

Taylor has only been eight days in coming from Peshawur; good marching with a company of infantry. Riding home through the Sooraunee tuppehs, I think we saw only four forts either wholly or in part standing; and three of them proved to have neither inhabitants nor owners, with grain growing in them like the fields outside. Ordered the neighbours to unite and knock them all down.

The Mullick from Dour came to-day, according to appointment. His name is Lara Khan, of Hydurkheyl; he gives the same account of the rising in his country as Nizamooddeen has done. Reports came to Dour that the Bunnoochee forts were being knocked down by our soldiers, cattle seized, property plundered, the women seduced, and every other atrocity committed by the Sikhs and the Sahibs. The Dourees with their Mullicks and their Moolluhs assembled, and discussed this state of affairs; and being unanimously of opinion that the army would next come on to Dour, they agreed that it would be better to take up arms, and go and fight the kaffirs in Bunnoo. Lara Khan was determined to come and judge for himself how things were going on; and though all the neighbours told him he would never come back alive, he set off, and hid himself in one of the Meeree forts some days, to see whether any

soldiers came to plunder, or to carry off the women. He saw nothing of this sort, but was told, on the other hand, how, a few weeks ago, the Sahib had come there and broken down the Vizeeree dam, and given water to the Meerees, to enable them to sow their fields. Still he was incredulous, and said, "Perhaps this is too far for the plunderers to come; let me go nearer the camp." So he came to a village close to us, and again watched: he saw no violence of any kind, but everybody going about their own business. He then took heart, and came cautiously into camp, and looked about him. He said: "At first I felt my heart bursting with anger when I saw *kaffirs* (infidels) around me on all sides; but when I sat down by the Sahib's tents, and saw everybody coming to the *adawlut* (court of justice), and their cases being heard, and justice done, then the tightness of my heart was relaxed, and I went away, saying, "What lies they tell in Dour!" As he repeatedly said his friends would be surprised to see him back again, I gave him a gaudy silk *loongee* (scarf) to tie round his old turban; and told him to tell the Dourees, not only that he had been into the dreadful camp of the kaffirs, but had been kindly treated there; and that the head kaffir himself, the redoubtable Sahib, sent them all word, that if they minded their own affairs he

would never come to their country ; but if they attempted to excite war, he would, as soon as he had leisure, treat them as a neighbour's house on fire, and extinguish them in self-preservation.

Last night a few Afghans came down to the Khoorrum outpost, and fired four or five shots ; but finding the place well occupied, retired again. To-day Cortlandt had two hundred men at work at it ; pulled an old door out of another fort, and set it up in the outpost ; and the place is now tenable.

February 12th.—Asked Taylor to go and inspect the repairs of the Khoorrum outpost. Fifty horse along with him for fear of accidents. Returned at sunset, and reports walls fourteen feet high all round, but want a rampart to enable the garrison to fire from them. Door also weak.

Mean Munawurooddeen came to take his leave to go to Sungurh ; said all chance of the allies coming together was now at an end. The Khostees have refused to come on account of the snow. The Muhsood Vizeerees* are fighting among themselves ; the son of one chief, Jehangeer, having killed the son of another chief, Shahzad, and thus thrown the

* As this is the last mention I shall probably have to make of these remote Vizeerees, I may as well append the following memorandum :

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tribe into complete confusion. The Dourees, deserted on all sides, are inclined to throw themselves on our mercy, and only wait for the least overture to make a formal submission. This is rushing on to their fate! Cortlandt has similar information from other quarters.

When the rumours of this Dour invasion first reached me, I duly reported it to the Acting-Resident at Lahore. With that promptness to meet danger which was common to him, and the brother for whom he was acting, Mr. John Lawrence immediately ordered another regiment (the Futteh Pultun) to march from its station, at Hussun Abdal (between the Indus and the Jheylum), to Dera Ishmael Khan,

The Vizeerees of	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Muhsood,} \\ \text{Muksood, or} \\ \text{Musjeet,} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{have 4} \\ \text{chiefs of} \\ \text{note.} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nusrattee.} \\ \text{Jungee Khan.} \\ \text{Sidh.} \\ \text{Golánee.} \end{array} \right\}$
„ „	Turry Kheyl	. 2	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Bhuttee Khan.} \\ \text{Kuttee.} \end{array} \right\}$
„ „	Mudda Kheyl	. 2	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Jungee Khan.} \\ \text{Záláhee.} \end{array} \right\}$
„ „	Muhmood Kheyl	1	. Shumeerád.

This last Mullick (Shumeerád) is a woman! and is said to have authority over several tribes; dresses like a man, wears arms, and led the Afghan insurrection against Lukkee in Murwut, in February, 1847.

the capital of General Cortlandt's province, and there await my orders. He still farther reinforced me by ordering all absent detachments from the regiments in Bunnoo to join their respective corps without delay, and followed up this vigorous policy by strengthening Peshawur with cavalry and guns ; rightly considering that any disturbance in Bunnoo, on the south side of the Salt Range, would affect the safety of the outpost province on the north.

He thought the information of a gathering of the Afghan tribes round and about Bunnoo, to attack us, extremely probable, and was prepared even to find that the Barukzye Sirdars, at Peshawur and Kohât, were concerned in the insurrection. He believed all those pensioned relatives of the Cabul monarch to be desperate intriguers, and utterly untrustworthy ; and time justified the opinion. In less than a year from that time, his own brother and sister-in-law (Major and Mrs. George Lawrence) were by them made prisoners, in the base ambush of a proffered refuge, and given over to the Sikh army.

Mr. Lawrence agreed with me in thinking that the rising would not at once take place ; but warned me that the Afghans required neither commissariat nor money, and had shown that they could act with effect in the severest cold. Still it was more likely that an

army of freebooters would assemble at a season when the crops were ripe, and when they could support themselves with facility by reaping the Bunnoo harvests.

My course, he said, was to hasten the completion of my fort ; to get some of my guns mounted, to lay in provisions, and place my baggage in security. As a soldier, and, moreover, as present on the spot, I was the best judge of the line of conduct to be pursued if an invasion from without, and a rising from within (for the one would follow the other), were to occur ; but with reference to my remark that the worst they could do would be to shut us up in the fort, he thought that, leaving a staunch Commander and select garrison inside, it would be far better to move out with the remainder of the force, and take the initiative. Two thousand four hundred men, with twelve guns, well handled, ought, he said, to be irresistible in the plains, against any tumultuary force, however numerous ; while shut up in the fort they would lose courage, and the enemy gain it.

This last opinion would have been indisputable had the " two thousand four hundred men " been our own ; but I confess that I had never complete confidence in the Sikh troops, nor could ever rely on their fighting under our orders, even for their own sovereign, with the same good-will and *gusto* as they did against us.

At any point of these operations to subdue Bunnoo, I would have preferred overawing my Bunnoochee enemies, to employing my Sikh friends, as much from prudence as humanity.

Fortunately, it seemed now unlikely that the tribes would put us to the proof; and in the same letter that I wrote to thank Mr. John Lawrence for his prompt reinforcements, I was enabled to report that the emergency had passed, and to solicit his instructions in case the Douree ringleaders should throw themselves and their country on our mercy, and make terms for being lightly ruled.

