



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



*A year on the Punjab  
frontier, in 1848-49*

Herbert Benjamin Edwardes

~~79 D 1~~

Indian Institute, Oxford.

78 D 51  
7





A YEAR  
ON  
THE PUNJAB FRONTIER,  
IN 1848-9.









FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

*John Lawrence*

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE U. S. NAVY

Portrait of John Lawrence, Esq.





A Y E A R  
ON  
THE PUNJAB FRONTIER,  
IN 1848-49.

BY  
MAJOR HERBERT B. EDWARDES, C.B.  
H.E.I.C.S.

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. I.

LONDON:  
RICHARD BENTLEY,  
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.  
M.D.CCC.LI.

**LONDON**  
**Printed by Schulze and Co., 13, Poland Street.**



TO  
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL  
SIR HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE,  
K.C.B.  
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUNJAB AFFAIRS.

---

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,

IF I have been able to serve Government to any purpose, I owe it to your teaching and example ; and as the only way I may ever have of proving myself grateful for your friendship, I inscribe your name upon these records of the days I least regret.

Believe me,

My dear Lawrence,

Ever affectionately yours,

HERBERT B. EDWARDES.

RICHMOND HILL,  
JANUARY, 1851.



## P R E F A C E.

---

IF any one expects to find in this book an attack on the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Resident at Lahore, the Board of Control, or any one of the four-and-twenty Directors of the Honourable East India Company, he is doomed to be disappointed.

I have no grudge to pay off, no grievance to complain of, no official secret to betray, not even one little document to publish which could not be published consistently with my own honour, and that of the Government I am proud to serve.

The book is simply what it professes to be—the record of a busy year, on an important frontier, in a country and at a crisis which have excited the national attention of Englishmen.



In writing it I have had three objects in view ; and I will put the most selfish one first, to save any one else the trouble.

I. It is to put on record a victory which I myself remember with more satisfaction than any I helped to gain before Mooltan—the bloodless conquest of the wild valley of Bunnoo. It was gained neither by shot nor shell, but simply by balancing two races and two creeds. For fear of a Sikh army, two warlike and independent Muhommudan tribes levelled to the ground, at my bidding, the four hundred forts which constituted the strength of their country ; and for fear of those same Muhommudan tribes, the same Sikh army, at my bidding, constructed a fortress for the Crown, which completed the subjugation of the valley.

Thus was a barbarous people brought peacefully within the pale of civilization ; and one well-intentioned Englishman accomplished in three months, without a struggle, a conquest which the fanatic Sikh nation had vainly attempted, with fire and sword, for five-and-twenty years.

Yet so little is it known, that to this moment I have never even been thanked by my own Government for the service.

If that is anybody's fault, it is my own ; but it is

nobody's fault, it is simply a fact. It is usual in the Indian political department for officers to draw up a full Report of their labours and success whenever they have completed any special duty with which they have been intrusted. On the perusal of this Report, Government passes its opinion on the mode in which its orders have been executed.\* It was my intention to have drawn up my Report of the complete subjugation of Bunnoo, as soon as I got back from my tour through the other districts of the Upper Dérâjât; but before that tour was completed, the Mooltan rebellion involved me in new operations. I saw my conquered valley, and my fine fort, no more; the Report was never made; and Government drew the revenues of Bunnoo with such ease, that it might be excused for not divining with what difficulty and anxious thought they had been obtained. Yet, I am not willing that it should be altogether forgotten; and that is one object of this book.

II. A second object is to give my countrymen at home an insight into the actual life and labours of an Indian political officer. An indistinct notion prevails that "a political" is a sort of person attached to Indian armies, to embarrass all military operations,

\* See a specimen in the Appendix to Introductory Chapter.

and do his utmost to bring disgrace upon the British arms.

Amongst other duties, political officers *are* generally attached to military expeditions; to interpret the political views of Government in sending them; to be the medium of all negotiations; and to assist the General with their local knowledge and local influence. In a country so totally strange as India to the soldiers of Her Majesty's army, and so very partially known as it can ever be even to those of the Honourable Company's service, the practice is not only advantageous, but necessary.

When a Wellington or a Lake appears at the head of an Indian army, the custom, rendered useless by their capacity, is dispensed with. Occasionally an Ochterloney unites in his own person both the political officer and the General. But a Sale has acknowledged with soldierly frankness the assistance he derived from a MacGregor; impartial history will regret that a Napier disregarded an Outram; and a Hardinge, though himself vested with supreme authority, erects, with lasting gratitude, a monument over the grave of a Broadfoot.

But it is a mistake to suppose that accompanying armies into the field is the only, or even principal, duty of an Indian political. He has in general a far

higher, more interesting, and less invidious, career to run in his official life ; and it is to exhibit him in this sphere of duty that I now publish an account of my own Trans-Indus labours. A perusal of it will, I trust, give my countrymen a juster conception of that department of the British-Indian Government which, in the intervals of peace, supplies to every busy-minded soldier a pursuit more active, more directly useful, than the furbishing of rusty arms ; which opens to him a field of distinction when that of war is closed ; and sends him forth beyond our boundaries to be the pioneer of Christian civilization in lands where Idolatry too often occupies the Temple, Corruption the Tribunal, and Tyranny the Throne.

III. Lastly, I have been actuated by a desire to contribute my mite of local knowledge to the world's common stock. In India it is too much the fashion for public servants to carry with them into their graves all the knowledge of manners, customs, languages, which they have acquired during their lives ; like warriors who lie down to rest with their swords by their sides, and " their martial cloaks around them." Thus, their successors, instead of commencing at the point where they left off, have to begin again with the alphabet of inquiry. In the present work, I subscribe something towards a know-

ledge of the countries Trans-Indus. If it is not all that could be wished, an indulgent reader will remember that it was acquired in little more than "a year on the Punjab frontier;" and that not a year of *dilettante* travelling, going where I listed to seek, and lingering wherever I found, pleasant spots; with a mind at ease, time at command, and nothing to do but fill note-books with reflections; but a year of intense labour in great public duties, with never any certainty of life for four-and-twenty hours. Yet I find that what I collected in a year, I have been six months reducing into form,—months I could ill spare from one year's rest.

It remains only to explain, that the map attached to these volumes has been very carefully compiled by Mr. Arrowsmith, from district maps prepared by the Deputy Commissioners for the information of the Board of Administration at Lahore; to which materials I have added all the passes known to me in the hills of the Upper Dérâjât. The passes in the Lower Dérâjât are desiderata I cannot supply; but Lord Dalhousie has already directed a complete military survey of the Indus frontier of the Punjab.

For the ground plan of the Fort of Mooltan (which is probably the first detailed one which the military reader has yet obtained), I am indebted to my gallant

friend Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, of the Bengal Engineers ; and I have to thank another kind friend and colleague, Major Reynell Taylor, for the sketches of Akra, Solomon's Throne, and the Fort of Duleepgurh, which will, I am sure, detain the volume they adorn, in many a fair hand, much longer than its specific gravity deserves.

The coloured plates in the second volume are among the last works of the late Mr. Hullmandel, and are beautifully copied or grouped from pictures by native artists.

Reader, when looking at "my enemy" and "my ally," forget the proverb, "Show me your friends, and I'll tell you what you are !" and think of another that "appearances are deceitful." In the present case they are *very* deceitful indeed. Moolraj's advocate asked his judges, with more eloquence than logic, whether they saw "ought of ferocity in that countenance?" Nevertheless, Moolraj was convicted of murder, and sentenced to death. This was fortunate as well as just, for had the judges taken the advocate's advice, and looked in the faces of the belligerents for the murderer of our countrymen, perhaps my worthy ally, the Nuwab of Bhawulpoor, might have been hanged, and the British Government have lost one of its firmest friends in India.

And now farewell, dear reader. Within a few weeks of the publication of this book I shall be again on my way to "the Punjab frontier;" but I cannot bid adieu to England without telling all in it, Nobles and Commons, Gentle and Simple, how gratefully I have felt, how long I shall remember, how earnestly I will endeavour to deserve, the great kindness they have shown me. May the Past and Present alike strengthen me for the Future.

HERBERT, B. EDWARDES.

JANUARY, 1851.

# CONTENTS

OF

## THE FIRST VOLUME.

---

### INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

A rapid review of the events which led to Lahore being occupied by British troops, and a British Resident having authority in the Sikh Councils—Composition of the Council of Regency—Sir Henry Lawrence, President of the Council—His feeling towards the Sikh nation—The revenue of Bunnoo one of the first subjects to which his attention is called—The Sikh Chancellor's account of the state of Bunnoo, and Sikh system of taxation—Oppressed state of the Bunnoochees during the decline of the Cabul empire—Account from a native manuscript of expeditions into Bunnoo—Scheme to conciliate the Bunnoochees, and subdue them by peaceful measures—Selection of troops, and appointment of a British officer—The peaceful scheme fails—Objects gained by the Expedition—Anti-plunder regulations—Effect of them, and anecdote of Sikh discipline—Further object attained by the first Expedition—State of feeling between the Bunnoochees and Sikhs, and consequence—



|                                                                                                                                                             |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Discovery of a new road to Bunnoo—Plan for its subjugation and occupation—Review of the past Expedition, and a glance at the effect of the future . . . . . | 1 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|

## CHAPTER I.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Description of Dérâjât—Its division and government under the Sikhs—Government of the Northern Division conferred on General Van Cortlandt—Countries that compose the province—Nomination to the command of the Sikh troops—Tactics of a Sikh army, and the Sirdar's part—Force appointed to reduce Bunnoo—Plan of approach in two columns, and point of junction—Difficulty of the march from Peshawur—Force of the Peshawur column and its command—Muster, and state of General Cortlandt's column—Extract from Diary—A scene in the wilds of Afghanistan—Inspection of troops—Dogruh regiment—Encampment in the Desert—Swahn Khan the Vizeeree, and Moorcroft the Traveller—Character of Swahn Khan, and his reception of the second Expedition—Description of "The Wells"—A picture of the Pastoral Vizeerees—Description of the country—Column halted at "The Wells"—The Author reconnoitres—His guide—Confidence in our fellow-men—Description of Kummur—The "Scholar" of Kummur—State of female society in Kummur—Description of Kurruk—The Khuttuk tribe—Chouंतरah—Meeting with Lieutenant Taylor—A friendly feast—Safe junction of the two columns . . . . . | 33 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## CHAPTER II.

|                                                                                                                                                                    |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| Description of Bunnoo—Its rivers, fertility, and productions—Account of its mongrel people—Their condition, social and political—Testimony of Agha Abbas—The spy's |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|

report of Bunnoo—Its numerous forts—Division of the country into twenty tuppehs—Government of the Bunnoochees by their Mullicks—Their position at the time of the present Expedition—The two “Factions”—Their union against a common enemy—Calculations of the population of Bunnoo—Three influential classes amongst them—Account of the Oolumá—Their influence over the superstitious Bunnoochees, and other tribes—Agha Abbas, the Native Traveller’s, account of them—Their privileged position in Bunnoo at the time of the Expedition—That of the despised Hindoo—The sword-proselytism of the Muhommudan religion—Punjab examples from Agha Abbas’s Journal—Origin of the Sikh religion—The Afghan thirst for “Infidel blood”—Parallel circumstances of the Jews in Europe, and Hindoos in Asia—Elphinstone’s account of the Hindoos—The Jews in Rome in the nineteenth century—Especially degraded state, and purchased safety of the Hindoos in Bunnoo—Their money-loving propensities serviceable to the ignorant Bunnoochees—Their dishonest discharge of the trust—Unusual toleration in Bazaar, under Lal Baz Khan—One community and fort of Hindoos in the Dâood Shâh tuppeh—Moola’s Gurhee—Trade with Dour—The Hindoos in Bunnoo, not deserving of pity—Consolations of avarice—Distant pilgrimages of Hindoos—Three divisions in the map of Bunnoo—Villages and tribes of the Khuttuks—Independence of the Vizeerees—Extent of their country—Their division into Otmanzyes and Ahmudzyes—The Vizeerees at enmity with the whole world, but at peace among themselves—The occupation by the Otmanzye branch of the Pass of Gwaleyree—Depredations on the Lohânee merchants—Chivalric trait in the character of the Vizeerees—The winter encroachments of the Ahmudzye Vizeerees on the lower country of the Thull—Their summer’s retreat to their own

mountains — Further encroachments in the valley — The Bunnoo Council—Its Resolution—Miserable state of resistance and retaliation—The Vizeerees come to a compromise, and plant themselves in Bunnoo—They build forts—They hold themselves proudly aloof from the Bunnoochees—Their savage virtues—Example of proof against corruption by bribe—The country occupied by the two divisions of the Vizeeree tribe—Contrast in favour of the Ahmudzyes—Review of the four classes which make up the population of Bunnoo—Proportions in which the valley is divided among them—Attitude of the tribes of Bunnoo at the time of the Expedition . . . . . 65

### CHAPTER III.

Proclamation to the Mullicks and people of Bunnoo—Its good effect—Chiefs who submitted, and came into camp—Barbarous surprise at their first contact with the wonders of civilization—Motive which induced them to submission—Test of their sincerity—Doubtful aspect of the religious classes—Danger that they would stir up the Bunnoochees to resistance—Second Proclamation to them and the Mullicks of Bunnoo—March from “The Wells”—Submission of the remaining Mullicks—One exception—Instances of Dilassuh Khan’s inveterate hostility to the Sikhs—French direction of Sikh guns — Dilassuh Khan’s reception of the first Expedition—His faith in a Sahib—Description of him—His confidence in Camp interrupted—His retreat to the hills, and letter—Message sent him on return of the Expedition—His reception of it—Counsel of his advisers—His future line of policy—His submission, and return on change of command in Bunnoo—Contrast which would present itself to him — Halt and muster of the Barukzye contingent — Reinstatement of the Barukzye

Chiefs at Peshawur, by Runjeet Sing—Military tenure of their jageer—How to stop plunder—Afghan definition of being on friendly terms—Bunnoochees put their land “in Chancery”—Commenced a revenue measurement—Reception of officers from Peshawur—Present of fruits—The Vizeerees refuse to pay revenue—Conference with them on the matter—Alternative offered them—Contrast between system of revenue under a native, and H. E. India Company’s Government—Native resistance to a money valuation—Vizeerees resolve to collect a Council of their Chiefs—Importance of establishing the impartiality of “British law”—Lieutenant Taylor returns to Peshawur—Vizeeree Council of War—Conclusion arrived at—Troops march to Bazaar—Family disputes—Troops advance to Mumukhsheyl—Encampment ground flooded by the Syuds—Council of the Bunnoochee Chiefs—Their resolution—Two main points of the plan laid before Government for the reduction of Bunnoo—Difficulties of the undertaking—Consideration of plans—Plan determined on—Consideration of the choice of a site for the fort—Importance of commanding the irrigation of the valley—Submission of two proposed sites to the Lahore Government—Colonel Lawrence’s choice, and valuable suggestion—Selection of a spot—Its advantageous position—Flight of the Syuds of Mumukhsheyl—Proclamation to the people of Bunnoo—The Kuthrees of Bazaar raise the price of corn—Inquiry, and fine—Account of the caste—The Kuthrees at Lahore—Dewan Moolraj one—The Mumukhsheyl runaways make overtures to return—General Bishen Sing joins the Camp—View of affairs held by the Sikh Sirdars at Lahore—Picture of a Vizeeree Jeerga—Terms offered—The Chiefs’ discussion—Unconditional surrender—Vizeerees’ first approach to the slavery of civilization

|                                                                    |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| — Feast of Friendship — A great obstacle thus surmounted . . . . . | 109 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CHAPTER IV.

Murder of a sepoy—The foundation of the Sikh fort laid with native ceremonies—Called Duleepgurh in honour of the Maharajuh—Previous incredulity of the Bunnoochees—The force moves to the site of the new fort—Traces of the murderers—Lecture to General Bishen Sing—Account of him—Work at the fort portioned out to the regiments—Colonel Lawrence's instructions—Want and value of a military education—Description of the proposed fort—Cantonment placed round the foot of the citadel—Resolution to make the Sikh soldiers build the fort—Former examples in Runjeet Sing and Goolab Sing—Civil labours entailed by previous misrule—The Trans-Indus people begin to appreciate the new tribunals—A code of simple laws given to the Bunnoochees—Note on Runjeet Sing's scale of fines for offences against life—On the system of tracking—Observance of Friday—Fair-day at Bazaar—Note on the unpopularity of British rule in the East, in consequence of the suppression of Suttee infanticide, slave-dealing, &c.—Deputation of Syuds and Holy Men of Bunnoo—Arrival of a wing of Meyher Sing's regiment—Mutiny in Colonel Mân Sing's regiment—Note on the "Painch"—Character of Mân Sing's regiment—Note on the Poorbeeuhs—Discharge of five mutineers—Parade to investigate the extent of the mutiny—Its prompt suppression—Court-martial—Extent and danger of the mutiny—Alacrity of the remaining force—Note on Corps of Sappers and Miners—Dispute between Swahn Khan and

Sher Must Khan—Renewed court-martial—Thoughts of home—Bunnoochees aspire to martyrdom by murder—Establishment of Sunday rest—Court-martial ended—Disagreeable interruption by a “Martyr”—The sentry dies—Inquiry into report of further conspiracy—Attack on a drummer of Bishen Sing’s regiment—The priests preach and the people practise resistance—Precautionary measures and orders—Former instances of Bunnoochee treachery—Precautions for personal security—Proposed disarming of the people discouraged by Government—Its policy or impolicy—System adopted in the annexation of the Punjab—Petition from the Meeree Chiefs—Vizeeree dam broken down, and irrigation restored to the Meerees—The “Ghazee’s” account of himself—Martyr-Mania—The Vizeerees fined—Swahn Khan Government Agent—Survey for a new military road—Its advantages—The work accomplished by the Bunnoochees themselves—Resumed examination of the Ghazee—Policy of founding a new capital—Proposed materials—Position of the new town Duleepshurh—Important discovery of General Cortlandt—Settlement of the land dispute between Sher Must and Swahn Khan—Choice of umpires—Trial of mutineers—Remarks upon mutiny—Deputation of the Cabul merchants—Collection of arms in payment of arrears of revenue—Progress of the fort works—Time arrived for levelling the Bunnoochee forts—Consideration of plans—Proclamation to the Bunnoochees and Vizeerees of Bunnoo—Raze your own forts . . . . . 155

## CHAPTER V.

The Proclamation published—Sikh Post-Office—Recal of Colonel Mân Sing’s regiment—The Colonel’s remon-

strance—Justice of the measure proved on inquiry—The Meerees and Bukkykheyl Vizeerees accommodate their differences—Power of doing good, the charm of civil employment in the East—Dispute between Sher Must and Swahn Khan—Limits fixed for taking up old cases in Civil and Criminal Courts—More assassination—Progress in knocking down the forts—Vizeeree horses—The beast and his master—Departure of Mân Sing's regiment—The Colonel's last appeal—Property of deceased Poor-beeuhs escheated by their Colonels in the Sikh service—Progress of fort building and fort destroying—The Momundkheyl Vizeerees—Hindoos of "Moolluh's Gurhee"—Crops *versus* Castles—The obedience of the Bunnoochees convenient, but contemptible—Discovery of a refractory tribe of Vizeerees—The Hindoos of Bunnoo seek admittance into the new capital—Its commercial prospects—White ants at Dera Ishmael Khan—The Meeree Chiefs intercede for some cities of refuge on the border—Sentence of the Ghazee—Inspection of the Meeree forts—Murder of a sepoy—Improving discipline—Extract of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India—Camp regulations—Practice prohibited of destroying mulberry-trees—Injury done by the Sikhs in Cachmere—Sikh insensibility to the love of nature—The new town christened Duleepshuhr—Sikh jealousy—Dâood Shâh Plot—Ground-rent in the new town fixed—Introduction of silk-growers—Cold season in the Punjab—Selection of force to remain in Bunnoo—Invaliding parade—State of the Sikh army when Lord Gough first entered Lahore—Difficult task to restore discipline—Second attempt to assassinate the Author—Its failure—Greetings and congratulations—A Syce wounded—Evil consequence of not hanging the first Ghazee at once—A hanged Muhom-

extinguished — Ultimate fate of the Dhokul Sing regiment—The Janeekheylee Vizeerees continue to plunder—Policy to be observed to the Vizeerees generally—Obstacles to it not insuperable—A Vukeel better than a hostage under British rule—Transgression of the Lohânee traders in Tâk—The Khuttuks claim the Eastern Thull of Bunnoo—Their proper limits defined—Note on the native custom of making over subordinates to a new superior—Pride of the Bunnoo priests—Arrival of guns for the fort—The Janeekheyl Vizeerees refuse collective responsibility—Note on the English maxim, "It is better many guilty should escape than one innocent man suffer"—Petition from Girâng against the aggressions of Ooshteraunees—Greek bricks from Akra make Sikh drains at Duleepgurh—Damage to the fort by rains—Bunnoochee proverb concerning rain—Decision on a question of irrigation—How Runjeet Sing quieted those he conquered—Abuses of the Jageerdaree system—First Vizeeree tribute collected—Farewell durbar to the Sikh soldiers and Bunnoochee Chiefs—Ten per cent. on the revenue allowed to the latter—Departure—Greek ruins at Akra—Discovery of coins, &c.—Coins and temples in Huzaruh and the Eusofzye country—A Bunnoo town built with bricks of Akra—Hindoo account of Akra—The Greek coins tell another tale—Possible derivation of the name Akra—Ancient Greek tile—The Bunnoochee foot in the Greek "Cothurnus"—"Kafr Kot"—Mr. Masson's account of it—March towards the Bunnoo frontier, and encampment at Ghoreewalluh—Satisfactory progress of the new road—Native distrust and English confidence—Parting conference with Swahn Khan—Note on the shares of the Vizeeree tribute—March to Gundee—Proposed canal to reclaim the plain—Selfish opposition—Leave Bunnoo—Recapitulation . . . 279



## CHAPTER VII.

The country of Murwut—Its approaches and fertility—Differing accounts of Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Masson reconciled—The Murwutees—Their dress—Position of the capital—No native forts in Murwut—Rude condition of the Murwutees—Their sufferings from drought—Revenue of Murwut under Cabul Kings, the Nuwab of Dera Ishmael Khan, and the Sikhs—The Murwutees rebel against the poll-tax, and fail—British interference reforms the system of assessment—Dowlut Raie removed—His favour with the Sikh Durbar—Petition of the women of Gundee—Feuds and short lives of the men of Gundee—Inspection of the fort of Lukkee—Good military artisans in the Punjab—Description of the fort of Lukkee—Its unhealthy position—Fertile crops—More female “demonstrations”—Unusual freedom of the women of Murwut—Experimental well sunk—Site and garrison of Peyzoo watch-tower selected—A new town projected at Peyzoo . 353

## CHAPTER VIII.

The country of Esaukheyl—Course of the Indus—It changes its bed and invades Esaukheyl—Boundary disputed with Kuchee—British interference improves landed property in the Punjab—Meaning of an Alexandrian boundary—Mr. Elphinstone’s general description of Esaukheyl tested by the Author’s experience—The origin of the name not traceable—Reynell’s attempt to do so—Earliest records of the Esaukheyl Chiefs—Their privileges under the Kings of Cabul, Nuwab of Dera, and the Sikhs—Saltpetre mine at Kotkee—Oomur Khan improves the lands at the expense of the roads—No native streams in Esaukheyl—State of

Agriculture — Sikh tyranny in Esaukheyl, a chapter of Punjab history—The Esaukheyl Chiefs always well-disposed to the British—State of affairs at the time of the Author's first visit to Esaukheyl—Dowlut Raie superseded, and the old Chief restored—Melancholy proof of gratitude — Esaukheyl revenue — Gold washing in the Indus — Naphtha—"Kote-i-Kafree," or the Infidel's Fort—Testimony of Agha Abbas — Of General Cortlandt—Infamous notoriety of the spot — Passes into Khuttuk Hills, how kept open worthy of notice—Mr. Elphinstone's and the Author's experience of Esaukheyles . . . 379

## CHAPTER IX.

Country of Tâk—Its boundaries and rivers—The true course of the Gomul—Origin of the present town of Tâk—Mr. Elphinstone's account of Kuttâl Khan, and the early history of his son Surwur, with the Author's sequel—Tâk becomes tributary to the Sikhs—Surwur dies—Alladad succeeds, and is expelled—His inroads on his former kingdom—Tâk given in jageer to three Afghan Chiefs—Its revenues—Alladad renews his attacks—His murder of the son of the Killadar of Tâk—The history of Tâk merges in the general politics of the province of Dera Ishmael Khan—A sudden turn of fortune—Terms on which Shah Niwaz received the Government—His reforms—Peera, the outlaw—The town and fort of Tâk—The present state of the country not answering to Mr. Masson's account of its former fruitfulness—Trade between the Vizeerees and the people of Tâk—Agha Abbas's account of the mineral wealth of Kaneegoorum, and Vizeeree mode of smelting iron — Supposed practicability for guns of the Gwaleyree Pass—Powinduh

traders between Khorassan and India—General description of the trade carried on by them—Hardy character of the Powinduhs—The Kharotees—Comparative merits of the Gwaleyree Pass and the River Indus, for taking customs—Græco-Bactrian mounds in the direction of Gwaleyree Pass—Insalubrity of the country of Tâk . . . 411

## CHAPTER X.

Country of Koláchee—Its boundaries and size—Its discouraging aspect—Division of the country among its occupants—The independence of the Gundapoors first invaded by the Nuwab of Dera—Their revenue under him and the Sikhs—The country ruined by over-taxation—Petition from the Gundapoors—Relief afforded by British authority at Lahore comes too late—Description of the revenue assessment made by the Gundapoors themselves—A land-tax first imposed by Dowlut Raie—New settlement made by the Author—The doctrine of non-interference with prices not universally applicable—Statistics of agriculture and trade—Chief towns, Koláchee and Tukwâruh, described—Interesting story of a Pushtoo Bible—Trade disturbed by border aggressions, and agriculture by oppression of Dewan Dowlut Raie—Irrigation restored to the people by the Author—A picture of an incompetent ruler—The two productions of Koláchee . . . 461

## CHAPTER XI.

Diary of Author's march resumed—Waste land between Peyzoo and Tukwâruh—Poverty of the people from over-taxation—Relief—Gooldad Khan cannot rule, and will not

be ruled—Satisfactory report from Shah Niwaz Khan of Tāk—Interview with Gooldad—His papers still unprepared—Barrenness of his country—The people of Koláchee with one voice complain—The mother of Gooldad intercedes for her son—Escort increased—A family reconciliation—An impostor, and his forged credentials—India looks for another Cabul war—Spy sent to discover the lair of Shahzâd, Nássur—Story of his refusal to pay tribute to the Sikhs—The spy's report—Expedition planned—Cowardice of the escort—Skirmish under Solomon's Throne—The Author wounded, finds a thief among friends, and leaves a friend among thieves—Shahzâd retreats to the mountains—This method of establishing authority not approved of at head-quarters—Petition from a Belot Fakeer—Runjeet Sing's primitive secretariat—Religious observance of the people of the Dérâjât—Comparison between them and their countrymen of western Afghanistan favourable to the former—Watch-tower projected to check Sheraunee depredations—Honesty of Shah Niwaz Khan of Tāk—The Koláchee settlement concluded—Departure to Drábund. . 495

## CHAPTER XII.

The country of Drábund—Its boundaries, extent, &c.—Its past and present occupants—Families of the tribe of Meankheyl—Their division of the land, and barbarous substitutes for land-measures—Meankheyl and Irish landlords—The Meankheyls owe their prosperity to associating commerce and agriculture—Their respectable character and manners—Their revenue under the Nuwab of Dera—His treacherous murder of their Chief, Oomur Khan—Retribution—Revenue of Drábund under the Sikhs—Condition of the Chief and people at this period—Contrary to custom, the

dry lands more profitable than the irrigated—Revised settlement by the Author—Incursions of the Sheraunees—Statistics of Drábund agriculture, trades, and population—The town and fort of Drábund—Its solitary production—Town of Moosehzye—The hill-frontier of Drábund—Passes of Zirkunnee, Drábund, and Zam—Colony of Sheikhs, and Powinduh cemeteries, at Zirkunnee—Ruined fort of Gool Hubeeb recommended for an outpost to protect the town of Drábund—Another Græco-Bactrian mound—The whole hill-frontier waste in consequence of Sheraunee depredation . . . . . 525

### CHAPTER XIII.

The country of Choudwan, and its boundaries—Feud of one hundred years between the Bâbhurs and Meankheyls adjusted—Pleasure in such duties—Golden rule for boundary settlements—Description of the town of Choudwan, and the country round—Snake-eating antelopes—Mr. Elphinstone's favourable account of the Bâbhurs confirmed—Proverbs about their wisdom—Revenue of Choudwan—Passes in the hill-border—Unhappy conclusion of a Hindoo wedding—The lowland country of the Ooshteraunees—Their right contested by the Kusranee Beloochees—Their villages and extent of ground—Small revenue—Country not worth fighting for—Diary resumed—Ooshteraunees threaten hostilities, but think times are changed—Their Chief, Ubdoolla Khan, submits and comes in—History of the *casus belli*—The Bâbhurs of Choudwan rejoice over the settled boundary—The Sheraunees make amicable overtures—March resumed—Mud fort of Goorwalluh—Capabilities of the Eusofzyes for outpost service—Description of Dowlutwalluh—Story of Hôt Khan's feud with the Ooshteraunees—Passes into the

|                                                                                                                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Ooshteraunee hills—Happy adjustment of the feud with the Kusranees—March to Dera Futteh Khan—Arid nature of the country . . . . . | 555 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

#### CHAPTER XIV.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| A short ride on Imagination—Dera Ishmael Khan, its situation, size, and population—The Nuwab of Dera—Gardens—Fort of Ukalgurh—Healthy, but arid nature of the country—Its revenue—Return to Dera Futteh Khan—Description of that town—Fort of Girâng—Story of its Warden, Bhowânee Sing, and the history of the Punjab in a nutshell—Boundaries of the district of Dera Futteh Khan—Its thirsty soil and thievish people—A revenue remedy suggested—Revenue and statistics of the country—Scanty history of its mixed races—Conclusion of Volume—Peace spreads her wings and flies . . . . . | 581 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|



**P E A C E.**





## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

A RAPID REVIEW OF THE EVENTS WHICH LED TO LAHORE BEING OCCUPIED BY BRITISH TROOPS, AND A BRITISH RESIDENT HAVING AUTHORITY IN THE SIKH COUNCILS—COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY—SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL—HIS FEELING TOWARDS THE SIKH NATION—THE REVENUE OF BUNNOO ONE OF THE FIRST SUBJECTS TO WHICH HIS ATTENTION IS CALLED—THE SIKH CHANCELLOR'S ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF BUNNOO, AND SIKH SYSTEM OF TAXATION—OPPRESSED STATE OF THE BUNNOOCHEES DURING THE DECLINE OF THE CABUL EMPIRE—ACCOUNT FROM A NATIVE MANUSCRIPT OF EXPEDITIONS INTO BUNNOO—SCHEME TO CONCILIATE THE BUNNOOCHEES, AND SUBDUCE THEM BY PEACEFUL MEASURES—SELECTION OF TROOPS, AND APPOINTMENT OF A BRITISH OFFICER—THE PEACEFUL SCHEME FAILS—OBJECTS GAINED BY THE EXPEDITION—ANTI-PLUNDER REGULATIONS—EFFECT OF THEM, AND ANECDOTE OF SIKH DISCIPLINE—FURTHER OBJECT ATTAINED BY THE FIRST EXPEDITION—STATE OF FEELING BETWEEN THE BUNNOOCHEES AND SIKHS, AND CONSEQUENCE—DISCOVERY OF A NEW ROAD TO BUNNOO—PLAN FOR ITS SUBJUGATION AND OCCUPATION—REVIEW OF THE PAST EXPEDITION, AND A GLANCE AT THE EFFECT OF THE FUTURE.



# A YEAR IN THE PUNJAB.

---

## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

RUNJEET SING spent forty years in creating the Sikh army, with what motive, whether for defence or conquest, may admit of doubt; but his subjects to this day confirm the unvarying testimony of his acts, that he was a firm and honest ally of the British Indian Government. ??

Yet so incredible is good faith in Asia, that all Hindoo India looked to the Sikh army for the final expulsion of Christianity from the East.

The Sikh army at length responded to the hope, sought the collision, and was humbled to the dust in a campaign of sixty days.

In February, 1846, Lord Gough encamped his avenging army under the walls of Lahore. Duleep Sing, the boy sovereign of the Punjab, knelt to the Governor-General of India for forgiveness; Lord

Hardinge raised him from the ground, and reseatd him on the Sikh throne, shorn though it was of its former splendour. In the "Land of the Five Waters" he was still King of four.\*

This policy was generous towards the child of a long-tried ally, too young to be hastily held responsible for either his soldiers or his ministers; and the people of the Punjab still speak with praise of an act of moderation in conquest which finds a parallel only in the history of their Macedonian invader. Porus, however, had not injured Alexander. The policy was also prudent, if not absolutely necessary.

Subsequent events have been thought by some to prove that the Punjab should have been annexed after the first Sikh war. But Moodkee, Ferozeshuhr, Aliwâl, and Sobráon, had left Lord Gough a diminished army. He brought to Lahore scarcely twenty thousand men of all arms; fourteen thousand five hundred being infantry, of whom three thousand five hundred only were Europeans; and if subsequent events show anything, they show that such a force would have been ludicrously inadequate to besiege Lahore and Umritsir, the two fortified

\* The territory taken by Lord Hardinge from the Sikhs, after the first Sikh war, was (including Cachmere) rather more in square miles than one-third of the Punjab.

capitals of the Sikh empire, on which twenty-five thousand survivors of Sobráon retreated.\* In 1849—50, after a second series of defeats had been inflicted on the Sikh army, the occupation of the Punjab has taken fifty thousand men.

Subsequent events also make it very doubtful whether the auxiliary force from Sindh, with which Sir Charles Napier would gladly have assailed Mooltan, would have been strong enough to reduce the third stronghold of the Punjab.

A fourth—Peshawur—would still have remained in possession of eight thousand of the best troops of the Sikh army, under a chief who has since proved to be its best General.†

Moreover, it was the beginning of the hot weather, when regular armies do not keep the field.

\* In February, 1846, Brigadier Wheeler had about six thousand more men in the Jullunder Doâb, and Sir J. Littler about four thousand five hundred at Ferozepoor and its vicinity; but the Commander-in-Chief could not have ventured to withdraw either to strengthen himself. But had Lord Gough had men enough, it is not probable that he would have undertaken the sieges before him without a siege train of seventy or eighty heavy pieces, and at least one thousand rounds a gun; whereas we had but thirty-four pieces up with the army, and not more than three hundred rounds a gun.

† Rajah Sher Sing Attareewalluh.

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Hardinge decided against the annexation of the Punjab in February, 1846. Lord Gough and Sir Charles Napier deemed it equally impossible; and history will set its seal to the judgment of the Generals.

But it is well to record these things, for in the lapse of time those who were behind the scenes disappear; and the motives of important acts, and springs of great events, are lost under the rubbish of conjecture.

Nor was it thought a small collateral advantage to have thus preserved a strong Hindoo power, from whom we had a right to look for gratitude, between British India and its Muhommudan enemies in Central Asia.

But it was easier for Lord Hardinge to reseat Duleep Sing upon the throne of the Punjab, than for the poor child to sit there. It was to divert the Sikh army from dethroning him that his able and unscrupulous mother, Maharanee Jhunda, had a few months before thrust them on the invasion of British India; and the defeated soldiery swam back across the Sutlej with vows of speedy vengeance against the Queen, her son, and her paramour, Prime Minister Lal Sing.

In the luxurious prison-chambers of the Summun Boorj, Prince Shiv Déo Sing, and other sons of the

last Maharajuh, still survived ; and, spurious or not, were generally thought to have as legitimate a title to the throne as Duleep Sing—the child, not of Runjeet Sing, but of the water-carrier of his bath, and a girl in the harem, whom, between drunkenness and dotage, the monarch had called his “ wife.”

The materials for disturbance, therefore, were as plentiful in March, 1846, as they had been at any time since the murder of Maharajuh Sher Sing ; and after vainly plunging the Punjab into a war, which had dismembered it of Cachmere and the Jullunder Doâb, transferred two hundred and fifty-six guns from the arsenal of Lahore to that of Fort William, destroyed the French battalions, exhausted the treasury of Govindgurh, and humiliated the Sikh race in the eyes of all the Indian people, the Queen-Mother and Rajah Lal Sing found themselves as unable to carry on the Government as they had been in November, 1845.

Again, therefore, they turned to British India ; this time not in war, but humble entreaty, to save the so-called descendant of Runjeet from Runjeet’s army.

“ Lest,” said the Lahore counsellors to Lord Hardinge, “ after the departure of the British forces, the evil-disposed should create fresh disturbances, and endeavour to ruin the State, it is the earnest and sincere desire and hope of the Lahore Durbar,



that British troops, with intelligent officers, should for some months, as circumstances may seem to require, be left at Lahore, for the protection of the Government and the Maharajuh, and the inhabitants of the city. When affairs have been satisfactorily settled, and the period prescribed for the stay of the British force shall have expired, the troops may then be withdrawn."

Anxious to see "a strong Sikh Government established at Lahore," Lord Hardinge reluctantly consented to this temporary interference; and a British force\* was left at Lahore, to support the Maharajuh, while his ministers reduced the overgrown and pampered army to reasonable pay and numbers.

The command of this invidious occupation was imposed upon the General who had so spiritedly defended Ferozepoor during the war—Sir John Littler—a man of very remarkable daring, but of still more remarkable forbearance.

The important charge of the diplomatic relations was intrusted to Colonel Henry Montgomery Law-

\* 1 Regiment European Infantry.

8 Regiments Native Infantry.

18 H. A. guns.

4 Siege-train guns.

2 Companies Foot Artillery.

2 Companies Sappers and Miners.

1 Regiment Irregular Cavalry.

rence, the most distinguished of three brothers, whose eminent services have since interwoven their name with the history of the Punjab; and Major George MacGregor, the well-known political officer of the "illustrious garrison of Jellalabad," was appointed his Assistant at Lahore.

In these three officers was to be found the rare union of firmness, conciliation, and capacity for affairs.

Thus ably and powerfully supported, had Rajah Lal Sing had the patriotism to attempt the reorganisation of the Sikh army and the impartial reduction of the jageers of the Sikh chiefs, it is not impossible that in the allotted year he might have constructed a Government more independent of the aristocracy and the soldiery than any other which had existed at Lahore since the death of Runjeet Sing.

But he had neither the patriotism nor the grasp of mind, and betrayed at once that he had been chosen in the Harem, not in the Durbar. He reformed with one hand, and peculated with the other. He discharged some soldiers, but did not pay them, and was so alarmed at their discontent that he discharged no more. He took jageers enough from the other chiefs, but then he appropriated them to himself. Thus he exasperated all the enemies of the consti-



tution without subduing one. Having done this, he proceeded to exasperate his friends.

By Article 4, of the Treaty of the 9th March, 1846, the Sikh Sovereign ceded Cachmere to the British ; and on the 16th of the same month, the British transferred it to Maharajuh Goolab Sing.

Instead of effecting the transfer, Rajah Lal Sing bribed the Governor of Cachmere, and the troops that were under him, to hold the province for the Sikhs, and oppose its occupation by Goolab Sing.

A traitor must needs be a liar. Being taxed with the treachery, he denied it. His own letters were produced, and he denied *them*. He was tried by a court-martial of five British officers, in despair of finding so many honest men in the Sikh Court ; and being found guilty, he was deposed by the indignant British Government, by whose forbearance alone he had remained in power.

And now the Sikh nobles looked round among themselves for a man to rule the nation, when the British force should be withdrawn. But there was none found who could think dispassionately of their own jealousies, or fearlessly of their own army.

Another revolution stared them in the face ; and who could say *his* blood would not be shed ? Who could answer for what was still dearer—his jageers ?

The Sikh chiefs and councillors, headed by the mother of the Sovereign, implored the British not to withdraw their army.

Lord Hardinge consented. It was for the mutual peace of the Punjab and British India.

But not again would the Governor-General rely on a Sikh Vizier; nor would he support with British bayonets an unguided native Government. If his army remained, it should be with the certainty of doing good. If it maintained a Government in the Punjab, that Government should be worth maintaining.

By the "Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, on the 16th December, 1846," the administration of the Punjab, or kingdom of the child Maharajuh Duleep Sing, was vested in "a Council of Regency, composed of leading chiefs and sirdars, acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident."\*

This safeguard excepted, the Council of Regency was selected from "the mighty men" of the Sikh Court, in whom the Sikh nation, rather than the British Government, might rely. It contained Sirdar Tej Sing, the besieger of Ferozepoor and Commander-in-Chief at Sobráon; Sirdar Sher Sing Attareewalluh,

\* Article 4.

whose sister was betrothed to the Maharajuh ; Dewan Deena Nâth, the Chancellor and Talleyrand of the Punjab, whose voice in the revolutionary council in the gardens of Shalimar had been loudest and bitterest for the English war ; Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, the Secretary of State ; Sirdar Runjore Sing Mujeethea, the hero of Buddeewal and coward of Boondree ;\* Bhaee Nidhân Sing, the High Priest of Lahore ; Sirdar Utter Sing Kaleewalluh, the chief officer of the cavalry ; and Sirdar Shumsher Sing, the leading member of the Sindhunwalluhs, the noblest family of the Khalsa. This Council of Regency was called by the Sikh people, the "Durbar," equivalent to our word ministry.

The "British Resident" appointed by Lord Hardinge to "control and guide" these chiefs was Sir Henry Lawrence, who fulfilled the difficult duty as none but he could do it. Inspired with a noble compassion for his royal ward, and a deep sympathy with the fallen Sikh nation, he brought a brilliant genius for legislation, the loftiest principles, and a warm yet dauntless heart, to the rescue of their affairs, and the overwhelming task of rebuilding the empire of Runjeet Sing ; and when, at the close of 1847, he was forced from his post by a broken constitution,

\* Boondree is the Sikh name for the battle of Aliwâl.

his departure was prophetically felt as a calamity by a country which he had restored to peace and order, and a people who knew him to be their friend.

One of the earliest subjects to which the Sikh Durbar drew the attention of their adviser, Colonel Lawrence, was (as they expressed it) the "outstanding revenue of Bunnoo, Tâk."

The Chancellor, Deena Nâth, whose business it was to transact all matters of finance, represented generally that Bunnoo was a place on the other side of the river Indus, in the midst of the hills, and peopled by Afghan tribes, whose peculiarly barbarous ideas of freedom had hitherto rendered it impossible to confer on them the blessing of a Sikh Governor. Consequently no tax-gatherer found it convenient to reside in that part of the kingdom, and the revenue (which was sixty-five thousand rupees a-year) was always allowed to fall into arrear for two or three years, until the amount was worth collecting, when a force was sent from Lahore to *ask* for it; and if the answer was either short or evasive, they just took what they could and came away again. "Now," said the Chancellor in conclusion, glancing at his notes, "there are two and a half years' revenues due at this moment, so it is high time to send an army!"

