Khajucks at daylight, but found it in a much stronger position than I was led to expect, it

being at the foot of a range of mountains of bare rock.

I immediately halted the detachment, ordered Lieutenant Nicolson and his horse round to the left, and the party of Skinner's and Affghans to the right, to get round the hill, if possible, attacking the enemy's camp in front with the wing of the 16th regiment. A few were killed at the camp, but the main body took to the heights, which were excessively steep. The grenadier company of the 16th were ordered to pursue up the mountain, the light company and another being sent to the right to prevent the enemy escaping along the range. Lieutenant Nicolson succeeded admirably in getting round the hill with his horse, the above companies closing in upon the enemy, who had gained the tops of two of the highest mountains, on which they made their stand, being well protected by large rocks. It was with the greatest difficulty the officers and men got up in face of a heavy and well directed fire from Affghan matchlocks with rests. The chiefs of the Khajucks, waving their swords, called on our troops to come and meet them. They did so; killing many, taking the rest (one hundred and twenty) prisoners on their laying down their arms, many of whom were wounded. So complete was the

affair, that not one individual escaped; and a chief, Malic Ursulan, of the Moohummudzye branch, who was on a visit to the Khajucks, and fought most bravely with them, was also shot through the heart by a sepoy of the light company of the 16th.

It is with much pleasure I report, for his Excellency's information, that Moohummud Osman, chief of the Khajucks, and two or three others, who murdered the late Lieutenant-Colonel Herring, have been captured, the chief himself being wounded. Many articles of clothing of Europeans and native soldiers, as well as parts of English letters, have been found in the enemy's camp. One hundred and twenty camels, a few horses, numbers of sheep, have also been captured, as well as arms of every kind; the matchlocks superior to any I have seen in Affghanistan.

The inhabitants of many forts on our return to camp turned out, and cheered the detachment for their gallant conduct in having destroyed a race that had for two hundred and fifty years prevented their cultivation, carried off their cattle, and that no king or chief of Affghanistan had dared to attack or encounter.

The officers and men behaved in the most determined manner, and I am sorry the service

was not accomplished without loss. Lieutenant and Adjutant Balderston, of the 16th, was wounded, and Lieutenant Nicolson received a severe contusion. A list of the killed and wounded I have the honour to inclose, as also a sketch of the hills, and plan of attack.

I must not omit to mention Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Philipson, who, on hearing that an officer of the 16th was wounded, and no dooly could reach him, mounted his horse and galloped to the spot through the enemy's fire.

I also beg to bring to the notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the chief commanding his Majesty's Affghan horse, Moohummud Osman Khan, and also Surwur Khan, who was of great service.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) J. E. MACLAREN, Major,
Commanding the troops in Toornul District.

MAJOR CRAIGIE, Adjutant-General, Cabul.

No. 21.

List of members of the several classes of the Order of the Dooranee Empire, instituted by Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, at Cabul, 17th of September, 1839:—

First Class.

Civil or Military, in Political Employ.

The Right Hon. Lord Auckland, G.C.B.
W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes.
Lieutenant-Colonel C. Wade.

Military.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief.
Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H., commanding 1st division.

Second Class.

Civil or Military, in Political Employ.

Major D'Arcy Todd.

Military.

Major-General Willshire, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s. 2nd, or Queen's.
Major-Gen. J. Thackwell, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 3rd Light Dragoons.
Major-Gen. Simpson, commanding army of Shah Sooja.
Brigadier Sale, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry.
Brigadier Roberts, Lieut-Col. Honourable Company's Bengal European regiment.

Brigadier Arnold, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 16th Lancers.
Brigadier Baumgardt, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 2nd Queen's.
Brigadier Scott, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 4th Light Dragoons.
Brigadier Stevenson, Lieut.-Col., Bombay artillery.

The following officers are specially recommended by the Commander-in-Chief for the 2nd Class of the Order, in addition to those above-mentioned, for their excellent and efficient service during the whole campaign, and at the assault and capture of Ghuznee:—

Major Craigie, Deputy Adjt.-Gen. Bengal army.
Major Garden, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, Bengal army.
Major Parsons, 50th Bengal N. I., Commissary-Gen.
Lieut.-Col. Macdonald, Deputy-Adjutant-General, H. M. F. Bombay, and Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief.
Major Keith, Deputy Adjutant-General, Bombay army.
Major Campbell, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, ditto.
Captain Thomson, Bengal Engineers, chief engineer.
Captain Peat, Bombay Engineers, commanding.