The title of the Punjab sovereign to the valley of Dour was as good as to that of Bunnoo. Both had been ceded to the Sikhs by Shah Shoojah, in the Tripartite Treaty. But as far as we, the British, were concerned in the matter, the cases were not parallel. The Sikhs had, year after year, asserted their claim to Bunnoo by force; but they had never ventured into Dour. We were bound, therefore, to take the *status in quo*, and secure Bunnoo if we could; but there was no obligation to interfere with Dour. It was, consequently, a mere question of expediency, and not of national right or honour; and thus regarding it, it seemed to me unwise to profit by the opportunities for annexation, which either the invasion or the submis-

sion of the Dourees might afford; for there would seem to be no stopping afterwards. The same difficulty would present itself, after possessing Dour, that had now followed our occupation of Bunnoo; that is, the people of Bungush, Khost, and the Vizeeree hills, would feel the same alarm for their own countries, and make the same hostile demonstrations that the Dourees had now felt and made for theirs. On the other hand, if the line already drawn by Sikh pretensions were adhered to, it was reasonable to hope that this example of moderation to Dour would calm the excitement and fear which pervaded all the other neighbouring valleys, and was evidently at the bottom of the recent movement.

Even if the Dourees and their allies actually invaded Bunnoo, my advice would be, after repelling them, merely to follow them up into Dour, and levy a *tuk-seeranh* (fine) of ten thousand rupees, or some such sum, in a lump, and then retire.*

Mr. John Lawrence took a similar view of this question. He wrote to me: "I coincide in your opinion that it would not be expedient to listen to any overtures from the people of the Dour valley, as also

* These remarks are equally applicable to the present British relations with Cabul, and the possible future necessity of a punitive expedition into that country.

in the mode they should be dealt with, in the event of their invading Bunnoo." And again to the Secretary to Government, as follows: "I look with considerable suspicion on any overtures from so bigoted and ignorant a race as the Mullicks of Dour. The occupation of Dour would but increase the difficulties and dangers of the Sikh position on that frontier. It is easy to overrun, or even occupy for a time, these valleys on the borders of the Soolimânee Range, but the entrances to them all are more or less difficult; and in times of general insurrection, a body of troops, unless in considerable force, would be in danger of being cut up."*

It is right that I should not suppress the next entry in my Diary, as it is very much to the credit of my friend, though very little to my own.

"Sunday Morning, 13th February, 1848.

"My dear E.

"Do you have service on a Sunday: or if you do not, *will* you? We are four Christians here; and where the blessing is promised to the two or three that gather, surely it ought to be done.

* See "Punjab Blue Book, 1847—9," p. 110.

"John Holmes always attended prayers at Peshawur, and was pleased to do so.

"I was asked by Mudut Khan, only a few days ago, whether the laws of our religion prescribed any regular worship? I am not for displaying the matter unnecessarily, but surely this is wrong. I could add plenty of arguments, but you can well imagine them. Only do not think that I wish to assume the Mentor, or that if you have any repugnance to the arrangement that I shall think you a worse man, or a worse Christian than myself or others; but I really think what I propose to be the duty of every man. I know how much happiness it leads to.

"Yours very sincerely,

"R. G. TAYLOR."

If I knew that Colonel John Holmes was a Christian at all, I certainly was not aware that he had any feeling about Christian duties, or had been in the habit of attending divine service at the house of Major George Lawrence at Peshawur. I thought that General Cortlandt and myself were the solitary members of our Church in that wild region; and if it never occurred to either him or me that it would be well to read together, I trust it was from no

indifference to the Sabbath itself. Indeed the suspension of the fort works upon that day, though a matter of necessity, and perhaps life and death, sufficiently proclaimed its sacred character in our eyes to both Hindoos and Muhommudans.

And now that Taylor proposed to me to claim Holmes as a Christian, and ask him to join our service, it startled me.

Colonel Holmes, or as he was commonly called by the Sikh soldiers, "John Holmes, Sahib," was a half-caste who had served in the Company's native army as a musician, but left it and carried his knowledge of European drill across the Sutlej, to Lahore, where he speedily rose to be an officer, and was now the Colonel of a regiment of regular infantry. He could talk English, and did his military duty well. He also professed Christianity; but there was much excuse for any one not knowing this, as he lived like a Muhommudan, probably, "as his father before him;" for in a petition for pension presented to Government after the Colonel's death, there were, if I rightly remember, set down in the catalogue of his surviving family, the extraordinary items of "three mothers and two wives!" This was quite consistent with the manners of the native soldiers among whom he lived, and was obnoxious

to neither Muhommudan nor Hindoo, so long as he passed for one or the other, or was known by both not to be a Christian. But if we claimed him as a Christian, it could not fail to incur scandal, as the general principles and ordinances of Christianity are well known to all Asiatics, and with reference especially to marriage, are gladly supposed by them to be very indifferently observed.



Such at least was my feeling on the point; and I attempted to bring Taylor to the same opinion. But he was too good to be ashamed of anybody; and though much better aware of Holmes's character than I was, and how little likely he was to reflect credit upon *us*, he still thought we might reflect some good on *him*. "What chance," he said, "is there of his becoming better, if you exclude him from your congregation? and how can we tell at what moment the hearing of the Truth may take effect upon him?" So that it was for the pure sake of doing religious good that Taylor battled; and I was so struck with the charity and generosity of the motive that I gave way; we had prayers in my tent, and Taylor was happy.

In the evening, Taylor, Cortlandt, and I, rode out to see the progress of the new road from Duleepgurh to Lukkee. The Commandant in charge of it has

laid it out as straight as an arrow, and deserves great credit.

Sookha Sing, Adjutant of Artillery, has received another letter from Baba Ootum Sing, who confirms the intelligence of the break-up of the invading alliance. The idea of hostilities on a great scale is entirely given up, but Dilassuh Khan's son, Sheikhee, is organizing a band of thieves to make forays on our cattle.

Monday, February 14th.—The Vizeerees of Janee-kheyl, who have never yet come in, this morning sent their deputies to make terms. They say the tribe has been literally ruined by the severe foray made on them in the early part of the winter by the Nâssur tribe of Lohânees, under Shahzâd Khan, which drove them into the hills, where they have passed the winter in the greatest misery, begging food and clothes from other tribes. They now petition for their lands in Bunnoo, and justice on the Nâssurs. I asked them to give security, first, for their own future good behaviour; but they said, "No one ever went security for Vizeerees!" At last we settled that an outpost-fort should be put upon their lands and those of Bukkykheyl, to keep both tribes in order. If they keep their promise and give up thieving, the expenses of the fort to be borne by Government; but

if complaints are still made, the expenses will be added on to their land revenue. This agreement they signed in writing, and went away promising faithfully to abide by it.

Mean Munawurooddeen, who two days ago said the Dour invasion was given up, now declares the Vizeeree allies are still ready to keep their word; that the attack is arranged for next Friday night, and the following childish plan decided on:—

A body of skirmishers are to advance in one direction with lighted matches ostentatiously displayed, and when all our guns are brought to bear upon that point, then the real onset will be made from the opposite quarter, and a thousand picked men in *zirruh bukhtur* (chain armour) are to go right at the Sahib's tent!

The Mean forgot to explain where ruffians, who have scarcely got shirts to their backs, are to provide themselves with chain armour; and only one thing is to be said in favour of the report, that if one man could be found to come and relate such a project with a serious face, another might certainly have framed it, and any amount have thought it a great manœuvre.