Such was Dewan Deena Nâth's account of the

Sikh system of taxation in Bunnoo ; and the Resident's private inquiries soon elicited the fact that the valley had never been conquered or occupied by the Sikhs, but for the last twenty or twenty-five years, during the rapid decline of the Cabul empire, had been periodically invaded and overrun by that aggressive and warlike race, who now considered it an integral part of their kingdom.

The Sikhs might indeed have made out as good a title to Bunnoo as the English to the revenues of Bengal, ceded to Clive by the fallen Moghul ; for in the "Tripartite Treaty" of unhappy memory, Bunnoo is among the dependencies of Afghanistan ceded by Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk to Runjeet Sing ; but they preferred the boast of having won it by the sword, and kept alive their claim by the biennial devastation of a country they could not hold, and inflicting constant injuries on tribes whom they found it hopeless to subdue.

A native manuscript, the translation of which, in English, by a young Muhommudan, is now before me, gives the following quaint account of these Bunnoo expeditions : " When the late Maharajuh Runjeet Sing went to take a view of that country with his victorious army, he received from the inhabitants a small sum of money, of Mahmood of Ghuznee's coin, and twenty horses. After two years, Maharajuh Khurruck Sing

Buhadoor, with the chiefs and sirdars, and twenty thousand men, went to that country; and the *zumeendars* (landholders), through their ignorance and ferocity, made hostile attacks. They were soon put down, but, owing to the country being laid waste, nothing was realized. After five or six years, Maharajuh Khur-ruck Sing visited that part of the country again with immense regiments of infantry and artillery. He succeeded in realizing sixty thousand rupees, but no horses. The expenses of the march were defrayed by the revenue of that land, but I cannot say what amount was placed in the royal treasury. The *zumeendars* of that frontier were in the habit of plundering the *sirkaree* (royal) horses, mules, and camels; the consequence was, continued firing on both sides.

“ After two years, Dewan Tara Chund, with an army of eight thousand men, and twelve guns, marched off to that country. On his first arrival, he collected the revenue, amounting to forty thousand rupees; but in doing so, the whole of the tribes of that part united together, and fought desperately. Sirdar Jai Sing Attareewalluh, with two hundred infantry, were killed on the field, and five hundred persons were wounded, which caused the Dewan to fly.” This defeat apparently called for signal vengeance, and accordingly, “ After two years, the late



Prince Nao Nihal Sing, with an army of fifty thousand men, besides artillery, marched, &c. \* \* \* They had occasion to fight with one village, and a few men of the Maharajah's were killed; but the rebellious were routed by the army with great slaughter, the inhabitants were put to the sword, and their dwellings set on fire, which entirely destroyed the village."

And so the narrative goes on, with great armies every two or three years, small collections, risings of the Bunnoochees, and frightful inflictions of vengeance by the Sikhs. And this was what the Lahore Durbar now solicited the British Resident's permission to re-enact!

But Colonel Lawrence was the last man who was likely to sanction such a vainglorious persecution; and he gladly seized this early opportunity of civilizing and elevating the barbarous military policy of a race which, in one generation, had sprung from the plough to empire. He said it was his duty to maintain the boundaries of the Sikh kingdom as he found them; and if the tribes of Bunnoo refused to pay a reasonable revenue, the Durbar might send a force to compel them; but a British officer, chosen from the Resident's staff of assistants, must accompany that force, to see that it resorted to arms only in extremity, and committed no excesses. Further,

Colonel Lawrence advised them to try and *conciliate* the Bunnoochees ; to subdue them by a peaceful and just treaty ; and reduce the nominal revenue, which was never paid, to a moderate tribute, in acknowledgment of sovereignty. The Durbar consented. A force of five regular infantry regiments, a regiment of regular cavalry, and about fifteen hundred Ghorchurruhs, or irregular horse, with two troops of horse artillery, was selected from the Sikh army, and placed under the command of Sirdar Shumsher Sing Sindhunwalluh, a member of the Council of Regency.

The British officer, whom the Resident had intended to associate with the Sirdar, as colleague and adviser, was Lieutenant Nicholson ;\* but, as he could not be spared from the duties on which he was engaged, I was ultimately chosen to take his place in the Bunnoo expedition ; an accident to which I am indebted for many opportunities and honours which would have fallen far more happily on my friend.

This was in the middle of February, 1847. From Lahore to Bunnoo was a month's march ; and the hot season of the Punjab commences in March, and sets violently in in April. I had, therefore, at best a month allowed me to talk over an independent

\* Since so much distinguished in the Punjab war of 1848—9.

people, who had resisted Sikh supremacy for a quarter of a century; and I think it is not very surprising that I signally failed in the attempt.

We entered Bunnoo on the 15th of March, and were burnt out of it by the sun on the 1st of May. Of a lakh and three-quarters of rupees of revenue, due from the valley, we had collected only half a lakh; and as to a peaceable settlement for the future (that is to say, an engagement, on the part of the people, to pay *anything* annually of their own free will), we had fully ascertained that it was hopeless.

Was, then, this first expedition fruitless?

Far from it. Two great objects had been gained.

Firstly. A Sikh army, under the influence of a single British officer, had passed, unmolested and unmolested, through a country, which before it never entered but to devastate, and never left but with heavy loss.

Secondly. I had reconnoitred the whole valley, ascertained the strength of its tribes, and seen how both might be subdued.

Let me explain both. The Sikh army was notorious for plunder; and one of Colonel Lawrence's strictest injunctions to me at parting was: "To make severe examples of every instance, and in very bad cases to send the offenders in irons to Lahore." For the first fortnight, I had full employment. On

the line of march, in the morning, I did nothing but detect, stay, reprove, chase, overtake, and imprison plunderers, horse and foot ; and all the rest of the day my tent was besieged by the people of the country bewailing their damaged fields, and calling on me to punish the offenders.

Long indulged in military licence, the Sikh soldiers could not believe that they were no longer to be allowed to help themselves from every farmer's field, pull their firewood from every hedge, and drag a bed from under its slumbering owner, in order that they might take a nap on it themselves. The cavalry, too, thought it quite arbitrary that they should have to pay for the fodder of their horses (fine young corn, which the zumeendar intended one day to be bread !). But when the wholesome reform once dawned upon their convictions as a fact, and a few severe examples before the whole force showed what all plunderers had to expect, the men gave it up at once, and settled down into a completer state of discipline in this respect than is ever attainable in the camp of an Anglo-Indian army, where officers have no power of punishment on the spot.—(In the Company's army, there is nothing so difficult as to *convict* a native soldier of plundering ; or, if convicted by evidence, to get a sentence of punishment from the native officers who compose the court-

martial. It would be a good thing, too, if the European officers would not consider themselves quite so much bound by *esprit de corps*, to shelter their own men. It is a kindly, but mistaken, feeling.)

The news of the anti-plunder regulations in our camp, spread through the country, and long preceded us to Bunnoo ; encouraging a third, at least, of the population to await our arrival in the valley, instead of flying bodily to the mountains as usual. Nor during our stay of six weeks in Bunnoo, were there more than two breaches of the new discipline. In the one case, some soldiers, by order of their officer (General Purtáb Sing), cut down a fine sheeshum-tree, under whose shade the holy Syuds of a village were wont to sit and pray ; and I was induced, by the long services of the General, to let him off with compensation to the Syuds. In the other case, another holy man rushed into my tent, and complained that an elephant driver had begun to cut his green wheat, and carry it off as fodder for our elephants ; the Syud remonstrated in the only language he knew—viz., Pushtoo, and the Mahout replied with a still harder medium of communication. In proof of his story, the poor Syud was covered with blood. There being only four elephants in camp, a very short investigation brought the offence home to the servant of

a Sikh Chief, named Sirdar Soorjun Sing; and I resolved to make a signal example of the depredator. A parade of the whole Sikh force was ordered; the troops formed into a hollow square, and in spite of the personal entreaties of his master, the Mahout was tied up to the triangles and flogged—then passed with bare back down the ranks of his comrades. Assembling the officers, I then explained to them, and desired them to explain to their respective companies, that the people of the country, relying on my protection, had received us as friends; but would resort to their old system of night attacks and assassinations, if the Sikh soldiers plundered them as of old; that, consequently, the peace of the whole camp, and many men's lives, depended on the maintenance of discipline; and so far as I was concerned, I would never overlook a breach of it.

After this there were no more complaints. Whether they paid revenue or not, the Bunnochees flocked into our camp, and bought and sold with our soldiers, and sat and talked in our assemblies, as friends instead of enemies. The great question at issue between us—the Lahore tribute money—was mutually referred to argument, instead of the sword; almost all the chiefs took heart, and returned from the mountains to join

the national council in my tent, whether inclined to yield, or determined to resist; their different characters were discriminated; many were won over to our side, and friendships formed, which afterwards stood us in good stead.

One anecdote I must relate before leaving this subject, because it is most honourable to the Sikh force, and shows of what a high degree of discipline that military people is capable. Sikh detachments, and, indeed, all forces not at the capital (before Colonel Lawrence introduced regular pay), used to be paid by *tunkhwâhs*, or assignments on the provincial collectors of revenue; on whose solvency, or caprice, it depended how soon or how late they should realize their pay. The army sent to Bunnoo had a very worthless bit of paper indeed, drawn on one Dowlut Raie, the "contractor" (and I may add, devastator) of several provinces on the right bank of the Indus. Either he could not, or he would not, honour it; and our poor fellows, obliged by me to pay ready money for everything they bought in the valley, were soon so distressed for food, that some of them dropped down under arms from weakness. Not till then was it reported to me by the officers, in their expressive language, that "the whole force was hungry," and wanted my permission to quarter

on the enemy. They were, indeed, standing as sentries over the ripe corn-fields of the refractory Bunnoochees ! I looked out from my tent, and saw the rich harvest of that prolific land, in every stage, from green to gold, waving temptingly around our camp ; and thought discipline had for the nonce been most reverentially honoured ! So I passed the word, for every soldier to cut enough food for himself and cattle for a fortnight ; and in an hour, the harvest had vanished from those parts, as if locusts had passed over them.

Thus, as I said before, was one great object gained by our otherwise unsuccessful expedition. The blood-thirsty and revengeful tribes of Bunnoo, and the army of their Sikh masters, had, for the first time, met in something resembling friendship ; and parted again, without adding to the long account of mutual injuries and hatred. The small end of the wedge of civilized intercourse had at last been introduced.

The other object, which was attained by this first expedition, was a thorough reconnaissance of the valley, and discovery of its weakness. Though the Sikhs had claimed mastery over Bunnoo for upwards of twenty years, they had always approached it, even with immense armies, in fear and trembling. The Sikhs were not more bigoted as Hindoos, than the



Bunnoochees as followers of the Prophet. One-fifth of the land of Bunnoo was actually in the possession of Syuds (the Prophet's own descendants), and other holy Muhommudans; and these, trembling for their fat revenues, if ever Hindoo masters established themselves in the valley, stirred up every religious feeling of the tribes, and added fresh fuel to the flames of opposition.

Not a night, therefore, passed without a Sikh camp being besieged by thousands of fanatic Bunnoochees, yelling out the Muhommudan call to prayers, in prolonged howls like that of the jackal, and then, when they had worked themselves to a pitch of religious fury, rushing in on the horror-stricken sentries with juzail and knife, and running amuck among the sleepless Sikh soldiery in the lines.

By day, even, the grass-cutters of the cavalry, however strongly guarded, would be led into ambuscades, and harassed into flight by secret enemies, who emerged only to plunder them as they ran. And should any single soldier be fool-hardy enough to stroll a hundred yards beyond the pickets, his mutilated corpse alone told his fate to his comrades.

In this state of things, it may easily be understood how, in five-and-twenty years, the Sikhs never discovered the proper entrance into Bunnoo. De-

pendent on their enemies for guidance, their armies were led, year after year, through quicksands, where their artillery was useless, and delayed by the constant passage of rivers, which they ought to have avoided. After a fruitless expedition, perhaps after a defeat before a paltry fort, they fled precipitately out of the valley by the same way they came, knowing no other.

The force which I accompanied, in March, 1847, entered Bunnoo, as usual, by the old deceitful road; which was so bad, that I determined not to go back by it. Though we failed in collecting the revenue, I thought we might at least estimate its real extent, and learn much by exploring the country thoroughly; so, instead of retracing our steps, we pushed right across the valley from west to east; effected the passage of the Khoorrum river, which no Sikh army had ever crossed before; and, after feasting our eyes on the richest portion of Bunnoo, lying *perdu* in a corner under the mountains, emerged upon a fine natural high road for an army, which proved to be the real entrance and exit of Bunnoo, so long and so successfully concealed. It would be difficult to say who were at first most chagrined at this discovery—the Bunnoochees themselves, or the Sikh chiefs and grey-beards of our camp. At last, both sides laughed heartily at what, it must be confessed, was a very good joke.

I have already mentioned, that we marched out of Bunnoo on the 1st of May. The ample reconnaissance we had made of the whole country during our stay, and especially during our retreat by the new road, enabled me, on the 4th of that month, to draw up a full report on Bunnoo, and the tribes that held it; pointing out the natural and social sources of their wealth and wars, strength and weakness; proposing that the old Sikh system should now be abandoned, and the permanent subjugation and occupation of the valley be undertaken; and concluding with a detailed military plan for effecting it, the main points of which were to level all the forts of Bunnoo to the ground, and build one large one for the Crown.

This plan was approved of by Colonel Lawrence; and Lord Hardinge (then Governor-General) directed that it should be carried out the next cold season. I solicited as a favour that I might be intrusted with the duty, and felt quite grateful when my request was granted. On the last expedition, I had been sent, at the very end of the season for operations, to offer to savages a proposition fit only for a reasonable people; and, after six weeks' ineffectual labour and exposure, though I ought not to have been surprised, I could not but be as deeply disappointed as I had been interested in the experiment of peace. I had said to

them: "Your revenue is sixty-five thousand rupees a-year; and as you refuse to pay it, the Sikhs come and inflict on you a loss fifty times greater. They destroy your harvests, burn your houses, plunder your flocks and herds, and sell your wives and children as slaves. The beautiful valley, which nature has bestowed on you, is withered into a curse. What for? You say it is for your liberty. I offer you that liberty; and not only offer it, but guarantee it so long as the Sikh treaty with the English lasts. Only pay, of your own free-will, into any treasury you like, an annual tribute of forty thousand rupees, and no army shall again enter your valley, no Sikh show his face within your boundaries. You shall be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of your own country, and your own laws!"

This had been refused; and I had said, at parting on their border: "Bunnoochees! I have laboured hard to do what I thought best for your own interests, for I love freedom as much as you; but you have rejected my interference, and proved yourselves incapable of gratitude for the forbearance which has been shown you by this Sikh army, which was able any day, to rout all your tribes. Now mark my words. I have explored your valley, and know its riches; I have discovered your hidden road; I have

counted your four hundred forts ; I have estimated your tribes ; and I will beg of my Government to let me come back to you again. I will lead in another army by the new way, and level your forts, and disarm your tribes, and occupy your country. You shall not be punished for your present resistance. No This beautiful scene shall no more be desolated by revenge. You shall have the best laws that an enlightened people can frame for you ; but they will be administered by a Sikh Governor. He cannot oppress you, for the English will be over him. You shall be justly ruled, but you shall be free no more.”\*

The kind reader, who has followed me through this tedious, but indispensable chapter, will now be prepared to enter with me on more stirring scenes ; to march with me once more towards the western fron-

\* Mr. Masson, in recording those adventurous travels of his, which astonish most those who know the countries best through which he passed, makes the following just reflection on what he saw in Bunnoo :

“ The advocate of anarchy, in contemplating so precarious a state of society, might learn to prize the advantages conferred by a mild and well-regulated government, as he might be induced to concede a little of his natural right, in preference to existing in a state of licentious independence, as the savage inhabitant of Bunnoo, continually dreading and dreaded.”—*Masson's Journeys in Beloochistan, Afghanistan, and the Punjab.* Vol. 1. p. 91.

tier of the Punjab ; assist me to fix the yoke on the neck of a savage people ; help me to turn the assassin's knife ; swim with me the midnight ford, and wake the sleeping border rebel in his lair ; read with me, with indignant sorrow, the betrayed and wounded magistrate's appeal for help ; sound with me the loud alarum, beat the angry drum ; welcome the fierce, but friendly warriors, that rally to the call ; and weld tribes, that never met before in friendship, into a common army, with a common cause : then, confident of *right*, plunge into THE WAR.

---

#### APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Extract of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, No. 239, dated Simla, 21st of July, 1847, to the Resident at Lahore.

Part of paragraph 20. "And now that Lieutenant Edwards has brought his tour to a close, you are requested to convey to that officer the Governor-General's special approbation of the temper and judgment evinced by him in his proceedings at Bunnoo. (True extract)

(Signed)

"H. M. LAWRENCE,

"Agent and Resident."

---

#### A STRAY RECOLLECTION.

The English reader who receives sixpennyworth of "My dear Sir" and "Your's truly," by the post every morning, will be amused to see how friends in the East write to each other in Persian. The following is a literal translation of a

farewell letter on parting with Sirdar Shumsher Sing Sind-hunwalluh, my Sikh coadjutor in the first expedition to Bunnoo.

(After all his state titles, &c., &c.)

“ My dear Friend,

“ In a day or two we shall be at our journey’s end ; and in the joy of returning home you will soon forget that you have been four months abroad. Sherbet, and “ beyd-mooshk,”\* will drown the taste of the abominable waters of the Goom-beeluh ; the clean streets of Lahore† will make amends for the watercourses and quagmires of Bunnoo ; you will have fireworks at night instead of attacks on the pickets ; the arrow of love instead of the spear of war ; and wanderings in the many-coloured garden, instead of tiresome marches in the desert. How can I hope, therefore, that in the society of old friends, you will not also forget *me* ? But as in the daily intercourse of the last four months I have seen the candour and openness of your disposition, your manly activity and disregard of toil, your fortitude and spirit in difficulties, and above all your desire rather to earn for the young Maharajuh among his Afghan subjects as great a reputation for justice and lenity as his predecessors acquired for cruelty and violence, so it was impossible I should not conceive an esteem for you, and a wish to continue our friendship.

Remembering, therefore, how fond you are of the chase, and how often you have admired my English greyhounds, I now beg your acceptance of them ; that when the cold weather comes again, and with hawk and hound you once more take the field ; when all your fat Punjabee dogs are panting in vain after the hare, and these swift runners catch her on the very edge of the forest, you will cry, ‘ *Shábdáh !* ’ (Well done !) and in a moment of pleasure remember me.”

\* A perfumed beverage extracted from the willow, of which natives are passionately fond.

† This was a puff, I fear, of the labours of Sir H. Lawrence and Major MacGregor, who performed the Augean task of draining the filthiest capital in India.

THE RECORD OF EVENTS RECALLS THEIR ORDER, AND  
REMINDS ME, WITH SAD DISTINCTNESS, THAT HERE  
THERE WAS A BLANK. AT LEAST LET ME GIVE ONE  
PAGE TO THE DEAR BROTHER WHO WAS TO HAVE ACCOM-  
PANIED THIS EXPEDITION; BUT WHOSE MEMORY ALONE  
WENT WITH ME.





## CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF DERAJAT—ITS DIVISION AND GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SIKHS—GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHERN DIVISION CONFERRED ON GENERAL VAN CORTLANDT—COUNTRIES THAT COMPOSE THE PROVINCE—NOMINATION TO THE COMMAND OF THE SIKH TROOPS—TACTICS OF A SIKH ARMY, AND THE SIRDAR'S PART—FORCE APPOINTED TO REDUCE BUNNOO—PLAN OF APPROACH IN TWO COLUMNS, AND POINT OF JUNCTION—DIFFICULTY OF THE MARCH FROM PESHAWUR—FORCE OF THE PESHAWUR COLUMN AND ITS COMMAND—MUSTER, AND STATE OF GENERAL CORTLANDT'S COLUMN—EXTRACT FROM DIARY—A SCENE IN THE WILDS OF AFGHANISTAN—INSPECTION OF TROOPS—DOGRUH REGIMENT—ENCAMPMENT IN THE DESERT—SWAHN KHAN THE VIZEEREE, AND MOORCROFT THE TRAVELLER—CHARACTER OF SWAHN KHAN, AND HIS RECEPTION OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION—DESCRIPTION OF "THE WELLS"—A PICTURE OF THE PASTORAL VIZEEREES—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY—COLUMN HALTED AT "THE WELLS"—THE AUTHOR RECONNOITRES—HIS GUIDE—CONFIDENCE IN OUR FELLOW-MEN—DESCRIPTION OF KUMMUR—THE "SCHOLAR" OF KUMMUR—STATE OF FEMALE SOCIETY IN KUMMUR—DESCRIPTION OF KURRUK—THE KHUTTUK TRIBE—CHOUNTERAH—MEETING WITH LIEUTENANT TAYLOR—A FRIENDLY FEAST—SAFE JUNCTION OF THE TWO COLUMNS.



## CHAPTER I.

READER! Take out the map which Mr. Arrow-smith and I have had so much trouble with, or you might as well read Persian as this chapter.

The western frontier of the Punjab is that tract of country which lies between the Salt Range, the River Indus, the Soolimânee Mountains,\* and the country of Sindh; a tract which, in the popular language of the Lahore Court, was called "Dérâjât," or the Encampments, from its three principal towns on the banks of the Indus (Dera Ishmael Khan, or the Camp of Ishmael; Dera Futteh Khan, or the Camp of Futteh; Dera Ghazee Khan, or the Camp of Ghazee.)†

\* So called, from the principal mountain, the "Tukht-i-Soolimân," or Throne of Solomon.

† In Vol. xvii. Part 2, July to December, 1848, of "The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," is a very valuable

The Sikhs divided the Dérájât for practical contribution by Lieutenant R. Maclagan, of the Bengal Engineers, entitled, "Fragments of the History of Mooltan, the Dérájât, and Buhawulpoor, from Persian MSS.," from which I abstract the following historical account of the three Déras :

"In A.D. 1469, Sooltan Hoossein was Governor of Mooltan. A military adventurer named Mulik Sohráb, a Belooch, from Mukrán, on the coast of the Indian Ocean, west of the Hala Mountains, came with his two sons, Ishmael Khan and Futteh Khan, and took service under Sooltan Hoossein, who assigned them the charge of the Indus frontier, 'from Kurór to Deen Kót.' (These places, I conjecture to be Krór-i-Lál-Esau, on the left bank of the Indus, directly opposite Dera Futteh Khan; and Kote-i-Belochwalla, opposite Dera Ishmael Khan. I know no Deen Kote in those parts). This encouraged other Mukrán Belooches to come for service; amongst others, Hájee Khan, with his son, Ghazee Khan. All had lands assigned them on the Indus. Mulik Sohráb founded the two towns called after his sons, Ishmael and Futteh; and Hájee Khan, another called after his son Ghazee. The latter town was held in Jageer, first from Delhi, and afterwards Nadir Shah, by the descendants of the original Hájee Khan, so late as 1758, when Ghazee Khan the Tenth died without issue; and the Jageer was resumed by the Crown of Cabul; though two descendants of the family are named as being alive at Dera Ghazee Khan, in 1845, viz., Muhommud Ruheem Khan, and Muhommud Yar Khan, who still hold two wells of ground free—a miserable vestige of former privileges." The whole paper is highly interesting.

poses (neither having nor wanting maps, and totally regardless of the feelings of geographers in Europe) into two provinces, Dera Ishmael Khan, and Dera Ghazee Khan. Dera Futteh Khan was included in the province of Dera Ishmael Khan, and its name seldom heard; the Sikhs having built close to it a strong fort called Girâng, which thenceforward gave name to the district.

The province of Dera Ghazee Khan had for years been intrusted to Dewan Moolraj and his father, the wise Dewan Sawun Mull.

The remaining province of Dera Ishmael Khan was held at the time of my first expedition to Bunnoo by Dewan Dowlut Raie, whose misgovernment has been already alluded to in the Introductory Chapter.

On my report of his oppressions, the Sikh Durbar, by the advice of Colonel Lawrence, removed him, and his government was conferred on General Van Cortlandt, of the Sikh service, who had commanded a brigade in the first expedition.

This gentleman, whose name must be familiar to every one who watched with any interest the late war in the Punjab, was indebted for a very rare combination of qualities to his descent, inheriting at once the best characteristics of the East and West. Carefully educated in England, he returned to seek his

fortune in his native land, and had been eighteen years in the Sikh army when he accompanied me to Bunnoo in the spring of 1847. The good sense, extensive knowledge of the Punjab and its people, and practical military ability which he discovered on that occasion, led me to conceive him worthy of a much more important trust than the one he held; and on Dowlut Raie's removal, I solicited and obtained from Colonel Lawrence his promotion to the government of Dera Ishmael Khan.

I will now enumerate the countries which composed that province:—

## TRANS-INDUS.

- |                                  |   |                                                                    |
|----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Bunnoo.                       | } | Each peopled by<br>its own peculiar tribe,<br>or family of tribes. |
| 2. Murwut.                       |   |                                                                    |
| 3. Esaukheyl.                    |   |                                                                    |
| 4. Tāk.                          |   |                                                                    |
| 5. Kolâchee.                     |   |                                                                    |
| 6. Drâbund.                      |   |                                                                    |
| 7. Chowdwan.                     |   |                                                                    |
| 8. Girâng, or. Dera Futteh Khan. | } | Mixed tribes.                                                      |
| 9. Dera Ishmael Khan, proper.    |   |                                                                    |

## CIS-INDUS.

10. Kuchee (mixed races).

As Bunnoo, though hitherto unconquered, belonged nominally to General Cortlandt's province, it was

arranged that he should command the whole of the Sikh troops selected to effect its reduction, instead of as usual a Sikh Sirdar.

Few of the real Sikh chiefs ever condescended, even in Runjeet's time, to learn the "new-fangled" strategy introduced by the French officers. Yet it was the natural policy of the ruler, whenever he sent an army into the field, to put at its head one of his own chiefs. Consequently the Sirdar's part was the general plan of the campaign, determining what roads should be pursued, what halts made, and when a battle should be fought. The actual manœuvring in the *mêlée* devolved almost entirely on the Colonels of regiments; officers generally of humble families, who had not been too proud to learn their drill, wear Feringhee uniforms, and rise to command by merit. It may easily be conceived, then, what a want of combination and unity of purpose was exhibited in the best Sikh battles; and their success was due to the fact, that, incomplete as their tactics were, they still contained far more of the European element than the Asiatic strategy of their opponents.

To me, therefore, it was a subject of congratulation that my plans were to be carried out by a commanding-officer capable of manœuvring the whole of his own army.



The force which the Resident intended to place at my disposal was as follows:—

- 7 Regiments of Infantry.
- 1 Regiment of Regular Cavalry.
- 2000 Irregular Cavalry.
- 3 Troops of Horse Artillery.
- 80 Zumbooruhs, or Camel-Swivels.

What with sickness and other exigencies of the service, it will be subsequently seen that our numbers fell far short of this.

The overgrown Sikh army of the revolutionary days had at this time, for the sake of economy, been reduced down to the lowest strength absolutely requisite to hold the empire; and it was necessary to draft regiments and guns for the Bunnoo expedition from such quarters of the country as could be safely weakened for a time.

In the end these drafts were concentrated in two distant divisions, one at Peshawur, and one on the Indus at Esaukheyl, below the Salt Range; and to save time, it was determined that the two should form a junction, by a simultaneous movement, on the borders of Bunnoo itself, instead of making a wide circuit to unite east of the Indus. It was natural to expect a warm opposition from the Bunnoochees, and

this plan had the advantage of distracting their attention and increasing their alarm.

The point of junction was to be the neighbourhood of Kurruk, which the reader will find in my map, at the mouth of the pass from which the Peshawur road emerges into the country of the Khuttuks on the east of Bunnoo.

To reach this point, the Peshawur column had to perform a very difficult march across the Salt Range, by the Kothul of Kohât, a route whose difficulties, when beset by enemies, have been since experienced in 1850 by a British force under no less able a commander than Sir Charles Napier.

Indeed, the only disciplined army which to my knowledge ever previously passed this way with its *matériel* was a Sikh brigade many years ago under Raja Soocheyt Sing, the younger brother of Maharajah Goolab Sing, of Cachmere, one of the most desperate men of the brave Sikh army. He had six guns, and carried them piecemeal on the backs of elephants.

The present Peshawur column consisted of—

3 Regiments of Infantry.

1 Regiment of Regular Cavalry.

1 Troop of Horse Artillery ; and

1000 Afghan Irregular Horse.

It was conducted by Lieutenant George Reynell

Taylor, of the 11th Regiment of Bengal Light Cavalry, one of the Assistants to the British Resident at Lahore, and met with no opposition from the mountain tribes ; but had it done so, the name which its chivalrous leader has since won in the campaign of 1848—9, leaves no room to doubt that had his men remained faithful the passage would have been forced.\*

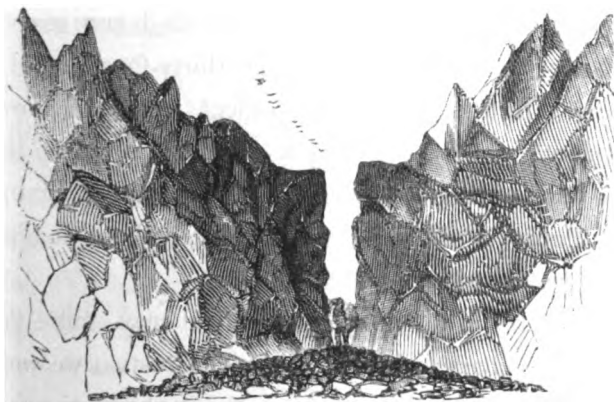
\* I append the "Route" pursued by Lieutenant Taylor, as it may be useful to military men :

|                                   |          |                               |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|
| From Peshawur to Budber . . . . . | 5 koss.  | November 20th.                |
| To Muttunnee . . . . .            | 6 „ „    | 21st.                         |
| To the foot of the Kothul, or     | } 8 „ „  | 22nd.                         |
| Pass of Kohât . . . . .           |          |                               |
| To Kohât . . . . .                | { 3 „ „  | 23rd, to<br>end of the month. |
| To Gudda Kheyl . . . . .          |          |                               |
| To Lachee . . . . .               | 6 „ „    | December 1st.                 |
| To Lachee . . . . .               | 6 „ „    | 2nd.                          |
| To Ishmael Kheyl . . . . .        | 6 „ „    | 3rd.                          |
| To Kujjoorree . . . . .           | 6 „ „    | 4th.                          |
| To Shah Baz Gurh . . . . .        | { 12 „ „ | 5th & 6th.                    |
| To Chounterah . . . . .           |          |                               |
| To Kurruk . . . . .               | 6 „ „    | 7th.                          |
| Koss 64                           |          | Days 17                       |

A "Koss" varies from one and a half to two miles.

The reason of the long time occupied in this march should be known to military men. The Sikhs took their ammunition and stores as usual in carts, which were soon unable to proceed, and were obliged ultimately to be carried on

The other column which I accompanied, and men's heads. The guns also were obliged to be dismounted and carried on elephants, which animals, and camels, are the only carriage an army can use in this pass. Even these meet with unusual obstacles; for in the march between Kujjoorree and Chounterah occurs the celebrated "Koonh-i-Gou"—an Afghan name which will not bear translation. It was described to me by Reynell Taylor as a "singular fissure in a long blade-like ridge of rock, and even when prepared for our reception it required nice steering to save a camel's load from being knocked off."



PASS OF THE KOONH-I-GOU.

Filled up with stones to admit of an army passing.

On a subsequent occasion, Lieutenant Taylor marched with a company of infantry from Peshawur to Bunnoo in eight days. See Journal, February 11th, 1848, Chapter V. of this book.

General Cortlandt commanded, mustered its miserable numbers on the 1st December, under the fort of Lukkee, the town of which name is the capital of Murwut, the country adjoining Bunnoo on the south. It will be found in the map immediately between the junction of the rivers Khoorrum and Goombeeluh.

Of the strong brigade appointed to this column, one regiment was so sick from fever as to be unable to move ; and two other available wings of regiments had not come up, and seemed to be in no hurry to encounter the business. The General's muster, therefore, amounted only to twelve hundred and twenty infantry, and three hundred and thirty-four irregular horse. But he had two excellent troops of horse artillery ; and by pursuing a circuitous route up the left bank of the Khoorrum, we felt confident of joining the Peshawur column near Kurruk, without coming into contact with the Bunnoochees.

An entry in my diary at this point may amuse the reader, as characteristic of the wild situation we were then in, and remoteness from the sophistications of civilized life.

" 1st Dec. — Halt. Dreadful toothache. Cortlandt and native doctor had three pulls. Broke two pieces off. Tooth where it was. Ditto the pain. Petitions all day."

I remembered it as if it were yesterday. A dis-

tracting tooth, at the opening of a campaign, was not to be quietly endured ; and I expressed a regret that there was no dentist in the wilds of Eastern Afghanistan ! The General was a man of resource ; he had seen a case of dentist's instruments going cheap at an auction the last time he was in the civilized world, and bought them in case of accidents. The time had now arrived to turn this investment of capital to account. The General himself (and here he drew out an enormous pair of forceps!) would draw my tooth with great pleasure.

“ Do you think you could ? ”

“ I'll try.”

“ Very well. Let me get into this chair, and take hold of the arms. Now I'll give you three pulls, and no more. Go on ! ”

(An awful struggle, with a sensation of my head being twisted off like a duck's, ending with a sharp snap, and a sigh from the General.)

“ Is it out ? ”

“ No. It's only a bit.”

“ Proceed with pull two.”

(Struggle repeated ; same result. Another ‘ bit,’ but no tooth. The General, in despair, lays down the tongs.)

“ I won't try any more, for fear I should break

your jaw ; but there is a native doctor in one of my regiments who is very clever."

"Have him in. You have a right to one more pull."

(The situation of the native at this crisis was truly pitiable. On the one side, his whole soul revolted from the impropriety of being cleverer than the General, his master. On the other, an "Assistant-Resident" was no subject for trifling. The blessed Prophet alone knew whether he might not hang the doctor if he did not pull the tooth out without a pang! Invoking the Imaums, he raised the forceps, looked imploringly in my face, seized the tooth at a respectful distance, and—villain of villains!—shook it at arm's length, as though it had been the nose of his first wife. The "Assistant-Resident" jumps from his chair with the forceps between his teeth, and the native doctor *exits* from the tent like a flash of lightning.)

On the 2nd December, we marched from Lukkee to Michenkheyl, on the other side of the Khoorrum. Here I inspected the little band, and was particularly pleased with the serviceable look of the artillery, and one of the infantry regiments, commanded by Zorakhun Sing. It consisted entirely of Dogruhs, a fair and smooth-faced, but hardy and faithful race,

from the hills about Jummoo, in the country of Maharajuh Goolab Sing, who is himself of that tribe. They had been enlisted in the Sikh service before Goolab Sing became independent, and remained in it by choice, rather than enter the ill-paid army of their feudal chief. They were armed with the long-barrelled and light-stocked gun called *pur-mar*, literally "the feather-striker," or as we say, fowling-piece, in the use of which, habits of the chase from their boyhood had made them individually expert. A regiment thus constituted is worth any two others for skirmishing purposes ; and I contemplated their appearance with the satisfaction of one who knows that the success or failure of his plans may soon be put to the issue of the sword.\*

On the same evening we had some practice on the sandy plain behind the village, with two rusty mortars, which we thought might help to reduce a fort upon occasion, and were delighted to see that, under the well-trained eye of old Fuzzul Ali (a pupil

\* I have often thought—half in joke and half in earnest—that, in case of an invasion of England, the finest infantry regiment the world ever saw, might be raised of country gentlemen volunteers, armed with their own "double-barrels," and having their own gamekeepers for their rear-rank men ; but I should be very sorry to have to command them !



of General Court, the best and most scientific of the French officers who instructed Runjeet's army), the shells fell quite near enough.

It is astonishing, indeed, what execution the Sikh artillery would do with ordnance which, in our army, would be declared unserviceable. The people of England must not judge of it by the richly inlaid guns which are such honourable trophies in Windsor Park. Such pieces were few in the Khalsa army, and were, indeed, the toys of a Sikh Sirdar, named Léna Sing, who had instructed himself in English science, and shortly previous to the first Sikh war, completed, at an enormous cost, a troop of artillery for his own Government.

An inspection of the three or four hundred guns the British armies have captured from the Sikhs, would, I venture to say, show that the majority of them were honeycombed, and a third, at least, had more than one touch-hole. This latter circumstance was a matter of perfect indifference to the Punjab gunners, who, despising such nice minuteness as "serving the vent" with a man's thumb, clapped a good fat sand-bag over the place generally, and so "covered a multitude of sins." Nor did I ever see or hear of an accident (so common in our army), though, first and last, I have seen a good deal of

Sikh powder blown away. I have heard that the sand-bag is used even in the French army, and wish the humane practice could find admission into ours ; for it is no joke for an artilleryman, however horny a hand he may have got by honest labour, to hold his thumb down, without flinching, to be scorched to the bone by the hot vent of a gun in action.

After the mortar practice, I rode out into the "Thull," or sandy desert, north and east of Michenkheyl, to explore a short cut to Kummur ; but after traversing ten miles of deep sand, without road or water, I reluctantly returned to the bank of the Khoorrum, and discovered a suitable halting-place for the morrow, at a place called Duddianwalla, on the proper Bunnoo road which we discovered in the spring.

On the 5th (being very close to Bunnoo, whose border is at Jhundookheyl), we struck completely off the road into the desert, and encamped at a solitary place called Joor, which means in the Pushtoo language "The Wells." Not a house, or hut, or field, was to be seen in this wild spot ; and save for an occasional thin column of smoke, seen for a moment in the sandy distance, and then lost in the blue sky, we might have deemed ourselves out of the reach of man. But, in truth, we were in the very heart of

"The Vizeerees," a name of terror even to the barbarous tribes of Bunnoo.

How dared we then, with our small party, venture there? For the present, the reader must be content to know that it was purely on the faith of a friendship which I had formed in the former expedition with Swahn Khan, the most powerful man of his powerful nation. An inhabitant of the snowy mountains, he had never descended to do homage to Sikh invaders, and Cabul kings had never ventured among his hills. Yet he had asked to be allowed to come down and speak with the fellow-countryman of Moorcroft, the traveller, from whom he showed me a scrap of paper, dated "Dummáee Thull, April 6th, 1824." It merely acknowledged Swahn Khan's hospitality and civility; and after keeping it for twenty-three years, the far-sighted Vizeeree chief had lived to see the day when the white man's armies should tread upon the heels of the white man's pioneer. It was time to draw forth from his goat-skin wallet the record of his good faith towards an Englishman, certain that that faded "certificate" of the solitary, helpless traveller, would now be as strong to him as an army!

I could not but regard the MS. with warm but melancholy interest. He who wrote it had long since ended

his earthly wanderings. That adventurous spirit had breathed its last among the savages of Andkhoo, beyond the remotest confines of Afghanistan.

This scratch of his pen survived, and was only just beginning to fulfil the grateful purpose with which it was given to the Vizeeree host. It reminded me of the aloe, which is so long before it flowers, or of those sealed bottles, which have sometimes been found in tombs, and when opened, give up the perfume of a forgotten age.\*

\* Subsequently, another testimonial of Moorcroft's was brought to me by chiefs of another branch of the Vizeerees, and I took a copy of it, as follows :

"It having been wished by certain Wuzeerees that I should leave with them indications of friendship, I have pleasure in complying with their desire, so far as to certify that my party have been treated with hospitality and respect by the under-written persons belonging to the Ooloos of Wullee-Kheyl; viz.,

JAN KHAN.

SHERAFUT KHAN.

MEINDOCK KHAN.

MULICK KHAN.

MUSHICK KHAN.

IZZUT KHAN.

(Signed across)

WILLIAM MOORCROFT.

"I have reason to believe that the whole of the Ooloos of Wullee-Kheyl may be considered as my friends.

(Dated) "Zekrut' Akhoond Meerdad,  
April 3rd, 1824."

I am glad to be able to contribute the smallest white pebble to poor Moorcroft's *cairn* ; and cannot pass on without recording that my friend Swahn Kahn spoke of him highly in every way, adding that " he was very wise, and wrote down everything ; the trees, the crops, the stones, the men and women, their clothes and household furniture, and everything ! He also gave medicine to their sheep and horses, and" (climax of ability in a Vizeeree country) " cured them all !"

Fully as much in honour of Moorcroft's memory, as with any view to future profit, I made Swahn Kahn my guest ; sent a " Ziyâfut," or welcoming present, of one hundred rupees to his tent, and ordered five rupees a day to be given to himself, and two pounds of flour to each of his followers, as long as they chose to stay with me. The rude chief, who possessed all the virtues, with few of the vices, of a savage people, never forgot this treatment ; and scarcely had I reached Michenkheyl, on the 2nd December, in this second expedition, than I found myself locked in his giant arms, and squeezed till I could have cried. It was he who had now guided our force to " The Wells" in the desert, and whose presence in our camp made us as secure in the winter pasture grounds of the Vizeerees, as though we had been in the citadel of Lahore.

Let me now describe "The Wells" themselves, for neither before, or since, have I ever seen anything like them.

Between the eastern cultivated lands of Bunnoo and the hills of the Khuttuks lies a wide, undulating waste, called the "Thull," or desert. It is not exactly a desert, because it furnishes vast herds with pasture every winter ; but it is a wilderness to any but the savage, taught by long experience to direct his path over it by the peaks of the surrounding mountains. Towards Bunnoo it is all sand, which nearer the hills gets hardened by a layer of gravel and loose stones washed down by the annual floods. Both the sand and the stony ground only require rain to make them yield abundant crops ; but rain seldom visits either, and the tract consequently is in general only dotted over with scrubby vegetation and the prickly bushes of the camel-thorn.

Even this is a paradise to the Vizeeree tribes, who, expelled from their own stony and pine-clad mountains by the snow, yearly set before them their flocks of broad-tailed sheep and goats, and strings of woolly camels and curved-eared horses, and migrate to the sheltered plains of Bunnoo. Here they stretch their black blankets or reed mats on the bare earth, over two sticks set up like the letter T, the four sides

dragging on the ground, or fastened with a stone if the wind gets high. Under this miserable shelter huddle men, women, and children, afraid neither of the rain's cold nor the sun's hot beams, and in happy ignorance of better things. From the corner of the tent the shaggy muzzle of a hill sheep-dog peeps out and watches over the tethered donkey and sick goat left at home with the women while the flocks are out at graze. Tall and stately as a pine, the daughter of the mountains stands at the tent-door in her indigodyed petticoat and hood, smiling on the gambols of her naked brats, or else sits down and rubs out corn for her lord who is a-field. The men, stout, fierce, and fearless of man or beast, and clad in shaggy cloaks of brown camel's-hair, drive out the herds to feed, and, with long juzail in hand, and burning match, lie full-length along the ground and listen for strange footfalls on the horizon. Should an enemy approach, the discharge of a single matchlock would be heard over the whole plain, and summon thousands of the tribe to the point where danger threatened or plunder allured. Such were the people whose gipsy-like encampments strewed the Thull at the time I speak of.