THIRD CLASS.

Lieut.-Col. Dennie, C.B., Her Majesty's 13th Light Inf.
Lieut.-Col. Orchard, Bengal European regiment.
Lieut.-Col. Herring, 37th Bengal Native Infantry.
Lieut.-Col. Monteath, 35th Bengal Native Infantry.
Lieut.-Col. Wheeler, 48th Bengal Native Infantry.
Lieut.-Col. Persse, Her Majesty's 16th Lancers.
Lieut.-Col. Croker, Her Majesty's 17th Foot.
Lieut.-Col. C. Smyth, H. M.'s 3rd Bengal Light Caval.

Lieut.-Col. Sandwith, 1st Bombay Light Cavalry.
Lieut.-Col. Stalker, 19th Bombay Native Infantry.
Major Salter, 2nd Bengal Cavalry.
Major Warren, Bengal European regiment.
Major Thomson, ditto, ditto, ditto.
Major Maclean, 16th Bengal Native Infantry.
Major Cureton, Her Majesty's 16th Lancers.
Major Macdowell, ditto, ditto, ditto.
Major Daly, Her Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons.
Major Carruthers, Her Majesty's 2nd foot.
Major Tronson, H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry.
Major Pennycuik, H. M.'s 17th foot.
Major Deshon, H. M.'s 17th foot.
Major Thomas, 48th Bengal Native Infantry.
Major Hardwick, 19th Bombay Native Infantry.
Major David Cunningham, 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry, commanding.
Major J. C. Cunningham, 1st Poona Horse, Bombay Light Cavalry.
Captain Hay, 35th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry.
Captain Davidson, 7th Bombay Native Infantry.
Captain Alexander, commanding 4th Local Horse (Bengal.)
Captain Sanders, Bengal Engineers.
Captain McSherr, Major of Brigade, Shah Sooja's army.
Captain Johnson, Bengal Commissariat Department, ditto, ditto, ditto.

Civil or Military, in Political Employ.

Major Leech, Bombay Engineers.
Lieutenant George Macgregor, Bengal H. Artillery.
Lieutenant Mackeson, 14th Bengal Native Infantry.
Assistant Surgeon Lord, Bombay Establishment.

The following officers, whose regiments remained in Sinde, or did not advance beyond Candahar, have also been recommended to the Governor-General, with a view to permission being obtained for them to wear the insignia of the 3rd Class:—

Lieut. Col. Stacy, 43rd Bengal N. I. Major Clarkson, 42nd ditto, . . Major Weston, 31st ditto. . .	At Quettah.
Major Billamore, 1st Bombay (Grenadier) regiment, . . . Major Aitchison, 5th ditto. reg. N. I. Major Wilson, 23d ditto, ditto, ditto.	At Shikarpore and Bukkur.

The following document is subjoined as explanatory of the circumstances under which the acceptance of the decoration of the 3rd Class of the Order was pressed upon Lieut. Edward Keane, the son and Aide-de-Camp of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Extract of a joint letter from the Envoy and Minister and the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General, dated Cabul, 17th September, 1839:—

"After the officers to whom the different grades of the order were granted had been individually introduced, his Majesty requested that Lieutenant Keane, Aide-de-Camp, son of the

Commander-in-Chief, might be introduced to him, and stated that although his name had not appeared in the list of officers which had now been read, he was very desirous that his Excellency should permit his son to accept the 3rd Class of the Order, as well for the services performed, as to mark still more strongly the deep sense of gratitude which he felt for the services rendered to him by the Commander-in-Chief.