February 15th.—Rain here all day, and heavy snow in the hills. The gods declare for crops and against invasions.

February 16th.—The Bazaar Kuthree, named Dewan, who has so often got intelligence from Dour through his “commercial correspondents,” came this morning to say that Dilassuh Khan’s son has gone to Khost to conspire with the son of the Ameer of Cabul, who is there with an army collecting revenue,* and that the invasion is by no means given up. My own idea also is that it is not “given up,” but that all efforts to bring the tribes together have failed, and the more they try, the more impracticable it will be found. I was prepared for great jealousy and weakness among the various tribes, but not for such an extent of distrust as I now see renders abortive even their plots against a common foe.

It is high time I made my tour of the other countries in General Cortlandt’s province. Yesterday evening news came of a disturbance at Girâng; this evening a report has arrived from the Deputy-

* A subsequent private letter from Major George Lawrence, who was in charge of Peshawur, and had always good intelligence from Cabul, communicated to me the real mission of this young Prince. “The assemblage of so large a force in Bunnoo, leads to the supposition that we have designs on Ghuznee, and the Ameer’s son, in Khoorrum, has been directed to watch your movements; as is his other son, Gholâm Hyder, at Jellalabad, told to look after me in this quarter.” (Major G. L. to Lieutenant E., 14th February, 1848).

Governor at Dera Ishmael Khan, that the Sheraunees (who inhabit the mountain called Solomon's Throne) are coming down to attack the fort of Drábund. In the fort there are only fifty horse and fifty foot, and the garrison scream for reinforcements. Sirdar Chunda Sing on this sends them fifty more horse, keeping at the same time a whole regiment of infantry doing nothing at Dera! So much for a Sikh Deputy-Governor! To-morrow I will send him ten of our camel-swivels, and tell him to go himself, with two hundred infantry at least, and give out that I am coming with no end of guns.

Indeed the sooner the better. This Dour invasion is a will-o'-the-wisp, but the troubles of Koláchee, Drábund, and Girâng, are tangible realities. It will take some time to get this province quiet altogether. Lying as it does along the foot of the great Soolimânee mountains, it must always be liable to forays at one end or the other; and when both are settled, then in the middle! As soon as I get back to Bunnoo, and Cortlandt to Dera, he at that end and I at this, will be able to pitch into any refractory tribe in no time.*

* The elegant European reader will, doubtless, be shocked at expressions like "pitch into," so awfully frequent in this Diary. They are vulgar, the author is aware, but they are

Thursday, February 17th.—Taylor, with fifty horsemen, rode out to the Tochee Pass, to choose a site for the outpost fort, which is to watch that pass, and control the Vizeerees of Janeekheyl and Bukkykheyl. He reports all forts in that direction level with the ground. Indeed, I am quite satisfied with *that* part of our labours. Taylor says the crops of the Meerees on the lands we helped them to irrigate are flourishing. Our coming to Bunnoo has as yet brought unmixed good to *them* at all events.

It having become absolutely necessary to secure the Peyzoo Pass in the Buttunnee hills, between Murwut and Tâk, which is the main avenue of intercourse and trade between these parts and Dera Ishmael Khan, I this day confided the charge of it to a Jummadar, named Mittoo Khan, a native of Koláchee, who formerly accompanied Major Mackeson to Peshawur in Cabul, during the Afghan war. He is to have a small fort built for him at that part of the pass, if possible, where water oozes out of the ground,

vigorous, and flowed from a broad-nibbed pen in the hurried intervals of thick-coming difficulties, when words are snatched from the vocabulary, as men choose weapons for a fight—the strongest first. It would have cost little now to substitute drawing-room equivalents; but the identity of these records of life among barbarians would have been totally destroyed.

and where caravans, or single travellers, would gladly stop if they dared. Besides himself, the garrison will consist of fourteen horse and ten foot; the latter to hold the post, while the horse chase highwaymen and thieves. Pay of the whole, two hundred and twenty-three rupees per mensem.

The Lahore Durbar, though so hard up for money that they can scarcely carry on the Government with all John Lawrence's economy, have sent a fat fellow named Ruggonáth, who has no other merit than being a Brahmin and an astrologer, to be Supernumerary Commandant in one of Cortlandt's troops of horse artillery. This is quite disheartening. With great consideration, and some compunctions, I have just resolved on incurring at Peyzoo a monthly expense of two hundred and twenty-three rupees, to keep open a great highway of commerce, and save the community from plunder; and the Lahore Durbar, without a scruple, impose on my establishment an idle supernumerary, whose pay equals that of the whole garrison of the Peyzoo watch-tower! It is as bad as a wife mending the children's frocks by candle-light, while her husband stakes "the plate" at a gambling-house.

Friday, February 18th.—A man whom I have had stationed in the villages at the foot of the

Tochee Pass to Dour, for the last nine days, to bring information of any night attack, came in this morning to tell me that he sent an old Vizeeree friend of his not only into Dour, but also towards the Kanee-goorrym and Muksood Vizeerees; and that all idea of the rising has now been abandoned by everybody except Dilassuh's son, who still restlessly goes from one tribe to another, agitating, plotting, and entreating war.

This morning, I concluded the settlement of the last winter harvest of Bunnoo, which amounts to fifty-six thousand six hundred and seventy-six rupees.* Considering that when we arrived in Bunnoo

* I was obliged, ultimately, to leave Bunnoo without making a revenue settlement for the next three years; but my impression was, that the valley would produce a lakh and a half of rupees (£15,000) per annum to Government, at the exceedingly easy rate of one-fourth from laymen, and one-sixth from priests.

Sir Alexander Burnes says, that "in the times of the Kings, Bunnoo paid a yearly tribute of one lac and forty thousand rupees;" a sum so closely approaching my own estimate, that I should rely confidently on the statement, had not the author added, that "the level and defenceless nature of the country, will always enable the most powerful chief in its vicinity to exact something from it;" a description so singularly erroneous, that it contains only one true word, viz., "level." If Bunnoo, with its lofty external hills, and four hundred in-

there was no crop left on the ground except the sugar and turmeric, we must think ourselves fortunate to have made out so much. The result of the inquiry is that the religious classes, Syuds, Moolluhs, &c., possess one-sixth of the valley, which is less than I expected, but far too much, considering how it was acquired, and to how little general good it is applied.

February 19th.—To-day, got Taylor to take the muster of the Barukzye contingent, of which I warned Sirdar Khwájuh Muhommud Khan some days ago. Proper complement, eight hundred; present in camp, and on duty in Bunnoo, seven hundred: deficient, one hundred. The Sirdar says these have gone to Peshawur and Kohât with messages at various times, and been detained by the fighting going on there. Most probably, when the fighting began, he sent them to help. I have ordered them all back again.

The men of this contingent are kept so dreadfully in arrears by the Barukzye Sirdars at Peshawur, who meanwhile are lavishing their revenues in their harems,* that the younger sons who command

ternal forts, was "defenceless," I trust I may never have the misfortune of warring with a country such as Sir Alexander would have considered *well defended*!

* Sirdar Sooltan Muhommud Khan, the eldest and worst of these Sirdars, passed both his days and nights in the apart-

them here can scarce keep them from plundering, to get daily food.