From the Khuttuk hills, east of Kummur, a deep and broad ravine runs down into the Thull. In

seasons of flood it is the bed of an impetuous torrent called the Lowâghur, but during the greater part of the year is dry, the little water which soaks down from the hills being insufficient to rise to the surface. To reach this water at all seasons (without which their flocks would perish), the Vizeerees have descended into the ravine (which at Joor was from forty to fifty feet deep at least), and there scraped wells about the depth of a man's stature. Round the margin of the wells clay troughs were formed, into which a Vizeeree, standing in the well, ladled up water for the thirsty cattle. Inclined planes were also scraped in the high banks of the ravine for the cattle to go up and down; and the sand in every direction, both round the wells on the slopes, and on the plains around, was deeply imprinted with the hoofs of the myriads of sheep and oxen who were daily driven here to water.

In these our days it is rarely the fortune of civilized man to stand in such a spot to behold a genuine primæval, pastoral people, and in thought see Time visibly put back to the days of Lot and Abraham, who "had flocks, and herds, and tents."\*

On the 6th of December, I had intended to advance

\* Genesis, c. XIII. v. 5.



General Cortlandt's column from "The Wells" at Joor to Kummur, but Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, assuring me that there was no water there, except some springs in the adjacent hills, and that Kurruk was too distant, I determined to halt the force at the Wells, and myself go on and explore the country.

I cannot positively make out from Mr. Masson's narrative (which is here very general, and deficient in names),\* by which pass he was led by his holy protector out of Bunnoo; but as it brought him ultimately to Hungoo, I conclude that it was the Bilund-Kheyl and not the Kurruk road, which latter goes direct to Kohât. To the best of my belief, therefore, I was the first European who had ever been seen in the Vizeeree Thull; yet my full confidence in the honour of Swahn Khan, who undertook to guide me, may be gathered from the circumstance that I took with me only five-and-twenty horsemen, and those at his request, in case of any casual opposition from tribes over whom the Vizeeree had no control. I pause upon this apparently trifling incident, for no foolish vanity of my own, but for the benefit of others; for hoping, as I earnestly do, that many a young soldier, glancing over these pages, will

\* See "Masson's Travels," Vol. 1. Chap. vii.

gather heart and encouragement for the stormy lot before him, I desire above all things to put into his hand the staff of confidence in his fellow-man.

“Candid, and generous, and just,  
Boys care but little whom they trust—  
An error soon corrected ;  
For who but learns in riper years,  
That man, when smoothest he appears,  
Is most to be suspected ?—”

is a verse very pointed and clever, but quite unworthy of “The Ode to Friendship,” and inculcating a creed which would make a sharper or a monk of whoever should adopt it. The man who cannot trust others is, by his own showing, untrustworthy himself. Suspicious of all, depending on himself for everything, from the conception to the deed, the ground plan to the chimney-pot, he will fail for want of the heads of Hydra and the hands of Briareus. If there is any lesson that I have learnt from life it is, that human nature, black or white, is better than we think it ; and he who reads these pages to a close will see how much faith I have had occasion to place in the rudest and wildest of their species, how nobly it was deserved, and how useless I should have been without it.

Swahn Khan leading the way on his enormous bay horse, we set forth at daybreak, and picked out our

road to Kummur, which I guessed to be about twelve miles from camp.

Kummur is a collection of stony hillocks on the bank of a deep dry ravine, but the country around it seemed to be a fine arable soil from which the stones had been laboriously cleared, and nothing was to be seen for miles but green young corn. It is, however, quite dependent on rain for cultivation. The people are of the Khuttuk race, of the tribe of Turkeekheyl, and formerly inhabited houses made of pebbles and mud on the hillocks already mentioned. But this old town was destroyed in a feud, and the new one is about a mile and a half to the south-west among the fields, which are dotted all about with the houses built of reeds and thorns.

At Swahn Khan's approach, a wild creature, all rags and gestures, rushed out, and embraced his knees, with many welcomes in Pushtoo, which he instantly turned into bad Persian when informed who I was. This prepared me for the announcement which followed, that he was the "Akhoond," or scholar of the place; but as he had run out without his turban, I could not help smiling to see the scholar's skull scored all over with sabre cuts. He invited us all to stop and dine, and smoke a chillum; but as I insisted on proceeding, he made a

last request, that "if ever I reduced the valley of Bunnoo, I would recover for him a certain long musket, which a Murwutee had taken as spoil, after killing the Akhoond's father in a raid, and then sold to a Bunnoochee, named Shah Abbas, for sixteen rupees, though" (and this he whispered in my ear) "it's worth forty!"

I may as well mention here, that I did not forget the Akhoond's request; but long afterwards, when all opposition had ceased in Bunnoo, discovered Shah Abbas, redeemed the paternal firelock, which was indeed a long one, and had it duly conveyed to the delighted "scholar" of Kummur.

As Swahn had reported, Kummur proved to be a koss distant from the water, which the villagers procured from deep wells in the dry bed of a ravine behind the hillocks; and we met hundreds of the women going backwards and forwards, with donkeys laden with water-skins. I observed some of the donkeys with cropped ears, and was told that this was a fine levied on them for straying into a neighbour's field.

The drudgery of the household, and much of the out-door work is done in this country by the women; and a poor Puthan counts his wives and female relations as so many labourers on his estate.

The girls were all laughing round the wells, and did not seem to have any Asiatic prejudice about concealing either their faces or ankles from a Feringhee, but good-naturedly ran up to me with water, as the only thing anybody could seek in such a place, and were very much vexed that I did not empty a small pitcher.

It was quite clear that Kummur would not do for an encampment; so we pushed on to Kurruk, about six miles to the north. The open plain narrows from Kummur till, at Kurruk, it becomes a mere neck of cultivation, closed in by the Khuttuk hills, at the end of which is the mouth of the Kohât Pass.

Kurruk itself is more a neighbourhood than a village, consisting, as it does, of mud and pebble houses, strewed at random about the fields; and the great number of Persian-wheel wells, which are seen among the cultivation, give it an Indian appearance, very unusual in these parts. I should mention here, that at Kummur we may be said to have left the Thull of Bunnoo, and entered into the lowlands of the Khuttuks, a very extensive tribe, which occupies the Salt Range from hence to Kalabagh on the Indus, in the east,\*

\* Mr. Elphinstone states that "A branch of them possesses the town and territory of Mukkud, on the Indian side," which I do not know from my own personal knowledge, but feel

to Esaukheyl on the Indus, in the south, and as far as the Cabul river, in the north. The tribe has two divisions; but I know nothing of that towards Peshawur, whose principal town is, I believe, Akora. The division south of Kohât is loosely subject to a chief, named Khwâjuh Muhommud, who resides at Teeree, and is, in turn, an indifferent vassal of whoever rules at Peshawur and Kohât. The Khuttuks are first-rate cultivators, for a hill people; and it was beautiful to see the unpromising stony hillocks and sandy ground around Kurruk and Kummur, ruled out into copy-book furrows, and written in corn.

Having come thus far, it occurred to me that I was now within a short march of where the Peshawur column ought to be; and might just as well go on, and confer with Lieutenant Taylor on our mutual plans. We had come slowly, the horses were fresh, and Swahn willing; so on we went again, over some low undulations of stony ground, and soon passed

certain is the case from the assertion being made in a book which, forty years after it was written, will still astonish any traveller, or resident in Afghanistan, by the wonderful extent and accuracy of its information, as much as it will delight him by the simplicity of its style and clearness of arrangement. I consider "Elphinstone's Account of the Kingdom of Caubul" as a complete model of a report on any foreign country.

from Kurruk into Chounterah, a considerable district, hill-bound, but arable, and highly cultivated by the Khuttuks. Its revenue ought to be considerable.

Ten miles from Kurruk, at a village of Chounterah, called Jheyndree, I found the Peshawur column; and having much to talk over with Lieutenant Taylor, determined to sleep in his camp, and return to my own next day. The sun was setting as we arrived, and I was just in time to accompany my friend round the encampment of his little army, and note, with delighted eye, the soldierly way in which he had chosen his position, and now planted his pickets for the night. Happy is it to meet with a friend anywhere; but if two, far and long removed from the haunts and converse of civilized men, be brought together, in barbarous lands, by the common duties of some high enterprise, there is a kindling of heart towards each other, which would do good to the poor dandy who feebly lifts his hat to his lady-mother in the Park. It might burst his stays, but it would make a man of him.

*December 7th.*—The Peshawur column marched to Kurruk, where, after advising Lieutenant Taylor not to halt next day at Kummur, but push on to "The Wells," I left them, and rode into my own camp, to send out cattle to their assistance.

During this ride of sixty miles, we had passed many Vizeeree camps, which my little escort could not have successfully opposed; and, without a hostage in one of their own number, I should be sorry to ride that way again with less than fifty well-mounted men, of whose courage I was assured.

On this occasion, both the escort and old Swahn Khan had gone nearly supperless to bed at Jheyndree; for, though I gave them money to buy food, they were unable to get it cooked at that hour, and contented themselves with a basket of greasy sweetmeats from the bazaar. Now, therefore, I summoned the *chef*, and told him to exhaust his resources on a feast, and soon my largest tent was crammed with Swahn Khan, the escort, and their mutual friends, who gathered round to hear the news of the road and the other camp, and pull an occasional leg or a wing out of the mountainous *pildu*.

Next day, December 8th, the Peshawur column, after a most fatiguing march across the desert, effected its junction with General Cortlandt's division at "The Wells;" and we prepared, on the following morning, to enter the scene of our labours. It is time, therefore, that I should introduce the reader to Bunnoo.





## CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF BUNNOO—ITS RIVERS, FERTILITY, AND PRODUCTIONS—ACCOUNT OF ITS MONGREL PEOPLE—THEIR CONDITION, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL—TESTIMONY OF AGHA ABBAS—THE SPY'S REPORT OF BUNNOO—ITS NUMEROUS FORTS—DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY INTO TWENTY TUPPEHS—GOVERNMENT OF THE BUNNOOCHEES BY THEIR MULICKS—THEIR POSITION AT THE TIME OF THE PRESENT EXPEDITION—THE TWO "FACTIONS"—THEIR UNION AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY—CALCULATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF BUNNOO—THREE INFLUENTIAL CLASSES AMONGST THEM—ACCOUNT OF THE OOLUMA—THEIR INFLUENCE OVER THE SUPERSTITIOUS BUNNOOCHEES, AND OTHER TRIBES—AGHA ABBAS, THE NATIVE TRAVELLER'S ACCOUNT OF THEM—THEIR PRIVILEGED POSITION IN BUNNOO AT THE TIME OF THE EXPEDITION—THAT OF THE DESPISED HINDOO—THE SWORD-PROSELYTISM OF THE MUHOMMUDAN RELIGION—PUNJAB EXAMPLES FROM AGHA ABBAS'S JOURNAL—ORIGIN OF THE SIKH RELIGION—THE AFGHAN THIRST FOR "INFIDEL BLOOD"—PARALLEL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE JEWS IN EUROPE, AND HINDOOS IN ASIA—ELPHINSTONE'S ACCOUNT OF THE HINDOOS—THE JEWS IN ROME IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—ESPECIALLY DEGRADED STATE, AND PURCHASED SAFETY OF THE HINDOOS IN BUNNOO—THEIR MONEY-LOVING PROPENSITIES SERVICEABLE TO THE IGNORANT BUNNOOCHEES—THEIR DISHONEST DISCHARGE OF THE TRUST—UNUSUAL TOLERATION IN BAZAAR, UNDER LAL BAZ KHAN—ONE COMMUNITY AND FORT OF HINDOOS IN THE DAOOD SHAH TUPPEH—MOOLA'S GURHEE—TRADE WITH DOUR—THE

HINDOOS IN BUNNOO, NOT DESERVING OF PITY—CONSOLATIONS OF  
AVARICE—DISTANT PILGRIMAGES OF HINDOOS—THREE DIVISIONS  
IN THE MAP OF BUNNOO—VILLAGES AND TRIBES OF THE KHUTTUKS  
—INDEPENDENCE OF THE VIZEEREE—EXTENT OF THEIR COUNTRY—  
THEIR DIVISION INTO OTMANZYES AND AHMUDZYES—THE VIZEEREE  
AT ENMITY WITH THE WHOLE WORLD, BUT AT PEACE AMONG THEM-  
SELVES—THE OCCUPATION BY THE OTMANZYE BRANCH OF THE PASS  
OF GWALEYREE—DEPREDATIONS ON THE LOHANEE MERCHANTS—  
CHIVALRIC TRAIT IN THE CHARACTER OF THE VIZEEREE—THE  
WINTER ENCROACHMENTS OF THE AHMUDZYE VIZEEREE ON THE  
LOWER COUNTRY OF THE THULL—THEIR SUMMER'S RETREAT TO THEIR  
OWN MOUNTAINS—FURTHER ENCROACHMENTS IN THE VALLEY—THE  
BUNNOO COUNCIL—ITS RESOLUTION—MISERABLE STATE OF RESIST-  
ANCE AND RETALIATION—THE VIZEEREE COME TO A COMPROMISE,  
AND PLANT THEMSELVES IN BUNNOO—THEY BUILD FORTS—THEY  
HOLD THEMSELVES PROUDLY ALOOF FROM THE BUNNOOCHEES—THEIR  
SAVAGE VIRTUES—EXAMPLE OF PROOF AGAINST CORRUPTION BY BRIBE  
—THE COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY THE TWO DIVISIONS OF THE VIZEEREE  
TRIBE—CONTRAST IN FAVOUR OF THE AHMUDZYES—REVIEW OF THE  
FOUR CLASSES WHICH MAKE UP THE POPULATION OF BUNNOO—PRO-  
PORTIONS IN WHICH THE VALLEY IS DIVIDED AMONG THEM—ATTITUDE  
OF THE TRIBES OF BUNNOO AT THE TIME OF THE EXPEDITION.

## CHAPTER II.

BUNNOO is a lovely country of Eastern Afghanistan, bound in, on three sides, by mountains: the Soolimânee Range, on the west; the Salt Range, on the north and east; and open, on the south, to the sister country of Murwut; the two together forming a valley, which is separated from the Dérâjât of the Indus by the lower Buttunnee hills.

Two streams break through the Salt Range, and flood Bunnoo with irrigation. The Khoorrum, which is the principal one, takes its distant rise near the celebrated fortress of Ghuznee; and, after watering two-thirds of Bunnoo, part of Murwut, and a great deal of Esaukheyl, has still sufficient strength to join the Indus on its pilgrimage to the sea. The smaller stream irrigates the adjoining valley of Dour, before it enters Bunnoo, and in both these countries is called the Tochee; but changes its name to Goom-

beeluh, when it passes on to Murwut ; and finally joins its waters with the Khoorrum, below the town of Lukkee.

Profusely watered by these streams \* (each field having a rivulet for a hedge), crops never fail in Bunnoo.

The rudest and idlest agriculture is overpaid with corn, sugar, turmeric, and almost all the Indian grains in abundance.†

\* I ought to mention of the Tochee, that, so long as it remains in Bunnoo, its waters are used both for irrigation and household purposes, and I never heard any complaint of it in either of these departments ; but, changing its qualities with its name, in Murwut it is deemed useless for agriculture ; and, though habit enables the natives to drink it with impunity, it is very injurious to strangers, producing, after a few days, and sometimes hours, great pain and inflammation.

The beneficent Khoorrum is everywhere a sweet draught for man and his mother earth.

† The harvests in Bunnoo are as follows :

#### SPRING CROP, OR *Rubbee*.

Barley ; ripe in March and April.

Wheat ; ripe in April and May.

#### AUTUMN CROP, OR *Khurreef*.

*Bájrâ*, or *Holcus Spicatus* ; *Jawâr*, or *Holcus Sorgum* ; Maize ; Rice ; *Dál*, or pulse ; Sugar-cane ; Turmeric ; To-

In spring it is a vegetable emerald ; and in winter its many-coloured harvests look as if Ceres had stumbled against the great Salt Range, and spilt half her cornucopia in this favoured vale. As if to make the landscape perfect, a graceful variety of the sheeshum-tree, whose boughs droop like the willow, is found here, and here alone ; while along streams, and round the villages, the thick mulberry, festooned with the wild vine, throws a fragrant shade, beneath which well-fed Syuds look exquisitely happy, sleeping midway through their beads. Roses, too, without which Englishmen have learnt from the East to think no

bacco ; Cotton ; *Lobiya*, a bean (*Dolichos sinensis*) ; *Urvee*, an edible root (*Arum colocasia*).

## GENERAL PRODUCTIONS.

### VEGETABLES.

Carrots ; Onions ; Spinach ; *Méthee* and *Thoom*, of which I know not the botanical names ; besides a great variety of other herbs used by natives, are all produced in abundance.

### FRUITS (ripe in April and May).

The round and the long Mulberry ; Peaches ; Grapes ; Apples ; Pomegranates ; Lemons and Limes, all wild and requiring cultivation.

Ripe in June and July.

*Khurboozuh*, or musk-melon ; *Turboozuh*, or water-melon.

scenery complete, abound in the upper parts, at the close of spring.

Most of the fruits of Cabul are found wild, and culture would bring them to perfection : as it is, the limes, mulberries, and melons are delicious.

Altogether, nature has so smiled on Bunnoo, that the stranger thinks it a paradise ; and when he turns to the people, wonders how such spirits of evil ever found admittance.

The Bunnoochees, or, as they generally style themselves, Bunnoowâls, are bad specimens of Afghans.\* Could worse be said of any human race ? They have all the vices of Puthâns rankly luxuriant, the virtues stunted. Except in Sindh, I have never seen such a degraded people. Although forming a distinct race in themselves, easily recognisable, at first sight, from any other tribe along the Indus, they are not of pure descent from any common stock, and able, like the

\* In a former note I have recorded my humble admiration of Mr. Elphinstone's "Account of Caubul." I regret, however, to be obliged to except his very high estimate of the Afghan character, in which I think I should be supported by every political officer on the north-west frontier, and almost every military officer who served in Afghanistan. Nothing that I have met with is finer than their *physique*, or worse than their *morale*.

neighbouring people, to trace their lineage back to the founder of the family ; but are descended from many different Afghan tribes, representing the ebb and flow of might, right, possession, and spoliation, in a corner of the Cabul empire, whose remoteness and fertility offered to outlaws and vagabonds a secure asylum against both law and labour. The introduction of Indian cultivators from the Punjab, and the settlement of numerous low Hindoos in the valley, from sheer love of money, and the hope of peacefully plundering by trade their ignorant Muhommudan masters, have contributed, by intermarriage, slave-dealing, and vice, to complete the mongrel character of the Bunnoo people. Every stature, from that of the weak Indian to that of the tall Doorânee ; every complexion, from the ebony of Bengal to the rosy cheek of Cabul ; every dress, from the linen garments of the south to the heavy goat-skin of the eternal snows, is to be seen promiscuously among them, reduced only to a harmonious whole by the neutral tint of universal dirt.

Let the reader take this people, and arm them to the teeth ; then, throwing them down into the beautiful country I have described, bid them scramble for its fat meads and fertilizing waters, its fruits and flowers ; and he will have a good idea of the state of



landed property, and laws of tenure, as I found them in 1847. Such, indeed, was the total confusion of right, that, by way of gaining for this community a new point of departure, and starting fair on an era of law and order, Colonel Lawrence, as I shall presently show, was obliged to declare that five years' possession should be considered a good title.

Mr. Elphinstone, writing in 1808, says of the Bunnoochees, that though "without any common government," they "pay some regard to the King's authority," *i. e.* the King of Cabul. From that date, the Cabul empire grew rapidly weaker; and in a few years the capital was unable to send a force to collect tribute from such a distant province as Bunnoo; and without a force, no attention was paid to either royal messengers or royal Purwannuhs. Bunnoo became independent of its own lawful sovereign. About 1822, the far more odious power, which had risen up on the opposite bank of the Indus, began its attempts to include Bunnoo in the Sikh empire. If the Bunnoochees were unwilling to pay tribute to Cabul, they were quite resolved not to pay it to Lahore; and through a quarter of a century, in the face of armies and devastations, they succeeded in maintaining their new-gained independence.

Owning no external allegiance, let us see what

internal government this impatient race submitted to: in truth, none. Freed from a king, they could not agree upon a chief; but every village threw a wall around its limits, chose its own *Mullick* (master), and went to war with all its neighbours.

A highly intelligent native named Agha Abbas, of Shiraz, who was employed by the late Major R. Leech to make a tour through parts of the Punjab and Afghanistan, in the year 1837, reported that there were "full four hundred, if not five hundred, forts and villages in the district." (A fort and a village in their language mean the same thing. There was not an open village in the country.) Ten years later, I sent a spy before me into Bunnoo to draw me a rough map of it. He returned with a sheet of paper completely covered over with little squares and lozenges, and a name written in each, with no space between.

"Why, Nizamooddeen," I said, "what is this?"

"That," he replied triumphantly, "why that's Bunnoo!"

"And what are all these squares?"

"Oh! those are the forts."

A pleasing prospect for the individual to whom the subjugation of Bunnoo had been confided.

Subsequently, in making a revenue assessment, two hundred and seventy-eight forts were actually

registered in the body of Bunnoo alone, without counting those in the outside lands of the Meerees, or those of the Vizeeree interlopers on the border.

So that I have always considered that Agha Abbas's lowest estimate, four hundred, was a correct one of the forts of Bunnoo.

It will easily be understood that many of these forts would be too weak long to maintain entire independence ; and accordingly, above the Mullicks of single forts soon rose up Mullicks of four or five ; and these contending, the victors became Mullicks of ten, twenty, or thirty. At last the richer parts of the valley were divided into twenty lots, called tuppehs, as follows :

- 4 Sooraunee tuppehs.
- 6 Meeree ditto.
- 4 Issukkee ditto.
- 2 Mundán ditto.
- 1 Daood Shah ditto.
- 1 Mumushkheyl ditto.
- 2 Tuppaiee ditto.

These, when Agha Abbas passed through the country, in 1837, were under only five chiefs ; but in 1847, there were very nearly as many chiefs as tuppehs.

The position and power of these Mullicks, in this rude society, was very curious; and to those who think the laws by which mankind is governed, in any of its phases, can never be beneath our notice, the following picture will be full of interest.

Under the patriarchal form of government, which pervades the tribes of Afghanistan in general, each tribe, or Ooloos, has its hereditary chief, called the Khan, in the same way that every household has its natural head; and it would be as impossible for any other person to become "Khan" in his place, as it would be for a family to disown their own father, and choose another for themselves. Nevertheless, a junior branch of the tribe might become so powerful as to take the lead; in the same way that a son, set up in independent business, may, among us, draw away all the customers of his father.

This is not the case, however, with the Afghans of Bunnoo. They are so mixed, and crossed, that all genealogy is confounded; and the consequence is, that as the Bunnochees of the twenty tuppehs can scarcely be said to be of one nation, so the Bunnoochees of each tuppeh are never all of one tribe, and cannot, lastly, have one hereditary "Khan." The head of each tuppeh was not "born to greatness," but "achieved it." Either he became so by being the greatest land-

owner, or the wisest in council, or the most terrible in fight. In short, he owed his chieftainship to influence, not blood, or right; and his sons after him succeeded only to the same privileges, on the same conditions.

Hence, most likely it is that the chiefs in Bunnoo, instead of being called "Khans," as in other parts of Afghanistan, are called Mullicks, which means simply masters.

Once elevated to that position, they then exercised the same authority as "Khans" in other tribes, and their state and consequence was maintained as follows :

Every "zumeendar," or landowner, paid to his Mullick one-tenth of the produce of his fields, in kind; and this tithe of the whole year's produce was called the mulkeeut, or Mullick's share. The chief either collected it in his own barns, or, if too idle, as was commonly the case, farmed it to a Hindoo (and, it may be safely added, was remorselessly cheated in the calculation). When realized, the tithes did not become absolutely the chief's private property, but formed a fund whence all public charges were defrayed; and out of it, the high mud walls around the fortified villages were repaired, the canals and water-courses kept open, arms and ammunition purchased, the pilgrim feasted on his holy progress, the neighbour, saint, or stranger,

hospitably entertained, the beggar relieved, and the song of the wandering minstrel rewarded. At the end of the year, if there was any surplus left, it became the chief's private property; but if there was any deficiency, he was expected to defray it out of his own resources.

In addition to the tithes, the only other revenue which the chief derived, was from a few taxes levied on the wretched Hindoos in the towns; such as a percentage on all sales, and a fee for permission to marry.

The Mullick might have land of his own, inherited, purchased, or seized, and thence derive a large private fortune; but the above are the only public revenues he enjoyed in his capacity of chief, and their whole amount would not perhaps average more than £200 per annum. In Bazaar, however, which was the capital of Bunnoo, the Mullick, Lal Baz Khan, used to farm the town taxes alone, without the agricultural tithes, for £150 a-year.

Such were the rude and roughly-extorted privileges of the few who had the savage strength to rise above their fellows in Bunnoo; such the surly homage which the Bunnoochee, who brooked not the yoke of Cabul or Lahore, paid, amid all his licence, to the great necessity of man's fallen nature—to be ruled.

Some dozen and a half of chiefs had enjoyed these baronial rights for several years when I first went to Bunnoo, and no one of their number seemed to be able to "annex" another tuppeh to his own. But petty aggressions were continual, and the power of every Mullick was liable to constant fluctuation from the decrease or increase of his influence among the landowners of his own tuppeh. For instance, a dependent of Meer Alum Khan, in the tuppeh Murdân, would take offence and fly to the fort of Dilassuh Khan in tuppeh Dâood Shah, and the fugitive under any circumstances by Puthunukkee, or the custom of the Puthán nation,\* must be

\* The people whom we geographically call Afghans, style themselves nationally Putháns, a name which, under all circumstances, whether in exile on the burning plains of Mooltan, two hundred years after Aurungzebe brought them from their beloved Kandahar, or in still remoter Rohilcund, whose rich fields rewarded them for placing the Moghuls on the throne of Delhi, they never cease to cherish and hand down from generation to generation, long after all regrets for Afghanistan itself have been extinguished in their bosoms.

The very national language of Afghanistan is called Pushthoo, or Pukhthoo. There is no such language as Afghan. The tribes collectively are historically called Pukhthánuh, and an individual Pukhthán, or Puthán. (See also Mr. Elphinstone's "Account of the Kingdom of Caubul," Vol. 1. Book 2, Chap. 1.)

hospitably received and admitted. And if Dilassuh Khan felt himself at the time (as boys say at school) able to thrash Meer Alum, he would jump into his saddle, summon his followers, and ride out towards that Mullick's fort, where, standing at a safe distance so as not to be shot during the conference, he would lustily shout out for his neighbour to appear upon the wall, and give up the wife and children and chattels of his runaway follower; and if this demand was complied with out of inability to resist, Dilassuh Khan would thenceforward receive the chieftain's tenth share of the produce of his new vassal's land, albeit not in his own tuppeh. On the other hand, if Meer Alum was stronger than Dilassuh, the wife and children, and chieftain's tithe, would all remain in possession of the former; and in this case the fugitive, disappointed of revenge, would cool down, sue for permission to return, and be either reinstated on payment of a fine, or else murdered, and his lands confiscated, according to the circumstances of the case, and the good or ill-humour of Meer Alum at the moment.

These fluctuations of power, however, had, at the time I speak of, ceased to be of any great consequence. The ambition, violence, and influence of the few, and the requirements and endurance of the many, had



mutually found their level in the distracted valley ; and the result was, as already stated, that several years had come and gone, and still seen the twenty rich tuppehs of Bunnoo pretty equally divided among seventeen or eighteen chiefs.

But more securely to preserve this *status*, and check each other's personal ambition, a political division was resorted to, still more remarkable than the territorial one already related. The chiefs of the twenty tuppehs divided themselves into two goondees, or factions, the leaders of which were the most influential men at the time on either side. When I went first to Bunnoo, Sher Must Khan, of Jhundookhey, was at the head of one goondee, mustering nine thousand fighting men, and Jaffir Khan, of Ghoreewalluh, at the head of the other, with six thousand.

This division stood to the whole of Bunnoo in the lieu of government. If any one who "marched" with Sher Must Khan was injured, and refused redress, by one who "marched" with Jaffir, he instantly reported it to the head of his goondee, who called on the head of the rival goondee to do justice, and in case of refusal, beat his drum and proceeded to appeal to arms.

Again, if a man was ill-treated in his own goondee, and his chief did not see him righted, he crossed over

in dudgeon to "the opposition benches" with his matchlock and powder, and claimed the full rights of citizenship.

Bunnoo is proverbial, even among the quarrelsome tribes of the Trans-Indus, for its family dissensions; and at the time I speak of, there was scarcely a Mullick in the whole valley who was not very much embarrassed and kept in check by having a son or a nephew at variance with him and enlisted in the ranks of the opposite faction.

In the event of any enemy attacking Bunnoo from without, the two goondees laid aside their private differences, and with the whole strength of the valley resisted the common enemy. And this was the one solitary occasion on which there was any unity in Bunnoo. The Bunnoochees were literally never at peace unless they were at war!

I have stated that one faction mustered nine thousand fighting men, and the other six thousand; total, fifteen thousand. And this leads me to make a rough calculation of the population of Bunnoo.

If fifteen thousand able men went out to fight, the old men, whose fighting days were gone, and those purposely left at home in the forts to guard the women and fields, would certainly amount to one-third of that number, or five thousand, making a

total of twenty thousand males; and if we add to these a proportion of forty thousand women and children, we shall get sixty thousand as the approximate (Bunnoochee) population of the valley. Again, to test this calculation, divide sixty thousand by the number of forts in Bunnoo, which is four hundred, and the result is an average of one hundred and fifty Bunnoochees to each fortified village, an estimate which my own observation makes me consider very close to the truth.

But the Bunnoochees do not constitute the entire population of Bunnoo, and the reader would have a very imperfect idea of its people and social state if I omitted to mention three classes of men whose influence materially affects the valley. These are the Oolumá, or religious characters; the Hindoos; and the Vizeeree interlopers.

A well-educated man will, in all probability, be religious; but an ignorant one is certain to be superstitious. A more utterly ignorant and superstitious people than the Bunnoochees I never saw. The vilest jargon was to them pure Arabic from the blessed Koran, the clumsiest imposture a miracle, and the fattest fakeer a saint. The myriads of holy vagabonds, who are the spawn of the Prophet, found in the Bunnoochees an easy prey, and in their

fertile fields a luxurious livelihood. "Where the carcase is, there are the eagles gathered together." Far and near from the barren and ungrateful hills around, the Moollah and the Kâzee, the Peer and the Syud, descended to the smiling vale, armed in a panoply of spectacles and owl-like looks, miraculous rosaries, infallible amulets, and tables of descent from Mu-hommud. Each new-comer, like St. Peter, held the keys of heaven; and the whole, like Irish beggars, were equally prepared to bless or curse to all eternity him who gave or who withheld. These were "air-drawn daggers," against which the Bunnoochee peasant had no defence. For him the whistle of the far-thrown bullet, or the nearer sheen of his enemy's "shumsheer," had no terrors; blood was simply a red fluid; and to remove a neighbour's head at the shoulder, as easy as cutting cucumbers. But to be cursed in Arabic, or anything that sounded like it; to be told that the blessed Prophet had put a black mark against his soul, for not giving his best field to one of the Prophet's own posterity; to have the saliva of a disappointed saint left in anger on his door-post; or behold a Hâjee, who had gone three times to Mecca, deliberately sit down and enchant his camels with the itch, and his sheep with the rot: these were things which made the dagger drop out of the hand of the

awe-stricken savage, his knees to knock together, his liver to turn to water, and his parched tongue to be scarce able to articulate a full and complete concession of the blasphemous demand. Even the weak Kings of Cabul availed themselves of these fears, and long after they had ceased to draw secular revenue from Bunnoo, found no difficulty in quartering on any of the tuppehs the superfluous saints of Cabul.

It is no wonder, therefore, that when I came to register the lands, I found one-sixth of Bunnoo in the grasp of the Oolumá.\* Out of two hundred and seventy-eight forts registered in the richest parts

\* This excess of superstition is not confined to Bunnoo, but pervades the whole of the barbarous tribes around. The intelligent native traveller (Agha Abbas), whom Major Leech deputed to these parts, gives the following amusing account of the impostures he practised on his road, to sustain his assumed character of a saint :

Whilst among the Vizeeree tribes : “ On descending from one of these hills, I stopped for a short time on the borders of a stream, with the intention of taking some refreshment, when I observed a party of four men advancing towards me. Fearing they might be thieves, I had recourse to my detonating powder, and placing some on a stone at my feet, awaited their approach. When they drew near, in attempting to rise, I rested my walking-stick on the powder, exclaiming : ‘ Ya Alee Madad ’—(Help, oh, Alee). The usual explosion ensued, and the thieves, for such I still suspect them to have been,

of the valley, no less than forty-four were, in the spring of 1848, the immediate property of religious approached me with great reverence, and requested that I would bless them by clapping them on the back."

\* \* \* \* \*

Again: "While I was dining, a Hindoo presented himself, and complained that he had a wife who had presented him with three children, but was dumb. I suggested that she must be possessed of a devil. He insisted upon my accompanying him home. This I did, saying that I would put a copper pice and a rupee into a vessel of water, and that one or the other would leap out; if the former, he must distribute a fowl and some copper change in charity; if the latter, a sheep. A vessel being produced, I proceeded, with the aid of my servant, to discolour the water in order to conceal the contents, which consisted of a steel spring, confined by means of a piece of rock salt, on which I placed the rupee, during my incantation. The salt of course, in time, melted, and the spring expanding, jerked the rupee out of the water. The sheep was accordingly given me to sacrifice, as well as the charmed rupee, and in return I gave the dumb lady a looking-glass, in which she was punctually to look at herself whenever threatened with a return of the dumb devil, which I assured them would either quit her after seven days or seven weeks."

\* \* \* \* \*

Again, whilst among the Khuttuks, at Teeree, on the north of Bunnoo: "On arriving at Teeree, I put up in the mosque, when shortly after a very good-looking woman presented herself, bringing with her bread and halwah, which she

characters. Indirectly their possessions were far wider. Exempted from all tribute themselves (for

presented to me ; then taking hold of my skirt, begged me to attend to her petition. This was, to give her some charm to attract the attentions of her husband, which had, for the past months been divided among his other wives, to her entire exclusion. I ordered the Persian writer to make out the necessary charm, and gave it to her, as well as a piece of sugar-candy, which I charmed by wetting it with my saliva, while I repeated supposed incantations over it. This she was to give her husband to eat. Whether he was pleased with the perhaps unusual attention and fondness of manner of his wife, or how it was, I know not ; but she returned to me next morning with a present of a sheep, much pleased with the effect of my charm."

\* \* \* \* \*

Again, at Ustarzye : " My fame as a fakeer had preceded me. Immediately after my arrival, a man waited on me, and represented that he had a very beautiful daughter, who regularly every Sunday and Wednesday went mad, and sometimes struck herself, and sometimes her relations ; that she was engaged to be married, and her intended had become averse to the match ever since the commencement of these fits ; entreating me to cure her. I became at a loss what to do ; and what puzzled me more, was, that the day of my arrival was a Saturday, and the next day the girl, as was her wont, had the mad fit ; and I was taken to the house, and found her stretched at full length, heaping abuse on all her relations. I soon discovered that she was shamming, and

neither did the lay Mullick ever dare to take tithes for himself from the Oolumá, nor to assess them for

commenced operations accordingly. I drew a line on the ground round her, and wrapped some brimstone in a rag, and gave it to my servant, while I covered my own head, and commenced incantations, telling the servant to light the rag and apply it to her nostrils, while I ordered the father to hold her firmly until I told him to release her, warning him that if he did so without my telling him, the devil, of whom his daughter was possessed, would kill her. On the burning brimstone being applied, she begged to be released, in a sensible tone of voice. This I would not allow until she spoke in the person of the possessing devil, and promised he never would return. I explained that it was necessary to give a written charm, to prevent the return of the devil, and explained to the mother that I wished see the girl in private. On her being brought, I questioned her before the mother, of the devil. She replied, that as long as the fakeer (myself) remained, he (the devil) would not possess her, but immediately on his (my) departure, he (the devil) would destroy her after this. The mother motioned her daughter to depart, who refused, saying she would stay and wait on me. When we were alone, the girl told me the truth, which was, that she had a lover, and played these tricks that the match with the young man to whom she was engaged might be broken off. I promised to aid her, and told her to get her betrothed to visit me. In the morning the young man came, and asked me to do all I could to cure his intended of her fits. I explained that if she got cured, the devil would attack him instead, and proved it



the Sikh invader), these privileged classes soon grew rich, and began to put their savings out to usury. The Bunnoochee landowners, notwithstanding the natural fertility of their country, were poor. Every two or three years the Sikh army harried their fields, trod down their harvests, burnt their houses, and inflicted injuries which it took the intervals of peace to repair; and in these intervals the Bunnoochee Mullick, too ignorant to estimate his own tithes, farmed them to a sharp Hindoo trader, and spent the produce in debauchery, indifferent if the Hindoo who had paid him fifty per cent., exacted two hundred per cent. from the people. To meet all these demands, the landowner was too often obliged to borrow; and his neighbour, the Syud, so

by my old apparatus of the bowl of dirty water and the steel spring, which ejected his name as the fated one. He was much frightened, and entreated me to point out a remedy. This I did, by assuring him he could never marry the 'possessed,' and live, and that therefore he had much better take the other sister, who was also marriageable. This, after some time was, with my assistance, arranged. The successful lover who had hitherto remained in the background, now visited me, bringing with him some cooked dishes. He afterwards accompanied me one stage as a guide, and I left Ustarzye with the satisfaction of having caused the happiness of two beings at no one's expense."

illiterate, that he could not read the Koran of his great ancestor, could at least plead utter ignorance that the sacred volume prohibits usury to good Muhommudans. He lent his money to the distressed Bunnoochee, and took some land in mortgage until the debt was paid. Whatever burdens that land was liable to in the community, whether tithe to the Mullick, or black mail to the Sikh, were defrayed by the unhappy landlord, while his holy creditor enjoyed the crops.\* At this rate, it may be imagined how very seldom the original debt was repaid; and my impression, on subsequent inquiry into the state of Bunnoo was, that fully two-thirds of that prolific valley, where nature never denies a harvest, had passed into the hands of mortgagees from the poverty of the farmers; and of these mortgagees the Oolumá were by far the most numerous. In learning, scarcely any, if at all, elevated above their flocks; in garb and manners, as savage; in no

\* When subsequently I came to assess the land with a regular tax of one-fourth of produce for the Sikh Government, I put all the owners of mortgaged land in the way of clearing their encumbered estates, by ruling, that whoever *held* the land should pay the revenue, after which, the remainder produce should be charged with twelve per cent. on the original debt, and then the balance be carried towards the discharge of the mortgage.

virtue superior; humanizing them by no gentle influence; shedding on their wild homes no one generous or heart-kindling ray of religion; these impudent impostors thrive alike on the abundance and the want of the superstitious Bunnoochees, and contributed nothing to the common stock but inflammatory counsel, and a fanatical yell in the rear of the battle.

If this was the position of the privileged Muhommudan priest in Bunnoo, far otherwise was that of the despised and infidel Hindoo. The bigotry of Christian sects (though more reprehensible) is lukewarm in comparison with the fiery hatred and contempt felt by a Moossulmân, in a Moossulmân country, for the Hindoo worshipper of idols.

The sword-proselytism which that profound impostor, Muhommud, found it necessary for political purposes to inculcate in his day, and which carried the crescent into Europe, has sunk deeply and ineradicably into the Muhommudan character, and has disgraced the history of successive generations with an enduring persecution far more difficult to bear than the wanton outbreaks of a Herod, a Nero, or even a Decius. In India the tolerant reign of the wise Akbur is a bright exception; and the Punjab in particular, and the adjoining states between the

Sutlej and the Jumna, have been the alternate scene of Hindoo suffering and Hindoo revenge.\* The Sikh religion in its origin was nothing more than the charitable attempt of a good man to reconcile the followers of Brahma and the Prophet; and that great Hindoo nation which, if unchecked by the

\* In a single page of Agha Abbas's Journal (written so late as 1837), I found the following examples of religious retaliation :

"At Nousherah I witnessed an act of Sikh tyranny. Three of the country people, Muhommudans, had been pressed to labour the day before, and at night had been shot, on a pretended suspicion of being thieves. Their bodies were hung on a gallows, and a fire had evidently been lit underneath, from the dreadful manner in which they were scorched."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Saw the body of a Khuttuk, suspended over the gate of the town of Khyrabad, which is opposite to that of Attock, and on the right bank, in company with a dog, and scorched like the body at Nousherah. He had been killed by a Sikh on some false pretence."

\* \* \* \* \*

"There is a noted robber in these parts, by name Sherezuman, who lives in the Ganger hills. He is in rebellion against the Sikhs, and one of their most deadly enemies. He seldom plunders a Kafilah, unless he finds a Sikh in it, a single soul of which caste he never spares."

Christian stranger would have overrun the vast continent of India, and have driven Muhommudanism back into Central Asia, took its military rise in the blood of a Sikh teacher, who was beheaded by a Muhommudan Prince for refusing to perform a miracle. This thirst for "infidel" blood has, in Afghanistan especially, been aggravated by the reprisals of the Sikhs, ultimately so victorious in their own country over the power of Cabul and Delhi; and it might well be supposed that, under these circumstances, love of life would procure from the timid Hindoo race a prudent observance of that law of their religion which forbids them to cross the Indus;\* but love of gold is stronger than love of life, and the Hindoo in Asia, like the Jew in Europe, has cheerfully braved every danger, and encountered all civil and religious disabilities, sustained by the one strong hope of "a good investment."

Elphinstone says the Hindoos "are to be found over the whole kingdom of Cabul; in towns they are in considerable numbers as brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths, sellers of grain, &c. There is

\* Attock, which is the most important fort and ferry of the Indus, is supposed to take its name from a Sanscrit word, signifying prohibition or hindrance; "thus far shalt thou go and no farther."

scarce a village in the country without a family or two who exercise the above trades, and act as accountants, money-changers, &c. They spread into the north of Persia, but in small numbers, owing to the bad treatment they receive. They are encouraged in Bokhaura and other towns in Tartary.”\* And in a note he adds, “they are indeed to be found as far west as Astrachan, and they are numerous in Arabia, while on the east they extend as far as Pekin, where they are said to have a temple.”

In all these positions, at the capitals, and in the distant villages of their enemies, their usefulness to governments and individuals alone protects them in ordinary times; but this fails during periods of popular excitement, and especially if there be any religious tumult, when the houses of the Hindoos are assailed and plundered, if the owners themselves escape.†

\* Vol. I. Chap. XII.