"In reply to this mark of the royal condescension, the Commander-in-Chief expressed his sincerest acknowledgments, but begged at the same time that his Majesty would not press on him the acceptance of an honour for his son, which might give rise to misconstruction. It was evident, however, that his Majesty had set his heart upon this object, and that he would have been seriously mortified had his wish not been complied with. Sir John Keane therefore waived his objections, subject to your Lordship's approval, and we now leave the matter entirely in your Lordship's hands to deal with it as may seem to you most fit. Should your Lordship see reason to submit the name of Lieutenant Keane of the 2nd or Queen's Royal regiment of foot, Aide-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Sir

John Keane, to the home authorities for her Majesty's permission to wear the 3rd Class of the Order of the Dooranee Empire, we would humbly suggest that it be done as a special case, and in a separate letter, as being a particular request of his Majesty Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, to remove all misconstruction, and to avoid creating jealousy in the minds of Lieutenant Keane's senior officers."

No. 22.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR MACLAREN, COMMANDING 16TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.

Camp Siri-Moohoor, 14th October, 1839.

SIR,—I have the honour to report for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that I this day captured the murderers of the late Lieutenant Inverarity, of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, seven in number, two chiefs, Arrab and Mukaru, and five others. I have evidence fully to prove the same.

I received intelligence of their being in the village of Sheer Kheil two days ago, and this morning pitched my camp far from any village or town, to avoid spies, who are out in every

direction around my camp. Part of the Affghan horse that were with my detachment I permitted to move towards their homes, near Candahar, this morning; and with a view of putting the inhabitants of Sheer Kheil off their guard, I ordered them to separate in fifties and sixties, and to go to different villages, merely saying they would by this means procure forage the more easily. Another detachment of Affghan horse, left in the district of Kurnoo when my detachments first took the field, I learnt were within a short march, and on their way to Candahar with their families. I immediately saw the use it could be turned to, and ordered the commandant of the party to proceed to the village of Sheer Kheil, and to allow the men's families to mix with the inhabitants; and if he did not observe anything particular, or the men of the place making towards the hills, to remain quiet; but to guard against such taking place. I ordered my own detachment and guns to march as usual in the morning, and moved myself with the flank companies of the 16th regiment, and one hundred Affghan horse towards Candahar, wheeled round, and came upon Sheer Kheil in the opposite direction to which my camp was, surrounded it by infantry and parties of horse, and proceeded to the small fort myself

with twenty grenadiers, secured the gate, and called for the chiefs and others by name. I succeeded in getting one or two immediately, who were not a little surprised to hear their names from military men whom they had never seen before. A few endeavoured to escape; but every place was guarded, and they were all soon secured, with the exception of the senior of the chiefs, Arrab. I immediately caused it to be explained, that I should make an example of ten of the principal men in the village unless he was pointed out or made over to me in ten minutes. This had the desired effect; a priest stepped out, and pointed out the house the chief was in. The serjeant-major of the 16th regiment took a small party in, but could not for some time find the chief. My orderly Havildar, who was also in the house, observed one of the many large grain bags move, and his bayonet made the chief start out of the bags sword in hand, when the serjeant-major and Havildar-major of the 16th seized and brought him out.

The two chiefs, Arrab and Mukaru, had eighty followers when they went to Candahar to meet the English army, and were very successful, having brought back one hundred and fifty to two hundred camels, which they had

captured, besides other articles.* A forage cap with a gold lace band and a cavalry sword were often seen by the three witnesses, whom I have. Many caps and swords were shewn to them in my tent, before they pointed out such as they had seen with the chiefs. Arrab and Mukaru had for months past boasted of their having killed, with their own swords, a English gentleman at a place called "Baba Wullee," near Candahar. The above-named place I never heard mentioned until to-day. The chiefs and their followers had for the last five or six days been sending off their grain and cattle to the hills, and no less than thirty or forty loads went off yesterday; but they were themselves put off their guard by the arrangements which I had made; so much so, that they had not time to take to their arms, otherwise I should have had sharp work, as they could have turned out two or three hundred matchlock men against me. I brought the prisoners safely into camp after a fatiguing march of nearly ten hours, which the officers and men bore with the greatest cheerfulness,

* It is to be remarked, that this fact affords no proof of these men being the murderers of Lieutenant Inverarity, since that officer was in a shooting dress, and both his sword and forage cap had been left in camp at Candahar when he was assassinated.

and only calculating on the happiness their success would yield.

In conclusion, I trust this affair will prove most satisfactory to his Excellency, whose anxiety on account of these murders I was fully aware of. I heard of them by mere accident on my return towards Ghuznee, and I considered it to be my duty instantly to proceed and capture them, if possible; and I am happy to say the result has been most gratifying to me.