A few days after this muster had taken place, I was informed, on good authority, that the most Falstaffian shifts had been resorted to, to get up even seven hundred for inspection. To square a deficiency of about fifty or sixty, which still remained, after dressing up all the grass-cutters in Barukzye turbans, to look like soldiers, the Sirdar, whose resources were almost as inexhaustible as those of a Commissariat Gomâshtuh,* sent out into the

ments of his women, who were said to be about three hundred in number. His children he had long left off counting, and was ignorant of the names of all but the thirty or forty eldest, and one or two youngest. I have, myself, seen him come out from his garden, at Shahdera, near Lahore, to meet Lord Gough, followed by three or four elephant loads of his sons. It is impossible to conceive anything more wretched than must be the condition of these pampered offspring, now, that the base treachery of their father has driven him from his princely jageer, at Peshawur, to become an unwelcome pensioner at the half-starved Court of Cabul. Whatever causes, such as salt-taxes, &c., may be assigned for the misconduct of the Afreedees, and other tribes about Peshawur, since the Punjab was annexed, my conviction is, that it is principally owing to the intrigues of these hungry exiles.

* A Commissariat Gomâshtuh is a native superintendent of cattle, stores, and grain, and the deputy of the European

highways and by-ways of the Khuttuks, and "compelled them to come in." Amongst others, was my old friend, Nussoorooddeen, the one-eyed "scholar" of Kummur! The Sirdar's *ikbdl* (good fortune) was great indeed, that Taylor took the muster, instead of me, for I should have recognised the "scholar" in a moment; and he, delighted to get the Barukzyes into a scrape, would assuredly have forced on the *éclaircissement*, by thanking me for recovering his father's long matchlock. What a situation! I have never ceased to lament its loss.

Agreeably to my request, Taylor has brought me down a silk-grower from Peshawur, to inspect the Bunnoo mulberry-trees, and report on their capabilities; his name is Musheedee Khan. He is pleased with the place, and says it promises well; but as yet the trees, though abundant, are *wild*, and must be pruned and doctored, before they will throw out the fine leaves wanted by the silk-worms. This operation must be done in the month of *Har* (June and July);

Commissary. He is generally supposed to be the *ne plus ultra* of a conjuror, and would any day undertake, with one hundred bullocks given, to make them pass muster for two hundred. For my own part, I give the palm to the King of Cachmere, whom I have, "with my own eyes," as they say, seen perform much more astonishing sleights of hand.

so I have sent him back to Peshawur for the present, and he is to return with his own family, and as many others as he can induce to join the colony. He is also to collect as many eggs as he can. He seems much pleased with this new opening for his trade, and says he was almost starving at Peshawur, owing to the Sikhs having destroyed the mulberry-trees.

Sunday, February 20th. — Nizamooddeen has brought me a queer sort of a paper, bearing the seal of old Dilassuh Khan, and commencing as if addressed to his son, but gliding off into a petition to a superior, saying : “ I have not offended in any way. If you are going to the southward, there is my youngest son in Bunnoo, who will go along with you ; and if you come north, here is my eldest son in Dour, to receive you,” and so on. I cannot exactly make it out. The clerks in these holes and corners of the world are not very learned ; but at any rate they know well the common forms of respectful expression, such as, “ My Lord !” “ Protector of the poor !” &c. ; neither are they likely to omit the characteristic epithet of Sahib, which is given up to Europeans by common consent ; and therefore, on the whole, I do not think it is a direct communication to me, but probably to his younger son, Khojuh, in

Bunnoo, desiring him to express these sentiments to me. I shall not notice it. No farther advances ought to be made to this old rebel; and even his own yielded to with much persuasion. He has not yet tasted the bitterness of exile sufficiently, and it is better that he should get heartily sick of it, when he will be glad to crawl back, humbly, to his home. Even then he should give security. This Bunnoochee style of coming and going; flying without reason, and then negotiating to return, is child's play. Neither should his younger son be allowed to keep his place warm for him, as chief of Dâood Shâh; though, on the other hand, it would be hard to deprive him of the one-fourth which belongs to his family.

The expected Dour invasion, the plots and attempts to get rid of me by assassination, and the wild excitement of our whole work in Bunnoo, was beginning at this time to attract general interest; and while over-worked Secretaries to Government turned to "the last Bunnoo Diary," as Lord Clarendon might turn to the reports from Tipperary, and anxious private friends poured in their inquiries whether I was still alive, I was not a little startled at a spark of military ardour which flashed from the inky dark-

ness of the Lahore Residency-office, and threatened to singe all the quills in that abode of peace and literature.

The following letter came to me by post :

“TO LIEUTENANT EDWARDES,

“ASSISTANT TO THE RESIDENT, ON DEPUTATION
AT BUNNOO.

“ Sir,

“ I beg to solicit your consideration of an offer which I make of my services, if you think they might be turned to any advantage.

“ If, in the present state of affairs in Bunnoo, I could be of any use to you in minor details, whilst your time was occupied in more important matters, and that you can get me detached from the Residency, I shall be happy to join your camp.

“ I think I would be qualified to make myself useful to you in many points ; and I require no remuneration further than being allowed to hold my appointment as second clerk of the Residency-office, and to draw my salary at Bunnoo.

“ I have served five years in the royal army, and am acquainted with discipline.

“ I was present at the battles of Meanee and Hydra-

bad, in Scinde; and my conduct was noticed by Colonel Penefather at the latter place.

“ I was subsequently employed as an Assistant in the Field Commissariat of the Army of the Sutlej, and received a slight wound of a sabre at Sobrâon.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

“ G. QUIN.

“ Lahore,

“ 15th February, 1848.”

Mr. Quin was an Irishman, and had so evidently turned his sword into a penknife prematurely, that I would willingly have employed him, had such a luxury as a clerk been allowed me in those “ ’prentice days;” but I was obliged to reply, as follows :

“ Sir,

“ I have received your letter of the 15th February, offering your services in this quarter, and like the spirit which dictated it, and the manly tone in which it is written.

“ I should be very glad of your services, for a man who can write and fight is the very fellow for this border; but I am not allowed an English writer, and if I were, there would perhaps be difficulty in

getting you detached from the Residency English office, where hands used not to be too numerous.

“Therefore I see no use in applying for you at present, but I will do so if work increases; and, at all events, I shall not forget your willingness to be employed where employment is no sinecure.”

“Camp, Bunnoo,

“February 23rd, 1848.”

I have thus formerly introduced Mr. Quin to the reader, because hereafter he will be found to play a very honourable part in a struggle far more extensive, and hard contested, than any that was at this time foreseen by the ablest politicians of India.

The following extract from a private letter from the Acting-Resident will inform the reader of the ultimate and well-merited fate of the Dhokul Sing regiment, commanded by Colonel Mân Sing, which mutinied with me in Bunnoo, and was ordered to Lahore for refusing to build the fort of Duleepgurh.

“The Dhokul Sing corps came a week ago; and three days ago the Government order, sanctioning their being disbanded. On Saturday it was carried into effect. They were paid up, and their arms taken away without a word.” (Dated 14th February, 1848). Short, sharp, and decisive.

February 21st.—A complaint, by a Murwutee, against the Janeekheyl Vizeerees for stealing ten camels in open day. The time corresponds so nearly with the date of my taking an agreement from that tribe, to settle quietly on their lands and give up thieving, that I do not know whether this offence was previous or subsequent to that agreement. I have therefore sent out Ubeezur Khan, of Koondee, to accompany the complainant to the Mullick of Janeekheyl, and after inquiry bring the Mullick to me.