† The Jews, to whom I have already compared the Hindoos, were in Rome, which claims to be the most Christian of cities, confined to the Ghetto, or Jews’ quarter, so strictly, that the gate was shut on them at eight o’clock every night, and a soldier posted there to prevent ingress or egress. After that hour, any Jew found in the streets of Rome was certain to be hunted by the Christian mob. One of the acts by which Pope Pius IX. has shown himself too liberal for his age, was the removal of the restriction and the

In Bunnoo the position of the Hindoos was peculiarly degraded, for they lacked the interested friendship of a regular and needy government, and became entirely dependent on the individual Mullicks who harboured them in their forts. They could not indeed venture outside the walls, or visit their brethren in other forts without a safeguard from their own chief, who conducted and brought them back, and was paid for his protection. Once when I was encamped in the Sooraunee tuppehs, two half-buried human bodies were discovered, whose wounds bore evidence to the violence of their death. I was afraid they were some of my own men, and instant inquiry was made in camp; when some Bunnoochees came forward to explain that they were "only two Hindoos, who had gone out without a guard to collect some debts!" No Hindoo in Bunnoo was permitted to wear a turban, that being too sacred a symbol of Muhommudanism; and a small cotton skull-cap was all that they had to protect their brains from the

sentry; but, as he had not previously removed the prejudices of his people, they resorted nightly to the unprotected Ghetto, and so plundered the emancipated Jews, that they petitioned to be again disfranchised, and have the gate of the dark ages shut for another century on their liberties. So similar is the human heart, whether it beat under a black skin or a white!

keen Bunnoo sun. When they came into our camp they made a holiday of it, brought a turban in their pockets and put it on with childish delight when they got inside the lines. If any Hindoo wished to celebrate a marriage in his family he went to his Mullick for a licence as regularly as an English gentleman to Doctors' Commons, and had to hire the Mullick's soldiers also to guard the procession, and fire a *feu de joie*. Notwithstanding all these outward dangers and disabilities, the Hindoo in his inmost soul might hold "high carnival," for assuredly he was the moral victor over his Muhommudan masters. I do not remember a single chief in Bunnoo who could either read or write, and, what is much rarer among natives, very few indeed could make a mental calculation. Every chief, therefore, kept Hindoos about his person as general agents and secretaries. Bred up to love money from his cradle, the common Hindoo cuts his first tooth on a rupee, wears a gold mohur round his neck for an amulet, and has cowry shells (the lowest denomination of his god) given him to play with on the floor. The multiplication-table, up to one hundred times one hundred, is his first lesson; and out of school he has two pice given to him to take to the bazaar and turn into an anna before he gets his dinner; thus educated, Hindoos, of all others,



are the best adapted for middlemen, and the Bunnoochee Mullick found in them a useful but double-edged tool. They calculated the tithes due to him from the tuppeh, and told him a false total much under the real one; they then offered to buy them from him, and cheated him dreadfully; and, lastly, they collected the tithes from the people who were equally ignorant, and took one hundred for fifty, backed by the soldiers of the very Mullick to whom they had given fifty for one hundred. If the landowner was distressed, the Hindoo competed with the Muhommudan priest for the honour of relieving him with a loan upon his land; and if the debt was afterwards repudiated, he easily obtained justice by bribing his friend the Mullick.

Throughout the whole of Bunnoo all trade was in the hands of the Hindoos, with the exception (characteristic of the two races) of gunpowder,\* fire-arms,† and swords, which were exclusively manufactured and sold by Muhommudans. Hence they had shops

\* When gunpowder was to be manufactured for any hostilities, in which the whole community was concerned, the Hindoos were forced to contribute the materials, as their share of the war expenses.

† The iron of which the gun-barrels and swords were manufactured, was brought to Bunnoo from a mine in the Dour hills.

in every petty fort, and every Muhommudan in the valley was their customer. Their greatest gathering was in Bazaar, a fortified town, which was the capital of Bunnoo, and whose chief, Lal Baz Khan, had the wisdom to see his own interest in treating them with tolerable kindness. Here there were, in April, 1847, no less than a hundred houses of Hindoos; the members of the despised religion were allowed to erect four Thâkoordwârûhs, or temples, and two charitable foundations, called Dhurumsâluhs, a singular instance of toleration in the valley; and still more strange, they were not even obliged to silence their holy shell, (the Shunkh), whose profane screams would nowhere else in Bunnoo have been allowed to set the teeth of Moossulmâns on edge. In one tuppeh of Bunnoo (that of Dâood Shâh) the Hindoos even arrived at the dignity of an independent community. The Dâood Shâh tuppeh is the nearest to the adjoining country of Dour, between which and Bunnoo considerable trade is carried on in iron, and fir-poles from the Vizeeree hills, used in Bunnoo for roofing; and an enterprising colony of Hindoos, under the protection of Dilassuh Khan, actually established themselves on this border, and were permitted to surround themselves with a fort. For these privileges they paid largely to the old chief, but were fully indemnified

by a monopoly of the Dour trade; and I doubt whether the larger colony in Bazaar could boast of more wealth than the inhabitants of "Moola's Gurhee."

Living then though they did in fear and trembling, unable to display the very wares they wished to sell, burying the profit that they made in holes in the fields and under the hearthstones of their houses, marrying wives only by sufferance, keeping them only if they were ugly, and worshipping their gods by stealth, the Hindoos of Bunnoo can still not be said to have been objects of pity, for their avarice made them insensible to the degradation of their position, and they derived from the gradual accumulation of wealth a mean equivalent for native country, civil liberty, and religious freedom.\*

The only class remaining to be noticed in Bunnoo, is that of the Vizeeree interlopers.

In my first chapter, I have mentioned that the

\* Although it is obvious that a servitude among Muhomudans, such as I have described, was altogether inconsistent with the practice of the Hindoo religion, I think it is only due to the Hindoos of Bunnoo to mention that, in common with their exiled brethren in all the other Trans-Indus countries, they annually sent some members of their community on an atoning pilgrimage to Juggernáth, a distance in a direct line of twelve hundred and fifty miles, and probably fifteen

Vizeerees annually, at the approach of winter, drive their flocks and herds down from their own cold mountains to the more sheltered grazing grounds in the Thull, on the east of Bunnoo. If the reader will now turn to the map, he will see the open country designated by the general name of Bunnoo, divided into three tracts, coloured respectively green, yellow, and blue. The green represents Bunnoo Proper, the rich cultivated tract which contains the twenty tuppehs, and all the Bunnoochee tribes and forts. The blue represents the outside cultivation and villages of the Khuttuk tribes, who are the masters of the hills on the east, and this tract of land never belonged to the Bunnoochees, and is not included in their country.\* The remaining tract, coloured yellow, not only includes the formerly-mentioned Thull, or wilderness, but runs round three sides of Bunnoo, interposing between it and the hills; and the whole of this is in the exclusive possession of Vizeerees, who also, as I shall presently show, have extensive

hundred by the road. The asperities of such a journey, performed in such a climate, by persons usually in the decline of life, might well be as soothing to the conscience of the Khutree as ascending the steps of Pontius Pilate on bare knees is to that of the Roman pilgrim.

\* I may as well take this opportunity of naming the

possessions in the tuppehs of Bunnoo Proper, intermixed with the lands of the Bunnoochees.

The Vizeerees are at once one of the most numerous and the most united of all the tribes of Afghanistan; and to this, not less than to the strength of their country, are they indebted for being wholly independent. They neither own now, nor by their own account have ever owned, any allegiance to any of the Kings of Cabul. If you ask where their country is, they point to the far-off horizon, where the azure sky is pierced by the snowy peaks of "Sufeyd Koh," or the White Mountain, and which, in their Pushtoo tongue, they call Speenjha, or Speengurh; but that great mountain is only their citadel, at the head of a long line of fastnesses extending from the frontier of Tâk, less than a hundred miles from Dera Ishmael Khan on the Indus, to

villages and tribes of the Khuttuks contained within the tract coloured blue in the map. They are as follows :

| NAME OF VILLAGE.    | NAME OF TRIBE.                                |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Luttummur. . . . .  | Oozjhadoo (or great).                         |
| Kummur . . . . .    | Lund (little), also called Toor-<br>keekheyl. |
| Kurruk . . . . .    | (Not known).                                  |
| Nusruttee . . . . . | Nusruttee.                                    |
| Shinwá . . . . .    | Gooddee Kheyl.                                |

within fifty miles from Jellalabad. The Vizeerees are divided into two branches, the Otmanzyes and the Ahmudzyes. The former extend themselves from the parent stock in a southerly direction down the Soolimânee hills as far as the plains of Tâk, and have for their head-quarters Kaneegoorrum, which is about parallel with Murwut. The other branch of Ahmudzyes seems to diverge with the Salt Range, and stretch along it to the eastward, as far as the country of the Khuttuks. Hardy and, for the most part, pastoral, they subsist on mountains where other tribes would starve; and might enjoy the possession they have obtained of most of the hills which encrust the valleys of Khost, Dour, Bungush and Bunnoo, without any inconvenience to the lawful owners in the plains below, if their pastoral cares were confined to their own cattle, and not extended to that of their neighbours. But it is the peculiarity of the great Vizeeree tribe that they are enemies of the whole world. Amongst themselves dissension is unknown, a spectacle unique in all Afghanistan, and they are thus free to turn their whole strength outwards against weaker and more distracted races. Of the Vizeeree it is literally true, that "his hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him." By far the greater part of the trade between Khorassan and

India comes and goes through the Pass of Gwaleyree, which emerges on the plain of the Indus, at the issue of the Gomul River, in Tâk. The hills on either side of the pass are held by the Otmanzye Vizeerees ; and they carry on a predatory war against the caravans, year after year, with a relentless ferocity and daring, which none but a Lohânee (or an English) merchant would brave, or be able to repel.\*

While the Otmanzye branch has been thus engaged in taking annual toll from the Indian trade, the Ahmudzye Vizeerees, with whom we are now more particularly concerned, have commenced that great transition from pastoral to agricultural habits which so surely overtakes every aboriginal race at the point where increase from within or encroachment from without reduces its pastures below the level of its

\* "No quarter is given to men in these wars ; it is said that the Vizeerees would even kill a male child that fell into their hands ; but they never molest women, and if one of that sex wanders from her caravan, they treat her with kindness, and send guides to escort her to her tribe."—*Elphinstone's Cabul*, Vol. II. p. 80.

This chivalric trait I can easily believe, though I never heard of it from other sources ; for considerable intercourse with the Vizeerees impressed me most favourably with their character, in spite of all the trouble their turbulent habits gave me. They are truly very noble savages.

wants. A multiplying people, increasing flocks, and insufficient grazing grounds, first brought these nomads into Bunnoo about thirty years ago. The Thull, too dreary and barren for the softer Bunnoochees, was to them a tempting space; they drove down their herds into it, and pitched their black blanket tents; the flocks fattened, and the winter which raged in their native hills passed luxuriously away in these new plains. The spring sun rekindled the love of home, and made the goat-skin cloak hang heavy on the shoulders of the mountaineer, and the sheep to bleat under its fleece. The tribe turned their faces towards Speenjha; and the Bunnoochee thieves, hanging on the rear of their march to the very borders of the valley, were afraid to venture within the range of the juzails of the Ahmudzyes, and the strangers went away unchallenged.

Again and again the winter brought them back, and in occasional collisions between the savage of the plain and the savage of the mountain, the Vizeeree proved ever the savagest, and became a name of fear and hatred in Bunnoo. At length the Vizeeree cast his eye on the Bunnoochee fields and harvests, and became possessed with the lust of land. So he proceeded in his rough way to occupy what he wanted,



which, for the convenience of being within reach of his own people, he chose nearest to the Thull; and when the Bunnoochee owner came to look after his crops, he was "warned off" with a bullet as a trespasser. A sad era was this in Bunnoochee annals. Hushed were all private feuds now, for the lion had come among the wolves: Mullick after Mullick was being robbed.

At length the two great goondees laid aside their differences, and met in high council on the national dilemma. Then had been the time to fight, and fight desperately, ere the intruders had taken root; and some voices did cry out for war, but the chiefs of the two goondees knew their strength, and that the whole valley could not muster twenty thousand men. On one side, their neighbours of Dour were afraid to assist them, for their little valley was nearer than Bunnoo to the Vizeeree hills. The brave men of Murwut, on the other side, were scarcely less hostile than the Vizeerees. The Vizeerees themselves could summon forty thousand warriors. The "council of war," as usual, resolved on peace—"tempered," as Talleyrand said of the Russian despotism, "by assassination." They would not fight the Vizeeree tribe, but they would harass individuals with match-

lock, knife, and ambuscade, and make occupation or cultivation impracticable. They little knew the Vizeeree temper. The first act of treacherous hostility drew down a fearful and bloody retaliation. Where at first only a field was gone, now a home was desolate: and so both sides continued; the Vizeeree encroaching, the Bunnoochee resisting; the Vizeeree revenging, the beaten Bunnoochee retiring in despair. At length even this found its limit. Both sides grew weary. Only a few Vizeerees cared for the new toy of cultivation, and many came to a compromise with the owners for small sums of money, inadequate, but better than nothing. The Vizeeree intruders built forts like those of the Bunnoochees on the plundered lands, and with the usual facility of revolutions in the East, soon passed into undisputed proprietors of some of the best tracts on the left bank of the Khoorrum. But they never mixed with the Bunnoochees, either in marriage, religious ceremonies, or the more ordinary affairs of life. Had the Bunnoochees been less wronged, the Vizeerees would have been still too proud to mingle blood pure as the snow on Sufeyd Koh, with the mongrel lowland tribes of Bunnoo. Proud, patriotic, and united among themselves; austere and simple in their own manners, but hospitable to the stranger, and true

to their guest against force or corruption,\* the Ahmudzyes stood aloof from the people they oppressed, and looked on in contempt at their cowardly submission, their disunited efforts against the Sikh invader, their lying dealings with each other, their treacherous assassinations at the board, and the covetous squabbles with which they converted into a hell the heavenly valley given them by nature.

I must not conclude this sketch of the Vizeeree settlement in Bunnoo without mentioning, that as the Ahmudzyes have occupied (besides their seizures in the tuppehs) the Thull on the east, and the waste under the hills on the north of Bunnoo, so their countrymen of the Otmanzye branch have felt their way down from the western mountains to the waste lands which lie about the banks of the Tochee, scraped out of them a little precarious cultivation, and built a few forts to protect them from the Bunnoochee owners in the adjoining tuppehs of Meeree. With these Otmanzyes I had little intercourse, but they seemed to me to possess all the predatory habits of

\* Raja Heera Sing, when prime Minister of Lahore, sent an offer of three thousand rupees, or £300, to Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, if he would give up Mullick Futteh Khan, Towannuh, who had taken refuge in his mountains. The offer was rejected with indignation.

the Ahmudzyes, without any of the noble qualities which make that branch of their nation savagely respectable.\*

The reader has now been introduced to the four classes which make up the population of Bunnoo: the mongrel and vicious Bunnoochee peasantry, ill-ruled by Mullicks, and ill-righted by factions; the greedy Syuds, and other religious mendicants, sucking the blood of the superstitious people; the mean Hindoo traders, enduring a life of degradation, that they may cheat their Muhommudan employers; and the Vizeeree interlopers, half pastoral, half agricultural, wholly without law, but neither destitute of honour or virtue.†

\* For a detail of the Vizeeree tribes, see the Appendix to Chapter II.

† The proportions in which the twenty tuppehs of the valley were divided among them may be arrived at with approximate accuracy from the following data. Out of 114,482 kunahls of land under cultivation in the khurreef, or winter harvest, of the Hindoo year 1904 (A.D. 1847), and which were measured by my orders for the purpose of assessment, 89,891 were in possession of Bunnoochee landowners and their Hindoo creditors; 18,958 in the hands of the religious classes; and 5633 in those of the Vizeeree interlopers. In other words, the religious pensioners had one-sixth, and the Vizeerees one-twentieth of that harvest. [I repeat

To complete the picture, it is only necessary to imagine these races in their several high-walled forts; the Vizeerees on the outside, the Bunnoochees and Syuds, with their Hindoo agents, in the heart of Bunnoo Proper, all watching each other with vigilant ill-will, and so divided by class interests as to be unable to appreciate the danger approaching all alike from without, in the shape of a brave and well-disciplined Sikh army, whose energies were guided by a British officer.

Such was the country which, in the Christmas of 1847, I was ordered to subjugate to the Khalsa Crown; such the people who were to oppose me.

Let us now return to the Vizeeree "Wells," in the Thull, where, in Chapter I., we left the two Sikh columns happily united, on December 8th.

I repeat, however, that this can only give a rough idea; for from this harvest three out of the twenty tuppehs were excluded by drought consequent on a feud about irrigation between the Meeree Bunnoochees, and the Vizeeree settlers on the Tochee; and the Ahmudzye Vizeerees have of late years taken to cultivate in the Thull, so that they have now more cultivation without than within the tuppehs.

### CHAPTER III.

PROCLAMATION TO THE MULICKS AND PEOPLE OF BUNNOO—ITS GOOD EFFECT—CHIEFS WHO SUBMITTED, AND CAME INTO CAMP—BARBAROUS SURPRISE AT THEIR FIRST CONTACT WITH THE WONDERS OF CIVILIZATION—MOTIVE WHICH INDUCED THEM TO SUBMISSION—TEST OF THEIR SINCERITY—DOUBTFUL ASPECT OF THE RELIGIOUS CLASSES—DANGER THAT THEY WOULD STIR UP THE BUNNOOCHEES TO RESISTANCE—SECOND PROCLAMATION TO THEM AND THE MULICKS OF BUNNOO—MARCH FROM “THE WELLS”—SUBMISSION OF THE REMAINING MULICKS—ONE EXCEPTION—INSTANCES OF DILASSUH KHAN’S INVETERATE HOSTILITY TO THE SIKHS—FRENCH DIRECTION OF SIKH GUNS—DILASSUH KHAN’S RECEPTION OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION—HIS FAITH IN A SAHIB—DESCRIPTION OF HIM—HIS CONFIDENCE IN CAMP INTERRUPTED—HIS RETREAT TO THE HILLS, AND LETTER—MESSAGE SENT HIM ON RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION—HIS RECEPTION OF IT—COUNSEL OF HIS ADVISERS—HIS FUTURE LINE OF POLICY—HIS SUBMISSION, AND RETURN ON CHANGE OF COMMAND IN BUNNOO—CONTRAST WHICH WOULD PRESENT ITSELF TO HIM—HALT AND MUSTER OF THE BARUKZEY CONTINGENT—REINSTATEMENT OF THE BARUKZEY CHIEFS AT PESHAWUR, BY RUNJEET SING—MILITARY TENURE OF THEIR JAGEER—HOW TO STOP PLUNDER—AFGHAN DEFINITION OF BEING ON FRIENDLY TERMS—BUNNOOCHEES PUT THEIR LAND “IN CHANCERY”—COMMENCED A REVENUE MEASUREMENT—RECEPTION OF OFFICERS FROM PESHAWUR—PRESENT OF FRUITS—THE VIZEERES REFUSE TO PAY REVENUE—CONFERENCE WITH THEM ON THE MATTER—ALTERNATIVE OFFERED THEM—CONTRAST BETWEEN SYSTEM OF REVENUE UNDER A NATIVE, AND H. E. INDIA COMPANY’S

GOVERNMENT—NATIVE RESISTANCE TO A MONEY VALUATION—VIZEERES RESOLVE TO COLLECT A COUNCIL OF THEIR CHIEFS—IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING THE IMPARTIALITY OF "BRITISH LAW"—LIEUTENANT TAYLOR RETURNS TO PESHAWUR—VIZEEREE COUNCIL OF WAR—CONCLUSION ARRIVED AT—TROOPS MARCH TO BAZAAR—FAMILY DISPUTES—TROOPS ADVANCE TO MUMUKHSHEYL—ENCAMPMENT GROUND FLOODED BY THE SYUDS—COUNCIL OF THE BUNNOOCHEE CHIEFS—THEIR RESOLUTION—TWO MAIN POINTS OF THE PLAN LAID BEFORE GOVERNMENT FOR THE REDUCTION OF BUNNOO—DIFFICULTIES OF THE UNDERTAKING—CONSIDERATION OF PLANS—PLAN DETERMINED ON—CONSIDERATION OF THE CHOICE OF A SITE FOR THE FORT—IMPORTANCE OF COMMANDING THE IRRIGATION OF THE VALLEY—SUBMISSION OF TWO PROPOSED SITES TO THE LAHORE GOVERNMENT—COLONEL LAWRENCE'S CHOICE, AND VALUABLE SUGGESTION—SELECTION OF A SPOT—ITS ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION—FLIGHT OF THE SYUDS OF MUMUKHSHEYL—PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF BUNNOO—THE KUTHREES OF BAZAAR RAISE THE PRICE OF CORN—INQUIRY, AND FINE—ACCOUNT OF THE CASTE—THE KUTHREES AT LAHORE—DEWAN MOOLRAJ ONE—THE MUMUKHSHEYL RUNAWAYS MAKE OVERTURES TO RETURN—GENERAL BISHEN SING JOINS THE CAMP—VIEW OF AFFAIRS HELD BY THE SIKH SIRDARS AT LAHORE—PICTURE OF A VIZEEREE JEERGA—TERMS OFFERED—THE CHIEFS' DISCUSSION—UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER—VIZEERES' FIRST APPROACH TO THE SLAVERY OF CIVILIZATION—FEAST OF FRIENDSHIP—A GREAT OBSTACLE THUS SURMOUNTED.

## CHAPTER III.

VERY early in our march from Lahore, I had resumed communications with my old antagonists in Bunnoo, by the following proclamation, which went before us as *avant-courier* ; for it was still desirable to reach our object by a peaceful road ; and the arguments advanced were such as would come home to the understandings of all classes, put the loss of their liberties in the least repugnant light, and at all events suggest the hopelessness of resistance.

## “PROCLAMATION.

“TO THE MULICKS AND PEOPLE OF BUNNOO.

“I told you last spring, that if you did not accept the easy terms which I offered you, and pay up your arrears, I should come to collect the balance in the winter, build a fort, establish a Sikh garrison, and put



your fertile valley under a Kárdár,\* like any other part of the Punjab kingdom.

“ I am now on my way to keep my word ; and two forces are marching upon Bunnoo, one from Dera Ishmael Khan, and one from Peshawur.

“ You see, therefore, that you had much better have agreed with me in the spring.

“ It still depends, however, on yourselves, how you will be treated.

“ My orders are these : to collect your arrears of revenue, and make a settlement for the future.

“ With respect to the first, you all know how much you owe, and the sooner you pay it the better it will be for you. I have got all your accounts, and see that Lal Baz Khan's was the only tuppeh which paid up. Lal Baz Khan shall have no reason to repent his good behaviour, for I shall give him a larger allowance than any other Mullick in Bunnoo.

\* Kárdár, means literally, in Persian, an agent ; but was commonly used in the Punjab to designate a provincial collector of government revenue. In all cases, he had police functions ; in many, magisterial ; and in some even, judicial. He was thus armed with great power ; was generally supported by the Sikh Durbar, whether right or wrong, if he only bribed the courtiers well enough ; and was consequently a blessing or a curse, simply in the ratio of his own personal inclinations.

“With respect to the future settlement, not only the claims of the Maharajuh, but also of the Mullicks, of the Ryots, of the Syuds, and all other holy men who hold charitable lands, will be taken into consideration, and justice done to all.

“You know very well that no ‘Sahib’\* ever fixes a heavy revenue. ‘Sahibs’ are at this moment settling the revenue throughout the Punjab, and making all the people happy.†

“If you wish for peace and kindness, therefore, and to be good subjects of the Maharajuh, let the Mullicks present themselves in my camp without delay, and the people stay quietly in their houses.

“Last spring, half of you ran away to the hills ; some because they were afraid of being treated barba-

\* Sahib means simply a master, and is distinctively and universally applied throughout British India and the neighbouring countries, to Englishmen ; an involuntary confession of the master-energy of that race.

† Great satisfaction had at this time been caused to the cultivators of the Punjab by the light revenue settlement made in the district of Jhung, by Mr. Arthur Cocks, chief assistant to the President. It was the beginning of a complete and reduced settlement of the land-tax throughout the Punjab, which had risen to a most oppressive height during the financial difficulties of the Lahore Government previous to the first Sikh war.

rously by the Sikhs, as usual, and some to escape paying revenue.

“ You saw that I did not allow plundering, and that the soldiers were set as sentries over your crops, and therefore you need not now run away out of fear.

“ And it is of no use your running away to avoid payment of revenue, because the Kárdár and garrison will wait till you come back, and you will at last either have to pay or remain for ever in exile.

“ Let all good subjects therefore fear nothing, but pursue their labours of harvest and cultivation ; and let every Mullick who does not wish to be ejected from his chieftainship come in to me.

“ Above all keep in mind that the army which is now coming to Bunnoo, is not going away again after a month, but is coming to stay. Make your calculations therefore accordingly.

(Dated)

“ Camp, Meeánee,

“ November 17th, 1847.”

This proclamation, conveyed by a trusty messenger, distributed, and duly deliberated upon in the Bunnoochee councils, had a good effect.

Sher Must Khan, of Jhundookheyl (whom I left in the spring leader of one of the two national goondees, but who had since been expelled even from

his own fort by a rival and nephew of his own), came in to General Cortlandt before I crossed the Indus, hoping to be reinstated by our aid. Jaffir Khan and Alladad Khan joined me as soon as I crossed at Esaukheyl, both of them having grants for former services which they wished to get confirmed. At Lukkee, in Murwut, we were met by Lal Baz Khan, of Bazaar, who alone of all the chiefs had behaved thoroughly well in the spring, and who came now to claim his reward. He brought with him a fat Kázee, named Muhommud Kaseem, an important and short-winded personage, who acted as spokesman for the Bunnoo chiefs on all grand occasions. This holy gentleman, at my last visit, had been chief adviser of the war party ; but with an admirable nose for coming events he now ratted, and came in as the head interpreter of the peace-makers. These were followed by a deputation from the Huweydees, a Bunnoochee tribe on the right bank of the Goombeluh, west of the Meree tuppehs, who had never before submitted to either the Cabul or Lahore power.

Next came, on the 1st December, Mooseh Khan of the One Eye, with a large following of Mullicks, a double-dealing set, whose submission went for little more than the "nuzzurs" of silver they threw down as they approached. More glad was I to see at nightfall

the Meeree Mullicks of the distant western tuppehs, whom neither I nor any one had ever seen before, and who still looked as wild as hawks, prepared at the least ill-omen to mount their jaded steeds again, and fly to their usual hiding-places in the hills. Nothing indeed could exceed the simple astonishment, not only of the Meerees, but all the Bunnoochee chiefs, when they first came in, at every object they saw in my possession. They believed my watch was a bird, and called the "tick" its *song*. As for the perambulator with which I measured the marches, they beheld it with perfect awe, and asked me if it was true that it threw itself down on the ground at the end of every mile to let the man who guided it know he had come that distance ? One chief wanted to know whether it was true that English people could not tell lies ; and appeared, from his look of commiseration, to attribute it to some cruel malformation of our mouths. Another inquired whether it was really true that, when I was young, I had read books for twelve years uninterruptedly, without sleeping ? A people so ignorant as this is very difficult to deal with, for you never know what extraordinary idea they may take into their heads. On the present occasion, the strength of their imaginations was in our favour.

From the quickness with which the chiefs came in

it was clear that great alarm was established in the valley, and that our advent as avengers of the last expedition was expected in fear and trembling. On December 2nd, when we crossed the Khoorrum river at Michenkheyl, I had the satisfaction of seeing almost all the leading Bunnoochee Mullicks in our camp, instead of knowing that they were preparing a warm reception for us in Bunnoo.

To test their sincerity, I called on them to bring grain into camp, where it was now scarce; after some excuses they complied, and the price of wheat flour fell to ten and a half seers for a Mehrábee rupee, or twenty-one pounds for 1s. 9d. In India wheat flour is never considered cheap till it falls as low as thirty-two pounds for 2s.

On the 8th of December the Peshawur force having joined, I determined to enter Bunnoo at Jhundookheyl on the morrow.

The majority of the chiefs, as before stated, were already in; but as yet the fat Kázee was the only member of the religious classes who had submitted, and great doubts existed as to the line of policy they meant to adopt. Long accustomed to unquestioned sway in Bunnoo, and great possessions free of taxes, these "consumers of the corn" were little likely to pass quietly into payers of revenue; and knowing

their power over the peasantry, I had already expressed to Government my opinion that they would stir up the Bunnoochees to resist the entrance of our force. In such a case most of the chiefs who had already submitted, and who were left honourably at large, would have fled from our camp to their own forts, and headed the national movement. The moment was therefore a critical one, and I thought it expedient to throw the following declaration into the scale of council.

**“ PROCLAMATION.**

**“ TO THE MULLICKS AND SYUDS OF BUNNOO.**

“ The force from Peshawur has this morning joined General Cortlandt’s, and to-morrow I shall enter Bunnoo with eighteen guns, one hundred and thirty zumbooruhs, two thousand cavalry, and five regiments of infantry.

“ Almost all the Mullicks of Bunnoo have wisely come in ; but two or three are still absent, and I now warn them for the last time, that unless they come in they will be dealt with as enemies.

“ The people of Bunnoo, it is well known, are entirely in the hands of their religious advisers (the Syuds, Akhoonzaduhs, &c.), and their Mullicks.

I now give notice, therefore, that in whatsoever tuppeh a single shot is fired upon the Sikh camp, or a Sikh soldier, in that tuppeh I will depose the Mullick from all authority, and confiscate his lands, and will not give one beeguh\* of ground in Dhurum-Urth† to any holy man.

“On this you may rely. And it will not be admitted as any excuse that bad characters from one tuppeh came into another and there fired upon my men. I hold the Mullicks and Syuds responsible for the peace of their own tuppeh.

(Dated)

“8th December,  
“Camp, Vizeeree Wells.”

Next morning we marched from “The Wells” to Jhundookheyl, about ten miles, and encamped in Bunnoo Proper, on the left bank of the Khoorrum, without any opposition, and the same evening Bazeed Khan, Zubburdust Khan, and Khilát Khan, three

\* A beeguh is a land measure of which I have forgotten the precise extent in the countries Trans-Indus. Professor Duncan Forbes, in his invaluable dictionary (Hindustani and English), says it is, in Bengal, about one-third of an English acre, and in the upper provinces, about five-eighths.

† Dhurum-Urth means a “religious object,” and means, in the Punjab, a charitable grant of any kind.



Sooraunee tuppeh chiefs, and Meer Alum Khan, of Mundaie, all great malcontents who had hitherto stood aloof, and the latter one of the most dangerous men in Bunnoo, came sulkily in and made their submission.

The only Bunnoochee chief who had not now surrendered was the celebrated Dilassuh Khan, who deserves a more particular notice. By right he was only lord of one quarter of one of the tuppehs, Dâood Shâh ; but his desperate and cruel character had secured the whole. He was distinguished above all his countrymen for implacable enmity, and the bravest hostility to the Sikhs ; on one occasion Dewan Tara Chund, at the head of eight thousand Sikhs and twelve guns, was repulsed from his fort with a loss of two hundred killed and five hundred wounded ; and on another occasion when attacked by Raja Soocheyt Sing, one of the bravest chiefs in the Sikh army, with ten thousand men, Dilassuh stood a siege of two days in a weak mud fort, and then forced his way out at night. (I believe it was on the former of these two occasions that the guns had all the advantage of being directed by a French officer, General Court !)

In short, Dilassuh Khan had passed his life in waging war with the Sikh invaders, who never en-

tered Bunnoo without thinking of him with dread, and never left it without fresh cause to remember and hate him. When I accompanied the first expedition to Bunnoo, as much to my surprise as that of all the Sikh soldiers, Dilassuh, for the first time in his life, came in, saying without circumlocution, though in the presence of many Sikh chiefs, that "he could trust a Sahib! but if I had not been with the force, neither he would be sitting there quietly nor the Sikh army!" He was then a grey-headed old rebel of seventy, but his determined features, knit brows and flashing eye, showed that he had lost none of the fire of youth; he came in rather proudly, with fifty or sixty horsemen at his back, but I was glad of it, as it attracted all the old Sikhs in camp to look at him through the screens of my tent as if he had been a caged tiger. Till then I had no idea of his importance, but gathered it very soon from the muttered imprecations and expressions of surprise which broke from the veterans whom he had so often harassed. On the whole, however, they did him justice, and said, "He is a great man; other chiefs have more followers, but Dilassuh has honour!"

Dilassuh upon this occasion remained an honoured guest in my camp for about a month, when our line of march bringing us near his fort, Sirdar Shumsher

Sing, the Sikh chief with whom I was associated, could not forbear from riding out to see the stronghold which had cost his countrymen so much blood; and the Sikh troopers who formed his escort took the opportunity of riding round and about it in an insulting manner which they would have most carefully eschewed had the old Bunnoochee rebel been in arms. The consequence was, that Dilassuh considered this as a *reconnaissance* preparatory to a bombardment, and fled that very night to the Dour hills, whence I was never again able to recal him. He thought, as most Asiatics would, that I was privy to the Sirdar's design, and that I had all along been cajoling him with apparent kindness only the more surely to destroy him and avenge my Sikh allies. In short, I had lost his confidence, and in the bitterness of his awakened passions he wrote me a most insulting letter from his mountain lair, which had I caught him again at that time I most certainly would have made him swallow before I took him back into favour; but it was better as it was. On my return now to Bunnoo I felt compassion for the difficulty the old chief was in, and sincerely respecting his career of patriotism, was unwilling to drive so brave and aged a man into exile for the few years he had still to live. I wrote therefore on the 9th

of December to tell him that if he did not come in for fear of being punished for his late misconduct he might reassure himself, and accept my guarantee for his life and honour ; but if he meant to go into open rebellion I should have no alternative but to make an example of him. On receipt of this he was inclined to come in and " trust to his destiny ;" but he had many enemies who were jealous of his great name, and of the honour I had shown him when he was my guest, and they treacherously advised him " to fly and die as he had lived, a rebel." Dilassuh took their advice, fled to Dour, and never while I was there returned to Bunnoo, though he tried in vain to come at the head of an invading army. I think it due to Major Reynell Taylor to add, that when he succeeded me in Bunnoo, Dilassuh asked and readily received permission to return to his native country. A severer punishment perhaps could not have been inflicted on him than to let him see the revolution which a few months had effected in the once strong and formidable valley ; the boasted forts all level with the earth, a fortress of the Crown alone looking down upon the now open and peaceful villages ; the peasantry unarmed ; a broad road traversing the country ; peace reigning where there was

once perpetual feud; a government where all was anarchy; the Sikhs lords, and Dilassuh nothing!

To resume the thread of our narrative, Dilassuh was the only Bunnoochee chief who had not come in on the 9th of December.

I shall now adopt the plan of stringing, on a running commentary, such extracts from the diary which I kept at this time, as possess any interest for the general reader. It would otherwise be impossible to connect together the varying occurrences of that eventful time, and the thousand different objects which arose, day by day, in a scene where all was new.

*December 10th.*—Halted to-day at Jhundookheyl, to take a muster of our Barukzye contingent. Their complement of horsemen is one thousand; but they showed, officers and all, eleven hundred, besides forty-three camel-swivels, and twenty juzailchees. The horsemen (Doorânees, mixed with other Afghans) were better mounted and equipped than any Jágeer-dáree horse I ever saw in the Punjab. Their leader, Sirdar Khwâjuh Muhommud Khan, and his horse, in chain armour, looked like a leaf torn out of Froissart's Chronicles. The exhibition altogether very creditable.       \*       \*       \*

Eastern customs are grown so familiar now with English readers, that few are probably ignorant that lands, held under native rulers, by chiefs, on terms of military service, are called *jageers*; and those who hold them, *Jágeerdárs*. When Runjeet annexed Peshawur to the Punjab, he gave a part of it back as a *jageer*, worth four lakhs of rupees a-year (£40,000) to the three Barukzye chiefs who held it—viz. Sirdar Sooltan Muhommud Khan, Sirdar Peer Muhommud Khan, and Sirdar Syud Muhommud Khan; all brothers of Ameer Dost Muhommud Khan, the ruler of Cabul. The condition attached to this *jageer* was, that the Sirdars should join the Sikh army, whenever called on, with two thousand horsemen. On the present occasion, only half that contingent was summoned; and the eldest brother, Sooltan Muhommud Khan, sent his eldest son, Khwâjuh Muhommud, in command. It will help the reader to appreciate Asiatic character, if I so far anticipate as to tell him that this Sooltan Muhommud Khan, who now sent eleven hundred men to my help, instead of one thousand, was the very man who afterwards betrayed to the Sikhs Major and Mrs. George Lawrence, whom he had invited to take refuge in his house!

Yesterday, several of the Barukzye horsemen were caught plundering, and, out of politeness, I handed

them over to their own master for punishment. This morning he assured me he had himself "fed them with stick; and begged that in future I would treat him as a friend, and thrash all his men without ceremony."

Rode out to see some lands which the Bunnoo-chees of Jhundookheyl tuppeh, and their Vizeeree interlopers, have agreed to put "in Chancery," for my decision, an enormous plain of beautiful land, which neither will allow the other to cultivate. The Vizeerees have seized a full half, if not two-thirds of this tuppeh, and must be confirmed in possession; for their invasions seldom date back less than fifteen years, and my instructions are, to consider five years' possession a good title.

Commenced a revenue measurement of all the land in Bunnoo.

Held a Durbar, to receive the officers of the force that has joined us from Peshawur.

Received a great *ziydfut* (present) of Cabul fruits from Sirdar Sooltan Muhommud Khan. Asked General Cortlandt to distribute them among the officers of the force. These fruits came on mules and men's heads, all the way from Kohât, a distance of seventy or eighty miles.

Taylor thinks his instructions require him to

return to his post at Peshawur, now that he has handed over the troops to me: I think so too, and have told Khwâjuh Muhommud to give him an escort of two hundred horse and twenty zumboorhs. Zuhjuh Khan, the Sirdar's brother, also accompanies him with fifty-three more horsemen; so that the party will be quite strong enough. Taylor starts to-morrow.

*December 11th.*—Still at Jhundookheyl. Last night, while reading in bed, General Cortlandt surprised me by entering to say that Mullick Swahn Khan, the leader of the Vizeerees, positively refuses to send any men to point out the Vizeeree lands to the revenue-surveyors, declaring that the Vizeerees had never paid revenue to any king or lord, and never would! This being the case, I determined not to march in the morning, but halt and bring this matter of the Vizeerees to a distinct understanding. It must be settled some time, and as well now as any other, especially as our line of march lies through the Sooraunee tuppehs which are nearest to the Thull, and have consequently been most encroached on. Any indecision or concession now would probably stop our collections of revenue from the Bunnoochees, and perhaps encourage them to rise.

The first thing this morning sent for Swahn Khan,



and, in the presence of General Cortlandt and Lieutenant Taylor, asked him what he meant by what he said to Cortlandt last night? He replied, "That the Vizeerees had never paid even to the Cabul Kings in the height of their power, and that the lands they had got possession of in Bunnoo were *bought* from the Bunnoochees, and that too on the agreement that the Bunnoochees were to pay whatever revenue might ever be laid on it!" Told him at once that this was all nonsense; that the Vizeerees had by hook or crook got possession of one-third of Bunnoo; that I had instructions to confirm all possessions of five years' standing, which was more than the Vizeerees could have expected; and they must distinctly understand that the conditions on which this land is left with them is their paying the revenue and settling down into peaceful ryots. If they did not like that, then go back to their barren hills, and restore the lands to the Bunnoochees, who would be much obliged. Again and again I repeated that no Vizeeree should stay in Bunnoo who did not pay the same as his neighbours.

This brought the Vizeeree to his senses, and he began to inquire what revenue would be required? Finding him reasonable, I informed him that my own intention was to have set apart the whole of the

extensive grazing ground called the Thull, which lies between the Khuttuk lands and the Khoorrum River, to the Vizeeree tribes, making him (Swahn Khan) the Mullick, or chief of the whole, responsible for their good conduct; that on what little of the Thull might be brought under cultivation by the Vizeerees, I would levy only one-sixth, as the soil was entirely dependent on rain; but with respect to all lands in Bunnoo Proper (*i. e.*, in the tuppehs), the Vizeerees must pay in money the same share of the produce\*

\* It is hardly necessary to remind the English reader that the great source of revenue in India, and throughout the East, is the land-tax, consisting of a varying share of the produce. This is taken by native governments generally in kind, harvest by harvest; and being entirely intrusted to ill-paid officials, is an annual source of loss to either the Government or the cultivator, according as the latter does or does not bribe the collector. One of the many great benefits which the East India Company have conferred upon the people of India, is their system of revenue settlement, by striking a low average of the produce of a district from the records of several years, and then taking from the district the money value of the Government share, at another low average of selling prices. A settlement of this kind, made as Government desires it to be made, in the cultivator's favour, becomes an annual profit to both the farmer and the Crown; and involves an estimate once in ten or twenty years, instead of annually.

as the Bunnoochees; that I should be glad if these terms were accepted, as it would settle the feuds between the Bunnoochees and Vizeerees, and provide for the wants of the latter, which drove them to the plains to plunder; but that, if necessary, I would carry out the alternative, and exert my whole energies to expel the Vizeeree tribes not only from Bunnoo, but from the Thull itself. Swahn Khan had too much sense not to see in this both the benefit of his people and his own personal aggrandizement; and gradually settling into a business-like discussion of the details, he asked, "What about our flocks and herds in the Thull?" I replied, "Every year when the Vizeeree tribes come down from the hills, they must register their chiefs, numbers, and herds, and bring in to the Kárdár of Bunnoo a nuzzurana, or tribute, of so many sheep and oxen as I should fix, by way of mark of submission."

After a hard fight about paying the revenue in kind, instead of in money,\* the old chief at last

\* Before they have experienced it, natives never can understand that it is to their interest to have a money valuation, instead of paying in kind, and they always violently oppose the change; but after a few years they would be just as violent if Government proposed to return to the old awkward system.

consented on his own part, but said seriously that he could not answer for the rest, whose chiefs he must collect, and hold a Jeerga, or council, on this complete revolution in their circumstances. On the understanding that this was not to occupy more than a week, the interview ended—more satisfactorily than I had anticipated, but still not by any means put out of doubt. The affair is one of great importance and moment; but it is absolutely necessary for the settlement of Bunnoo, that no tribe, however rude or lawless, shall share with the Bunnoochees the same plain, and not submit to the same law. Sikh authority has been as faint here as Sikh visitations have been merciless; and the first thing to be done, is to assert with a high hand the impartiality, and at the same time fearlessness of what all the tribes regard as “British law.” The consequences are in the hands of the Vizeerees; but I cannot believe till I see it, that a pastoral people, whose existence depends upon their flocks, and who have been thirty or forty years fighting, inch by inch, for the footing they have obtained in the plains, will consent all at once to resign their hard-earned lands, because a small portion of the produce is to be demanded of them for the future. The idea, however strange and repugnant, is one to which they must reconcile themselves;

and which a very few years of strong but just government will make familiar and easy.

\* \* \* \* \*

Taylor, who had waited to see how this threatening affair would turn out (for in case of an immediate collision his assistance would have been valuable), set off for Peshawur when the discussion ended so favourably; with him Yuhyah Khan, two hundred and fifty horse, and twenty zumboorhs. Proposes to make Kohât in three days.

The revenue survey going on well. In the course of the first day's work, I now hear that a council of war was held by the Vizeerees on the ground that ought to have been measured, as to whether they should permit or resist the measurement. In the debate they bitterly accused Sher Must Khan, their Bunnoochee neighbour, for submitting to, and even courting, this exposure of their property. He replied, "You have robbed me of my fields, and leave me to pay the revenue; the Sahib will now see who enjoys the land, and who ought to pay the cash!" The Vizeerees at last agreed to let the measurement proceed and *see what would come of it*, though unanimously of opinion that the Bunnoochees should have united with them in resisting the common enemy.