I hope to reach Ghuznee by Saturday, the 19th instant.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) J. E. MACLAREN, Major,
Commanding Field Detachment.

MAJOR CRAIGIE, Adjutant-General of the Army.

No. 23.

DIVISION ORDERS BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLOUGHBY COTTON, K.C.B. AND K.C.H.

Dated Camp, near Cabul, 15*th October*, 1839.

It having been signified to Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, that government will re-

quire his services within the provinces of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies, probably for a time in the command of their army, he finds that the moment has unexpectedly arrived in which he must take leave of the division, at the head of which he has had the honour to march upwards of seventeen hundred miles. The memorable enterprise which the army of the Indus has now completed has only once brought the force into fair and serious contact with an enemy. On that single occasion, the Major-General had every reason to be satisfied, not only with the gallantry, which is the commonest of military virtues, but with the intelligence, coolness, and self-possession in the moment of danger, and the forbearance and admirable discipline after victory, both of that portion of the troops which was under his personal command, and that which was separated from him, and employed in very prominent and arduous duties. Throughout the service, also, the endurance of no ordinary fatigues and privations has been most exemplary.

To the whole of the officers and men the Major-General's acknowledgments are due, but especially to those of the former class on whom the greatest share of responsibility has rested—viz., on Brigadiers Sale and Roberts, in the

command of Brigades; and Lieutenant-Colonels Dennie, Monteath, Wheeler, and Orchard; Major Maclaren, and Captain Barstow, in charge of regiments. With the zeal, talent, and activity displayed by Captain Douglas, Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Paton, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and Captain Watt, Assistant Commissary-General, in the discharge of their departmental duties, and the exertions of his personal Staff, Captains Cotton and Havelock, the Major-General has been uniformly satisfied.

The 2nd brigade has been long detached from the rest; but Sir Willoughby Cotton has ever received of its conduct the most favourable reports from Major-General Nott, and he requests its able and respected Commander, and all its officers and soldiers, to consider themselves as included in the general expression of his entire and unreserved approbation as above conveyed to the division.

No. 24.

INSCRIPTION ON THE PEDIMENT OF THE MARBLE MOSQUE NEAR THE TOMB OF SOOLTAN BABUR.

این مسجد لطیف و معبد شریف که سجده گاه
قد وسیان است وجلوه گاه کروبیان بفرمان ادب
درحریم محترم این کذ رگاه ملأ اعلي نظرگاه عالم بالا
یعني روضهٔ منور پادشاه غفران پناه رضوان آرام گاه
حضرت فردوس مکاني ظهیرالدین محمد بابر پادشاه
غازي جز آن عمارتي نتوان ساخت بفرمودهٔ این
نیازمند تمام شکر سراسر سپاس سراپا نیایش درگاه
الهي ابوالمظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحبقران ثاني
شاه جهان پادشاه غازي بعد فتح بلخ و بد خشان
وهزیمت و قرار نذر محمد خان از بلخ بسبز غان
و تعاقب فریقي ازکار طلبان و نبرد آرائي او دران
سرزمین با کروه فیروزي نشان وهزیمت او از سپاه
رزم خواه دران مید ان که محض کرم کارساز خفیفي
نصیب این نیاز مند و دولت خواهان این بنده
شرمنده احسان حضرت ایزادان گشته آخرسال نوزدهم
جلوس میمنت مانوس موافق سنه هزار وپنجاه
و شش هجري درعرض دو سال بچهل هزار روپیه انجام
یافت *

In the following attempt at translation, I have followed the sense as clearly as I was able: I fear with little success, through the labyrinth of epithets and complimentary phrases.