The officer in charge of Bunnoo has a very difficult card to play with these Vizeerees; and his usefulness here will depend in a very great measure on his success in maintaining friendly relations with them. Nothing would be easier than to drive them out of the valley and seize their lands, but I am quite convinced that the true policy is in the opposite direction, to induce the Vizeerees, not merely to visit, but to settle all round Bunnoo; making them a kind of cactus-hedge.* So long as they cultivate, they

* The frequenter of horticultural *fêtes* at Chiswick, or the owner of English hot-houses, will not get a very correct idea of my meaning, unless told that the cactus, in India, is a most formidable plant, growing twice, or even three times, as high as a man, matting its branches together like the folds of the Laocoon, and opposing to all attacks from without a

will obey. Every field is so much bail for keeping the peace. If driven out again as mere graziers and wanderers they will be an indigent, thieving set of enemies, continually harassing our border in that irregular mode which is so difficult for either regular military or civil power to meet; but they are so unused to authority of any kind (every Puthán being, as their proverb says, his own Khan), that it is a most delicate task in dealing with them, to combine the dignity of government with the conciliation of policy. But after all, if it were not difficult, there would be neither credit nor interest.

I should not be much surprised if many of the Vizeerees, who are now so quiet in the Eastern Thull, cut their crops this next summer, and then run away to the hills without paying the revenue to which they

complete *cheveux-de-frise* of spikes as long as one's finger. It was once my unhappy lot to be lodged in one by a runaway horse, who broke his curb-chain; and I came out very much like a porcupine, with my boots so nailed to my feet, that they (the boots, not the feet) were obliged to be cut off with a penknife, piecemeal. It would be some compensation if the Indian cactus bore the gorgeous blossoms we see in Europe, and perhaps in Africa; but it can only boast a shabby yellow flower, about the size of a dandelion, and is therefore abandoned to hedge-rows, or stuck like the emblem of ill-will on the boundary of two estates.

have agreed. Their intellect sees no further than the paltry gain of the present harvest ; but in such a case, I would not break with the tribe, but sell the particular ground : to Vizeerees, if possible ; but failing them, to Bunnoochees. The runaways, after eating their one harvest, would begin to see that they had after all not done such a clever thing in killing their golden goose, and with much supplication seek re-admittance into the valley.

It will be desirable also, as a rule, to make each tribe keep a *vukeel* (representative)* here with us,

* Similarly situated native Governments take a hostage, and the system answers very well ; for they do not scruple to visit on the hostage the short-comings of his principals. But no civilized Government would do this in these days, though common enough in the olden time ; and this being speedily found out by the people who have given the hostage, they are not restrained by any fear on his account, and proceed to hostilities just as freely as if they had given no hostage at all. This we had opportunities of discovering afterwards in Bunnoo ; but a remarkable instance is but too familiar to the English reader. I allude to the outbreak and massacre of the British force in Cabul, at the time when the deposed Afghan Prince, Dost Muhommud Khan, was a prisoner in the hands of the British in India. Dost Muhommud was not called a hostage by us, or given up as one by his people ; but practically he would have acted as one in the hands of Runjeet Sing, at Lahore, or any other native

to receive orders, serve summonses, and call in offenders, which is much less obnoxious than sending a Sikh Government servant, who too frequently is a bully.

The *povinduks* (Lohânee traders between India and Cabul) are again giving trouble at Tâk. Shah Niwaz Khan has imprisoned seventeen of them. Ordered him to send them to me for trial. They think it a matter of course driving a herd of camels into a corn-field, and then drawing their swords on the proprietor when he comes to remonstrate !

Sirdar Khwâjuh Muhommud Khan, Barukzye, has been for a long while trying to persuade General Cortlandt, in order that it may reach my ears, that by right the Eastern Thull of Bunnoo belongs to the Khuttuks, or, in other words, is a dependency of his

contemporary sovereign. The Afghans, however, knew very well that the English would not hurt a hair of his head ; and the insurrection was headed, if not planned, by the Dost's own son, Muhommud Ukbur Khan.

Hostages, therefore, should only be taken by British officers in India when they, for the first time, come in contact with a totally barbarous tribe, who have hitherto had no experience of Europeans. So long as they think their hostages are in danger, so long they will be quiet ; but after this stage, a vukeel is better than a yurghomál.

father's jageer of Kohât. A case in my court this morning brought on the question, and I took the opportunity of calling in the Sirdar's vukeel, and a Khuttuk witness, who both proceeded very quietly to claim, not only the Thull, but a good slice of Bunnoo Proper. The proof, however, was *minus*; and after hearing all they had to say, I think the rights of the Khuttuks could not have been better defined, or more justly respected, than in my own agreement with the Thull Vizeerees, wherein I make the boundary of the latter to be the edge of the present cultivated lands of the Khuttuks, in the *damun-i-koh* (skirts of the hills), at Lutummur, Kurruk, Kummur, Nusruttee, and Shinwá.

It is necessary, moreover, that the Sirdar's namesake, the chief of the Khuttuks, should bring the country he already has into order, and be responsible for the conduct of his subjects on the Bunnoo border. At present he bears the character of being very incapable, and his Barukzye masters acknowledge that he can only extract his revenue from these same villages, on the Thull border, by force of arms. From Shinwá, I doubt if he gets anything.

My time for departure from Bunnoo being now at hand, the chief Bunnoochee Oolumá, of all degrees of

sanctity, called to take leave, and be made over to my successor, Taylor.*

* An interesting custom exists in the Punjab, and all the countries where Sikh influence has been felt, of making over clients from one patron to another, by the old patron taking the client's arm, and putting it into the hand of the new patron, who immediately grasps it, if he consents to take charge of the suppliant's interests. Thus, no subordinate official would think of assuming his office, without the mediation of some mutual friend to introduce him to his future master, and make him over. Nor, among natives, is the ceremony an empty one; for, on both sides, there is a superstitious feeling, that after the new patron has once taken his client's arm, he is bound in honour to protect him to the best of his ability; and if he does not intend to do so, on account of some pique or enmity, he will resort to all sorts of shifts to avoid engaging himself by taking the offered arm, and thus, from the very first day of meeting, the parties mutually understand whether there is to be friendship between them, without asking, "Is thy heart right with my heart, as my heart with thine?" The ceremony is almost meaningless under European Government, where all parties are certain of impartial justice, and under which favouritism should not exist. But this, natives are slow to believe; and when I left the Punjab, all my old friends were uneasy till I had made them over in all form to some member or other of the new Government, to protect them in my absence.

The same custom may exist in Lower India and perhaps, is common to the East generally, without my knowledge.

They expressed themselves well satisfied with the land-tax of one-sixth, which I have fixed for them, and seem at last quite to have got over their apprehension, so natural to Afghans, that after the forts were all down, I should avail myself of their weakness to levy the same share from the priests as from the laymen. They are a very touchy class of men, and consider themselves so sacred, that even to pay their revenue through a lay Mullick is derogatory to their dignity, and beg to be saved from such a fall from their "high estate." There happen to be nine forts filled with priests, in a cluster, close to Lal Baz Khan's tuppeh, which can with propriety be made into a parish of their own, with a head-priest, by way of Mullick ; on condition that any delay in paying their revenue will at any time forfeit the privilege, and consign them all to the charge of a lay Mullick. But the other priests of Bunnoo, scattered about in twos and threes, and seldom possessing even entire single forts, cannot be so indulged : it would produce endless confusion in the revenue.