*December 12th.*—Marched the force a few miles from Jhundookheyl up the left bank of the Khoorrum, and encamped nearly opposite Bazaar. While the tents were being pitched, I rode across the Khoorrum to see if the guns could cross easily, and found in no part of the river water more than a foot deep. Indeed, the spacious bed of this great river is now dry. \* \* \* \* Spent the evening in trying to settle the family dispute between Sher Must Khan and his two refractory nephews. Mutual concessions. Promised to let me know to-morrow whether they come to an amicable arrangement of the property. When all the forts are levelled, these factions and wars will come to an end.

*December 13th.*—Marched across the Khoorrum, and advanced to a place called Mumukhsheyl, in one of the two Dâood Shâh tuppehs. On arriving, found that the Syuds, and other holy characters, in some neighbouring forts, had let loose the irrigation, and flooded the ground destined for our encampment. They did the very same thing in the first expedition, and I now administered the same punishment as on that occasion, by making them turn out their whole male population, and reconstruct the dam, which was effected after an hour's hard labour, with boughs of trees, and clods of earth.

I hear that yesterday, the Bunnoochee chiefs held a jeerga, and unanimously voted themselves asses, for having rejected, in the spring, the offered revenue of forty thousand rupees per annum; and wondered if their contrition would now be accepted, if they paid down half a year's tribute in advance! Their repentance comes sadly too late.

*December 14th and 15th.*—These two days entirely occupied in reconnoitring the country, to find out a site for our fort.

In the Introductory Chapter, it will be remembered, that the two main points of the military plan I laid before Government, for the reduction of Bunnoo, were *to raze to the ground all the forts of the Bunnoochees, and build one large one for the Crown.* The question was, how to do either one or the other in a hostile country, with an armed population; and which to attempt first? A lawless state of society had obliged men to herd together for mutual protection; and whether a dozen houses or a hundred were thus united, the whole invariably took the form of a fort, and were cemented into one "walled city" equally impregnable by the ruffian horsemen of their own country, or the well-appointed cavalry of the Sikhs. Nor was the direct fire of artillery of much more avail, for the mud made out of the soil of Bunnoo is of

such extraordinary tenacity when hardened by the sun, that to breach the wall of a fort was next to impossible. In the lower part, where it was thick, no impression was made; the ball lodged, and there was an end of it; nothing was brought down. In the upper part, at the height of twenty or thirty feet from the ground, where the mud wall tapered to the thinness of a man's arm, a cannon shot went through, and left a round hole exactly its own size; and this operation might have been continued till the upper part of the whole wall was like a nutmeg grater, or sieve; yet the whole thing would stand as firmly as a plate of perforated zinc let into a building for ventilation. The only rapid ways of taking such forts, were first by throwing in shells, and burning the garrison out, by firing the village inside; secondly, by powder bags, as Major Thompson took Ghuznee; or, thirdly, by running a gun up to the gate, and blowing it in; and the first was probably the least hazardous. Supposing, then, the most favourable circumstances; that our force was able to take, and raze, one fort daily, and that our doing so, did not irritate the population to rise *en masse*, and bring on general hostilities; then, it was clear that it would take upwards of a year to level all the forts, about four hundred in number; and the soldiers of the force



would be exposed, day after day, to the inclemency of the sun at one season, and the rains at another. In my judgment, that was an operation which no troops could carry through, and ought not to be asked to attempt; and I willingly embraced the only alternative of making the people level their own forts with their own hands. This, however, was an experiment, to be very cautiously approached; and I determined, first of all, to commence a fort for ourselves, and complete it to the height of an entrenched position, so as to be able to leave half of my force in safety within it, while I moved out with the other half against any Bunnoochee Mullick who refused to raze his fort.

Having settled this in my own mind, the next thing was to choose a site for our fort. This was a most difficult thing to do in a new, and enemy's country; yet, on doing it judiciously, depended not merely the security and comfort of the garrison, but also its efficiency as a controlling force.

It was impossible to be many days in Bunnoo, even on the first expedition, without having misgivings as to the possibility of ever making a settlement with the Bunnoochees, which should have for its basis the voluntary payment of an annual revenue; and anticipating the ultimate necessity of a military

occupation, I early made inquiries after a good position for the erection of a royal fort. By a good position, I mean an influential one; for a strong natural position was not to be expected in that level and highly cultivated valley. Perhaps, the strongest in Bunnoo is Akra, the site of an old Greek city, (which I shall describe elsewhere); but, unfortunately for my purpose, this was close to the border of Murwut, the least dignified position which a force of occupation could take up; for we should have had very much the air of being prepared to run away at a moment's notice. Pursuing the inquiry, I found that the source of all influence, power, and wealth, in Bunnoo, was the River Khoorrum; and one chief was described to be powerful, because his fort was uppermost on its banks; while another attributed all his misfortunes to his estate being low down inland. It seemed, therefore, that a fort placed at the head of the Khoorrum, might command the valley by commanding the irrigation. But personal examination soon satisfied me that this inference was only generally correct. The sixteen (out of twenty) tuppehs of Bunnoo, which depended on the Khoorrum for irrigation, did not draw it from one canal, but several; and there was no one spot where a fort could have commanded them all.

At this period a new light broke in upon my cogitations. I was looking at the question too much through the eyes of a Bunnoochee. The command which *he* would desire over the irrigation was the power of stopping it from all but his own fields; for the failure of his neighbour's harvest was, next to the ripening of his own, the sight most grateful to his heart. But such revenge would but ill supply the defalcations of the Sikh revenue. The catholic benevolence of the Lahore Government took an equal interest in every man's harvest, and desired above all things to increase the cultivated area. What it sought, therefore, was the power of preventing the irrigation from being stopped by rival chiefs, and so keeping it open throughout the year. Such a control promised to be one of the greatest boons which the Maharajuh could confer on the province he was about to acquire; for irrigation feuds kept Bunnoo in perpetual ferment, and were the only check upon the universal culture of its prolific soil. The first sight of a Bunnoo harvest cheated the eye with its astonishing luxuriance, and it was not till each tuppeh had been visited in detail that the existence of waste lands could be discovered. Rarely, however, was it the fault of the soil. In almost every instance the land was found to be

arable, but uncultivated for want of the irrigation which some hostile neighbour had cut off. The real object, therefore, was to establish the fort within easy reach of the heads of all the canals. Some were on the right, and some on the left of the Khoorrum, and on either side the garrison would be required sometimes to cross the river. I was finally induced to prefer the left bank, for several reasons ; first, because the Sooraunee tuppehs which lie there are the most fertile in Bunnoo ; secondly, because they are the highest, and therefore, probably, the healthiest ; and lastly and chiefly, because that site was accessible by the newly-discovered road along the barren, sandy plain, which extends from the northernmost point of the valley all the way to the Esaukheyl border, a line of easy communication, which those only could appreciate fully who had been beguiled (as the Sikhs were for twenty-five years) by the cunning Bunnoochees into the quagmires of Kukkee, Bhurut, and Akra.

Accordingly I recommended the erection of the royal fort on the left bank of Khoorrum ; but if the Resident at Lahore should think a central position more advisable, I suggested the vicinity of Bazaar, the native capital.

The clear mind of Colonel Lawrence discerned at

once the advantages which would arise from the central situation, and suggested that it might be made as accessible as the one I had preferred, by cutting a good military road through the very heart of the valley, and thus laying it open to either war or commerce. To this valuable suggestion, as much as to any labour of mine, Bunnoo was certainly indebted for its rapid and permanent pacification when it was once reduced; and the only merit I can lawfully claim is that of having at once adopted it.

No sooner, therefore, had I returned the second time to Bunnoo, than as mentioned in the "Diary of December 14th and 15th," I began to reconnoitre the country for a central position for the fort; and after much anxious deliberation, finally selected a spot called Bureyree, within a stone's throw of the great canal of Kooch Kote, and I think about a mile from the town of Bazaar. It was (rather treacherously) pointed out to General Cortlandt by Mullick Jaffir, Khan of Ghoreewâl; and Lal Baz Khan, the chief of that town, afterwards told me that "he had watched us wheeling round and round like a hawk, and could not think what game we were hunting till he saw us come pounce down upon Bureyree. Then he knew it was for a fort. Many a Bunnoochee Mullick had

longed to build there, but the others all joined to prevent him, for fear he should be master of Kooch Kote."

Let us now return to the Diary.

*December 15th, continued.*—Last evening General Cortlandt gave out notices to all the tuppehs to pay up their arrears; and in consequence the Syuds and holy men of Mumukhsheyl evacuated their forts during the night. So I ordered the outside fortifications to be levelled by Cortlandt's sappers and miners, but the deserted houses to be protected. The fugitives cannot be far off.

*December 16th.*—As I thought it wrong to pass over the contumacy of the Mumukhsheylees, to-day I issued the following proclamation:—

“ TO THE PEOPLE OF BUNNOO.

“The men of Mumukhsheyl have run away from their villages to avoid payment of their arrears, but as at this season, when the Vizeerees come down to the plains, Bunnoochees cannot fly to the hills, it is certain that the Mumukhsheylees are hiding in the other tuppehs of Bunnoo.

“This is therefore to give notice, that in whatever tuppeh the fugitives of Mumukhsheyl, or any other

revenue defaulters, are now, or at any future time, harboured, that tuppeh shall be held responsible for the arrears of the runaways.

“And let no one think that such a fact can long be concealed. The divisions and jealousies among you are such that whatever is done amiss in one tuppeh is told me from another.

“I could, if I liked, cut off the irrigation of the fields of the Mumukhsheylees, and effectually punish them by ruining their crops; but I prefer letting them grow, as when they are ripe I will levy the arrears with interest.

(Dated)

“16th December, 1847.”

Yesterday the Kuthrees\* of the town of Bazaar closed their shops, and refused to sell flour to our soldiers, except privately at an advanced rate, pretending that their Mullick (Lal Baz) had forbidden

\* A caste of Hindoos who in the Punjab carry on all trades; but maintain that they are of the same stock as the Kshutrees, or Chutrees, the military caste of India. In support of this declaration, they certainly are very *militant*; e. g. the “Cow Row” at Lahore, in 1846, in which one of them cut open my head with a brick-bat; and the Mooltan Rebellion, the head of which (Dewan Moolraj) was a Kuthree.

them. Had them all up, with Lal Baz's brother (he himself being out with the revenue measurers), and after inquiry, being satisfied that it was a conspiracy of the dealers to raise the price of provisions, I fined them one hundred rupees. The sympathies of these Hindoos were undoubtedly enlisted on the side of our Sikh soldiers in the struggle now going on, and they heartily wished us success against the Bunnoochees; yet such was their avarice that they would add to our difficulties and starve all the camp for the sake of one per cent. If it was "in the way of business," I believe they would have starved their grandmother; certainly they would have mixed her flour if she came into the dookân as a purchaser, though being in general excellent relations they might have first given her the money in the back shop.

*December 17th.*—The Mumukhsheylee runaways are already making overtures to be allowed to come back.

General Bishen Sing and his regiment arrived in camp at last, having taken a month to make twelve easy marches. This was one of the corps ordered to join us from Pind Daden Khan on the Jheylum, but like everybody else who could, they lingered in the rear, in order that the expected defeat of our force by the Bunnoochees might occur before they were up to



share it. Even the Sirdars of the Sikh Durbar at Lahore had taken little trouble to conceal their mirth at our going to *reduce* Bunnoo; and Raja Deena Nâth, the Chancellor, took a most sarcastic leave of a cousin of his, who was in General Cortlandt's service, when setting out on this second expedition. It would indeed have given greater satisfaction at that little-minded Court, if, instead of adding a rich country firmly to their master's empire, we had been as disgracefully thrashed out of it as many of their number had been on former occasions. While this spirit pervaded the Court, it may easily be supposed with what little zeal the appointed regiments and wings marched to assist us.

Vizeeree Jeerga. Unconditional surrender ! The reader will not have forgotten that on December 11th, Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, had agreed to lay my terms before the rest of his countrymen ; and promised that the jeerga, or council, should give their final decision in a week. Many of the greybeards of the tribes were absent at the time in the hills, and had to be summoned ; and when they arrived, there was such difference of opinion as to the propriety of submission or resistance that, for the first time in the history of the Vizeerees, there seemed likely to be an internal feud.

Thus matters stood at the sixth day (Dec. 16th), when all the leading chiefs adjourned the jeerga to my camp. There, under a large shumyânuh, or awning, outside my tent-door, these wild savages seated themselves in a circle on a carpet, and awaited with proud dignity my entry with the written proposals. In idler days I would have given anything for such a group to sketch, as, clothed in their cumbrous posteens and storm-stained choguh of camel's-hair, with long elfin locks of rusty black or grey, dyed red with henna, hanging about their shoulders and weather-beaten countenances, each grasped his brass-bound juzail, or felt that his knife was loose within his girdle, in case the Feringhee chief should have drawn them into an ambush under pretence of a council. But now I had no leisure for such light amusement; and it was with a deep sense of the importance of our mutual object, and the peace or war depending on the issue, that I seated myself among them, and read, in Persian, the following paper.

The Vizeerees, bent their heads to listen with as much attention as if they had been scholars; and then, at the close of each paragraph, turned eagerly to a chief from a neighbouring Afghan valley, whose

education and friendship with the Vizeerees had made me select him as interpreter.

### TERMS

OFFERED TO THE CHIEFS OF THE VIZEEREE TRIBES OF  
HATHEE KHEYL, BEEZUND KHEYL, OOMERZY, SIRKEE KHEYL,  
MUMUND KHEYL, SOODDAN KHEYL, BUKKEE KHEYL,  
JANNEE KHEYL, &C., IN JEERGA ASSEMBLED.

I find that in the course of the twenty-five or thirty years which have elapsed since the country of Bunnoo was separated from the Khorassánee empire, the Vizeerees have taken advantage of their own unanimity and the divisions of the Bunnoochees to invade this fertile valley, and possess themselves little by little of extensive tracts of land.

You did this at a time when there was no hákim,\* and no law in Bunnoo; and if among themselves the Bunnoochees respected no man's rights, but acted on the principle that land belonged to whoever was strong enough to seize it, they cannot complain if you followed their example. Foreigners are always expected to adopt the customs of the country.

That time has however gone. The Lahore

\* Hákim, a ruler.

Sirkar \* has determined to occupy Bunnoo, and for the future there will be a fort and an army, a hâkim and laws, the same as in any other part of the Punjab kingdom.

The object of this is to secure the payment of the revenue, and a survey is now being made of every tuppeh to ascertain how much land there is, and who holds it.

Whoever holds land in Bunnoo, whether he be a Bunnoochee, a Khuttuk, a Vizeeree, or of any other country, will have to pay revenue alike. No favour will be shown to any tribe, great or small, strong or weak ; all landholders in Bunnoo will be considered as Bunnoochees.

Mullick Swahn Khan tells me that the Vizeerees have never paid revenue to any king, and they do not see why they should now.

This argument is very good as long as you stay in your own country, which is still independent. Maharajuh Duleep Sing has nothing to say to the Vizeeree hills ; but when you come down into his country of Bunnoo you must submit to his laws.

If you do not like laws, and paying revenue, you

\* Sirkar, the sovereign or supreme authority in the state. In a private household the idiom is often aped out of affectation, or used by a servant out of flattery.

are quite at liberty to give up your lands to the Bunnoochees, from whom you took them, and return to those happy hills where there is no revenue to give and no corn to eat.

Of one thing be assured, that I will either make you pay revenue like the Bunnoochees, or expel you from Bunnoo. I have troops enough here to destroy your whole tribe.

I do not believe, however, that you will be fools enough to forsake in a day the lands which you have been thirty years in conquering, or forego the whole of your rich harvests rather than pay a part.

I therefore offer you the following terms :

First. All lands purchased in the tuppehs of Bunnoo, or that have been violently retained in the possession of Vizeerees for five years, shall be confirmed to the holders, as well as any of more recent date, if possession has not been opposed.

Secondly. On these lands you shall pay revenue at the same rate as the Bunnoochees, beginning with this last khurreef.

Thirdly. The extensive grazing grounds, called the Thull, which is bounded by the Khuttuk lands in the Dâmun of the Khuttuk hills, at Luttummur, Kummur, Nusruttee and Shinwá, on the east ; Durreh-i-

Tung, on the south; Michunkheyl, the Khoorrum and the Sooraunee tuppehs, on the west; and the mouth of the Khoorrum, on the north, shall be given up to you for your flocks and herds, on condition of allegiance, and that each year when your tribes come down from the hills, your Mullicks come in to the Kárdár of Bunnoo, report the number of the tribes which have come down, and present a yearly nuz-zurana of two hundred and fifty fat doombuhs; the shares paid by each tribe to be settled among yourselves.

Fourthly. On any land cultivated in the Thull, either by yourselves or others, you shall pay one-sixth of the produce.\*

Fifthly. As your tribes are scattered about over so large a surface, Mullick Swahn Khan shall be

\* The cultivation I had seen in the Thull, had almost all been the work of Khuttuks, of a sub-division called Sooltan Kheyl, who are subjects properly of Esaukheyl. These speculators paid, I was told, one-sixth to the Vizeerees for the privilege of cultivating ground which the Vizeerees annually appropriated to the pasture of flocks. I therefore now purposely fixed the land revenue of the Thull so low as one-sixth, to allow of the above arrangement continuing; for if one-sixth comes to us, and one-sixth to the Vizeerees, two-thirds will still be left with the farmers; and that is a remunerating share, all the world over.

appointed to conduct all business between the Sirkar and the Vizeerees; and shall be called the Vizeer of the Vizeerees of Bunnoo, and Mullick of the Thull.

Sixthly. All enmity shall cease between the Vizeerees and the Bunnoochees; and there shall be no quarrelling, and murdering, and plundering, and drying up of each others' canals. Any Vizeeree who thinks himself aggrieved will get speedy justice from me.

Think over these things deliberately, and then give me a decisive answer, Yes or No.

(Dated)

16th December, 1847.

At the close of each paragraph the Vizeerees watched my countenance to see if I was satisfied with my friend's interpretation in Pushtoo, a language of which I knew about as much as they did of Persian. The little I did know was however quite sufficient to enable me, knowing the subject, to follow the explanation of an interpreter, and tell whether he kept back any essential point. Necessity and habit soon make a man, thrown on his own resources as I was, expert in exercising this indispensable check on interpretation; and wild races especially, who have not yet learnt the hypocrisy of courts, but use their muscles as God intended, knitting their brows when

they are angry, and laughing loud when they are pleased, exhibit involuntarily on their faces a register of the meaning which the ear has reported to the brain.

As soon as the Vizeerees were satisfied that they had been made masters of my real meaning, they next proceeded to discuss its bearing on their interests, and the debate soon got so warm, that for decency's sake they adjourned it to their own camp, where they could speak as loud as they liked. My spies went with them, and had the pleasure of hearing all the arguments over again on the road, and then a third time in the Vizeeree camp. Words here ran very high, and my friend Mullick Swahn Khan was roundly accused of selling himself and his tribe to me; but as all were of opinion that the Bunnoochees would never co-operate honestly in any plan of hostilities, so no one ventured to recommend resistance; and the jeerga sternly returned at last to make an unconditional surrender. I caused each chief to sign the "terms," or rather, to make a scratch where he was told; and as none of them had ever had a pen in their hands before, much laughter was occasioned by this first approach to the slavery of civilization; and the assembly broke up in good humour, to which I further contributed by a feast in honour of the new alliance.



It is difficult for the English reader of these pages, or indeed any one unacquainted with Bunnoo and the tribes around, to estimate the importance of this consummation ; but there was no one in camp, from General Cortlandt who commanded, down to the lānguree cooking the Sikh soldiers' dinner, who did not feel that the most difficult half of our task in that country was now accomplished.

In round numbers, the Vizeerees were said to be in possession of one-third of the valley ; their stout mud forts studded the whole length of the eastern tuppehs ; and their tribes, driven down by the cold, were at that season swarming in the adjacent Thull. Warlike and predatory from the natural necessities of a barren country, bold from never having been subdued, possessing the rare quality among Afghans of unanimity, and so savage in their wars, that even the Bunnoochees thought themselves lambs in comparison, it is impossible to deny that the Vizeerees would have been most harassing enemies at that present time ; and though ultimately we should have doubtless found an opportunity of inflicting severe chastisement upon them, the war would have been resumed the next year, and a continual system of forays and reprisals have kept Bunnoo in a ferment. As it was, the submission of the

Vizeerees extinguished the brightest spark of hope in the Bunnoochees. They were now left to their own resources, and the only chance of a successful insurrection was in the levelling of their forts. Those strongholds of rebellion had yet to be thrown down. The foundations of our own were not yet dug.



## CHAPTER IV.

MURDER OF A SEPOY—THE FOUNDATION OF THE SIKH FORT LAID WITH NATIVE CEREMONIES—CALLED DULEEPGURH IN HONOUR OF THE MAHARAJUH—PREVIOUS INCREDULITY OF THE BUNNOOCHEES—THE FORCE MOVES TO THE SITE OF THE NEW FORT—TRACES OF THE MURDERERS—LECTURE TO GENERAL BISHEN SING—ACCOUNT OF HIM—WORK AT THE FORT PORTIONED OUT TO THE REGIMENTS—COLONEL LAWRENCE'S INSTRUCTIONS—WANT AND VALUE OF A MILITARY EDUCATION—DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPOSED FORT—CANTONMENT PLACED ROUND THE FOOT OF THE CITADEL—RESOLUTION TO MAKE THE SIKH SOLDIERS BUILD THE FORT—FORMER EXAMPLES IN RUNJEET SING AND GOOLAB SING—CIVIL LABOURS ENTAILED BY PREVIOUS MISRULE—THE TRANS-INDUS PEOPLE BEGIN TO APPRECIATE THE NEW TRIBUNALS—A CODE OF SIMPLE LAWS GIVEN TO THE BUNNOOCHEES—NOTE ON RUNJEET SING'S SCALE OF FINES FOR OFFENCES AGAINST LIFE—ON THE SYSTEM OF TRACKING—OBSERVANCE OF FRIDAY—FAIR DAY AT BAZAAR—NOTE ON THE UNPOPULARITY OF BRITISH RULE IN THE EAST, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE SUPPRESSION OF SUTTEE INFANTICIDE, SLAVE-DEALING, &c.—DEPUTATION OF SYUDS AND HOLY MEN OF BUNNOO—ARRIVAL OF A WING OF MEYHER SING'S REGIMENT—MUTINY IN COLONEL MAN SING'S REGIMENT—NOTE ON THE "PAINCH"—CHARACTER OF MAN SING'S REGIMENT—NOTE ON THE POORBEEVHS—DISCHARGE OF FIVE MUTINEERS—PARADE TO INVESTIGATE THE EXTENT OF THE MUTINY—ITS PROMPT SUPPRESSION—COURT-MARTIAL—EXTENT AND DANGER OF THE MUTINY—ALACRITY OF THE REMAINING FORCE—NOTE ON CORPS OF SAPPERS AND MINERS—DISPUTE BETWEEN SWAHN KHAN AND SHER MUST KHAN—RENEWED COURT-MARTIAL—THOUGHTS OF HOME—BUN-

NUNOOCHES ASPIRE TO MARTYRDOM BY MURDER—ESTABLISHMENT OF SUNDAY REST—COURT-MARTIAL ENDED—DISAGREEABLE INTERRUPTION BY A "MARTYR"—THE SENTRY DIES—INQUIRY INTO REPORT OF FURTHER CONSPIRACY—ATTACK ON A DRUMMER OF BISHEN SING'S REGIMENT—THE PRIESTS PREACH AND THE PEOPLE PRACTISE RESISTANCE—PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES AND ORDERS—FORMER INSTANCES OF BUNNOOCHEE TREACHERY—PRECAUTIONS FOR PERSONAL SECURITY—PROPOSED DISARMING OF THE PEOPLE DISCOURAGED BY GOVERNMENT—ITS POLICY OR IMPOLICY—SYSTEM ADOPTED IN THE ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB—PETITION FROM THE MEEREE CHIEFS—VIZEEREE DAM BROKEN DOWN, AND IRRIGATION RESTORED TO THE MEEREEES—THE "GHAEZE'S" ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF—MARTYR-MANIA—THE VIZEEREEES FINED—SWAHN KHAN GOVERNMENT AGENT—SURVEY FOR A NEW MILITARY ROAD—ITS ADVANTAGES—THE WORK ACCOMPLISHED BY THE BUNNOOCHEES THEMSELVES—RESUMED EXAMINATION OF THE GHAEZE—POLICY OF FOUNDING A NEW CAPITAL—PROPOSED MATERIALS—POSITION OF THE NEW TOWN DULEEPSHUHR—IMPORTANT DISCOVERY OF GENERAL CORTLANDT—SETTLEMENT OF THE LAND DISPUTE BETWEEN SHEER MUST AND SWAHN KHAN—CHOICE OF UMPIRES—TRIAL OF MUTINEERS—REMARKS UPON MUTINY—DEPUTATION OF THE CABUL MERCHANTS—COLLECTION OF ARMS IN PAYMENT OF ARREARS OF REVENUE—PROGRESS OF THE FORT WORKS—TIME ARRIVED FOR LEVELLING THE BUNNOOCHEE FORTS—CONSIDERATION OF PLANS—PROCLAMATION TO THE BUNNOOCHEES AND VIZEEREEES OF BUNNOO—RAZE YOUR OWN FORTS.

## CHAPTER IV.

*December 18th, Camp, Mumuksheyl.* — LAST night a sepoy of the Moossulmân Regiment was robbed and murdered close to camp, while returning from the town of Bazaar. His body has nine spear-wounds, and four sword-cuts. He and a comrade were out after hours, and the comrade came on a-head to camp, to report that the other sepoy was detained at Bazaar getting grain, but would come in next morning. He seems, however, to have been afraid to stay out all night, and attempted to get home. As this is the first offence against us, I should like to make a severe example to deter others, and have at once offered a reward of five hundred rupees for the discovery of the murderer. The track has been taken up, and three men

on foot and one mounted traced to a neighbouring fort. One of the footmen seems to have been wounded, and taken up behind the one who was on horseback. I have made the Mullicks of the fort responsible for either carrying the track beyond the boundary of their village, or else producing the guilty parties who are within it.

To-day, at noon, the foundation of our fort was actually commenced on the chosen site at Bureyree. To please the Sikhs, the usual native ceremonies were performed ; the soil turned up, and oil poured in, sweetmeats distributed, a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired, and the infant-fort named "Duleep-gurh," in honour of the little Maharajuh, whose sovereignty it is intended to establish. To-morrow we march to the spot and encamp there, so as to protect and superintend the workmen.

I do not think that, up to this time, the Bunnoo-chees believed that it was really intended to occupy their country. The idea seemed to them too absurd. The natural obstacles of the valley ; the savage hatred of the Muhommudan people ; and the innumerable forts in which they took refuge when worsted, and whence they seldom or never could be expelled, had sufficed, for a quarter of a century, to disgust the Sikhs with the very name of Bunnoo ; and the

Bunnoochees, in consequence, had got into the habit of believing that no foreign invader could put them to greater inconvenience than a temporary sojourn in the adjoining hills. So long, therefore, as our army was not indulged in its ancient licence, but was kept in strict discipline, they had little or no objection to its marching and counter-marching about the valley ; and they devoutly believed, that when the cold season ended, the fiery sun, whose rays are collected into an intolerable focus between the surrounding hills, would as quickly drive us away again to the Punjab as it had done on the last occasion. It seemed then, to them, the wisest policy not to oppose us openly by arms ; but, on the contrary, to yield apparently to all demands ; and to this, quite as much as to their own quarrels, we were indebted for our unopposed advance. They permitted their lands to be measured, in the conviction that it was all a pretence to frighten them ; and they slowly paid in very harmless instalments of their arrears, for fear we should see that our flimsy artifice had been penetrated. The settlement with the Vizeerees gave the first shock to this blissful delusion, for it had every appearance of being real ; but there were not wanting those who maintained that even this hot contest had been cleverly got up



between me and my friend Swahn Khan, the Vizeeree chief. The time, however, was now approaching when the Bunnoochees were to awake for ever from their dream of security. The digging of the foundation for a royal fort, the Hindoo ceremonial of propitiating the earth, the loud salute, and the dedication to the Maharajuh, all bore marks of a work that was begun in earnest; and though the *Solomons* of the valley still winked at their duller neighbours, and maintained the joke to be as good as ever, the majority of the Bunnoochee peasantry, who looked on at the ceremony of the 18th December, walked away with lengthened faces and saddened hearts.

*December 19th, Camp, Duleepgurh.*—Moved the force about a mile, to the site of the new fort.

The track of the murderers of the sepoy was resumed this morning at daybreak, and followed distinctly into the centre of four or five forts.

Held a durbar of all the officers; at which administered a severe lecture to General Bishen Sing, contrasting his snail-like march from Pind-Dadun Khan with that of Taylor and the Peshawur force.

This General Bishen Sing was a nephew of Sirdar Tej Sing, who commanded the Sikh army at

Sobraon. He had been taught English in the Loodianuh Missionary School, at the request of Sir Claude Wade, who was then in charge of the north-west frontier, and had seen in him signs of talent. He had a good disposition, and had he not fallen into dissolute habits, would have had a favourable introduction to the British authorities; but his general character for dissipation, and unsoldierlike delay in bringing his regiment into Bunnoo on this occasion, quite put him in my black books. After this lecture he rubbed up a little, and behaved very well in superintending his division of the fort; and when, some months after, his men joined the Sikh insurrection, I believe he was afraid to oppose them, and he certainly took an early opportunity of going over from Sher Sing's camp to Lord Gough's; an act of prudence for which he got a pension.

*December 21st.*—The different sides of the new fort were this day portioned out to the regiments to superintend and work at. Want tools; but think we shall run up the walls in six weeks.

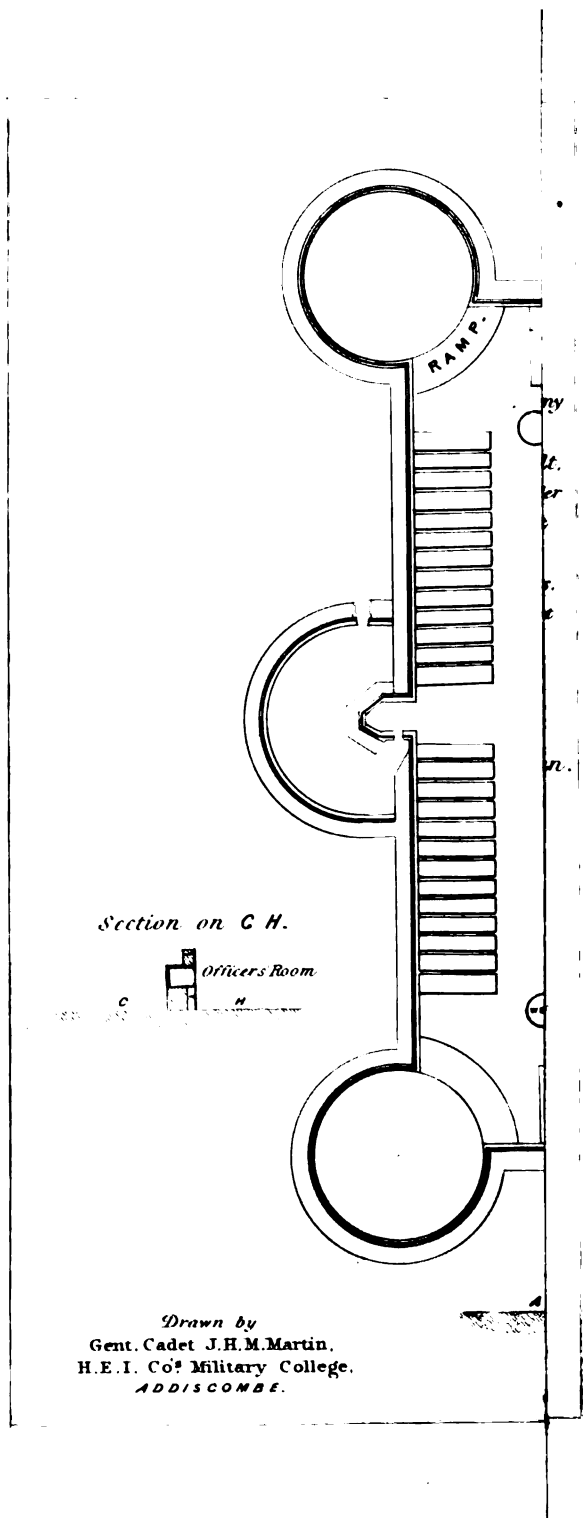
The instructions I received from Colonel Lawrence as to this fort were as follow:—\* “Build a good mud fort, capable of holding twelve hundred men and

\* See “The Punjab Blue Book of 1847—9,” pp. 83, 84, where the instructions are given in full.

eight guns, in a healthy, central position ; if possible, commanding the irrigation of the valley. Unless commanding a wholesome running stream, it should be furnished with wells or cisterns capable of holding water for the garrison for six months. Six of your guns can be put into the fort. Its peace garrison should be two companies of regular infantry, two hundred irregulars, and a company of artillery. In the next two or three years four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, five hundred or one thousand irregular horse, twelve guns, and fifty zumbooruh, will remain in *one* cantonment near the fort ; and on any disturbance arising, the mass of this force should at once proceed and put it down, leaving their weakly men in the fort. The means of moving two regiments, six guns, and one thousand horse at an hour's notice, should be always kept up. Let your cantonment be as compact as possible, one face at least covered by the fort, and the further extremities covered by high mud towers, capable of each holding fifty men, and water and provisions for them for a week. All magazines and store-rooms to be in the fort, where six months' supplies for five hundred men should always be stored."

It may easily be conceived how much I now felt the want of a military education, and that practical





*Drawn by*  
 Gent. Cadet J.H.M. Martin,  
 H.E.I. Co<sup>s</sup> Military College.  
*ADDISCOMBE.*

knowledge of field fortification which every cadet acquires (if he has got any sense, and wishes to be a soldier, and not a clothes-horse for red jackets) at either Addiscombe or Sandhurst. I had not had these advantages, and the consequence was that though holding the commission of Lieutenant in an army belonging to the most civilized nation of the nineteenth century, I was driven to imitate the system of fortification which one of the most barbarous races of Asia may have inherited, for aught I know, from the dispersed architects of Babel. However, General Cortlandt and I put our heads together, and made the best we could of the matter. Sitting up in my tent one bitter cold night, with scale and compass, pen and paper, we planned and elevated, and built up, and knocked down, and dug imaginary ditches, and threw out flanking bastions, till, in our own opinion, we made the place very little inferior to Gibraltar. The military reader will judge from the annexed plan whether he would like to have the job of taking it.

The inner fort or citadel was to be one hundred yards square, its walls twenty feet high (including rampart of six feet), and nine feet thick. It was to be surrounded with a deep, dry ditch. The outer fort, or cantonment, eighty yards from the inner one,

its walls ten feet high, and six feet thick, and the whole surrounded with another ditch about thirty feet deep. Both ditches could be filled with water from a canal close by. The citadel was to contain lines for one native regiment, a magazine, and a Commandant's house, which I intended to occupy if I stayed that year in Bunnoo. In the middle was to be a well. Four heavy guns were to mount the four inner bastions. The cantonment, or outer fort, was to contain lines for three more regiments of native infantry, one thousand cavalry, two troops of horse artillery, and eighty zumbooruhs, or camel-swivels. The two troops of horse artillery would be distributed in the four outer bastions, three guns in each. One side of the outer fort was to be given up to the cavalry and artillery horses, and camels of the zumbooruhs.

The plan of putting the cantonment round the foot of the citadel as an outer wall, was thought, by both General Cortlandt and myself, better than a separate inclosure at a distance; as, by our arrangement, the fort and cantonment became a mutual protection. As matters turned out, some months afterwards, it might have saved the life of the Commandant of the fort, had Colonel Lawrence's plan of separating the cantonment been abided by; but, in

building a fort, even Vauban would not think it necessary to provide for such a contingency as the citadel being besieged by its own garrison! This, as the reader will see, was, ere long, the fate of Duleepgurh.

Having thus projected our fort, we had next to consider how to build it. It was not likely that we should get many of the Bunnoochees to rivet their own chains; and if we sent to the other side of the Indus for workmen, great delay would be occasioned. General Cortlandt informed me that Runjeet Sing was in the habit of making the Sikh army build their own forts, and quoted the instances of Jumrood, Peshawur, Doond-Sahuttee, Mozuffurabad, and Huzaruh; but there was nothing they would not have done for their "great Maharajuh." Goolab Sing, and other powerful Sirdars, had also persuaded the armies they commanded to labour at fortifications; but they did it by making an *amusement* of it, not a *duty*, and by themselves carrying a few blocks of stone, as an example. The present seemed to me an occasion, when, whether it were an amusement or not, it was the imperative duty of the Sikh force to build the fort, which was to secure the interests of their sovereign, and their own personal safety; and accordingly, on the 21st of December, as entered



above, in the Diary, "the different sides of the fort were this day portioned out to the regiments," &c. How this fared, the reader will soon see.

While these military plans were in operation, General Cortlandt, as Nazim, or Civil Governor of the Upper Trans-Indus countries, was actively carrying on an under-current of civil duties; and the stream, after passing him, ultimately came to me, as the court of confirmation and appeal. The business this involved was immense, for the late Governor, Dowlut Raie, had, in some way or other, reduced every province and every landholder to the lowest ebb. Now all came to General Cortlandt for justice. The General, ever patient and pains-taking, bore up as well as he could against the mass of complaints which began to pour into Bunnoo, from Esaukheyl, Murwut, Kolachee, and Dera Ishmael Khan; but when he came over to my tent at sunset, he had usually as little appetite as I for dinner. My invaluable *chef*, Gholam Hoossain, would have created a feast in the midst of a desert, at half an hour's notice; but his best chicken, stuck with pistachionuts, looked too like the ghost of one of Dowlut Raie's victims; and the *soufflet*, on which he prided himself most, seemed to our weary vision the very embodiment of a monstrous injury. Dinner over,

work was resumed by candlelight, and midnight generally passed before we got to bed.

The assistants of Colonel Lawrence in the Punjab at no time had ever to complain of too little to do, the work, during 1846, 7, and 8, varying from ten to fourteen hours per diem; but I look back to these months in Bunnoo as the *hardest grind* I ever endured. Even the chiefs and peasantry of Bunnoo itself, though they might any day have been plunged into hostilities against us, began to appreciate the blessing of an impartial and honest tribunal, and, from looking on idly at the trials of Esaukheyles or Murwutees, soon changed into litigants on their own account, and promised, in a short while, to put every acre of the valley into Chancery. Seeing their minds thus prepared to welcome any system of regular laws, after the anarchy to which they had been used, I thought the time was come for imposing on them a simple code, adapted to their circumstances and understandings; the restrictions of which should interfere, as little as possible, with the free habits of individuals, while on their face they should be evidently for the general weal. Accordingly, the following entry appears in the Diary of the 21st of December:

Last night, sat up and prepared a Proclamation of Law and Justice for Bunnoo, which I translated

this morning into Persian. Am doubtful whether the laws about arms will be sanctioned, but think them necessary; and if carefully acted up to, they will, in process of time, disarm the valley without violence.

### “ PROCLAMATION

“ CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, AND  
LAWS TO BE OBSERVED IN BUNNOO.

“ 1. Henceforward all rule and justice rests with the Nazim of the province, who represents the Crown; and, in his absence, with the local Kárdár of the valley.

“ 2. Mullicks have no authority, except to carry out the Nazim's or Kárdár's orders, and to collect the revenue of their respective tuppehs.

“ 3. Any Bunnoochee or Vizeeree, therefore, who has a suit or complaint to prefer, must go to the Nazim or Kárdár, and give in a written representation of his case.

“ 4. Law and justice being attainable by all, recourse to arms for the settlement of disputes is henceforth forbidden. Any person violating this rule, is liable to be punished as a murderer, and if not hanged, will certainly be imprisoned for a term of years, perhaps for life. Let no one think that he

will only be fined for cutting and wounding others. Fines will never be received in compensation of blood.\*

“ 5. When any murder or robbery is committed in or near a village, the Mullick and people of that village will be held responsible either to produce the murderers or robbers, or to carry the track on to other villages, who in like manner must carry it out of their own boundary;† and the Mullick of every

\* This law 4, referred to the laws which were formerly in force under Runjeet Sing, in the Punjab, by which there was a scale of offences against life and person, from murder downwards to assault, and a corresponding scale of fines, which, when levied, were shamelessly put into the royal treasury, instead of being given to the injured parties or their families, as they would have been had they made any pretence to justice. The price of a neighbour's life in this code was, if I remember rightly, eleven hundred rupees, or £110, so that the State made a good thing of a murder, and had great reason to complain of a simple case of maiming.

† This system of tracking, and village responsibility, was in general use in the Punjab, and is almost the only way of detecting crime in countries where the people are not sufficiently civilized to be enlisted on the side of law, and against crime. Its justice is also obvious in communities which are for the most part brotherhoods, or clans. The expertness of the Indian trackers is well known, and their untiring perseverance seldom fails to be rewarded with the apprehension of the hunted criminal.

village will be fined if he does not give immediate information of such an event to the Mullick of the tuppeh, who will inform the Kárdár under a similar penalty. It is impossible for a murderer or a robber to bring home horses, sheep, cows, money or other plunder without its being known in his own village; and villages will accordingly be held responsible in twice the amount of the property stolen if they do not give information against the offenders.

“ 6. These rules, the probability of discovery, and the certainty of punishment, being sufficient security for the lives of individuals, no man, whether Bunnoo-chee, Vizeeree, or other person in Bunnoo, except the military or police servants of the Government, will be allowed to carry musket, sword, spear, pistol, dagger or other kind of arms. Any person violating this rule will be considered to do so with evil intent, and will be imprisoned, fined, or otherwise severely punished.

“ 7. The above rule applies also to strangers, and particularly to those tribes who on every Friday come in great numbers to buy and sell in the town of Bazaar.\* Any stranger who conducts himself peaceably will receive the same protection from the

\* Friday is the holiest day of the Muhommudan week; and was hence appropriately selected for the market-day of

Nazim or Kárdár, as if he was a subject of the Maharajuh, but if he carries arms he will be imprisoned.

“ 8. Any person who thinks the Government is unable to protect his village from attack, is at liberty to keep arms in his own house, but whoever is satisfied with the protection of the law is at liberty to sell his arms to the Government, which will receive them in part payment of arrears of revenue at a fair valuation.

“ 9. All duties on corn are henceforward abolished,

the town of Bazaar; for Bazaar was not only the chief town of Bunnoo, but the only public mart; and it was resorted to both by the Bunnoochees of every tuppeh, and also by the various mountain tribes around the valley. The former brought out their surplus produce, and the latter bartered their sheep, oxen, goats, wool, iron and salt, for corn, sugar, linen (from India), silks, arms, and gunpowder. It was essential that such a promiscuous assembly of friends and foes, all carrying three or four offensive weapons, should meet on some neutral ground; and this was well found in that day of the week which Muhommudans of every sect reverence alike. I never myself witnessed a fair-day at Bazaar, but was informed that it was a most remarkable spectacle; seldom less than ten thousand wild Afghans, clad and armed in their different fashions, meeting in perfect peace, and exchanging the salutations enjoined by their common faith: “Salâam Aleikoom!” “Aleikoom Salâam!” The day before, or the day after, they could not have met without a fight.

as also all other cesses paid to the Mullicks of tuppehs, who will receive compensation after inquiry. Any Mullick convicted of levying duties from Hindoos, or others, will be severely fined, if not deposed.