"Since the dictates of veneration forbade that any less sacred structure should be erected within the sanctified inclosure of this heavenly residence, the scene of celestial vision, to wit, the bright garden of the merciful potentate, the resting place of the keeper of paradise, the presence of the supernal abode, Zuheer Ooddeen Mohummed Babur, the conquering king, this beautiful mosque, and noble temple, which is a place of worship for the angels, and a bright abode for cherubs, was completed in two years, by order of the humbled before God, (to Him be all praise and adoration)—viz., of Abool Moozuffer Shuhabooden Moohummud Sahib-i-Quran-i-Sanee Shah Juhan, the victorious, at an expense of forty thousand rupees, in the 19th year of his auspicious reign, being the 1056th of the Hijree, after the subjugation of Balkh and Bukdukhshan, and the retreat and flight of Nuzr Moohummud Khan from Balkh to Subzghan, and the pursuit of him by a division of the Emperor's troops, and the Khan's struggle at the last named place against the soldiers of victory, and his utter defeat by those

bold warriors. With these successes, God in his mercy blessed the arms of that monarch, (humbled under a sense of the divine mercy,) and of his devoted followers."

I am indebted to the kindness of Major Ouseley, Secretary and Examiner in the College of Fort William, for the following brief version, which contains the pith of the inscription :—

"This beautiful mosque and noble place of worship (which is the angels' place of prostration and the spot where cherubs appear) was erected to the memory of the valiant King Zuheerooddeen Moohummud Babur by the brave King Abool Mozuffer, Shah Jehan Ooddeen Moohummud Shubab, after the conquest of Balkh and Budukshan, and the defeat and flight of Nuzr Moohummud Khan from Balkh to Subzghan, and the pursuit and subsequent defeat of his army), and finished in two years, at an expense of 40,000 rupees, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and in the year 1056 of the Hijree."

No. 25.

GENERAL ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Secret Department, Camp Paniput, 18*th November*, 1839.

Intelligence was this day received of the arrival within the Peshawur territory of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, with a portion of that force, on its return to the British provinces. The military operations under the direction of his Excellency having now been brought to a close, the Right Honourable the Governor-General has, on the part of the Government of India, to acquit himself of the gratifying duty of offering publicly his warmest thanks to his Excellency, and to the officers and men who served under his command, for the soldier-like spirit and conduct of all ranks throughout the late campaign; and he again cordially congratulates them on the attainment of the great objects of national security and honour for which the expedition was undertaken.

The plans of aggression by which the British empire in India was dangerously threatened

have, under Providence, been arrested. The Chiefs of Cabul and Candahar, who had joined in hostile designs against us, have been deprived of power, and the territories which they ruled have been restored to the government of a friendly monarch. The Ameers of Sinde have acknowledged the supremacy of the British government, and ranged themselves under its protection. Their country will now be an outwork of defence, and the navigation of the Indus within their dominions, exempt from all duties, has been opened to commercial enterprise. With the allied government of the Sikhs the closest harmony has been maintained; and on the side of Herat the British alliance has been courted, and a good understanding, with a view to common safety, has been established with that power.

For these important results, the Governor-General is proud to express the acknowledgments of the government to the army of the Indus, which alike, by its valour, its discipline, and cheerfulness under hardships and privations, and its conciliatory conduct to the inhabitants of the countries through which it passed, has earned respect for the British name, and has confirmed in Central Asia a just impression of British energy and resources.

The native and European soldiers have vied with each other in effort and endurance. A march of extraordinary length, through difficult and untried countries, has been within a few months successfully accomplished, and in the capture of the one stronghold where resistance was attempted, a trophy of victory has been won, which will add a fresh lustre to the reputation of the armies of India.

To Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, the Governor-General would particularly declare his thanks for his direction of these honourable achievements—he would especially acknowledge the marked forbearance and just appreciation of the views of the government which guided his Excellency in his intercourse with the Ameers of Sinde. He feels the government to be under the deepest obligations to his Excellency for the unshaken firmness of purpose with which, throughout the whole course of the operations, obstacles and discouragements were disregarded, and the prescribed objects of policy were pursued; and, above all, he would warmly applaud the decisive judgment with which the attack upon the fortress of Ghuznee was planned and its capture effected; nor would he omit to remark upon that spirit of perfect co-operation

with which his Excellency gave all support to the political authorities with whom he was associated. Mr. Macnaghten, the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, and Colonel Pottinger, the Resident in Sinde, have been chiefly enabled, by the cordial good understanding which has throughout subsisted between them and his Excellency, to render the important services by which they have entitled themselves to the high approbation of the government; and his Lordship has much pleasure in noticing the feelings of satisfaction with which his Excellency regarded the valuable services of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, who was politically attached to him in the advance upon Ghuznee.