As our fort of Duleepgurh is now rearing itself proudly into the air, and approaching its completion, I sent, some days ago, for the four heavy guns at Lukkee, to mount on the four corner bastions of the citadel. They arrived this morning with their Colonel,

Sooltan Ali Ahmud Khan, the two remaining guns of whose battery have arrived at Lukkee, and will remain there in the fort. Some ammunition stores also have arrived for our magazine.

February 22nd.—Ubeezur Khan, whom I sent yesterday to the Janeeckheyl Vizeerees, has returned, and reports that they disown the deputies who came in to me on the 14th of February, and made terms for the tribe, saying they had no authority to do so. They declare they are willing to pay revenue, but are too poor to undertake to be responsible for robberies, which may or may not be committed by men of their own tribe, &c.

This being the case, when robberies next occur, I see no resource but the one which, of all others, it is desirable to avoid—namely, retaliating on the tribe for concealing the individual offender, and cutting away the crops of the recusant community, until they do agree to collective responsibility.* Most

* This principle has been already alluded to in a note to Law 5, of the Code I prepared for the Bunnoochees, and published December 21st, 1847 (See Chapter IV.)

It is the English maxim, that it is better many guilty should escape, than one innocent man suffer. This maxim is benevolent, and self-denying, and amounts to a consent on the part of the community, to forego much justice for themselves, rather than inflict the least injustice on others. But

probably it will only be necessary to cut a few fields, and that the chiefs will see it is their interest to agree. Naturally they resist the entrance of law amongst them, and consider the right of highway robbery the most undoubted inheritance of man.

suppose society to be so bad, and law, consequently, so powerless, as that the meaning of the maxim should come to be extended to this: "It is better that all criminals should escape, rather than one innocent man suffer:" would the English people endure the maxim any longer? I think not; and think, moreover, it would be absurd and contradictory if they did. For, in effect, it would be as good as to say, that "many innocent persons shall be plundered and murdered, rather than one innocent person be whipped, or hanged." It would be preferring the greater to the lesser evil.

Now, this is exactly the case of a Government in the East, when dealing with subjects who are not yet broken up, as it were, into individuals, but are held together in masses, by tribes, and brotherhoods. And, supposing the tribe has no direct interest in the crimes of every one of its members, but is merely wanting in the active morality to give the offender up, it is still for the general good of the country, that this low-toned community should suffer for its offending members. Much stronger, however, is the case, when the tribe, as in Eastern Afghanistan, is itself a moving conspiracy; the whole profiting by the forays of any one individual. In that case, I conceive that the community is *particeps criminis*, and a fine imposed on it for the crime of one of its members, is not opposed in the least to the English maxim above alluded to.

The zumeendars of the district of Girâng, on the Indus, have again petitioned me for permission to retaliate on the Ooshteraunees, who carry off their cattle from the lowland pastures, into their own fastnesses in the Soolimânee mountains. I cannot deal with this question with that decision which I should wish, for I am quite ignorant of the *locale*; and this is one of my chief reasons for wishing to get away from Bunnoo, and make a regular tour of inspection of all the countries under my charge, before I settle down for the year. For the present I have told the zumeendars of Girâng that they are at liberty to defend their lives and property, if necessary, with the sword, but not to originate attacks even for the purposes of reprisal. I am the person to judge of the propriety of reprisal, and to make it too.

Wrote to Khwâjûh Muhommud Khan, Khuttuk, inviting him to come down and discuss with Lieutenant Taylor arrangements for making his villages on the Bunnoo frontier responsible for plunder.

Being in want of fire-burnt bricks for the drains and water-courses of our new fort of Duleepgurh, General Cortlandt sent workmen to dig up the ruins of the old Greek city at Akra, and they have brought away great quantities of a size much larger and squarer than are used "in these degenerate days."

Many of them have carved edges, as if they had been for mouldings or cornices.

It seems almost barbarous to make ordinary use of these relics of the Macedonian invasion ; and startling to be one's self the instrument of building up a New World dynasty, on the ruins of one of the Old.

Have the English come all this way from home, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, to shake hands with the ghost of Alexander the Great, and inquire how he found the roads in the Caucasus ? Time, Time, thou art a very old man, and seest very strange things !

February 23rd.—Violent rain all night and all to-day. Considerable damage done to the fort.

February 24th.—The heaviest rain I ever saw fell all day ; at times thickening into hail. The whole camp a swamp, and the fort and cantonment I am afraid will be almost resolved again into their pristine elements. To go out and look is impossible. If the labour has to be done over again, it will be very disheartening to the soldiers. Once let the mud get dry, and it would resist a flood ; but so long as it is wet every shower affects it.

The Khoorrum is full, though empty the day before yesterday ! Its roar has been audible in camp all day.

The natives here have a proverb (derived probably from experience), that if rain falls for four puhrs* in Bunnoo, it travels one hundred koss down the Dérajât; and if eight puhrs two hundred koss. At this rate it must have been one stream of rain from here to the Sutlej.

February 25th.—Camp in a miserable froggy condition of puddle and mud; but rain ceased at mid-day, after half destroying our beautiful fort.

Lal Baz Khan came with a question which involves a principle applicable to all Bunnoo; therefore let me register it. His tuppeh is watered from a branch of a great duct, called Chusúnnéh, which has been almost destroyed by the late flood, and must be repaired immediately. He came, therefore, to say that it was the custom for the ryots of the adjacent tuppehs of Mooseh Khan, and Kalookhey and Ishmael-Khánee (the two latter forming one tuppeh), to assemble and help the ryots of his own tuppeh in clearing and embanking the great canal, since from it diverge also other branches, which irrigate their lands. To this very reasonable representation he added a more suspicious request, that

* A puhr is a watch. The day and night are divided into eight watches, of three English hours each, or in the native mode of calculation, nine gurhees.

I would permit him "to send his Kotwál* round the other tuppehs to call them all together." It immediately struck me that this was assuming a kind of baronial supremacy, which must be most offensive to the chiefs of the other tuppehs, as implying that they owed Lal Baz allegiance, and must obey his summons. Nothing could affront a Bunnoochee more, for of all jealous and conceited creatures he is the worst. So I sent for Mooseh Khan's son and representative, Shivallee, and Musteh Khan, chief of Kalookheyl, and asked them myself whether they objected to help in clearing out Chusúnneh.

Musteh Khan said "No," at once; but Shivallee, (whose father and Lal Baz have been shooting at each other over the wall for years!) very excited, said: "Our water is separate. Why should we help to clear Lal Baz's canal?" Lal Baz warmed up at this, and stretching his hand out on the carpet of my tent, said: "I will put down one hundred rupees on this carpet. You put down one hundred rupees. If the water of your land does not come from Chu-

* Kotwál, in India, means a head police-officer in charge of a bazaar, or town; but, in Bunnoo, it was ignorantly applied to a night watchman, messenger, or, as in this place, a town crier.

súnneh, then my money shall be forfeited to the Sahib. If it does, then your money shall be *supt* (confiscated.)”