“ 10. Any Mullick, or peasant, who shall stop up the water, or cut away dams, so as either maliciously to dry up or to flood the fields of his neighbours, shall be fined twice the amount of the damage so occasioned; and the Mullicks of tuppehs, in particular, are held responsible for looking after the irrigation.

“ 11. All lands that have been held for five years shall be confirmed to the holders, and all land disputes of a more recent date must be brought forward at once, when they will be settled by arbitration; any not brought forward within six weeks after this proclamation will not be heard, except sufficient reason be shown, such as absence in a foreign country, or grievous sickness.

“ 12. All Syuds, Oolumá, or other holders of hitherto *máfee* (rent-free) lands, will attend at the time of the revenue survey, and point out their lands; and when the extent of those lands has been ascertained by measurement, they must within twenty days after the said measurement give in to the Nazim or Kárdár a written statement of the said lands, with the *sunnuds* (title-deeds, grants, &c.) or other authority by which they are held; and when all these claims shall have

been given in, they will be considered collectively, with reference to the proportion they shall prove to bear to the whole produce of the valley, and individually with reference to the conduct of the parties. Such malcontents as the Syuds of Mumukhsheyl cannot expect kindness from the Government; no claims for *dhurum-urth* (charitable) lands will be registered after twenty days from the revenue survey.

“ 13. Any zumeendar, Syud, or other holder of land who shall run away to escape payment of revenue, his lands and property shall be considered forfeited thereby to Government, which shall either sell the same or give them to well-wishers on mere payment of the arrears.

“ 14. Any tuppeh which shall harbour revenue defaulters, or other public offenders, shall be held responsible for the claims against such persons, and any Mullick who does not give speedy information of such persons being concealed within his jurisdiction will be removed forthwith.

“ 15. The crimes of *suttee*\* (widow burning), infan-

\* I do not know whether the Bunnoochees permitted the Hindoos who resided amongst them to burn their widows; but think they would have done so on payment of a fee, if the Hindoos had been sufficiently strict in their observances to desire it. At any rate, in publishing laws *de novo* in a new



ticide and slave-dealing are forbidden under the severest penalties.

“ 16. The system of *bégdree* (forced labour) will not be allowed either to Government officials, Mullicks, or any one else.

country where there was a Hindoo community, it was necessary and proper to infuse into those laws the spirit which the humane Colonel Lawrence had already introduced in the Punjab, and persuaded Maharajuh Goolab Sing, for his own credit among the English, to introduce in the kingdom of Cachmere. And I may here remark, that when English readers hear or read of the unpopularity of British rule in the East, it is well that they should know that by far the greatest share of this unpopularity arises from such interferences as these with the barbarous prejudices of the natives. The Hindoo no longer feels himself a person of vital importance in his own house. His death will not shorten the days of his young wife. She will not adorn his funeral pile, nor her screams give solemnity to his exit from the world. She will happily survive as long as her Maker intended, and regret her lord only if he treats her well. Far be it from me to insinuate that if he treats her ill, his curry may even disagree with him ! The Muhommudan feels equally aggrieved by these benevolent rulers. He also is now obliged to treat his wife as a woman should be treated, lest she presume to seek a kinder home ; in which case (so low has liberty fallen), he cannot kill her without being hanged !

Neither may either Hindoo or Muhommudan buy girls any longer by the pound ; nor those sacred races who cannot

" 17. The manufacture of arms and gunpowder is forbidden, under penalty of five hundred rupees.

" 18. All weights and measures used by dealers in Bunnoo must assimilate to those in use at Lahore, and none will be allowed to be used which have not been stamped by the Kárdár under penalty of a fine for each offence.

(Dated)

" Camp, Duleepgurh, Bunnoo,

" December 21st, 1847."

Received a visit from a deputation of Syuds and holy men of Bunnoo, sent by their brethren to request the small favour of all their lands being henceforward excused from paying revenue as heretofore ! In reply, read to them the twelfth paragraph of above code, and promised as favourable a consideration as I could give them.

*December 22nd, Camp, Duleepgurh.*—The expected wing of Meyher Sing's regiment arrived in

degrade themselves by giving their daughters in marriage to meaner men, be permitted any more to strangle them. In short, British rule has undoubtedly deprived the natives of many of the most valued luxuries of life. It has protected woman from man ; and that great reformation is as odious as it is honourable.

camp, mustering only two hundred men! The officers waited on me, and gave a tolerably satisfactory account of the delay in their arrival.

This evening, five men of Colonel Mán Sing's regiment came forward to refuse to work at the fort, and said they were deputed to speak for one hundred others. I sent for them. Four came; and on their repeating their refusal and deputation, I told them it was quite sufficient for them to answer for themselves, and directed them to be paid up, and discharged on the spot. It is by no means unlikely, however, that they speak the truth, and that they are the "painch"\* of their company, if not the regiment. The bull must be taken by the horns; and to-morrow

\* The "Painch" (or, as it is vulgarly called, "Punch") was a deputation of the five (Páñch, or Panj) cleverest blackguards in a Sikh regiment, who took their seats in the midnight parliaments of the Khalsa army, where measures were concerted for keeping the Lahore Government in the hands of the soldiers, putting up, or deposing and murdering a Vizeer, voting themselves extra pay, gold necklaces, &c. The Colonels of regiments had no authority whatever during the revolutionary days. The "Painch" settled everything, and issued orders to the officers. A piece of brick or tile, passed from hand to hand, like the "fiery cross," was the signal given by the "Painch" for a general muster, or the execution of some bloody design previously decided on.

morning I have ordered a parade of the whole force, when I shall call upon all those men of Mân Sing's regiment, who refuse to work at the fort, to step out, and discharge them, however numerous. General Cortlandt tells me it is one of the worst regiments in the Sikh service. The men are Poorbeeus,\* and

\* Poorbeeus, men from the Poorub or East, was applied in the Punjab to emigrants from Hindostan. They formed a large body in the Sikh army, and, like all renegades, were observed in the first and second Sikh war to be more bitterly hostile to the British than the Sikhs themselves. The reason is obvious. Runjeet Sing, in creating an army and an empire, gave a hearty welcome to military adventurers and ambitious spirits; the very class who found their "occupation gone," under our rule in Hindostan. The Punjab, therefore, for many years acted as the main sewer of British India, and drew off all our malcontents; to meet us however, at last, face to face, in a deadly and final struggle. There can be no doubt that the existence of a few independent native kingdoms on our borders is very useful, in the way above described; but they have been still more useful than they are now, or can ever be again; so surely does a peaceful government, strongly established, cause warlike arms, habits, feelings, and ultimately races, to disappear. We have always more to fear from a single soldier whom our advancing arms have thrown out of employ, than from the ten sons whom he bequeaths to the plough or beggary. In this way, the difficulty of the Punjab is the present generation. The future will be either the best and favourite soldiers of the East

the regiment (known by the name of "Dhokul Sing's") has always been at Lahore, lounging about at the Palace, and sharing the good things afloat during the revolutions, and now active service is not to their mind. Moreover, they have in their ranks all the English sepoy who deserted from Ferozepoor, and other frontier stations, during the Sukkur mutiny, in 1843. In short, they are a bad lot, and the sooner the matter is brought to a crisis the better. It will never do to have insubordination in our camp, at this distance from support of any kind, and surrounded by enemies. The Sikh army has ever been accustomed to labour at the forts, which necessity required to be thrown up in an enemy's country, and they shall do the same now.

In paying up the discharged men, it appears, that the price of the gold necklaces, &c., which they extorted from the Durbar in the days of the revolution, are now ordered to be deducted from their pay; so, instead of having anything to receive, they have collectively thirty rupees to pay!

*December 23rd.*—At 8 A.M. parade. Line of

India Company's native regiments; or if not enlisted from a ridiculous panic, will pass quietly back to those agricultural pursuits from which Runjeet, with so much difficulty, diverted their grandfathers.

contiguous columns, close order. Called officers to the front, and told them why the parade assembled—viz., to inquire into the truth or falsehood of the assertion made by the four sepoy's of Mân Sing's regiment, "that they spoke not for themselves alone, but for a hundred others." Said I did not believe there was another soldier in the force, who considered his honour to consist of anything but obeying the Maharajuh's orders; but if there was one, or any number of them, now was the time to speak, and be discharged, for I would not allow a small body of mutineers to spoil the discipline of the camp. I recalled to them the history of Mân Sing's regiment, and how grateful the Poorbeeuh's who composed it ought to be, that they had not been the first selected for discharge, when the necessities of the State had obliged the Durbar to dismiss many thousands of their own Sikhs; and I then sent Colonel Mân Sing, to offer the whole of his regiment the option of working at the fort, or being discharged upon the spot. While he was absent, the officers of the other regiments, among whom was many a white beard, gathered round, and numbered up the forts which the Sikh soldiers had built with their own hands. "It was," they said, "the immemorial custom of the service; and at this very moment, the troops,

with Captain James Abbot, in Huzaruh, were building the fort of Gundguruh." The Colonel at last returned to the front with four of his men, three of whom were given up by the regiment as ringleaders, and the other had threatened to cut down the Colonel if he did not move off! This being corroborated by the Adjutant, I ordered him into irons, and the other three refusing to work, I confined them, for the purpose of having them tried by a court-martial, on charge of exciting a mutiny. The Colonel then declaring, that his regiment was *sauf* (clean), I dismissed the parade.

The court-martial afterwards assembled, and consisted of the Colonel, one of the Commandants, and one of the Adjutants of each corps in the force; with General Bishen Sing as President. They sat all day, but not being experienced in such courts, made a mess of the proceedings, and General Cortlandt will preside to-morrow.

I saw, however, by the evidence, that the whole of No. 4 Company of Mân Sing's regiment was absent yesterday evening from the works, and refused to join; so that we have nipped a serious mutiny in the bud. I shall not let the matter drop, but sift it to the bottom, and punish the guilty, however numerous.

Looking back to this mutiny, I have always thought it a far greater danger than any the Bunnoochees could have opposed, and am thankful that it went no farther lengths. In the last extremity, I relied on the fidelity of General Cortlandt's artillery; and though at this distance of time I forget whether the guns were loaded before the parade, I remember that all was in readiness to use them if required.

The whole force has been working since the parade with alacrity at the fort, and done more than on any previous day. Indeed the spirit of the other corps seems as good as that of Mân Sing's is bad. Cortlandt's Poorbeeuh regiment, the "Kuthar-Mookhee," in particular, work famously; an answer to those in our own service who uphold the excuses "Jack Sepoy" makes to escape work.\*

*December 24th.*—Spent half the day in hearing the ins and outs of the great Jhundookheyl land

\* A still better answer, however, is to be found in the Corps of Sappers and Miners; which beyond all comparison is the finest, cleanest, best behaved, and most thoroughly soldier-like body of native infantry in the East India Company's army. Their caste is, I believe, just as high as that of any regiment in the line; and how far higher their utility! Any new native regiments ought to be sappers and miners.



dispute between Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, and Sher Must Khan, of Bunnoo. At last they agreed to appoint arbitrators, which is the best way of doing justice to local questions.

The rest of the day consumed in the court-martial, General Cortlandt having begged me at last to come and hear the evidence myself. This I did, and soon brought the witnesses to the point. The day after to-morrow we shall sit again, take the prisoners' defence, and wind up the proceedings. It is clear that the whole of No. 4 Company "struck," but the prisoners were the ringleaders and stirrers-up of the mutiny.

Considerable progress in the fort these last two days; and labourers are beginning to come in from Kuchee, on the other side of the Indus.

*December 25th.*—Kept Christmas Day by doing no business, and seeing no one, thinking of home. How dear such memories are, none know but those who have been thrown into such solitudes. Every Sunday I used to spread out on the table before me a perfect treasury of home reminiscences, some sad, some happy, all softening and full of good; kind letters, pictures of dear old houses, not a few memorials of the dead; and, side by side with these

penates, a delightfully quaint and martial likeness of Lord Gough, perpetrated by a Lahore artist,\* a bronze medal of Lord Hardinge, and the portrait of Henry Lawrence—"my very noble and approved good masters." There was great happiness, great sympathy, and great encouragement, in these old odds and ends of affection, and the little tin box that contained them was a sort of "ark" on my week-day sea.

Received, while in the very attics of my *château d'Espagne*, the pleasing intelligence that five Bunnoochees of Merdân tuppeh have turned "Ghâzees,"† and sworn to take my life and Cortlandt's, in the hope of saving Bunnoo! This design is in its way patriotic, and, consequently, respectable; but it confirms the necessity of disarming the people. The Bunnoochees are such liars themselves, that up to the last minute they have been flattering themselves that I am one

\* Should this meet the eye of Lady Gough, this effort of native genius (a copy of which is in her cabinet) will, I daresay, not be forgotten. It was done when Lord Gough's conquering army was at the gates of Lahore; and the painter seems to have thought it a duty to adorn the face of the General with "the flush of victory."

† A "Ghâzee" is a Muhommudan Crusader, or Crescent-ader, one who devotes his life to fighting for the faith, and spilling the blood of infidels.

too, and was only frightening them with the threat of a fort. Now their hearts sink as the walls go up; and even Dilassuh Khan, who ran away to Dour, thinking he should come back when we were gone, meditates how best to make his peace.

*December 26th.*—Having now got into a standing camp, I have ordered Sunday to be a holiday for all the troops. Accordingly, to-day also the fort works suspended.

*December 27th.*—Court-martial resumed, and the proceedings closed. In the middle of it, however, a disagreeable interruption occurred. A Bunnoo-chee, armed with a naked sword, tried to force his way into the council-tent, where I was sitting on the floor in the midst of the Sikh officers, and inflicted three severe wounds on the sentry at the door. The noise made us all look up; and seeing what was the matter, I called out to the sentry to bring down his bayonet and run the fellow through; whereupon he brought it to the "charge," and put the Bunnoochee to flight. He had not gone ten yards, however, before a sepoy of Bishen Sing's regiment caught him in his open arms as he went by, hugged him like a bear, tripped him up, and finally fell on him. The crowd of infuriated soldiers would have killed him instantly, had I

not interfered upon impulse, though I rather regretted it on reflection.\* All the Bunnoochee Mullicks in camp were at once summoned, to see if they could recognise him; but nobody knew him. Every Mullick who asked him what fort he belonged to, received for answer, "Your's!" At last he declared himself of a certain fort in the tuppeh of Alladad Khan, who was sent off instantly to make inquiry.

The sentry who was wounded at the tent-door died within two hours afterward. His skull was cut right through, and the blade had entered into his brain. I must see about his widow.

Took the opportunity of asking Meer Alum Khan whether he had heard of five Bunnoochees in his tuppeh having sworn to take my life and General Cortlandt's? He denied all knowledge of such a conspiracy; and I told him it was odd that I should hear of it and not he. As all mischief seems to originate in Meer Alum's tuppehs, I now finally informed him that unless he produces the men who murdered the sepoy of the Moossulmân Regiment on the night of the 17th December (whose track ends in the centre of four of his forts), I will remove him

\* The reader will see presently what evil arose from the temporary delay in this wretch's punishment.

from his chieftainship. On this he started off, and will perhaps produce the guilty.

At night another dastardly assault. A *tum-boorchee* (drummer) of Bishen Sing's regiment, went out a little way beyond the pickets, and was set upon by three Bunnoochees. He defended himself well until the guard could come to his assistance, but he received a severe blow over the head.

These frequent acts of violence and bloodshed announced but too plainly that the peasantry had got over the first panic of our return to Bunnoo; that they at length believed our intention to remain there, and that the fort was not a sham; and lastly, that the religious advisers of the people had recommended the re-adoption of their usual system of harassing the Sikh camp with night attacks, ambuscades, and assassinations. My attention was thus called to the necessity, firstly, of taking precautionary measures for our own safety; and, secondly, of disarming the people of the country. Accordingly, the orders already issued that no stranger should be allowed to enter the camp with arms were now enforced by sentries thrown out all round to search every one who came in. Better positions were chosen for the pickets, and the pickets strengthened at sunset.

The soldiers, too, were forbidden to go out alone

into the villages to buy food or get grain ground ; no one was to go out without his comrade, and both well armed. For my own part, I remembered that some years ago Runjeet's own grandson, Nao Nihal Sing, was twice very nearly assassinated in Bunnoo, while at the head of Sikh armies. Once a poor-looking lad, with a basket of flowers, was admitted into the tent to lay his humble offering of roses and jessamine at the Prince's feet. As he approached a suspicious bystander thrust his hand into the basket and pulled up a pistol, which was concealed under a garland, full cocked, and loaded to the muzzle. Another step nearer and he would have discharged it ! A second time a whole band of Bunnoochees concealed themselves under some mulberry-bushes in a water-cut, which ran past the Prince's sleeping tent ; and when he had retired to rest, fired a perfect volley of bullets in the direction of his bed. Several of the attendants were wounded, and the "charpai," on which Nao Nihal Sing was sleeping, was splintered, but he himself escaped with a severe fright. These examples, coupled with the late attempt against General Cortlandt and myself in the court-martial tent, determined me to be more cautious ; and from this time I always carried a double-barrelled pistol in my belt when out of doors, and in the tent made a

paper weight of it while writing, or laid it beside my plate at meals. A long cavalry sword also usually stood sentry in the corner, and real live sentries stood over each door of the tent. One might have thought these precautions sufficient for the Emperor of Russia, but it will be seen presently that they were no discouragement to the patriots of Bunnoo.

In my "Report" to the Resident at Lahore, on leaving Bunnoo the first time, I assumed it as a matter of course that, when royal troops should be sent to occupy Bunnoo, they would be directed to disarm the inhabitants as a primary measure; and this was one of the leading features of my plan for the subjugation of the valley; but in alluding to it, Colonel Lawrence, in his final instructions to me at Lahore, disapproved of so sweeping a measure. "All persons," he said, "who now oppose you may be disarmed, also any suspicious characters; but it is not advisable to irritate the people; and those who live near the Vizeeree hills may require arms to defend themselves. Make it, however, known that all who abuse the kindness now shown will forfeit future consideration."

Restricted thus from thoroughly disarming the Bunnoochees, I still thought it so necessary to bring arms into disuse in the common business of life, that,

as the reader will remember, in the code of simple laws published on the 21st December, I forbade their being worn in public, and invited the people to pay them in in part of arrears of revenue, at the same time legalising their possession for the purpose of resisting external enemies. There was every hope that even this qualified measure would render recourse to arms much less frequent, and ultimately, as law gained strength, make the use of them in party feuds forgotten. But the process was likely to be slow ; and though private life might daily become more secure, the public peace would remain in the same condition as at present, secured only by the presence of an overawing force. No progress would be made in getting the people into the power of the Government, but the contrary ; for at the end of two years it was intended to reduce the garrison of Bunnoo to "two companies of regular infantry, two hundred irregulars, and a company of artillery." The Government, therefore, would be weakened, and the Bunnoochees remain as they were at first (with the important exception of their devoted forts), in possession of the arms which a superior force had rendered useless, but which an inferior force would tempt them to resume.

Against this was the one possibility that two years



administration of just laws should reconcile a barbarous people to the loss of liberty.

The adjoining valley of Murwut afforded a good illustration of these views. About five years previous to my mission to Bunnoo, one Mullick Futteh Khan Towannuh, had been deputed by Maharajuh Sher Sing on an exactly similar mission to Murwut. There were no forts in Murwut to knock down ; but the Mullick built a stout one for the Crown, established a garrison, and gave the Sikhs what they never had there before—a firm footing. But he did not disarm the people. What happened ? In one single night, without warning of any kind reaching the garrison in the fort, a mad malcontent, named Dur rikkee Khan, sounded a *nukkáruh* (kettle-drum) at midnight in his village. The well-known signal was taken up, and re-echoed from village to village across the sandy plain of Murwut ; and next morning the town of Lukkee was destroyed, and the fort besieged. The news of the rising spread like wild-fire ; the neighbouring Afghan tribes rushed to the scene of expected plunder, and soon the rebel army numbered twelve thousand men. The siege lasted seventeen days, and more than one assault was made ; but though the Rohilla garrison was not three hundred strong, they gallantly maintained themselves till

Dewan Dowlut Raie came up with artillery and troops from Dera Ishmael Khan, and raised the siege. The rebels dispersed to their homes, buried their arms, and a fortnight afterwards, when I happened to reach Lukkee, not a Murwutee was ever to be seen with a sword or a spear.

This case seemed strictly in point. I had now forbidden arms to be worn in Bunnoo, and soon, not an armed Bunnoochee would be seen abroad. The presence of an occupying army would repress for the time the very idea of resistance, and all would go on smoothly till the apparent subjugation and contentment of the valley should induce the diminution of the force. Some trifling spark might then set the country unexpectedly in a blaze, and the garrison of ten thousand men find themselves beleaguered by an armed host of Bunnoochees and Vizeerees. If they behaved with ordinary gallantry and prudence, they would hold such a fort as we were building against all comers till succour could come from head-quarters of the province at Dera Ishmael Khan. But this is *holding* a country, not *governing* it.

On the other hand, were the Bunnoochee peasantry to be disarmed, the sting would be taken out of them for ever. The task would be difficult, but it would make the future easy; and I now again solicited per-

mission to undertake it.\* Mr. John Lawrence (who was then Acting-Resident at Lahore, in the place of Colonel Lawrence, gone home on sick leave to England), "considered the measure impolitic, inasmuch as it would unite all classes against us; it would be inoperative, inasmuch as it would be but partially successful; and lastly, as far as it did succeed, it would be injurious, for it would expose the disarmed Bunnoochee to the attacks of the formidable Vizeeree, who, safe, in his mountain fastness, could choose his opportunity for attack."† This view of the case was subsequently taken also by the Governor-General in Council,‡ and I was consequently obliged to abandon the idea, and content myself with discouraging the use of arms, and buying them from the people in part of their arrears of revenue.

It is not for me to doubt the policy of this forbearance; but I may be permitted to rejoice sincerely that the very opposite was at once adopted

\* My letter of application on this head is printed in pp. 95, 96, "Punjab Blue Book of 1847—9." The reply of the Acting Resident at Lahore, at pp. 97—9.

† See Letter from Mr. John Lawrence to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated, Lahore, January 7, 1848. "Punjab Blue Book," 1847—9, p. 99.

‡ "Punjab Blue Book," p. 101, Inclosure 11 in No. 20.

when not a small valley like Bunnoo, but the vast country of the Punjab was to be subjugated and annexed ; and I think that few of our countrymen in England will hear without pleasure that within one year of the battle of Goojurat, the new “ Board of Administration for Punjab Affairs ” had, by their energetic measures, taken one hundred and fifty thousand arms of all sorts from the newly-conquered people ! In such a Government there is both vigour and security.

*December 28th, Camp, Duleepgurh.*—Last night received an *urzee* (petition) from some chiefs in the Meerree tuppehs, to the effect that the Bukkykheyl Vizeerees, have again cut off some irrigation of theirs, which by my orders was opened some days ago. As the seed-time is now closing, this is a serious matter to the Meerees, so I determined to go in person and see the Vizeeree dam. Accompanied by General Cortlandt, Sirdar Khwājuh Muhommud Khan, Sirdar Ram Sing Chappehwalluh, and about one hundred and fifty horse, I set off early for the Meeree tuppehs. There I found an extensive plain, barren for want of water ; and crossing the bed of the Tochee river, entered another great tract, which stretches away to the western hills, and is by right of seizure and possession

the property of the Bukkykheyl Vizeerees. Their green, well-watered corn-fields presented a striking contrast with the dried-up acres of the poor Meerees, though the land of the latter was the best. No inquiry was needed. The two banks of the Tochee told their own tale. Pursuing the course of that river upwards, we came at last to the point where the stream should by right be divided, and go half to the Meerees and half to the Vizeerees. Here we found a strong new *bund* (dam), extending upwards of two hundred yards, completely preventing any water from flowing towards the Meerees, and conducting the whole stream of the Tochee to the lands of Bukkykheyl. Not a Vizeeree showed, but they were all close by in the hills. The first thing we did therefore was to crown the high stony hillocks, beneath which the dam lay, to prevent surprise; and I then set half of the escort to work with their hands and spears to break down the dam, which was partly effected in about two hours. We then set fire to the brushwood pulled out of the dam, so as to prevent its reconstruction, and satisfied with seeing the whole Tochee now rushing down towards the Meeree tuppehs, we left our bonfire blazing, and retired, but did not reach camp till 3 P.M. To-morrow I shall send a party of sappers and miners mounted behind

as many horsemen, to complete the destruction of the dam, and prevent the Bukkykheylees from having any more water till the Meerees have done sowing. The Meeree chiefs seeing the water coming down to their villages, mounted and galloped up, full of thanks, which were sincere enough I dare say.

*December 29th.*—General Cortlandt has put the Ghazee formally on trial in his court. His account of himself is as follows: several days ago he came into camp, and saw me sitting out under a *shum-yanuh* (awning), surrounded by petitioners. The thought occurred to him that it would be easy to kill me; so he went home, and propounded the question to his religious adviser, “whether any man killing a Feringee would be a shuheed, or blessed martyr?” The Moolluh replied, “Decidedly, and a very meritorious act it would be; but the Sahibs had a nasty habit of hanging criminals and exposing their bodies on the gallows, a custom which disgusted and terrified respectable Muhommudans, and prevented them from becoming martyrs.” The same priest put up an extraordinary prayer at the Musjid, appropriate to the calamity which had fallen upon Bunnoo, in the arrival of the *Zalim Sahib log* (tyrannical Englishman), and implored the interference and help of God in this crisis. It is not strange, therefore, that the

prisoner, a youth just full grown, and full of pride and strength, should have brooded over these matters till, as he says himself, "the fixed determination came into his heart immediately after saying his noon-tide prayers, to go and kill the Sahib!" Taking down his sword, therefore, and putting on his best clothes, he set out; and on the road seeing another Moolluh at prayers among some tombs, he threw him his old *paijdmuhs* (loose trowsers), exclaiming, "Take these in the name of God!" The Moolluh replied, "*Kubool!*" (it is accepted). This some of the Push-too interpreters understand to have meant in its vernacular usage, "May God prosper your undertaking!" Others understand it in its simple Persian sense, "Your offering is accepted." Approaching the camp after this costly religious sacrifice, he threw his scabbard into a field of sugar-cane, so as not to be in his way; and knowing the prohibition against taking arms into our camp, he hid the naked sword under his clothes. He then entered the lines, and went to my tent; and finding I was not there, followed to General Cortlandt's, where he saw us all sitting at the court-martial. From this time he continued to lurk about, and endeavoured to get in. At length growing impatient, he asked a Murwutee, "If the Sahib was likely to come out?" The Murwutee

replied, "Not till the evening;" and he then made up his mind to force his way in by cutting down the sentry, and accordingly attacked him as before related.

Hence it is clear that the *peer* (religious instructor) was the instigator of the *moreed's* (disciple) crime, and I have sent to arrest him. My own opinion is, that *Shihadut* and *Ghuzza* (both military martyrdom) are cases in which it is both politic and just to consider the faith-expounder as, *ipso facto*, *particeps criminis*. Martyr-mania might soon be stopped in Bunnoo if the priest had to pledge his disciple in the cup of beatification which he holds out.

*December 30th.*—After the affair of the Tochee dam, I told Mullick Swahn Khan to summon the Bukkykheyl Vizeerees. To-day he arrived with them. They were very humble, expecting to be forgiven; but when I imposed a fine of fifty rupees on them for breaking the irrigation laws, and told them to divide it amongst them, they vociferously gave up the real offenders (a subdivision called Khan Kheyl), and left them to pay the whole. I gave them five days to pay it in to Swahn Khan, under pain of a farther fine of two rupees a day.

Swahn Khan protests against being made the col-



lector, as he says the Vizeerees will murder him ! I promised, in that melancholy event, to build a fine tomb over him, and the old fellow went away chuckling. This is just what I want, to make Swahn Khan our partizan, and not that of his countrymen. It gives us his voice in the jeerga of the tribes ; and though they may feel jealous of his honourable position, they are too unanimous not to act on his sensible advice.

*December 31st.*—Sirdar Khwâjuh Muhommud Khan is getting importunate for leave to return home. He rents the Kohât revenues from his father, and says he suffers terribly by not being on the spot to exact them. Cannot spare the Barukzye contingent till the Bunnoo forts are down.

*January 1st, 1848.*—A salute of twenty-one guns fired to usher in the New Year. Rode out with General Cortlandt to decide upon a line for a new military road, which by Lawrence's advice is to run right through the middle of the valley, from the Dour hills to Lukkee. When completed it will be about eighteen koss, or two easy marches, from Lukkee to Duleepgurh. The Mullicks, through whose ground it passes, are responsible for cutting it and putting bridges over the canals.

This was a great measure of good, both for Govern-

ment and the people, as it would not only open the way for commerce but secure life; for even a Bunnoo-chee, while threading the devious tracks which formerly led across the brooks and quagmires of his country, was never sure that he would not be waylaid by an enemy, or robbed by a Vizeeree; consequently nobody went far from home unless absolutely obliged.

I thought it fair, therefore, to throw the chief burden of this new road on the inhabitants of the country; and though General Cortlandt's officers and sappers superintended the work, the actual manual labour was all furnished by the tuppehs through which the road ran. Seed-time being over, there was little or nothing to do in the fields; and to keep the peasants in good-humour, we gave them a grand feast of roasted goat and rice, at the end of every koss that they completed.

Resumed examination of the Ghazee, and people concerned in that affair.

*January 2nd, Sunday.*—No business; but Commandant Fuzzul Ali, being a Muhommudan, saw no reason why he should not amuse himself by laying out the new town of Duleepshuhr.

This was another of the measures by which I designed to transfer all power and influence from the native Mulicks to the Sikh Government. Bazaar,



the former capital of Bunnoo, belonged to Lal Baz Khan, a chief whose good conduct made me reluctant to injure him in any way ; and I therefore left him in possession of that town, hoping fully that he would be able to maintain its prosperity : but in occupying a foreign country, there are so many advantages, military and civil, attendant on possession of the capital, that it was clearly advisable to found a new one of our own ; all whose interests and associations should be connected with the new order of things. The means were ready to my hand in the bazaar, or movable market, which accompanies every native army ; and I proposed to establish all the grain-dealers, cloth-merchants, butchers, bakers, and artisans, who followed General Cortlandt's force, in good permanent shops, as the *nucleus* of the town. Further, I relied confidently on getting all the scattered Hindoo traders, who had so long held their lives on frail tenure in the Bunnoo villages ; feeling sure that they would gladly remove to a well-protected city, under the wing and patronage of the new authorities. Thus, in a short time, it was reasonable to hope, that the commerce and trade of the valley would centre in our new capital, and be entirely under our control, while Bazaar would remain only a useful rival.

The new town is to be one thousand paces from

the fort of Duleepgurh, so as to be under fire of our guns, but not within musket-range. If ever the peasantry therefore rise and seize it, our fire will reach them, but theirs will not reach us.\* The relative positions of the two will be seen in annexed sketch.

Cortlandt has made a very fortunate discovery that the majority of the juzails in Bunnoo belong to the chiefs, and not to their vassals. Whoever was Mullick of a fort, furnished muskets to the inhabitants for its defence: consequently, we should only have to come down upon the Mullicks, in case of a disarmament—not on individuals.

*January 3rd, 1848.*—The arbitrators I appointed have settled the great land dispute in Jhundookheyl, between Sher Must and Swahn Khan; and I this day bound the parties, under heavy penalties, to abide by their decision; then packed them all off to mark out the boundary at once, before more doubts arise. Thus, by the influence of a disinterested European, in whom both sides could trust, two very large estates, which had lain waste for several years, were brought back to fertility and use. I was amused by the

\* The long juzail of the Afghan peasantry, fired from a rest, will do good execution at four hundred yards, and reach much further at random.

choice of umpires. The Vizeeree chose three of his own nation, fearless of jealousy or foul play. The Bunnoochee could not trust his own people, and chose three low Muhommudans out of the town of Bazaar—two oilmen and a gardener !

General Cortlandt, this day, sent up to me his judgment, in the trial of the mutineers of No. 4 Company of Mân Sing's regiment :

Prâg Dutt, to be discharged from the service, and  
imprisoned four years, with labour.

Sookh Lall . ditto ditto with two years.

Seetul . . ditto ditto with six months.

Anunt Ram, to be discharged only.

This I confirmed, but desired Cortlandt to call up the whole of the 4th Company, and inform them that it was my intention to have discharged every man of them ; but as many days have now elapsed, and they have returned to their duty, and been ever since diligent in constructing their share of the fort, I am led to believe that they were originally led away by the four ringleaders now sentenced to punishment, and that they now repent of their behaviour. The non-commissioned officers also must be severely reprimanded ; for I hold it as nothing that it is shown in evidence that the non-commissioned officers

were in the fort, when the sepoy were mutinying in the lines. The same is observable in all mutinies of native soldiery—that at the time of the outbreak, the officers stand apart, nay, remonstrate with the mutineers, and then found great claims upon their having done so: but this is *prudence*, not *loyalty*. They know that the officers will be first called to account, and that both their fault and punishment will be immeasurably greater than that of their men. If N. C. O. do their duty, it is impossible for any mutiny to come to a head, for they live among the men; and at the first insubordinate word that is spoken, they would arrest the speaker, carry him before the Colonel, and draw down on him such punishment as would effectually deter others; at least, if the Colonel is worth his salt.

Again, Colonel Mân Sing never reported that the men of his regiment had on a previous day shown insubordination, though it is admitted by all the witnesses. For this, he, too, must be reprimanded sharply. To overlook a fault of ignorance is very often good, but to wink at disobedience is always folly. Sheikh Saâdi says, well, “You may stop the source of a river with a bodkin, but let it run on, and it will carry away an elephant with his load!”

*January 4th.*—A deputation of the chief Povindus, or Cabul merchants, having arrived yesterday from Dera Ishmael Khan, I received them to-day. The object of their coming is to get their case laid before the Resident. The Maharajuh has one line of customs, and Dewan Moolraj, of Mooltan, has another. The passes out of the mountains bring the caravans first into the Maharajuh's line, and if they are destined for Umritsir, they can cross the Indus, at Esaukheyl, and by a circuit escape Moolraj's line; but if their destination be Mooltan, or Bhawulpoor, then they have to face both lines. The consequence is, that the caravans are all halted at Drábund, and will not come on till the question is settled; trade stagnates, and the goods spoil.

Cortlandt has requested the Bunnoochee Mullicks to sell him twelve hundred juzails, and being in good humour, they volunteered to get him fifteen hundred, and two camel-swivels, as follows:

|                                    |                 |           |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| From Bazaar . . . . .              | 100 juzails and | zumboors. |
| „ Jaffir Khan . . . . .            | 200             | „         |
| „ Meer Alum Khan . . . . .         | 100             | „         |
| „ Sher Must Khan . . . . .         | 100             | „         |
| „ Four Sooraunee tuppehs . . . . . | 400             | „         |
| „ Shukuroolluh Khan . . . . .      | 100             | „         |
| „ Mooseh Khan . . . . .            | 100             | „         |

|                               |              |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| From Six Meeree tuppehs . . . | 300 juzails. |
| „ Zuffur Khan . . .           | } 100 „      |
| „ Khulleh Khan . . .          |              |
| „ Munsoor Khan . . .          |              |
| „ Futteh Khan Mushir . . .    |              |

These we shall take in payment of arrears of revenue, and they will be so many less against us in case of a row.

The reader will remember, that the foundation of the fort of Duleepgurh was laid on December 18th, 1847, so that the soldiers had now been labouring at it seventeen days. They had been assisted also by some hundreds of coolies from the eastern bank of the Indus, and altogether there could scarcely have been less than four thousand men constantly at work, allowing for those absent on duty in the camp. Since the mutiny had been put down in Mân Sing's regiment the works had gone on with great rapidity. The earth to build the walls was dug out of the ditch, and there moistened, and made into mud, by a canal, and regulated by the workmen themselves. The soldiers stripped to their blue pajâmuh, divided themselves into gangs, and, standing at equal distances, kept up a constant rivalry as to which gang did the most. One grenadier would be seen down in the ditch filling an osier basket, or (failing that)



his own shield, and cooking dishes, with well-trodden mud ; another handing it, when full, to his comrade above the ditch, who tossed it to a third upon the wall, who threw it out where it was wanted, and passed down again the empty vehicle for more.

Here and there stood a corporal, or a sergeant, acting as overseer ; and whenever he saw a superior approaching, shouted in a commanding tone : " Get on ! get on !" On the corner bastions (now rising into importance) perched the Colonels and Commandants, shaded by their immense *chattuhs* (umbrellas) of gay coloured silks. From this high altitude they overlooked the busy scene, and encouraged their begrimed and toiling men, with witty remarks upon their awkwardness, sneers at the slower progress of the regiment next them, or (if no tell-tale was near to listen) sarcastic congratulations upon the dignity to which they had all arrived, in being promoted to bricklayers, after so many years' service in the inferior capacity of soldiers ! A little before sunset, General Cortlandt and I would go out and dismiss the men to their dinners, and then walk round and survey the day's work, followed by all the gay umbrellas, which descended with their owners from the bastions at our arrival. Commendations to





the zealous, and reproofs to the lazy, were then distributed in the hearing of all, and having seen the outside picket take up its post in advance of the fort, to prevent mischief during the night, we returned to camp, and left the deserted and silent works to be disturbed only by the measured footfall of the sentry.

The soldiers thus watched, and excited to emulation, had raised the walls of the inner fort, by January 4th, to such a height as to form a complete and almost impregnable intrenched position, wherein to leave half the force and all the baggage, if necessity called out the other half.

At length, therefore, the moment had arrived to attempt the only really hazardous part of our enterprise, which the capitulation of the Vizeerees had left unfinished. I mean the levelling of the Bunnoochee forts.

That night was an anxious one to me, and I sat up hour after hour considering and reconsidering our position and means, and the best course for us to pursue. Again and again I thought over the opinion of the Acting-Resident, that the razing of the forts should be done by us, not thrown on the people; and that "when the Sikh fort was ready, I should begin

gradually to dismantle those of the most turbulent." But I always came to the conclusion that he would not have given that advice had he ever seen the Bunnoochees, and known their irritable temper and dislike to the intrusion of Sikh soldiers into the villages and among their women. He thought that my plan would unite the whole peasantry against us ; and I thought the same of his ! But then (as was ever the considerate custom of both himself and Colonel Lawrence, with their assistants), after giving his advice, he left me to act on my own discretion, fully confident that his object was mine, and every nerve would be strained to accomplish it. I did, therefore, what I think an officer should always do when called upon to act on his own responsibility — viz., act also on his own judgment.

During the night I prepared the following proclamation, and issued it next morning.

#### “ PROCLAMATION

“ TO THE BUNNOOCHEES AND VIZEEREES OF BUNNOO.

“ A royal fort is, as you see, now being built by the Lahore Sirkar in Bunnoo, and it has been called Duleepgurh in honour of the Maharajuh.

“ In it will remain four regiments of infantry, two troops of horse artillery, fifty zumbooruchs, and one thousand cavalry.

“ This force is sufficient both to keep you in order and to protect you against your enemies ; and as you are forbidden by the laws which I before published to have recourse to arms and fight among yourselves, it is no longer necessary that every village should be a fort.

“ Where just laws are in force, every fakeer's hut is a castle, because no one dare enter it to injure him.

“ You are hereby ordered, therefore, to throw down to the ground the walls of every fort and enclosed village within the boundaries of Bunnoo ; and I hold the Mullicks responsible for the carrying out of this order within fifteen days.

“ At the end of fifteen days I will move against the first fort I see standing, considering the inhabitants as enemies, and remove every Mullick who has a fortification left in his tuppeh.

“ The seed-time is over, and you have nothing to do in your fields. Let the Mullicks, therefore, of each fort collect the inhabitants and knock down their own walls, so that at the end of a fortnight the

villages of Bunnoo may be open like the villages of Murwut, Tâk, Esaukheyl, and other peaceful countries.

(Dated)

“ Camp, Duleepgurh,

“ 5th January, 1850.”