The Governor-General would follow his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in acknowledging the manner in which Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H., exercised his command of the Bengal division throughout the campaign, and supported the honour of his country on the 23rd July; and his Lordship would also offer the thanks of the government to Major-General Willshire, C.B., commanding the 2nd infantry division; to Major-General Thackwell, C.B. and K.H., commanding the cavalry division; to Brigadier Roberts,

commanding the 4th infantry brigade; to Brigadier Stevenson, commanding the artillery of the army; to Brigadier Scott, commanding the Bombay cavalry brigade; and to Brigadier Persse, upon whom, on the lamented death of the late Brigadier Arnold, devolved the command of the Bengal cavalry brigade; as well as to the commandants of corps and detachments, with the officers and men under their respective commands; and to the officers at the head of the several departments, with all of whom his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has expressed his high satisfaction.

To Brigadier Sale, C.B., already honourably distinguished in the annals of Indian warfare, who commanded the storming party at Ghuznee; to Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, C.B., who led the advance on the same occasion; and to Captain George Thomson, of the Bengal engineers, whose services in the capture of that fortress have been noticed in marked terms of commendation by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; and to Captain Peat, of the Bombay engineers; and to Lieutenants Durand and Macleod, of the Bengal engineers, and the other officers and men of the Bengal and Bombay engineers under their command, the Governor-General would especially tender the expression

of his admiration of the gallantry and science which they respectively displayed in the execution of the important duties confided to them in that memorable operation.

In testimony of the services of the army of the Indus, the Governor-General is pleased to resolve that all the corps, European and native, in the service of the East India Company, which proceeded beyond the Bolan Pass, shall have on their regimental colours the word "Affghanistan;" and such of them as were employed in the reduction of the fortress of that name the word "Ghuznee" in addition.

In behalf of the Queen's regiments, the Governor-General will recommend to her Majesty, through the proper channel, that the same distinction may be granted to them.

The Governor-General would here notice with approbation the praiseworthy conduct, during this expedition, of the officers and men attached to the disciplined force of his Majesty Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk. This force was newly raised, and opportunities had not been afforded for its perfect organization and instruction; but it shared honourably in the labours and difficulties of the campaign, and it had the good fortune in repelling an attack made by the enemy in force on the day prior to the storming of Ghuznee, to be

enabled to give promise of the excellent service which may hereafter be expected from it.

His Lordship has also much satisfaction in adding, that the best acknowledgments of the government are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, who was employed upon the Peshawar Frontier, and who, gallantly supported by the officers and men of all ranks under him, and seconded by the cordial aid of the Sikh government—an aid the more honourable, because rendered at a painful crisis of its affairs—opened the Khyber Pass, and overthrew the authority of the enemy in that quarter at the moment when the advance of the forces of the Shahzadah Timoor could most conduce to the success of the general operations.

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India,

T. H. MADDOCK,

Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Gov. General.

No. 26.

Timour, in his Institutes, thus speaks of one of his own lines of operation against Delhi:—

وکنکاش تعین نمودن لشکرها بر دارالملك هند
وستان چنین کردم که امیر زاده پیرمحمد جهانگیررا

باسي هزار سوار لشكر جرانغار كه در كابل بود امر
نمودم كه از راه كوه سليماني رفته و از آب سند كذشته
بر ولايت ملتان تركتاز آورد و مسخر كرداند *

"Thus I resolved to send down armies on the chief city of Hindoostan. I commanded the Prince Peer Moohummud Jehangeer, who was at Cabul with thirty thousand horsemen of the right wing of the army, that, going by the way of the mountains of Soolueman, and crossing the Sind, he should go down upon Mooltan and subdue it!"

I can hardly suspect Prince Peer Moohummud Jehangeer of marching from Cabool to Mooltan by a route so circuitous as Candahar and Dera Ghazee Khan. Surely he must have directed his column on Ghuznee, and Dera Ismael Khan. It is related that Timour joined him at Moolten, and that the vanguard of their united forces accomplished the capture of Bhutneer, by which line, through the Western desert, passing it may be supposed by Bhawulpore, they marched on Delhi.

THE END.

T. C. Savill, Printer, 107, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross.

16