Upon this Shivallee gave in, having great objection to lose his money, though none to lose his character for truth. The decks being thus cleared for action, we set to at the inquiry, and I traced out the irrigation of the five ducts which are fed by the Chusúnneh canal: and then sent orders to the whole of the benefitted landowners, through their respective chiefs, to unite and repair Chusúnneh. The proposition of Lal Baz's kotwál was hailed with a shout of derision, and each Mullick finally promised to send round his own drummer. Memorandum.—To apply this decision to all future cases.

The damage done to the fort by the rain is so extensive, that I should say it will take three weeks to repair it, and add £500 on to the cost. All the sun-burnt bricks are destroyed. Fortunately, the temper of our soldiers is now excellent, and they put up cheerfully with what really is a great misfortune. Probably so heavy a fall of rain will usher in the hot weather sooner than usual, and relieve us of all fear of another disaster.

I give the following case from my Diary, because it will show the reader two things: how Runjeet Sing

was accustomed to let down easy the chiefs he conquered, by giving them jageers for military service, and how liable to abuse that jageerdaree system was.

So late as the beginning of the present century, the country lying both east and west of the Jheylum, between Pind Dadun Khan and Jhung, was possessed by the same Belooch races as till lately were the lords of Sindh. Indeed, the proper limits of Sindh, though now forgotten in political revolutions, are described by Mr. Elphinstone, with his usual accuracy, to commence about latitude 31° north, and occupy both banks of the Indus, from that point to the sea.* And to this day the zumeendars, on the right bank of the Indus, as far north as Dera Futteh Khan, are Beloochees.

In February, 1810, after taking the town of Khoo-shâb, on the right bank of the Jheylum, from one Belooch chief, named Jaffir Khan, Runjeet proceeded to besiege and reduce Sâheewâl, the stronghold of another powerful Belooch, named Futteh Khan, on the left bank. Futteh Khan was a man of ability and courage, and had, before this, given Runjeet much trouble; so that unscrupulous conqueror availed himself of a slight delay in the surrender of one of the outposts, to put Futteh Khan in irons, send him with his

* See his Vol. 1. p. 122.

family prisoners to Lahore, and confiscate all his property. Having thus reduced his enemy to the lowest pitch of misery and destitution, and brought it home to every aching joint in the manacled chief's body, that it was of no use to fight against the "Lion of the Punjab," Runjeet, according to custom, began to relax his gripe. After a year's confinement, Futteh Khan, Belooch, was released, and allowed to return to his home; and to keep him from starving, and his retainers quiet, was assigned what the Sikhs call "a money jageer," *i. e.*, he was told to keep up fifty of his former soldiers, and draw twenty rupees a month for each from the Lahore treasury, the said soldiers to render military service whenever summoned.

In process of time, Futteh Khan died, and the name of this once dreaded Belooch is already a tradition on the banks of the oft-contested Hydaspes. He was succeeded, however, in the family degradation and pittance by his son, Lungur Khan (Sirdar Lungur Khan, as the conceited fellow loves to be called); and it was my misfortune to have his fifty horsemen sent with me to Bunnoo. Hungry and lean, men and horses, I never got a good day's work out of them, but lost many in hearing their complaints. At last, on the 26th February, I saw that the case was formally inquired into, and here is the memorandum.

Out of the twenty rupees per man allowed by Government, Lungur Khan has, by virtue of being his father's son, systematically pocketed five rupees, and given the remaining fifteen to his men. The men are not merely retainers, they are vassals born and bred (khaneh-zad) ; have all of them served many years, and some forty ; and being sincerely attached to their "house," they cheerfully endured their fifteen rupees, out of which they had to "find themselves," and feed their master's horses. But two years and eleven months ago, Lungur Khan went bail to the Lahore Government, in the sum of five thousand rupees, for the ultimate payment of some arrears of revenue by the zumeendars of a district named Nimbhul, near Pind Dadun Khan ; and the zumeendars, finding they had got a soft friend, never paid the arrears, and left Lungur Khan to forfeit his security.

In this emergency, Lungur Khan bethought him of his ancestors and the "feudal system," and invited all his horsemen to share with him this new calamity of their "house." Another five rupees per mensem were deducted from each man to enable their leader to pay the fine, with a promise that it should all be paid back "in the end." But the end never came ; and the men and horses, with hollow eyes, saw each other fading away, and heard their bones make melan-

choly music as they rode along. And now they all say they must eat! Decision: Told Cortlandt to advance fifteen rupees to each man, and wrote to beg the Resident to cut it from Lungur Khan's own personal allowance, and make him pay the full twenty rupees monthly to every man till their arrears are repaid; after that fifteen rupees as usual, if he likes. Also to make the Nimbhul people pay Lungur Khan his five thousand rupees.

Sunday, February 27th.—Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, has sent in his man, Rozee, to tell me that he has now collected the tribute of one hundred and fifty fat *doombuh* (sheep) from the Thull Vizeerees, and is on his way to Duleepgurh with them. The whole Thull is reported to be a swamp from the late storms.

As I march from Bunnoo to-morrow, and wish to see this first Vizeeree tribute before I go, I have sent back Rozee to bring Swahn himself with the sheep to my camp at Ghoreewalluh to-morrow evening, when I mean to give the old Vizeeree a dress of honour.

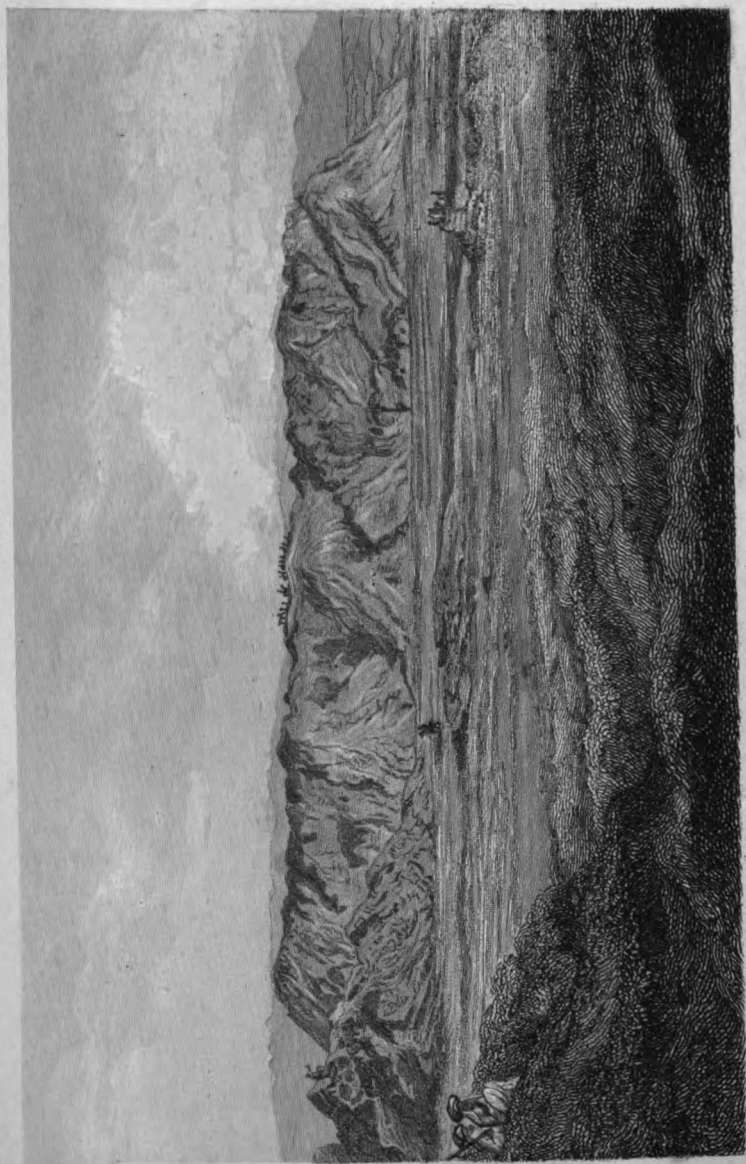
February 28th, 1848.—This being my last day in Bunnoo, in the morning early I held a Durbar, to take leave of all the officers of the force, at which I praised them all sincerely for the good service and general conduct of themselves and their men since we entered Bunnoo, and begged that they would let me hear

as good an account of them from Taylor when I return.