## CHAPTER V.

THE PROCLAMATION PUBLISHED—SIKH POST-OFFICE—RECAL OF COLONEL MAN SINGH'S REGIMENT—THE COLONEL'S REMONSTRANCE—JUSTICE OF THE MEASURE PROVED ON INQUIRY—THE MEERES AND BUKKYKHEYL VIZEERES ACCOMMODATE THEIR DIFFERENCES—POWER OF DOING GOOD, THE CHARM OF CIVIL EMPLOYMENT IN THE EAST—DISPUTE BETWEEN SHER MUST AND SWAHN KHAN—LIMITS FIXED FOR TAKING UP OLD CASES IN CIVIL AND CRIMINAL COURTS—MORE ASSASSINATION—PROGRESS IN KNOCKING DOWN THE FORTS—VIZEEREE HORSES—THE BEAST AND HIS MASTER—DEPARTURE OF MAN SINGH'S REGIMENT—THE COLONEL'S LAST APPEAL—PROPERTY OF DECEASED POOR-BEEUH'S ESCHEATED BY THEIR COLONELS IN THE SIKH SERVICE—PROGRESS OF FORT BUILDING AND FORT DESTROYING—THE MOMUND-KHEYL VIZEERES—HINDOOS OF "MOOLLUH'S GURHEE"—CROPS VERSUS CASTLES—THE OBEDIENCE OF THE BUNNOOCHEES CONVENIENT, BUT CONTEMPTIBLE—DISCOVERY OF A REFRACTORY TRIBE OF VIZEERES—THE HINDOOS OF BUNNOO SEEK ADMITTANCE INTO THE NEW CAPITAL—ITS COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS—WHITE ANTS AT DERA ISHMAEL KHAN—THE MEEREE CHIEFS INTERCEDE FOR SOME CITIES OF REFUGE ON THE BORDER—SENTENCE OF THE GHAZEE—INSPECTION OF THE MEEREE FORTS—MURDER OF A SEPOY—IMPROVING DISCIPLINE—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—CAMP REGULATIONS—PRACTICE PROHIBITED OF DESTROYING MULBERRY-TREES—INJURY DONE BY THE SIKHS IN CACHMERE—SIKH INSENSIBILITY TO THE LOVE OF NATURE—THE NEW TOWN CHRISTENED DULEEP-SHUHR—SIKH JEALOUSY—DAOOD SHAH PLOT—GROUND-RENT IN THE NEW TOWN FIXED—INTRODUCTION OF SILK-GROWERS—COLD SEASON IN THE PUNJAB—SELECTION OF FORCE TO REMAIN IN BUNNOO—INVALIDING PARADE—STATE OF THE SIKH ARMY WHEN LORD GOUGH FIRST



ENTERED LAHORE—DIFFICULT TASK TO RESTORE DISCIPLINE—SECOND  
 ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE AUTHOR—ITS FAILURE—GREETINGS AND  
 CONGRATULATIONS—A SYCE WOUNDED—EVIL CONSEQUENCE OF NOT  
 HANGING THE FIRST GHAZEE AT ONCE—A HANGED MUHOMMUDAN NOT  
 ADMITTED TO HEAVEN—ACCOUNT OF THE ASSASSIN—REMARKS UPON  
 PRIESTLY RESPONSIBILITY IN IRELAND AND THE EAST—ASSESSMENT—  
 DEATH OF THE SYCE—PANIC AMONG THE HINDOOSTANEE SERVANTS—  
 CONSPIRACY AMONG THE DOUREES—ACCOUNT OF THE DOUR TRIBES AND  
 THEIR COUNTRY—TWO-THIRDS OF THE BUNNOOCHEE FORTS DEMOLISHED  
 IN TWENTY DAYS—CONFIRMED REPORT OF DOUR CONSPIRACY—RE-  
 PORTED TREACHERY IN CAMP—NOTE UPON THE CATHOLIC SUPERSTI-  
 TION OF ASIATICS—MESSAGE TO THE DOUREES—HYPOCRITICAL CON-  
 GRATULATIONS OF THE BUNNOOCHEE PRIESTS—PRECAUTIONARY MEA-  
 SURES AGAINST INVASION—ACCESSION TO THE CONSPIRATORS—PRO-  
 GRESS OF THE TOWN OF DULEEP SHUHR—A FATHER AND SON WHO  
 HAD KILLED EIGHTY-FOUR MEN—TOUR IN THE DERAJAT PROJECTED  
 —APPLICATION TO LAHORE FOR A LOCUM TENENS—NEW LAW OF  
 MORTGAGE—CURIOUS CASE OF LAND DISPUTE—VIZEEREE MANNERS!  
 —BUNNOOCHEE MANNERS!—VISIT FROM SUSPECTED BARUKZYE SIRDAR  
 —GROSS REVENUE FRAUD DETECTED—WELCOME RAINS—DAMAGE TO  
 THE FORT—WASTE AND BARREN LAND RECLAIMED—COMPLAINTS  
 AGAINST A BUTTUNNEE ROBBER—THE DOUR PLOT THICKENS—PLAN  
 FOR THE PROPOSED CANAL—ANOTHER CONSPIRACY—FARTHER IN-  
 FORMATION OF THE DOUR INVASION—RELATIVE VALUE OF LAND IN  
 BUNNOO AND PESHAWUR—NOTE ON ELPHINSTONE'S ACCOUNT OF THE  
 NATIVE CUSTOM OF NANNAWAUTEE—THE PRIESTS OF BUNNOO SECURE  
 THEIR LANDS AND GROW CONTENT—THEIR DISLIKE OF FRESH AIR—  
 DISUNION OF THE DOUR ALLIES—THE SPY'S REPORT—HOMICIDE FROM  
 MOTIVES OF HUMANITY—EXECUTION OF THE FIRST GHAZEE—A SNAKE  
 AT THE FOOT OF THE GALLOWES—DEATH OF A SERVANT AND PANIC  
 AMONG THE REST—HOW A BUNNOOCHEE MULICK COLLECTS TAXES  
 FROM HIS COUNTRYMEN—COMPLAINT OF SOLDIERS IN THE DOGRUH  
 REGIMENT—RELATIVE ADVANTAGES OF SERVICE IN MAHARAJUH  
 GOOLAB SING'S AND THE LAHORE SERVICE—REMARKS UPON GOOLAB  
 SING'S MILITARY RESOURCES—HIS POLICY TOWARDS THE BRITISH.

## CHAPTER V.

*January 5th, 1848.*—THIS morning was published the proclamation for knocking down forts, and this evening Lal Baz Khan, of Bazaar, came to beg for a few more days over and above the fifteen allowed for the work of destruction, as his town and surrounding fortifications are more extensive than any one else's. The request being reasonable was granted, and he promised to begin razing to-morrow.

On this chief I always calculated to set the example, and hoped others would follow. None, however, came forward to-day.

So bad was the Sikh *dawk* (post) in those days, that it was not till now that I received from Mr. John Lawrence any notice of the mutiny which occurred in our camp on the 22nd and 23rd December; my letter of the 24th reaching him on the 30th, and his of the latter date arriving to-day.

(How often did we on the frontiers think with envy of the English penny post !) He wrote as follows :—

“ With regard to the mutinous spirit evinced by Colonel Mân Sing’s regiment, I entirely approve of the measures you adopted to bring them to their senses, and consider that your conduct throughout the affair was most judicious. I have moved the Durbar to instantly recal this regiment ; and request, on the receipt of its instructions, you will give them a route to Lahore, laying down the days for each stage, so as to prevent any delay on the way. If you can do without a corps in place of this one, so much the better, for we have no corps to spare ; but if one in its room is necessary, I authorize you to call on Lieutenant Nicholson to send one of those stationed at Hussun Abdal.”

*January 6th.*—The news of the recal of the Mân Sing regiment having gone forth, I received an early visit from the Colonel this morning. He came to beg me to permit his regiment to remain, and pass over their breach of discipline, urging two points : “ that it was hard for the whole regiment to suffer for one company ; and that the whole regiment had since been hard at work at the fort.” I replied that my orders were absolute to send the regiment to Lahore ; and with reference to his two pleas, the first

was untrue, as the evidence proved that on a former day both the Grenadier and the Light Company had refused to work, and on the day now in question No. 4: so here was the right, left, and centre, at once proved mutinous, and it would be odd indeed if the intervening companies were in proper order.

Moreover, I have since heard that the whole regiment abused the soldiers of the other corps as they passed Mân Sing's lines on their way to work at the fort. And with regard to the regiment having since worked at the fort, small thanks to them. When they had the alternative of immediate discharge offered them, the greatest bully among them thought it best to be a well-paid coolee *in* the service than a badly-paid one *out* of it. Whatever merit, however, there may be in their subsequent labour, will certainly receive its due weight from the Resident, to whom I have impartially reported the rapid progress of the fort after the suppression of the *émeute*, and the diligence of the mutineers among the rest. Colonel Mân Sing then pressed me to give him a recommendatory letter to the Resident, which I positively declined, and told the Colonel that my opinion with respect to him is just this: that he is a very well-intentioned young man, and did not in the remotest degree share the spirit of his men; but

that somehow or other his men care no more for his authority than they do for the regimental big drum. I am sorry for him, but Colonels must stand or fall with the regiments they profess to command.

I cannot find any trace in my Diary that I had recommended the recal of this corps, but think it is very probable that I did, for fear they should corrupt the rest of the force. But whether or no, it is improper of a subordinate, after having reported any misconduct to his superior, to side afterwards with the evil-doer, and interpose between him and the just punishment which his own report has elicited from the superior. Such a course may gain temporary local popularity, but is very embarrassing at head-quarters, and ultimately brings two things to pass—his superiors neglect his reports, and his inferiors grow indifferent to his anger.

A thing occurred to-day, which I know not whether to ascribe to good feeling or fear. The Meeree chiefs have sent deputies of their own, along with others from their enemies the Bukkykheyl Vizeerees, to say that, through my interference (on the 28th December), in breaking down the Vizeeree dam, on the Tochee river, they have now sown all their lands, and if I had no objection, the Vizeerees were welcome to a fair share of the water from this time. Both depu-

ties said that the Meerees and Vizeerees have now come to an amicable agreement; and under the influence of fear (the Vizeerees of me, and the Meerees of the Vizeerees), I trust they will get on in future without squabbling, and cultivate their opposite sides of the river without firing at each other across the stream.

These interferences were the bright spots of my wild and laborious life. The peace that ensued came home to so many, and the cultivation it permitted sprang up and flourished so rapidly under that genial sun, that one's good wishes seemed overheard by better angels, and carried out upon the spot before charity grew cold. And, indeed, this is the great charm of civil employment in the East. The officer who has a district under his charge has power to better the condition of many thousands; and the social state of the people is so simple, that his personal influence affects it as rapidly as the changes of the air do the thermometer. In England the best men can scarcely hope to see their seed come up. Even charity is organized away out of the hands of individuals. A well-dressed secretary turns the handle of a mill, into which rich men throw guineas at one end, while poor men catch halfpence at the other. Sometimes the guineas come out blankets

and coals instead of halfpence, but the machinery is the same ; and the giver and the receiver never see each other's faces, and feel sympathy and gratitude only in the abstract.

*January 7th.*—The umpires in the land-dispute between Swahn Khan and Sher Must have returned, after laying down the mutual boundaries, and building pillars upon them. The disputed tract (named Sudurawan) is in itself nearly half a tuppeh, and both sides are delighted to bring it back to cultivation. As an illustration of the sort of justice which best suits these rude people, I must tell the reader that a branch of this great dispute referred to a small property called Oozjhdoo, which Sher Must had sold to Swahn Khan, and which he was now to get back again on refunding the purchase-money. The question arose, what *was* the purchase-money ? Sher Must (who had to repay it) said three hundred and twenty rupees ; but Swahn (who was to receive) said one thousand and twenty ! Neither would abate a fraction, and the whole quarrel was as far as ever from a settlement, for the sake of this one point. “Now,” said I, “look here ! One thousand and twenty, added to three hundred and twenty, equal one thousand three hundred and forty, and the half of that is six hundred and seventy, or the medium between both your statements. I shall take

two pieces of paper, and write on one 'six hundred and seventy,' and on the other 'three hundred and twenty,' and then put them into my foraging-cap, and Sher Must shall pay whichever he draws out. Do you agree?" "Agreed! agreed! That is true justice. In destiny there is nothing wrong. God will do as he likes!" The foraging-cap was mysteriously shaken, and presented to Sher Must, who trembled violently as he put in his hand; and though he drew forth the most unfavourable figure, he was quite relieved when the solemn ordeal was over. Neither of the parties would have presumed to say a word against a decision thus pronounced, whatever they might have thought of one delivered by the Supreme Council of India.

*January 8th.*—Rain (which had been gathering round for some days) fell to-day, not heavy, but incessant. The spring, so dry in India, is always a rainy season in Bunnoo.

It being necessary to fix some limit for taking up old cases, both in the civil and criminal courts, in the latter I have named the month when the first expedition entered Bunnoo last year, that being the first time that an army ever came to establish proper relations between this people and the Lahore Government. In civil cases I named five years; the period which



Colonel Lawrence has fixed to give a good title to land.

*January 9th, Sunday.*—Rain continued all night, but cleared off towards morning ; and the sun shining out showed a clear blue sky above, and below the hills from here to Ghuznee covered with snow. A most welcome sight to an Englishman in the East !

More assassination. Near camp is a mill, where the sepoys go to grind corn ; and last night it appears some Bunnoochee patriots lay in wait for them going home. Fortunately none of our men happened to be at the mill ; but an unhappy Kuthree, of Bunnoo, coming out in the dusk was mistaken for a sepoy, and cut down. His friends think they have a clue to the murderers. General Cortlandt wrote some days ago to Dera Ishmael Khan for two celebrated “ trackers,” who are the moral terror of that neighbourhood. By their help we may bring home one or two cases, and stop this cowardly warfare.

*January 10th.*—Thinking it necessary to show the Bunnoochees that the order for knocking down their forts in fifteen days is not to be a dead letter, I this morning at sunrise rode out, accompanied by General Cortlandt and fifty horsemen, to see how the work of demolition was progressing ; and passing down the right bank of the Khoorrum through the

tuppehs of Bazaar and Mooseh Khan, crossed over the river, and swept round through the four Sooraunee tuppehs on the left bank, reaching camp again at one o'clock.

The general progress is not great ; and, as usual, Lal Baz Khan of Bazaar, having most at stake, has set the best example. The order, however, has only been issued five days, and some of the Mullicks tell me they only got their copies of it yesterday. For the first day or two they all thought it was a joke, and tried to laugh at it as if it was a good one ; and when convinced by our serious manner that we were quite in earnest, they then began to look at each other, waiting to see what line of conduct their next neighbours would pursue. Such are the feuds among them, that more than one man has come forward to beg that his enemy may be made to knock his fort down first, or else it will be impossible for *him* to expose his village to an *enfilade* ! In the midst of these conflicting feelings, the beloved stronghold stood intact ; but my visit of this morning has roused the people from their lethargy. If, as I approached a fort, the inhabitants jumped up on the walls, and began to make a show of levelling, I took it for granted they would obey, and passed on with a “ *Shábásh* ! ” (Well done !) But three forts that

I came to were not inclined to render so much homage; they were closed and silent, and it was as clear to be seen as if the walls were glass that a proper set of rebels were inside. So I quartered five horsemen upon each, and told them not to come away without twenty rupees, and live free and well till the fine was paid. Before noon the chiefs of all three thought it better to pay the fine, and get rid of their expensive visitors. To-morrow I shall do the same in another direction, and send parties all over the country to report where work is going on and where it is not.

Among other forts, I visited two belonging to the Vizeerees, on the edge of the Thull, and admirably placed on a high bank surrounded on three sides by a quicksand (in which the leader of our party was nearly lost). I was greatly struck by observing several Vizeeree horses out at graze on the open plain. The instant they caught sight of us they collected together, took a good long look at us to make sure we were coming their way, and then wheeling round, galloped off to their masters in the forts, with as much judgment of what was proper to be done under the circumstances as if they had been Vizeeree sentinels.

Bunnoochee horses similarly cast loose would use their liberty only to fight, and run to any fort rather

than their master's. So national is nature, and so strongly does the human master impress his own characters on his brute dependents.

The Vizeerees and Bunnoochees are both great breeders of horses ; those of the former are remarkable for their good qualities and *curved ears* ; those of the latter have beautiful legs, and are very active and hardy, but so incurably vicious, that they are only fit to be chained to the pole of a six-pounder gun, where lashing out behind is no inconvenience, and lying down impossible.

This morning Colonel Mân Sing's regiment marched towards Lahore. General Cortlandt tells me the Colonel made a last effort yesterday to argue away the mutiny of his men, and, amongst other things, flatly denied that the Grenadier and Light Companies had mutinied some days before No. 4.

As this was proved in evidence on the court-martial, in presence of the Colonel, who then said nothing, Cortlandt now asked him to put down his present denial in writing, as a ground-work for a new trial, here on the spot, before the regiment marched away to Lahore, where there would be no witnesses against them ; this, however, Mân Sing declined, for fear something worse should come out. The sepoy of the corps have, I understand, quite made up their

minds that they are summoned to Lahore to be disbanded, so had an auction of all the tin-pots and iron pans, so numerous in a Hindoostanee regiment, which of course fetched good prices at this distance from shops of any kind. Should it really be the Resident's intention to disband Mân Sing's regiment there will be but one opinion in this camp of its justice, and the example will do a world of good throughout the service. As for the Colonel, I no longer pity him; for I hear he is worth five or six lakhs of rupees, the mass of which was left him by his uncle and predecessor, Dhokul Sing, who accumulated it by coolly confiscating for himself the property and arrears of pay of all the men who died in his regiment. Their homes being in Hindoostan there were seldom either heirs or relations on the spot to "administer to the estate." Taking a hint from this story, I begged General Cortlandt to make the Colonels of all the regiments in this force open books for the estates of deceased sepoys, the non-existence of which appears to be quite an annuity to commanding-officers.

The rain has done good instead of harm to our fort. Bricklayers, carpenters and labourers are flocking in daily, and the soldiers work manfully. As an instance of the terms we are now on with the Vizeerees, I may mention that they are daily bringing in fir-

poles for our own cantonment from the pine-forests with which some of their hill-sides are covered.

*January, 12th.*—To-day, being a great festival of the Sikhs, is a holiday for the whole force.

Rode out through the upper tuppehs of Bunnoo, and stirred up the activity of the peasantry in pulling down their forts; it makes both hands and hearts bleed. Paid a visit also to the forts of the Momund-kheyl Vizeerees, who possess a fertile little island at the head of the Khoorrum, and contrary to the custom of all other Vizeerees, live the whole year in Bunnoo. Being quite in a corner they thought to pass unobserved, and had not pulled down any part of their fortifications; but the moment we appeared in sight, it was amusing to see how rapidly they jumped astride the walls and began hammering away. The chiefs too rushed out, dragging a fat *doombuh* (sheep) as a *nuzzur* (offering). This, by the bye, is the universal offering of Bunnoo, and I never pass by a fort that I have not to refuse a sheep!

One fort which we visited to-day was entirely inhabited by Hindoos, a singular instance in all Bunnoo. It is called "Moolluh's Gurhee." Now that this among other forts must come down, the Hindoos, afraid of living in an open village, have applied to be

admitted into our new town of Duleepshuhr, the foundations of which are to be laid to-morrow.

*January 13th.*—Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, came to beg for a little delay in knocking down his fort, as all his people are engaged in ploughing and sowing the lands, called Sudurawan, which have been just assigned to him by the umpires. As crops are more important than castles, I allowed him ten days more than the fifteen fixed originally.

By this time the whole population of the valley was engaged in demolishing the forts for fear of being fined; and I confess I viewed the progress of the work with equal shares of satisfaction and contempt. Had my proclamation been sent back to me as gunwadding, and the unanimous chiefs shut themselves up in their forts and defied me to pull them down, the valley of Bunnoo, for aught I know, might have been free at this moment. To be sure it would have been a hell; but what of that? the Bunnoochees liked it.

Having ascertained that the chiefs of a tribe of Vizeerees, named Janeekheyl, who hold lands adjoining those of Bukkykheyl, on the east of Bunnoo, have never come into me, nor signed the Vizeeree agreement, and that the whole tribe is now in the hills, I have sent through Swahn Khan to inquire

if they mean to stay where they are? If so, I will give their lands to other people. If not, they had better come and sign the agreement.

A great number of the Hindoos of Bunnoo having come to beg that places may be allowed them in the new capital, I walked over with them to the spot, where the streets are now being laid out, and asked them what they thought of the plan. It was generally approved, but every one made a special request that *his* particular house might be the nearest to the fort! Already the applications are so numerous, that we have been obliged to extend our plan; and it is probable that the trade, not only of this rich valley, but also of Esaukheyl, Murwut, Tâk, and Koláchee, will soon centre in Duleepshuhr, instead of, as hitherto, in Dera Ishmael Khan. That town, indeed, when I saw it last, was in a very decayed condition; and I am assured that one natural obstacle exists to its ever becoming a very prosperous settlement — the white ants are so destructive, that it is impossible to keep a store of grain in the town; and for the daily consumption of the inhabitants, supplies are brought in from the country, and across the Indus. When General Cortlandt arrived, and inspected the fort of Ukálgurh at Dera, he found the greater part of the grain in store quite pulverized by white ants.



*January 14th.*—Some Meeree chiefs came in to beg that I would allow half the height of one of their largest forts to remain standing, as the fort is directly under the hills of their enemies, the Vizeerees, and absolutely necessary as a city of refuge. They also interceded for another fort, which commands their irrigation. These requests seem reasonable, but I shall ride out myself to-morrow morning to the spot, and see that they are true; for I hold the levelling of the forts to be the key-stone of the subjugation of Bunnoo, and will let off none that I can help.

Received from General Cortlandt the proceedings in the case of the Ghazee, who came to assassinate me in Cortlandt's tent, but *merely* killed the sentry. He sentences the Ghazee to be hanged; and his religious adviser, the Peer, to be imprisoned for twelve years. In this decision I concur, but have recommended that the Ghazee's body remain on the gallows, as an example of the fate which awaits all Muhommudan martyrs. The case goes on to the Resident for confirmation.

*January 15th.*—This morning, according to promise, galloped out to the Meeree border, and, after inspection, gave permission for the walls of two forts, named Noorár and Shuheedán, to be left standing, as high as a man could reach with his hand. (Of course, they will pick out a big fellow to measure with!)

Was pleased, indeed, to see that a great portion of the lately barren plain of the Meerees has been sown since I released the irrigation from the Vizeerees ; but still it came too late to plough and sow the whole.

Returning to camp about one o'clock, I learnt accidentally, in talking with a fakeer, that one of our sepoy had been murdered last night between camp and the town of Bazaar. Immediately sent word to General Cortlandt to dispatch the trackers. Odd enough, he had heard nothing of it, though our people were going and coming all day on that road. People now sent out to bring in the body, which had several wounds ; but the murder was evidently not committed by a thief, as the money, sword, clothes, &c. of the deceased were left with the body. Must have the officers all up to my tent, and speak about the little attention paid to the camp orders, about staying out at night, and alone. One successful assassination encourages the Bunnoochees to commit a dozen others.

At night, a good joke. One of my twenty-five orderly horsemen came to me with a loud complaint that he was put on duty contrary to the roster ! This from an irregular and a Sikh, was amusing ; for, even in the regular Sikh army, the impartial *rôle* has been, till very lately, disregarded, both in

duty and promotion. But I was glad to see so good a sign of improving discipline: had all the men up, and drew up a roster for future observance.

About this time, Lord Hardinge sailed for England, and I received the following gratifying proof that I had not laboured under his eye in vain.

Extract of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William, No. 1176, dated the 24th of December, 1847, to the officiating Resident at Lahore.

Paragraph 3. "The Governor-General has been pleased to raise the salary of Lieutenant Edwardes to one thousand rupees per mensem, and that of Lieutenant Lumsden to eight hundred rupees, as a testimony of his approbation of their services since they have been in the Punjab.

(True extract)

(Signed)

" J. LAWRENCE,

" Officiating Resident."

No increase of pay, however, could compensate to either of us for the loss of such a master; may I add, with humble gratitude, so kind a friend?

*January 16th.*—This evening I received all the officers of the force, and called upon them to enforce

the camp regulations against soldiers going out alone, and remaining out after sunset. They proposed to lay a counter-ambush near the mill, to shoot the Bunnoochees who lurk there at night; but though the chances are, ninety-nine out of a hundred, that they would shoot the right persons, yet there is one chance that they might shoot the wrong. Besides, there is something repugnant in taking a man's life out of a hiding-place, before he has, by any overt act, discovered hostile intentions.

I also took the opportunity of remarking on the wantonness of destroying mulberry-trees for firewood; a practice which the soldiers are getting into now that they feel themselves a little secure in their new country, and which has already disgraced the Sikh armies so shamefully in Cachmere and Peshawur.

There is plenty of wood to be purchased, if the men will only encourage the peasants to bring it in, by buying, instead of stealing it. (At Cachmere, the Sikh soldiers very nearly cleared away the poplars, and did much injury to the chunár, or plane-trees,\*)

\* Mr. Vigne, the enterprising traveller in Cachmere, saw on the spot what I have merely heard of from others. He says: "A great number of these fine trees have been destroyed by the Sikhs. The Governor, Mihan Sing, cut down some in the Shálímár, and sold them; but Runjeet ordered him to repair

and the valley of Peshawur was almost denuded of the mulberry, once so plentiful and valuable. The wantonness of all soldiers is very great in the way of plundering supplies of all sorts, if good discipline be not observed in the army to which they belong; for they are birds of passage, and feel that they will not miss to-morrow the shade of the grove which they injure to-day. But though I have seen a soldier of Hindoostan pull the door off an empty house to cook a chupattee with, I do not think the same man would have cut down a graceful poplar, or plane-tree, for he would have been too civilized, and felt the enormity of the act. A Sikh, on the contrary, has no feeling on such a subject—no love of nature. He sees no aspirations in the towering of the cypress, no sadness in its bending before the wind; he views it with the eye of a carpenter, and would tell you to a foot how long it would last him and his comrade for firewood. In the forest of Lebanon I believe he would sit down and chop four new legs for his bed; for it is a well-known fact that the Sikh soldiers pulled the roof off a palace of Raja Heera Sing's at

the damage as well as he could! In the times of the Patáns no man could cut down a chunár under a penalty of five hundred rupees, even on his own ground.—*Vigne's Travels in Kashmir*. Vol. 11. p. 95.

Jusrotuh for no other purpose than to get the beams, which were of a favourite wood, for bedsteads.

There is, however, one class of men even still more inimical to trees of every kind than the Khalsa soldier: I mean the camel-drivers of an Indian army. Certainly they have "no bowels," and their camels *have* !

This evening attended the christening of the new town, which is called Duleepshuhr, or the city of Duleep. My object in naming both the fort and city after the little Maharajuh was to help, as far as lay in my power, to dispel the jealousy felt by the Sikhs at the very efforts made to strengthen their own government and improve the country. They either thought, or pretended to think, that everything we did was for ourselves, not for the Maharajuh ; and that we had no intention whatever of leaving the Punjab when that Prince attained his majority. Hence the readiness with which they took up arms in 1848, though little better prepared then to carry on the government themselves than in 1846, when they implored us to remain and guide them. During the progress of the late war, Sikhs more than once told me that they considered Chuttur Sing's mistake was "not waiting till the term of the treaty expired, when, if the British

evacuated, well; and if not, the nation would have had a just right to try and turn them out. As it was they only acted on suspicion, and broke a treaty."

To-night Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, came with much mystery to warn me against riding into the Bunnoochee forts. Now that the demolition is going on, I am in the habit of riding out to see where any are at a stand-still, and stir up the workmen; and being generally in front of my own party, I am usually the first to enter the gateways. This seems to have put it into the heads of three Mullicks in the Dâood Shâh tuppeh, that it would be easy to cut me down before any of the escort could come up to assist me; and (as Swahn told the story) "of course two or three of us would be killed afterwards; but we should get rid of the Sahib, and then, of course, the force would go away from Bunnoo." This Bunnoochee logic is very awkward for me, and I must certainly get them to comprehend that I am not the only Sahib in the Punjab; but that, if I were killed, another would come down from Peshawur in a week, and, in official language, "assume charge of the office."

*January 17th.*—Cortlandt also has received information of the Dâood Shâh plot from a Hindoo of that tuppeh, who is more explicit in his account than

Swahn Khan. He says that Vizeerees also were concerned in the matter; that they held a consultation with the people of the adjoining valley of Dour, who promised to bring down four hundred men, who are to get into a fort whose walls are still standing, so as to attract my attention; and as soon as I enter the fort the gate is to be shut, and I, and the two or three with me in front, are to be killed, after which the conspirators will take their chance. It would be a great thing if these gentlemen could be caught in their own trap.

*January 18th.*—The Hindoos request me to settle what ground-rent they are to pay for a site in the new town. Considering that Government will have to compensate the owners of the ground on which the city stands; to build a wall round the city, and keep it in repair for ever; and that it is desirable to secure at starting what is so difficult to get Hindoos to agree to afterwards—viz., a fund for *chokeedaree* (watching) and conservancy; I think five rupees a-year per shop is a fair demand from a class of men whose lives are now, for the first time, to be protected, and who are relieved of all corn-laws and customs. Fixed five rupees accordingly. Every man is to build his own shop, on the site allotted to him; the shop to be his own property.



The abundance of wild mulberry-trees in Bunnoo made me desirous of introducing the growth of silk into the valley, and I had written to Lieutenant Taylor to ask him to send me down a few families of silk-growers, from Peshawur, promising them every encouragement in my power. About this time I received his answer, as follows: "We have been looking for silk manufacturers for you, and expect to be able to send you some; but they will require advances of money to purchase eggs, there being at present but a very small supply in Peshawur. They can be procured from the Sufaid Koh, and its neighbourhood, and are not expensive. We must try and get up the establishments again here. They have died out for want of sustenance for the worms, through the ruthless destruction of trees, which always accompanies the progress of Sikh civilization."

The lovely cold season of the Punjab, and Eastern Afghanistan, may be said to last from November the 1st to February the 28th; though March may be added at Peshawur. It was time, therefore, that I should divide the strength of the force necessary to occupy Bunnoo all the year, in order that the superfluous regiments might have time to reach their summer quarters. My little army was at this time constituted as follows:

| NAME OF REGIMENT.                            | CASTE OF SOLDIERS.                                                 | NUMBERS. |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| General Bishen Sing's regiment.              | { Muhommudans of the Punjab. }                                     | 641      |
| Soobhan Khan's regiment .                    | Ditto ditto . .                                                    | 570      |
| General Cortlandt's Kuthár Mookhee regiment. | { Half ditto ditto ; half Poorbeeus, among whom a few Goorchuhs. } | 690      |
| Zorákhun Sing's regiment                     | { Dogruhs from Jum-moo. }                                          | 450      |
| Mihur Sing's regiment .                      | Sikhs . . . . .                                                    | 525      |
| Khás' regiment . . . .                       | Ditto . . . . .                                                    | 363      |
| Ukál regiment of cavalry .                   | Ditto . . . . .                                                    | 403      |
| Ghorchurruhs . . . .                         | Ditto . . . . .                                                    | 500      |
| Barukzye horse . . . .                       | Afghans . . . . .                                                  | 600      |
| Total . .                                    |                                                                    | 4742     |

Beside these, were three troops of horse artillery, a heavy battery of four guns, and eighty zumbooruhs. The first three regiments of infantry were those I selected to remain, not so much because they were strongest, as because they were mostly Muhommudans, and had, therefore, more in common with the Bunnoochees, while the rest being Hindoo Poorbeeus of Hindoostan, were a shade less odious than the Sikhs and Dogruhs of the other three regiments. Of the cavalry, for the same reason, I should have been glad to detain the six hundred still left with me of the

Barukzye horse (I had already let four hundred go, to oblige their masters), but this would have been contrary to the terms of their service, so that I had no choice but to keep the five hundred Sikh Ghoorchurruhs, the Ukál regiment of regular cavalry being wanted again at Peshawur. The Peshawur troop of horse artillery was also to return, leaving with me in this arm, General Cortlandt's two troops of horse artillery, four heavy guns, and eighty camel-swivels. With this artillery, nearly two thousand infantry, and five hundred horse, in good discipline, under experienced officers, and in a strong fort, well stored with provisions and ammunitions, I felt that we should be able not only to maintain our own position, and govern the Bunnoochees as soon as their demolished forts had made them helpless, but to defend Bunnoo against all comers, should a religious invasion be made from the Afghan mountains in our front.

*January 21st.*—This morning I had to perform a very unpleasant duty. The embarrassed state of the Sikh exchequer, renders it necessary to reduce every establishment to the lowest pitch consistent with efficiency, and "to keep no more cats than will catch mice." Amongst others, the expensive *ghoorchurruhs* (Sikh irregulars, or yeomanry) are passing under the shears; and I am ordered to offer certain favourable

terms to all who will retire and become pensioners of the State. But of course the pension would be less than their present pay; and the ghoorchurruh service, since Runjeet's death, seems to have degenerated into little better than a charitable institution, not only for the old worn-out horsemen of Runjeet's day, but also for the Sikh chiefs, whose respective banners they follow. Under these circumstances, a just, and even liberal pension, comes to them as an injury.

This morning was fixed for the invaliding parade, and I went down the line with the officers and paymasters, and asked every Sikh singly whether he wished to retire. Out of five hundred, only nine accepted, and those nine in a sulky and almost insubordinate manner, which, under the circumstances, I thought it best not to see. They all expected that I was going to discharge a certain number of incapables, whether they liked it or not; but as the Persian order from the Lahore Government distinctly said they were to go *buh murzee-i-khood* (of their own free-will), I pressed none of them, though I saw many whose numerous, and I doubt not, honourable wounds, rendered them as fit for the pension-list, as unfit for service. The parade was not over till past noon, though it began at sunrise; and I was both fatigued and disgusted long before it ended. The spirit which

actuated the Sikh army was ineradicably bad. They had, before we entered the Punjab, emancipated themselves from all control, and seized both the Government and the treasury. They did no duty they did not like ; voted themselves as much pay as could be diverted from other departments of the State ; and, full of money and idleness, lived a life of political excitement, and the grossest private debauchery.

When Lord Gough's army first reached Lahore, in February, 1846, every window in the streets of that capital was filled with the courtezans of the conquered Khalsa soldiers ; and on every roof, and in every gateway, the soldiers themselves were throwing dice, and gambling away the memory of their defeats. So shameless and abandoned a city was supposed not to exist in Asia. Now all this was exactly the sort of thing to which the whole spirit of British rule in India is opposed, and which it will neither tolerate in its armies nor its civil offices. If there is any one thing which more than another characterises the Anglo-Indian Government, it is method and regulation ; and the natives talk of the *aieen* (laws) of the East India Company, as the Old World may have talked of those of Lycurgus. The weak Lahore Government, therefore, could not have called in any ally more certain to "set things to rights;" and the

self-willed and mutinous Sikh army soon found that their day of licence had departed; that they must now march where they were wanted, and when they were ordered; mount guard when it was their tour of duty, obey their officers, and live upon their proper pay. But it may be easily conceived that they did not like it. It was as galling to them as it was beneficial to the country. They did not want justice, they wanted immunity from law.

The British officers whose task it was to assist the Lahore Government in such changes, could not be blind to the existence of these feelings in the army; and to do their duty in the face of it, to perform that most thankless of offices, a public reformer, and be day after day slaving away their health at *good* that was to seem *evil*, was a disheartening employment that nothing could have rendered tolerable but the consolation of maintaining peace.

After transacting *cutcherry* (office) business for an hour or two, I was sitting with Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, and his interpreter, talking over Bunnoo affairs, when the cry arose that "Swords were going!" Swahn Khan having no arms (according to camp rules), bolted out of the tent; while his "man Friday" began dancing about, wringing his

hands, and ejaculating: "Oh, that I had now a sword! This is the evil of taking away men's proper tools!" Having ever since the first attempt of this kind kept a double-barrelled pistol on my table, I now cocked both barrels, and walked outside, for the row had grown quite deafening, and I thought there must be a dozen Ghazees at least; in which case, one person inside a tent fourteen feet square would stand but a poor chance. Scarcely had I got out at one door, than the Ghazee (for there proved to be only one) forced his way through the sentries and *chuprassees* (official messengers), and entered my tent at the other door. Hearing the rush, I turned round, and could see through the screens of the tent, a Bunnoochee with a naked sword plunging after me like a mad bull. (The outside door of an Indian tent turns up, and is supported on props during the day, as a kind of porch, to keep off the sun. It is very low, and I knew that the Ghazee must stoop as he came out, so here I took my stand.) His turban was knocked off in stooping at the door, and when he stood up outside, he glared round for his victim like a tiger who had missed his spring. Then his eyes met mine; and seeing no resource, I fired one barrel into his breast. The shock nearly knocked him down, for there could not have been

two feet between us. He staggered, but did not fall; and I was just thinking of firing the other barrel at his head, when a stream of soldiers and camp-followers, with all kinds of weapons, rushed in and bore away the wretch some twenty yards towards a native's tent, into which, hacked and chopped in every direction, he contrived to crawl; but was followed up, and was so mangled by the indignant crowd before my people could interfere, that I wonder he survived a minute. He lingered, however, till night, in spite of the remedies which the native doctor, by my orders, applied to him. The rage of the soldiery was beyond description, and I had great difficulty in preventing his being carried off to be burnt alive. Even late in the evening, a deputation came to say that it was apparent the Ghazee could not live out the night, and "had he not better be hanged at once, while he had any life in him?" I said: "No; let him die; the example will be just as great, perhaps greater, if his body is exposed on the gallows afterwards."

My tent immediately after this startling occurrence was besieged by the officers and soldiers—some half naked, just as they had rushed from the fort works when they heard my pistol; and it was really quite sufficient compensation for the danger, to see the



unfeigned anxiety of the men, and hear their loud greetings and congratulations. All discipline was lost in such a moment of strong feeling. Thirty swords at least, covered with blood, were held out among the crowd, and as many voices shouted: "I hit the dog *this* way!" "I cut him *that*!" And certainly they had not left much of him untouched, though they had been too much in each other's way to deal very fatal blows. Then came all the officers and sirdars of the force, throwing down nuzzurs and whirling money round my head—as is their custom on occasions of triumph or deliverance—and the sun set before I could get rid of the assembly. The worst part of the whole business is, that the Ghazee slashed one of my *syces* (grooms) most severely before he entered my tent, and I am afraid he is anything but out of danger. The poor fellow was cooking his dinner, and the cowardly rascal sliced him with his tulwár all down the back.

It would evidently have been better had the first Ghazee been hanged at once. The delay of a formal trial, and submission of the sentence to Government for confirmation, is beyond the capacity of this people to appreciate; and seeing no instant example, they probably think that the anger of the law has passed harmlessly away. I have therefore ordered the body

of the assassin who died to-night to be exposed to-morrow on a gallows, the same as if he had been hanged; for the Muhommudans of Bunnoo believe that this takes away the virtue of martyrdom, and excludes the hero from the Paradise he sought. This belief is common to all the tribes of Eastern Afghanistan, and would probably be found to pervade Muhommudans generally. The Sikhs were well aware of it, and they burned the bodies of these religious assassins; thus, in popular estimation, converting them to Hindoos. One example of that kind was sufficient; for it caused the deepest horror throughout the country in which it occurred. The evil was, that they had not always such just provocation. Afghans were often burnt at Peshawur who had been killed in ordinary affrays, or even sometimes on suspicion. It was a part of the deadly persecution which raged between the disciples of Govind and the followers of the Prophet, and made no pretence to a judicial proceeding. The reader will remember that, in a note at page 91, Agha Abbas relates that he himself witnessed "three of the country people, Muhommudans, pressed to labour the day before, and at night shot, on a pretended suspicion of being thieves. Their bodies were hung on a gallows, and a fire had evidently been lit

underneath, from the dreadful manner in which they were scorched ;” and again, “the body of a Khuttuk suspended in company with a dog, and scorched. He had been killed by a Sikh on some false pretence.” But if done deliberately and dispassionately, from no vindictive motives, but with a sole desire to check such horrible offences and save human life, it was, I am inclined to think, justifiable ; and in similar circumstances I would not do it myself, simply because it would be impolitic. To hang a Muhommudan for an attempted assassination would be admitted to be right, even by his countrymen, however much they might grieve at it. It would engender sorrow that he had not succeeded better, but not malice or revenge. But to rob the martyr of his religion, and number him among abominable infidels, by a Hindoo burial, would be thought a step beyond the limits of just social retribution and the mere reprisal of a hostile religion. Hence, instead of putting down assassination, it would originate a feud.

*Saturday, January 22nd.*—The name of the assassin proves to be Zabtuh Khan, son of Sher Khan, village Hussunkheyl, in tuppeh Bazaar. His mother-in-law came and recognised his body ; but said he always lived a vagrant kind of life, never at

home except to sleep. Had not been home for five or six days. There are two *moolluhs* (priests) in the fort, and I shall not excuse their lands in any way ; for it is strict justice that the religious adviser should suffer for the religious crime of his disciple. The doctrine is equally applicable to countries nearer England than Bunnoo ; and if it is true, as I was assured recently in Ireland, that the denunciation of any person from the altar is almost immediately followed by his murder, most solemnly do I hold that the denouncing priest is guilty of that murder, and should suffer for it as much as if his eye had taken the cowardly aim, and his finger pulled the trigger. If the law cannot reach him, it is weak ; and if public opinion will not support the Government in strengthening that law, such public opinion is morbid, and has lost the manly vigour which distinguishes a country in its prime.

Took the accounts of the *khurreef* (winter) harvest of tuppeh Bazaar ; from which it appeared that twelve forts were in possession of lay zumeendars, and ten of Syuds and other religious proprietors, while six thousand two hundred and eleven kunahls of ground belonged to the former, and two thousand six hundred and fifty-six to the latter ; so that in this tuppeh

the priests have appropriated nearer one-half than one-third. At the rate of one-fourth of produce from the laymen, and only one-seventh from the priests, the land-tax of this tuppeh for this winter harvest would be five thousand rupees: and if, as the people say, the spring harvest is to the winter as one to two, then the whole year's revenue is seven thousand five hundred rupees. At this rate, if tolerably equal, the twenty tuppehs would yield a lakh and a half of rupees per annum (one hundred and fifty thousand); but I fancy Bazaar is about the best. On the other hand, I expect the spring harvest must be nearly as good as the winter one, as there is water all the year round, and now that the irrigation will be open to every one, the wheat crops will be better still. The priests also may be well raised to one-sixth of their produce, and the revenue will still be very low. But these are my orders, to conciliate the people by an easy assessment. They will require it too: for the more the condition of this country is looked into, and the more the peasants come forward to represent their cases and seek redress, the clearer it becomes that their Mullicks have been mere *nati consumere fruges*. They ground the ryots, then wasted their gains.

As the money came, so it went. “Mal-i-mooft; dil bé rihm!”\*

*Sunday, January 23rd.*—Walked round the fort to see what damage had been done by the rain, which fell heavily all night. Walls very wet and pappy, but no downfall. There will not be another such fort on this side of the Indus.

*January 24th.*—This day my poor syce, Sookh Lal, died of the fearful wounds he had received from the Ghazee. The native doctor thought he was in a fair way of recovery. It has terrified all my Hindoostanee servants, and I hear they are praying for my recall to Lahore. I have told my *moonshee* (native secretary) to tell them that any one of them whose heart fails had better go; but if they stay with me, they must hold their tongues, and set an example to others, for Bunnoo is quite bugbear enough already.

(Sookh Lal was an excellent servant, and a great loss to me, as he was the only one who could either dress or bring to the door an ill-tempered but hard-working Arab horse that I had. Had he left either wife or children, I would have given them a small

\* A Persian proverb, signifying that “the heart has no scruples with wealth easily acquired.”

pension, but he had neither. Through the medium of a brother officer I found out his father, and sent him a present before leaving India.)

Nizamooddeen (a spy) says he overheard some *Oolumás* (priests) in the fort of one Jaffir Khan, in Dâood Shâh tuppeh, talking about some ten or twelve *Oolumás* in the next valley of Dour having turned Ghazees, for the sake of their faith, and sworn to kill the Sahib in Bunnoo. These Dourees are great blackguards: perhaps the most vicious and degraded tribe of the Afghan nation. Their country is described to be a valley, about twelve koss long (eighteen miles) and five koss broad, surrounded by mountains. The Tochee runs through the centre of it, and it is watered like Bunnoo. There are about one hundred and fifty fortified villages in it, and the cultivation is rich and abundant. The people are perfectly independent of Cabul, and have always been friends with the Bunnoochees, and enemies of the Vizeerees. I understand that from the Vizeeree dam which I destroyed to Dour, is not more than five or six koss, and after passing through a narrow gully the road is good. Agha Abbas, who visited Dour in 1837, mentions that "there is a peculiar tribe in the hills of Dour that shave one eyebrow, one moustache,

and half the beard; and apply antimony with the finger above and below the eye, so as perfectly to disfigure their faces."

It may be useful to political officers if I give here the information obtained of the Dour tribes by both Agha Abbas and myself. He estimates their forts at one hundred or one hundred and fifty, and says: "Three of the forts are large, the residences of the Mulicks. They are Thuttee, Ismail Kheyl, and Hydur Kheyl;" and the details he gives may be arranged as follows:

| NAME.                               | NUMBER OF<br>HOUSES. | DITTO<br>SHOPS. | FIGHTING<br>MEN. | NAMES OF<br>CHIEFS.                      |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Thuttee . .                         | 600                  | 65              | 1000             | { Muhommud Khan,<br>of the Khuttuktribe. |
| Ismail Kheyl .                      | 700                  | 100             | 3000             |                                          |
| Hydur Kheyl .                       | 300                  | 35              | 2000             | Kumál Khán.                              |
| Total of three<br>principal forts } | 1600                 | 200             | 6000             |                                          |

From Thuttee to Ismail Kheyl (or as he sometimes calls it Moosakheyl) he calls five koss; and from the latter to Hydur Kheyl six koss (the country between these two "particularly fertile, and well-watered.") "In every field of the valley there is a tower built for its defence. The people are much divided among themselves." As usual, the priests masters. "There



are two Syuds here who are much looked up to. They are from Kanegoorrum; their names Jowahir Shah and Ghureeb Shah. All disputes are settled in their presence, and they draw no contemptible revenue from the district."

The information I obtained while in Bunnoo does not apparently tally with the above; but Pushtoo names are so corrupted, that it is probable the three first on my list correspond with Agha Abbas's three principal forts.

| NAME OF THE TUPPEH.       | NAMES OF THE CHIEFS.           |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Khuddee Kheyl . . . .     | Nuwab and Shuddeedár.          |
| So Kheyl, or Wussokheyl . | Sheikh Hussun.                 |
| Hydur Kheyl . . . .       | Meerdád.                       |
| Eyduk . . . . .           | Wálee and Shuddedár.           |
| Moobárukzye . . . .       | Peyábooddeen.                  |
| Tuppaiee . . . . .        | Muddásán and Khundáree.        |
| Meerám Shah . . . .       | Zureeb.                        |
| Durpá Kheyl . . . .       | Ukbur Shah, Muddásán, Jungeer. |
| Umzánee . . . . .         | Mámádee, Meeruk, Khánzum.      |
| Mullikh . . . . .         | Sher Khan, Beloch, Adum.       |

*Tuesday, January 25th.*—Hearing that several forts in the Dâood Shâh tuppeh were only half knocked down, I rode out in that direction this morning; and finding several still half as high again as a man, I fined them ten rupees each to hurry their movements.

The two Mullicks who planned killing me in one of their gateways were Jaffir Khan and Shádee Khan; and I thought it would be well, now that I was in their neighbourhood, to pay them a special visit. The two forts almost touched each other, and hardly any of either had been knocked down. They were very large, and full of people; therefore paucity of hands could be no excuse. Shádee Khan hid himself at our approach, which I have never known any Mullick to do yet, however ill-disposed. Altogether I thought these two schemers deserved no mercy, and put a heavy fine on each of fifty rupees, quartering horsemen on them till they paid it, which they did during the day.

(The reader will remember that I gave the Bunnoochees fifteen days wherein to raze their forts. At the end of that time manyca me to me and deprecated my being angry, or fining them for not fulfilling their task in the appointed time, declaring that they had done their best, and appealing to the very great progress they had made. I was indeed quite content with their labours, but made a great favour of extending their days of grace. Twenty days had now elapsed, and about two-thirds of the destruction was accomplished.)

In the whole of Bunnoo there may be now twenty

or thirty uninhabited forts whose walls are still standing intact, there being no one to knock them down. Of the rest, I should say two hundred are already level with the ground, one hundred down as low as a man's waist, and seventy or eighty as high as a man. The fact is that the demolition is no easy work. The mud is like iron, and the Bunnoochees hate labour as cordially as all other Putháns.

Nizamooddeen's information of yesterday is confirmed to-day. Baba Ootum Sing, a Sikh fakeer\*

\* It may seem strange to the European reader that a Sikh fakeer should reside securely in the bigoted country of Dour, whose chief authorities were two priests of the Muhommudan religion. But the character of a fakeer is sacred throughout the East, and come he in what name he will, he is sure of superstitious reverence and charity. There was, I remember, in Lahore, a Muhommudan shrine named Dátá-Gunj-Buksh, greatly revered by the Soonnee sect, and it was chiefly supported by donations from the Sikh authorities. The infamous Ranee Jhunda constantly consulted it as an oracle. Again the festival of the Busunttee, or Feast of Spring, is held with great rejoicings by the whole population of Lahore, at a Muhommudan shrine in the suburbs. More inconsistent still, a Sikh deputy-governor under General Cortlandt, named Sirdar Chunda Sing, was in the habit of sending propitiatory offerings to a Moslem shrine at Dera Ishmael Khan, and endeavouring to extract from it a prophecy that the Sikh nation would soon be free from the control of the English ;

in Dour, has, out of regard for his countrymen in this camp, written a *goormookhee* (note) to a Commandant in General Cortlandt's artillery, and it was brought to-day by a Kuthree of Bazaar, named Dewan. Fuzzul Ali and the Commandant took it to Cortlandt, who sent it to me. It states, in a few words, that we had better be on our guard, as the tribes of eight countries, of which Dour is one, have banded together to strike a blow for their religion, led on by their Oolumás; that the gathering has begun, and will amount to thirty-five thousand men; and that they will descend on Bunnoo in a few days by the Khoorrum road. The writer implores his friend not to let it be known from what quarter the information came, as it would cost him his life. The Hindoo who brought the note gave further particulars, that the stirrers-up of the whole are, as usual, the priests, aided by our old runaway rebel, Dilassuh Khan, and his son, Sheikhee; both of whom are, moreover, said to be in communication with Meer Akrum Khan, a son of Dost Muhommud, the ruler of Cabul, now

and of course at liberty to oppress Muhommudans once more! Hearing this, I removed him from his government, quietly, but did not expose him; when, throwing off all disguise, he joined the rebels in front of Lord Gough's army, and shared their defeat and ruin.

collecting revenue hard by us in Khost, and also with the Barukzyes in my camp! On this latter point I questioned the Kuthree closely, but he persisted that it was the common talk of Dour that Dilassuh receives letters from our Barukzyes. It is difficult to imagine what motive their leader, Sirdar Khwâjuh Muhommud, can have for such an intrigue; but to endeavour to account for an Afghan's intrigues is as idle as to disbelieve them for want of any apparent motive. I have certainly thought sometimes that he looks with jealousy on this subjugation of Bunnoo. Kohât was given in jageer to his father, as much because the Sikhs could not conquer it as to provide for a fallen foe; and he may argue that the reduction of Bunnoo may suggest the resumption and reduction of Kohât. To-morrow I shall send for him, and tell him plainly what I have heard, as I had much rather stop him in such a course than let him alone to pursue it for the sake of punishing him afterwards.

As to the invasion itself, we have three thousand infantry, one thousand cavalry, eighteen guns, and eighty zumbooruhs, and if the whole of the thirty-five thousand Afghans were to come down, and be joined by the whole of Bunnoo, the most they could do would be to shut us in our fort. I have no doubt that an invasion is really in agitation, but doubt its

being so extensive as described. We shall prepare for them all, notwithstanding. Meanwhile I have written to the head priest in Dour (who by great luck proves to have a grant of charitable land in our own province of Tâk), calling on him, if he wishes to retain it, to advise his disciples to be wise in time, lest the fate of Bunnoo be also the fate of Dour! This letter I send through Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, my never-failing assistant in all troubles. The old man himself came in the evening to warn us of the Dour alliance, which has come to his hearing through his own countrymen in the hills. He seems, however, to think that the snow is too heavy in the mountains where the "allies" live, to admit of such an expedition just now, and expect that the Dourees will confine themselves for the present to small forays on our grass-cutting parties, &c. I have profited by the hint, and ordered the camp foragers not to expose themselves towards the head of the Khoorrum.

All the chief Syuds and Oolumá of Bunnoo called to express their happiness at my escape from the sword of the Ghazee, and gave in a formal petition to be allowed to swear on the Koran that they had not instigated the assassin. Of course I declined their oath, but accepted their congratulations—at just what they were worth. Took the opportunity of

informing them, that if they got rid of me, they would probably get *two* Sahibs in my place !

*January 26th.*—With reference to the threatened invasion, directed a tank to be dug immediately in the fort. Two companies of sappers and miners hard at it. In three days this will hold water enough for a month. We did not intend to lay in the fort supplies until the building was over, and the spring harvest gathered in, but it is now necessary to “victual” at once ; and not to cause alarm here, or raise the price of grain so as to distress the camp, our camels will cross over the Indus from Esaukheyl, where they are grazing, and bring supplies from Kuchee.

Swahn Khan having received payment from Sher Must, partly in cash and partly in securities, has come to me to make out the receipt for him, being afraid to trust any one else, lest they should set down more cash than he has yet touched ; in which case, not being able to read, he would be cheated. A pleasing state of society to live in !

Three Mulicks have run away from tuppeh Dâood Shâh to join the reported invaders in Dour. Two of them are the men who conspired to kill me in the gateway of their forts. The Hindoos who live in their villages have come to report it. Told General

Cortlandt to write an order to the runaways to return within a week, or forfeit their lands. This Dâood Shâh tuppeh gives me more trouble than all Bunnoo put together. The Bunnoochees have a proverb, "He comes from Dâood Shâh," which is equivalent to, "He is a born fool!"

Went to see how the new town of Duleepshuhr gets on. Walls on three sides waist high. The Hindoo shopkeepers of Bazaar are beginning to desert even their kind master Lal Baz Khan, and want shops in our city. Fear Bazaar will be knocked up, and would much prefer its keeping its ground as a rival.

Cortlandt dreadfully worried with the complaints of the peasantry against their own Mullicks.

In the course of some other business, Ursula Khan, a fine young lad, sixteen years old, son of one of the Sooraunee Mullicks, came in to impart to me his own and his father's uneasiness about past murders. "What," he asked, "is to be the law?" I asked him, jokingly, "What does it signify to a lad like you? how many men have you killed?" He replied, modestly, "Oh! I've only killed four, but father has killed eighty!" One gets accustomed to this state of society; but in England, what monsters of cruelty would this father and son be considered! Indeed, few



people would like to be in the same room with them. Yet, *cæteris paribus*, in Bunnoo, they are rather respectable men.

Very little of the cold weather was now left, and as it was necessary that I should make a tour of the other countries under General Cortlandt's government (Tâk, Koláchee, Drábund, Choudwan, Girâng, and Dera Ishmael Khan), and, if possible, make a revenue settlement of each for the next three years, I requested the Acting-Resident at Lahore to send some other Assistant to take my place, temporarily, in Bunnoo, General Cortlandt remaining there till I returned, which would probably be the end of March, when my *locum tenens* could go back to his own district, General Cortlandt transfer his court to Dera Ishmael Khan, the head-quarters of his government, and I remain to carry out my own undertaking in Bunnoo. On January 28th, I received Mr. John Lawrence's consent to this arrangement; and he wrote, "I have this day written to Taylor to run down to Bunnoo for a month or six weeks, so that you can make your tour;" adding the following appropriate advice, "take care of yourself, or you will get killed by some fellow." The feelings of an over-worked Resident at seeing one of his scanty number of Assistants in a position where he is very

likely to get killed, and throw another province on his hands, may be supposed to resemble those of a "lone woman" while packing up the valise of her only son just gazetted to a regiment in the neighbourhood of the Cannibal Islands. How very ill I "took care of myself" in the said tour, and how very well I was "wiggled" by Mr. John Lawrence's successor for nearly "getting killed by some fellow," will be seen presently.

*Friday, 28th January.*—Decided that the mortgagees, who hold lands in pledge, and not the mortgagers who have pledged them, shall pay the arrears of revenue due upon those lands. This refers to a custom in Bunnoo, already alluded to in Chapter II., that when a landowner borrowed money and put his land in pawn on that account with his creditor, the debtor continued to be liable to all charges on that land, although the creditor reaped all the crops! This was not only contrary to the Muhommudan law, but to justice, which was of more consequence, and I asked Mr. John Lawrence's advice as to putting an end to it. He decided that credit should be given to the landlord for the rent of his lands in pawn, "minus a fair rate of interest, say twelve per cent;," or in other words, that after the mortgagee had paid

himself twelve per cent interest on his own advance, and defrayed the expenses of cultivation, he should carry the balance of the produce of the land to the repayment of the loan. This was full justice to the landlord, but it was still inconvenient, as it left him to pay the land-tax for which he had often no means ; and I so far modified the arrangement as to take the land-tax out of the landlord's rent in the hands of the mortgagee ; thus paying Government first and the usurer second, which is the order of their actual rights. This new law was a very great boon to the whole proprietary of Bunnoo, and if since acted up to must have already released many estates from the usurious grasp of the priests and Hindoos.

Engaged all day with an intricate case of land claimed by a Peshawur *meean* (religious teacher) ; it has occupied me two days, and will take another, but the development of it was highly interesting. The history commences thus :—

“ The daughter of Shahbul inherited the lands from her father, and we killed her, and took away the lands ;” and it continues on in the same strain through a succession of masters, who all took by force, and were expelled in turn ; some killed, others mutilated, &c. Two were condemned to death, but

as a personal favour, and to oblige a neighbour who interceded for them, they merely had their hands chopped off!

Vizeeree manners! Swahn Khan asked, to-day, for a few days' leave, to go home and sleep with his wife.

Bunnoochee manners! Ursula Khan begged to be allowed to sit on the carpet, and contemplate me, as he had fallen in love with me! The only way to take these things is philosophically. It is of no use to get angry, where no offence is intended.

*January 29th.* — Received a visit from Sirdar Khwâjuh Muhommud Khan, and his cousin, Alim Khan. The former has been absent on a shooting excursion, therefore I have not sooner had an opportunity of telling him the report from Dour, about his correspondence with Dilassuh Khan. He denied it solemnly, and showed many arguments, such as "the Sirkar's kindness," "salt," "fidelity," "hopelessness of success," &c., why he could not possibly have done so base an action; but he was not indignant at the suspicion, as I think an honest man should have been. However, I do not mean to imply that he is guilty. His mode of meeting the charge may be quite in character with an Afghan, and probably he was no more surprised at being asked whether he

was a traitor, than a Swiss milkmaid, if her lover inquired whether she had a *gottre*.

No fresh news from Dour about the invasion, but I have sent special messengers there to see what is going on. It has been raining here the last two or three days, and what is rain in the plains, is snow in the mountains ; so this will stop any movement for some time.

A discovery has been made that the *jureeb kushes* (revenue measurers), who estimated the Murwut crops last harvest, took bribes from every Mullick in Murwut, and registered about half the produce ! A Mullick has come forward, on account of some other enmity, and proved the fraud. Ordered all the jureeb kushes to be apprehended, and sent for all the Murwut Mullicks. The informer's name is Muhommud Khan, of Byrám, and all the other chiefs went to his house in a body, to beg him not to split ; but he said he had made the accusation, and must prove it. He must be protected, as he will be a marked man, both among the Mullicks and the Government officials. This is an instance of the corruption that goes on in the collection of the revenue, under a native rule. Such a thing could not occur in the territories of the East India Company. The same jureeb kushes, who, in this case, favoured the landowners, might with

nearly equal facility, have oppressed and cheated them.

To save a second notice of this case of gross fraud, I may as well state the result in this place. From a preliminary inquiry into one of the three tuppehs of Murwut, named Totehzye, it appeared that at least two-thirds of the revenue had been suppressed; but as the landholders came forward, and volunteered to pay double what they had registered, I let them off at that rate, on condition that they would divulge the details; when it was admitted that two-thirds was the lowest that had been kept back, and, in some cases, three-fourths!

The other two tuppehs of Byrám and Dreyplareh refused to expose the officials, whom they admitted they had bribed; and I imposed on them the full additional charge of two-thirds.

I next suspended the Kárdár, or Government collector, and made him over for trial to Lieutenant Taylor, who acquitted him of participating in the frauds of his underlings.

*Sunday, January 30th.*—No business. Very heavy rain. Glad to hear the rain has reached Murwut abundantly. The harvest there will be enormous. Some rain has also reached Dera, where it was sadly wanted.

An English reader can scarcely understand the intense interest with which every watery speck on the horizon is watched and welcomed in the countries Trans-Indus, where fully two-thirds of the soil have no other means of irrigation than the uncertain clouds.

*January 31st.*—The rain has done considerable damage to our fort, the work never having had time to dry. Once dry, the Bunnoo mud would turn any rain. But the delightfully moist accounts from Murwut, and even that thirsty plain, Koláchee, quite counterbalance our injuries.

Between the extremest cultivation of Bunnoo on the south, and the town of Lukkee in Murwut, is a plain, ten koss long, and capable of cultivation, but barren for want of water. It appears that the people can remember the whole being irrigated by the water of the Khoorrum, after satisfying the fields of Bunnoo; but this was many years ago, and at some period of unnatural order in the valley. For years, such has been the quarrelling at the head of the canals, the irrigation barely reached the southern border of Bunnoo: but now that a royal army has taken up its abode here, and put a stop to all irrigation feuds, the happy idea has entered into the minds of the proprietors on the borders of Murwut and Bunnoo to

cut canals and draw the Khoorrum water through the whole length of the waste to Lukkee, where it will fall into the Goombeeluh, and in a few minutes be borne once more into the parent stream of Khoorrum. This will, in fact, create a new country ; and I have told all the zumeendars to attend, and point out the course of the canal to me, when I go on my tour ; but so many adjoining villages spring up, and claim shares of the land, that it will be a difficult job to apportion it, as will be seen from a list of the claimants : the people of Moghulkheyl, Puhárkheyl, Khoojjuree, Kukkee, Gundee, Moosahkheyl, M-mushkheyl, and Bazeedkheyl.

Great complaints against one Ghuzza Khan, a But-tunnee robber, whose hold is at a place called Ghub-bur, in the hills above Durrikee in Murwut. His operations are extensive, and he is the rallying point of all the outlaws of this border ; he is said to be assisted by the Murwutees of Moosahkheyl and Durrikee, who, till very lately, were themselves in rebellion. Securities must be taken from the Murwutees, and Ghuzza Khan be routed out, when we have leisure for such niceties of government as hunting a highwayman.

The news of the Dour rising is again rife to-day, and I heard one circumstance which looks very much



like business, but shows also how flimsy is the bond of union which is to hold these doughty thirty-five thousand men together. The Dour people have distributed among themselves a capitation-tax of one rupee, which they calculate will amount to twelve thousand rupees (much obliged to them for this contribution to their statistics : a capitation-tax of twelve thousand rupees represents twelve thousand fighting men, for the males alone wear turbans, by which the tax is counted.) Dilassuh Khan's eldest son promises to add three thousand rupees to the common stock : total, fifteen thousand rupees, which is to be paid to the Vizeerees of Musjeet to assist them. Hitherto the Dourees and Vizeerees have been enemies. Watches are set at the Bunnoo passes to arrest spies (I hope they will not kill mine ! ) ; and I hear the Dourees are so rampant that they declare the Bunnoochees are no longer worthy to be called Afghans, but must be considered Hindoos, and as such killed wherever met with.

*February 1st, 1848.*—Talking over the proposed canal with Jaffir Khan, of Ghoreewal, and finding that his plan embraced the seizing of *bégdrees* (forced labourers), I have thought it best to conclude a bargain with him, as follows : I will give them from Government a bonus of one thousand rupees, towards

the payment of hired labourers ; if the zumeendars, whose lands are to benefit, will labour free. He has thankfully accepted the offer, and gone off to tell the rest.

Two days ago, a Havildar was walking with a Kuthree towards camp, when they came up with two or three Afghans, talking together in the middle of the road. The Kuthree understood Pushtoo, and catching a word or two of the conversation, pretended to stop and pick a thorn out of his foot, and so heard that on Thursday or Friday, four or five Bunnoochees (finding that one is of no use) are to try their hands at cutting their way into my tent in a body. Some of the conspirators they said were now working at our fort as a preliminary. The stupid Havildar, instead of marking the men who held this conversation, did not even report it till to-day. Similar information has been given also from another quarter to Colonel Holmes.

Dewan, the Kuthree of Bazaar, who brought the *goormookhee* (letter), on 25th January, from the Sikh fakeer in Dour, and took back an answer, has this morning returned with a reply from the fakeer, who writes that the 25th of *Mágh* (four days hence) is fixed for the rallying of the rebels. The Kuthree estimates the Muhsood (or Musjeet) Vizeerees at

ten thousand, the Turreekheylees at eight thousand, and the Dourees at ten thousand. He says it is not true that a tax of twelve thousand rupees has been self-imposed by the Dourees to pay their Vizeeree allies, but that the agreement is this, Dilassuh Khan undertakes to feed the force "until our camp is plundered; after which, every man is to help himself!" The Vizeerees inquired what arrangements were to be made about the spoil? It was necessary that the Dour people should swear to give them a free passage back again through Dour, to their own hills, as they return with the plunder! Finally, it was agreed that the Vizeerees were to have two-thirds of the spoil, and the Dourees and Turreekheylees the other third. A suspicion is already afloat among the Dourees, that I have offered their allies three thousand rupees not to join them. Two Brahmins, fakeers from Hindoostan, were killed by the Dourees three days ago, on suspicion of their being spies instead of fakeers; the Dourees themselves who know nothing but Pushtoo, being of opinion that they did not speak proper Hindoostanee. Some Moolluhs of Dour have gone off to Khost to preach the Crescentade. Dilassuh's son sat nunnawateuh\* at the door of Zeywur Shah, the

\* This interesting custom has not escaped the notice of Mr. Elphinstone, who thus explains it: ["The

Syud of Kanegoorrum, until the holy man gave his consent to the insurrection. Dilassuh himself is sick, and in bed. Our Bunnoo Mullicks are said to be in constant correspondence with him.

*February 2nd.*—During a visit paid me to-day by Sirdar Khwâjuh Muhommud, we had some conversation about the relative value of land here, and land in and about Peshawur. He startled me with the assertion, that in Kohât, a jureeb\* of land produces,

“ The most remarkable is a custom peculiar to this people, called Nannawautee (from two Pushtoo words, meaning, “ I have come in”). A person who has a favour to ask, goes to the house or tent of the man on whom it depends, and refuses to sit on his carpet, or partake of his hospitality, till he shall grant the boon required. The honour of the party thus solicited will incur a stain if he does not grant the favour asked of him; and so far is the practice carried, that a man over-matched by his enemies, will sometimes go nannawautee to the house of another, and entreat him to take up his quarrel; which the other is obliged to do, unless he is utterly unable to interfere with effect, or unless some circumstance renders his interference obviously improper.” Vol. I. pp. 295, 296.

\* A jureeb of land is sixty guz, or yards, square; but the yard differs in length in different parts of India. The Ilâhee-guz, established by the great Ukbur, is given by Professor Forbes as thirty-three English inches. The Akâlee-guz, used by the Sikhs, is longer than our English yard; but I forget the precise number of inches.

in the year, from fifteen to thirty rupees, and that he takes two-thirds of the produce, in rent, from his ryots. The Bunnoochees here might derive a world of contentment from a comparison of this with their own light assessment of one-fourth on laymen, and one-sixth on priests.

A great deputation of Syuds and Oolumá waited on me for instructions how to draw up their statements of free lands, which I gave them. They then went on to beg they might be allowed to erect low walls round their dwellings in the villages, as now that the forts are knocked down every passer-by can look into their women's apartments. I promised to send a trustworthy Muhommudan to see the premises, and point out where walls might be built without degenerating into forts again. The Bunnoochees have been so long accustomed to the feeling of having a fortress all round them, that they feel quite cold at the idea of the fresh air circulating through their villages. But I think the better class of Oolumá are beginning to be reconciled to the new order of things, and see that after all they are not going to be hardly treated.

*February 3rd.*—Nizamooddeen, my polymorphous spy, has returned from another trip to Dour. He confirms the accounts of the intentions and wishes of

the tribes ; but says they are so divided with mutual suspicions, and so alarmed with the idea that they themselves are going to be invaded by us, that a united plan seems impossible. The warning letter I sent to the Syud, Zeywur Shah, had a very amusing effect. Zeywur Shah happened to be away, in Tâk ; so the Dourees put his brother under arrest for carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Sahib in Bunnoo. In vain the junior Syud urged that he could not help the Sahib writing to his elder brother, he was not believed ; and all confidence was given up in a moment in a man who just before was one of their leaders ! Similar reports are afloat of a correspondence between me and Dilassuh, and the common people are described as living in a state of continual fright of our force arriving and laying waste their fields ; a feeling which I shall cultivate, by carrying on the new road (which is being made from Lukkee to Duleepgurh) from Duleepgurh to the Dour hills, so as to be ready for anything.

Nizamooddeen confirms the murder of the two Hindoostanee fakeers, suspected of being spies. He himself got admission by forging a letter, as if from Sher Must Khan and Meer Alum Khan, of Bunnoo, to some Syuds in Dour, inquiring “ how the insurrection was getting on ? ” The Syuds wrote in reply, “ That the

tribes promised, but no reliance could be placed in them." He says he saw one poor man, a beggar, kneading some flour that had been given him in charity. A Douree drew his sword and cut his head off. The bystanders asked what he did that for? He replied: "Poor devil! life was a burden to him. With what difficulty he got that bread!" (The very principle upon which gentlemen in England shoot their old pet dogs and horses, and some tribes of Indians eat their grey-headed fathers and mothers!)

On the whole I am glad of this account; for I was beginning to think it would not be right of me to go on circuit to Koláchee, and leave Taylor perhaps to encounter an invasion intended for my special destruction. Now I do not think it can possibly come off for three months, if at all.

Esau Khan, the first Ghazee, was hanged this day, his sentence having been confirmed by Mr. John Lawrence. He asked if any harm was to be done to his father and mother, and when assured to the contrary, seemed quite content, but begged that he might be put out of pain as quickly as possible. Poor wretch! How one's feelings soften as time throws its veil over an offence. Three weeks ago, I condemned this assassin to death, with rather a predominance of contempt for the cowardly nature of his

crime. Now I have to think of the murdered sentry before I can *un-pity him* and justify *myself*!

Just before the execution, a large snake crawled out from beneath the gallows and was killed; a strange coincidence, which the natives considered anything but accidental.

This morning my bearer, Nihálee, borrowed an old juzail from a horseman, to go out dove-shooting. The gun burst, and killed him on the spot.

All my Hindoostanee servants now began to think Bunnoo an enchanted and accursed land (what with assassinations, accidents, and rumours of wars), and went about their work with the air of men in a powder-mill, who know that they live on the verge of an explosion.

*Friday, February 4th.*—General Cortlandt has taken the accounts of two tuppehs in detail, and finds that Meer Alum, their Mullick, has merely taken from them two thousand rupees over and above their proper revenue, and yet tells us that the people have not paid their arrears. These are “the good shepherds” truly.

Occupied a great part of the day with taking depositions of soldiers in the Dogruh regiment. Their corps was originally raised by the Jummoo Rajuhs, who engaged jageers for raising them.



Maharajuh Goolab Sing now claims their arms, and instead of applying to the Lahore Government or the British Resident for them, besets the men's homes and families in his country, and billets soldiers on them, with the announcement that they will not be withdrawn until the absent Dogruhs either send back their muskets, others in exchange, or their value. Goolab Sing was quite penurious enough to look after such small matters ; but I believe his real object was to bully the men into leaving the Lahore service, and come home to him their natural chief. They would have gladly done so, had there been any comparison between the two services, for Dogruhs love their homes with the usual affection of mountaineers ; but whatever might be the irregularities of the Sikh army before the English war, or its clipped and diminished privileges afterwards, there was always more hope and better pay in it than in that of Jummoo. The common pay of a soldier in Goolab Sing's service was four rupees a-month, half of which was paid in coarse flour rations, and half kept in very long arrears, the said arrears saddled with fines at every convenient opportunity. Hence his service was resorted to only as a *pis aller* ; and so it will probably continue, for avarice is one of the few passions which strengthen with old age.

For this reason, I think there cannot be anything more unfounded than the alarm so prevalent, both in India and England, about Goolab Sing's military resources. Those who have had the best means of inquiring into them, estimate his guns under one hundred, his cavalry under two thousand, and his whole infantry, regulars and irregulars together, under twenty-five thousand. Of the guns the majority are of small calibre (two or three pounds), suited only to hill warfare. It is doubtful whether he could bring half a dozen troops or batteries of six-pounders into the field. Such an army, ill-equipped, ill-clothed, and ill-paid, need not be very terrible to the rulers of British India, who can afford to occupy their most recent conquest with nearly fifty thousand men.

The Indian newspapers are now teeming with Goolab Sing's hospitality to English travellers in Cachmere. That singularly able man has evidently appreciated the English character, and is getting the legs of the public under his mahogany. The tide of opinion will perhaps now turn violently in his favour, and from being "the most dangerous enemy," he will become "the best friend of the British Government." Truth, as usual, lies between the extremes Goolab Sing neither is, nor ever will be, a sincere friend of the British Government. What Asiatic Sovereign is? It is sufficient if they are consistent

allies. Be they Hindoos, or be they Muhommudans, their religion, which is their strongest sentiment, dreads and abominates Christianity. They are thus incapable of love; but they are not of gratitude.

Goolab Sing is probably as grateful as a very bad man can be, and divides the merit of his success in tolerably equal shares between our power and his own cunning. Old age and good fortune have dulled the once keen edge of his ambition, and he would be contented if he could be assured. He knows that he is known. He has the English papers read to him, and sees that he is an object of suspicion to all, and of ambitious hope to many. He dreads the British, because the British dread him; and stores his armoury, because he is threatened with a war "next cold weather." If ever, therefore, he becomes our actual enemy, it will either be because he thinks us his, or because, in moments of difficulty, we desert ourselves, and cause him to be doubtful of the issue. A musket-barrel is said to be "proof" when it has been loaded to the muzzle and fired off without bursting. Goolab Sing has a right to claim "the Tower mark." We may suspect, nay, we may know, that he truckled with the Sikhs before the battle of Goojurât; but we know also that he did *not* go over. Take him therefore *quantum valeat*, he is a reed that must not be leant on—not a club that we need fear.

## CHAPTER VI.

MORE WARNINGS FROM DOUR—ESCORT SENT TO MEET LIEUTENANT TAYLOR—NECESSITY OF WATCH-TOWERS AT THE TWO PASSES INTO DOUR—PROGRESS OF THE FORT OF DULEEPGURH—A VEGETABLE GARDEN FOR THE SOLDIERS—THE DOUREES STILL COMING, BUT NOT COME—THEY SEEK HELP FROM THE VIZEEREEES—STRENGTH OF OUR POSITION—VIZEEREE NOTIONS OF FREE TRADE—THE VIZEEREEES OPPOSE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OUTPOST—THE BARUKZYE CAVALRY SHIRK DUTY—ARRIVAL OF LIEUTENANT TAYLOR—RECONNOITERING VISIT FROM A DOUR CHIEF—HOW HE IS RECEIVED, AND THE MESSAGE HE TAKES BACK—ATTACK ON THE KHOORRUM OUTPOST—RUMOURS OF DOUR INVASION CEASE—PROMPT REINFORCEMENTS FROM THE RESIDENT AT LAHORE—HIS OPINIONS AS TO DOUR INVASION—HIS ADVICE ASKED AS TO ANNEXING DOUR—INEXPEDIENCY OF DOING SO—SUNDAY IN BUNNOO—SURVEY OF THE NEW ROAD—DEPUTATION FROM THE VIZEEREEES OF JANEEKHEYL—AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE TOCHEE OUTPOST—RUMOUR OF THE DOUR INVASION REVIVES—REPORT OF EXPECTED ATTACK ON DRABUND IN THE DERAJAT—SITE CHOSEN FOR OUTPOST FORT—PROTECTION OF THE PHYZOO PASS—UNSCRUPULOUS EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE LAHORE DURBAR—THE SCOUT'S REPORT THAT THE DOUR INVASION DIES AWAY—WINTER REVENUE SETTLEMENT—SIR ALEXANDER BURNES' ACCOUNT OF BUNNOO, AND ITS REVENUE—PROPORTION OF BUNNOO OCCUPIED BY THE RELIGIOUS CLASSES—FALSTAFFIAN MUSTER OF THE BARUKZYE CONTINGENT—THE SCHOLAR OF KUMMUR RE-APPEARS IN A NEW CHARACTER—COMMENCEMENT OF SILK CULTIVATION—COMMUNICATION FROM DILASSUH KHAN—A SPARK FLIES OUT OF THE RESIDENCY OFFICE, AND IS NOT TO BE EXTINGUISHED—ULTIMATE FATE OF THE DHOKUL SING REGIMENT—THE JANEE-

KHEYLEE VIZEEREEES CONTINUE TO PLUNDER—POLICY TO BE OBSERVED  
 TO THE VIZEEREEES GENERALLY—OBSTACLES TO IT NOT INSUPERABLE  
 —A VUKEEL BETTER THAN A HOSTAGE UNDER BRITISH RULE—TRANS-  
 GRESSION OF THE LOHANEER TRADERS IN TAX—THE KHUTTUKS CLAIM  
 THE EASTERN THULL OF BUNNOO—THEIR PROPER LIMITS DEFINED—  
 NOTE ON THE NATIVE CUSTOM OF MAKING OVER SUBORDINATES TO A  
 NEW SUPERIOR—PRIDE OF THE BUNNOO PRIESTS—ARRIVAL OF GUNS  
 FOR THE FORT—THE JANEEKHEYL VIZEEREEES REFUSE COLLECTIVE  
 RESPONSIBILITY—NOTE ON THE ENGLISH MAXIM, "IT IS BETTER MANY  
 GUILTY SHOULD ESCAPE THAN ONE INNOCENT MAN SUFFER"—PETITION  
 FROM GIRANG AGAINST THE AGGRESSIONS OF OOSHTERAUNEES—  
 GREEK BRICKS FROM AKRA MAKE SIKH DRAINS AT DULEPGURH—  
 DAMAGE TO THE FORT BY RAINS—BUNNOOCHEE PROVERB CONCERNING  
 RAIN—DECISION ON A QUESTION OF IRRIGATION—HOW RUNJEET SING  
 QUIETED THOSE HE CONQUERED—ABUSES OF THE JAGEERDAREE  
 SYSTEM—FIRST VIZEEREE TRIBUTE COLLECTED—FAREWELL DURBAR  
 TO THE SIKH SOLDIERS AND BUNNOOCHEE CHIEFS—TEN PER CENT ON  
 THE REVENUE ALLOWED TO THE LATTER—DEPARTURE—GREEK RUINS  
 AT AKRA—DISCOVERY OF COINS, &C.—COINS AND TEMPLES IN  
 HUZARUH AND THE EUSOFZYE COUNTRY—A BUNNOO TOWN BUILT WITH  
 BRICKS OF AKRA—HINDOO ACCOUNT OF AKRA—THE GREEK COINS TELL  
 ANOTHER TALE—POSSIBLE DERIVATION OF THE NAME AKRA—ANCIENT  
 GREEK TILE—THE BUNNOOCHEE FOOT IN THE GREEK "COTHURNUS"  
 —"KAPE KOT"—MR. MASSON'S ACCOUNT OF IT—MARCH TOWARDS THE  
 BUNNOO FRONTIER, AND ENCAMPMENT AT GHOREEWALLUH—SATISFAC-  
 TORY PROGRESS OF THE NEW ROAD—NATIVE DISTRUST AND ENGLISH  
 CONFIDENCE—PARTING CONFERENCE WITH SWAHN KHAN—NOTE ON  
 THE SHARES OF THE VIZEEREE TRIBUTE—MARCH TO GUNDEE—PRO-  
 POSING CANAL TO RECLAIM THE PLAIN—SELFISH OPPOSITION—LEAVE  
 BUNNOO—RECAPITULATION.

## CHAPTER VI.

HEARD from Taylor, who started from Peshawur to relieve me of my duties here on Monday last, and will reach Kurruk on Monday next. Ordered one hundred horsemen of the Barukzyes to meet and escort him from Kurruk.

A letter from the Dour Syud, who vows that he is dissuading his disciples ; but advises me, by way of retort, to take care of myself, or some of the Bunnoo-chees will kill me some fine day, and render invasion altogether superfluous.

Swahn Khan rather thinks the invasion will occur, and advises me to call for more troops here: but then he has no experience of *guns*. Our little force might be put on the defensive by an immense horde of enemies, but could never be approached.

*February 5th.*—Sent Swahn Khan off to Kurruk, to meet Taylor, who has a company of infantry with

him, and will therefore be obliged to encamp one night in the Thull. Swahn Khan being with him, will prevent any row between the Vizeerees and the escort of Barukzyes.

Told Swahn, as he was going that way, to collect the stipulated nuzzurana, or tribute, of two hundred and fifty fat *doombuh* (sheep), from his countrymen.

It is now some days since I sent to the Bukkykheyl Vizeerees, on the west of Bunnoo, to come in and give security for leaving off their system of plunder: but they pay little attention to Swahn Khan's summons, or friendly advice, being of another branch of the Vizeerees; and the only answer I can get out of them is, "that they are afraid to come in, on account of their old offences, having spent years in fighting the Bunnoochees." It only remains, therefore, to build a small fort upon their lands, which will both keep them off and watch the Tochee pass into Dour. Another one is wanted at the head of the Khoorrum and the other pass. (Memorandum. These must not be sentry-boxes; but big enough to hold twenty-five footmen and fifty horsemen, each.)

*Sunday, February 6th.*—Walked over the fort, which has made great progress since the rain ceased. (Memorandum. To order the corner bastions of the inner fort to be six feet higher than the rest of

the wall, so as to sweep well over the cantonment walls, and hit anything within a reasonable distance under them.)

Ordered a vegetable garden to be laid out, between the fort and the Khoorrum, for the soldiers ; each company to have its own plot.

*Monday, February 7th.*—Roze, the “man Friday” of old Swahn Khan, came to tell me that a detachment of the Musjeet, or Muhsood, Vizeerees, has actually arrived in Dour, and the attack is talked about in five or six days. Positively I am sick of this “Coming, coming,” but never “Come.”

*February 8th.*—Sookha Sing, Adjutant of artillery, has received another letter from Baba Ootum Sing, the Sikh fakeer in Dour, who writes that the invasion was nearly given up for want of funds ; but Dilassuh has come forward, and now twenty thousand Muhsood Vizeerees are collected, and will make a night-attack on us in five or six days. If indeed they are collected, they must either fight soon, or disperse for want of commissariat ; but I do not exactly understand where this collection is. If in Dour, the Baba would have seen them, and said so : if in their own country, they have plenty to do before they can reach us.

Nizamooddeen says the Dourees have offered one-tenth of their lands to these Vizeerees, to defend the



rest from the Sahib. They replied: "The Sahib takes one-fourth in Bunnoo, therefore you must give us one-fourth here; for it is better for you to have Putháns for masters than infidels. We will then occupy the passes, and keep everybody out."

These Dourees will end in bringing the wolf into their fold, either in Vizeeree or English clothing. I am quite satisfied, in my own conscience, that I never gave them any reason for entertaining such a thought as a Sikh invasion; but it was a natural suspicion for Afghans; and as they acted on it, and talked of invading me first, I have certainly thrown out hints, on purpose, that if they did not keep quiet and mind their own affairs, I might one day pay them a visit.

It being proved against a Mullick, to-day, that he had realized more of last year's arrears than he had paid in, I asked him the reason; he replied, naïvely: "I kept the money till you came again!"

*February 9th.*—The best report we have had yet! Mean Munawurooddeen tells me that it is at last quite settled (and no nonsense), that the insurgents shall advance on Bunnoo by three roads: the Muhsood Vizeerees, by the Shakto road, which emerges in the lands of the Janeekheyl (not at the Tochee river, but a little rivulet called Khyssore); the Dourees, by the

Bárán road; and the Khostees, by that of the Khoorrum. This is because they cannot trust themselves in each other's company; and though they are all to meet once, inside Bunnoo, to swear mutual fidelity, they are to divide again, and make separate attacks. Friday is fixed, and the Mean says, if it does not take place then, it will *never* take place.

Sent Taylor word of the above, as he is delayed on the road; and, supposing the report to be true, a small detachment might be set upon by the Bunnoochees at such a favourable crisis.

All that seems to me *proved* is, that the Dourees are intriguing with all the neighbouring tribes to get up an invasion; and this is sufficient to make us take great precautions, but affords no cause for the least anxiety. Our position is strong, if our people only *know* it. The great thing is to show no apprehension, and even conceal precautionary measures, if possible; for, so long as our own soldiers are in good heart, they may defy all Cabul in the fort they have now nearly finished.

Some Syuds of Munjeekheyl, two koss from Teeree, in the Khuttuk hills, have been always in the habit of trading between their own country and Bunnoo. Four days ago their people, with two hundred and forty

bullock loads of grain (one and a half maunds each, equal three hundred and sixty maunds, equal twenty-eight thousand eight hundred pounds), sixteen loads of pomegranate skins, and other articles, were on their way to Bunnoo, and had reached a place called Zungánáh, two and a half koss from Gomettuh, when the Hathee Kheyl Vizeerees (under Bostán, Walleedád, and Kazim) sallied out, and stopped the Káfiluh, which they then carried off to their own homes; assigning as a reason that if the Khuttuks carry all their grain to Bunnoo, it will be so dear that they, the Vizeerees cannot buy it! The drivers of the bullocks went back and told their masters, the Syuds, who came and bought off their property, with a promise of one hundred and sixty rupees on their return from selling it. They now complain to me of this extraordinary *import duty*, and want *free trade*. This they shall have for our own sakes, for if we are restricted to Bunnoochee corn, the price will rise very high. As yet, importations have kept the market down; wheat has come in from the vicinity of Cabul, and rice from Jummoo! Both speculations failed; as the grain was cheaper here than where it came from.

*February 10th.*—Being determined to establish an outpost at the head of the Khoorrum, I sent workmen

to repair an old fort that is there, and has been deserted by the Vizeerees, who no sooner saw that I wanted to occupy it than they politely offered to knock it down. This I refused, and they have now driven off my workmen from the repairs, and turned a stream of water on to the foundations, so as to bring down the walls. When this was first reported to me, I remembered the Dour invasion, and thought this might possibly be a trap to draw a small party of our soldiers near the Khoorrum Pass, where the "allies" may be in wait to pounce on them. So I sent a strong body of two hundred Barukzye horse, and one hundred regular cavalry, under Colonel Holmes, with orders to seize any persons found injuring the fort, and to show no quarter if they resisted. If numbers against them, send word to me. On arrival, they found that the vagabonds had made off, after flooding the fort with water; which our party with difficulty managed to turn in another direction. I have ordered one hundred Barukzye horse and forty Rohillas to occupy the old fort till the repairs are complete, when seventy-five men will remain in it permanently.

Sirdar Khwâjuh Muhommud came to beg off his one hundred horsemen from this duty. I was much annoyed, and told him if his men had no stomach for the job, I would certainly send Sikh regulars; but

in that case his one hundred men must take the place of the Sikh regulars in the fort works. He then declared it was not *safe* for so small a body to be detached during these ticklish times. Pretending to see the justice of his representation, I reflected for a moment, and then said: "Very true; I agree with you, more ought to go, so make your *one* hundred *three* hundred, and then consider yourself responsible for the post." He was dreadfully taken aback, and so ashamed, that I let him down to two hundred. This will cure him, I dare say, of shirking duty. His lines too seem very empty, and I fear he has sent some of his contingent home without leave. Not to be too hard on him, I have *warned* him that in a few days I shall take a muster, so this will enable him to recal them. It is necessary to keep one eye open and one eye shut with these holiday soldiers.

A chief has come down from Dour, and applied for an interview. Told him to come to-morrow. He has not ventured beyond the Meeree tuppehs, where his *screams* might be heard in his own valley!

*February 11th.*—Rode out along with General Cortlandt to meet Taylor, and got within a koss and a half of Luttummur before Taylor's party came in sight. Taylor passed by Luttummur, and says it is well inhabited, and the people apparently well off.