I took this favourable opportunity of conferring on Zorakhun Sing, the veteran Commandant of the Dogruh regiment, a Colonel's commission, which I had procured for him from the Maharajuh through the Resident, and a purse of one hundred and twenty-five rupees, instead of a dress of honour. The old man was much moved at this public honour, which his long services have never been able to win from his corrupt and thankless Government; and I trust the whole of the officers present drew the desired inference, that if the British alliance protects the royal treasury from the soldiers, it equally protects the soldiers from royal caprice and injustice.

After dismissing the *levée*, I had another Durbar for the Bunnoochee chiefs, who mustered strong to be made over to Taylor, and urge a thousand "last words" of petition about their own affairs.

As yet, I have not leisure to examine into their former incomes; so, for present maintenance, I told them I would give up five per cent. of their revenue to the chiefs of tuppehs, and five per cent. more to the chiefs of villages, each on their respective collections; total, ten per cent. on the whole land-tax. To this rule I made two exceptions in favour of those



From a Sketch by Major-General Taylor, 11th Regt. Cavalry

REMAINS OF A GRECO-BACTRIAN CITY.
AT AKRA, IN BUNNOO.

(THE HILLS OF GHAZNEE IN THE DISTANCE)

London Richard Bentley 1850.

zealous Mullicks, Lal Baz Khan, of Bazaar, and Jaffir Khan, of Ghoreewalluh, who are each to enjoy one-fourth of their whole revenue.

With great difficulty I got rid of them all; and after saying a cheering word to every one who had done well, and telling some others to mind how they behaved in my absence, I left camp about eight A.M., accompanied by Taylor and Cortlandt, who agreed to make a *détour* with me to the Greek ruins at Akra, which Taylor had not yet seen.

It is time that the reader also should be introduced to these highly interesting remains, though he will doubtless be disappointed to find that I am totally unprovided with a theory founded thereon; at least, one of my own. One confidently set up by the Hindoos, is quite at the reader's service.

In the south-west corner of the valley of Bunnoo, within a short distance of the left bank of the Goom-beeluh, and about midway between the two towns of Kukkee and Bhurrut, stand a cluster of high mounds, of different sizes and elevations, but undulating one into the other, and evidently parts of a long-ruined whole: indeed, at a little distance, they all seem one, and combine to form a most striking eminence, on a perfectly level plain, which is seen from almost any part of Bunnoo west of the Khoorrum river.

These mounds, when examined, prove to be composed of fragments of burnt bricks and broken tiles, cemented and crushed together by the lapse of ages ; and the deep channels which successive storms and floods have worn down their sides reveal, here and there, more perfect fragments of old brick-work, and hint that perhaps even halls and chambers might reward the antiquary's deeper search.

To the north of Akra, a rapid stream, called the Luhoruh,* cuts its way through high banks, and rushes into the Goombeeluh ; and across this stream, on the right bank, directly opposite the chief mound of Akra, stands a smaller mound, which, to a military eye, looks like an outpost, to command the water. During the first Bunnoo expedition, in 1847, we were encamped here ; and General Cortlandt's sappers dug some way into this outward mound, and came, at a considerable depth, to a small circular

* This stream was very shallow when I saw it, in the month of March ; but had deep holes in parts, in which I was told there were such large fish as the muhásir. The steep banks are deeply cut into ravines, and show that it must be a formidable stream in the rainy season. When Prince Nao Nihal Sing was with a Sikh army in Bunnoo, forty sepoy, and one hundred and fifty camels, were drowned by a sudden rise of the Luhoruh, while they were crossing the ford.

chamber, made of large and beautifully-burnt bricks, in which there were some human bones, but nothing to give any clue to their history.

Rain fell very heavily about the same time, and laid bare a very large quantity of copper coins, which the soldiers amused themselves by picking up, and brought to General Cortlandt and myself. They were generally dreadfully battered and effaced, but on most of them a few Greek and Bactrian letters were very plainly traceable. Some were very perfect indeed, and the raised figures on others, though nearly rubbed level with the surface, could be recognised as corresponding with many better specimens which General Cortlandt had collected in Huzaruh, the Salt Range, and other parts of the Punjab, all over which the Macedonian footsteps are more thickly and ineffaceably trodden in than is, I believe, generally known in England.

It is a pity that a great and liberal Government, like that of the East India Company, does not depute some one or more of its scientific servants (such as Captain Alexander Cunningham, of the Bengal Engineers, whose attention and numismatic knowledge have already been deeply given to the inquiry,) to proceed to the Punjab, on the exclusive duty

of instituting a regular and scientific search for Greek coins and ruins.

Major James Abbott, and Lieutenant D. Robinson, of the engineers, both made very extensive and valuable collections of coins in Huzaruh, among which were numerous beautiful silver, and a few gold ones; and Major Lumsden, the energetic leader of the Corps of Guides, discovered temples in the Eusofzye country, of which the uninitiated could merely say that they were "very old and very strange!" What a pity that such treasures as these, and others like Akra in Bunnoo, whether Greek or Buddhist, of the "Mede, Parthian, or Elamite," should lie at our feet as full of meaning as the obelisks of Egypt, and not, like them, be forced to give up their secret.

But to return to Akra. Three or four miles from Kukkee stands Bhurrut, a considerable walled town on the left bank of the Luhoruh, and remarkable at once from being built of brick. All the other towns of Bunnoo are made of mud; and so would Bhurrut probably have been, had not the ruins of the old Greek city hard by supplied the people with most excellent burnt bricks, the evident antiquity of which have given rise to a belief among the Hindoos

that the founder of this town was Bhurrut, the brother of Rám, and son of Rajah Jusrut, so famous in Hindoo mythology. In this amusing belief they are only confirmed by the Greek inscriptions on the coins found about the mounds of Akra, which they denominate "Seetee Rám Ké paisé," or the half-pence of Seetee and Rám; arguing both with reference and reverence to the Greek, that it is not to be supposed that the brother of Rám would either talk or write *common Hindee*!

By a perverse coincidence, even the equi-distant town of Kukkee contributes a link in the proof of the Hindoos; for this they say was the name of Bhurrut's mother! Many a strange antiquary has gone mad for less than this, and I trust that the reader will be so content with it as not to regret I have no other "theory" to offer. All that I venture to contend for is, that the ruins are Greek, or rather Græco-Bactrian. The coins put that much beyond a doubt. The Grecian outline of the features, however cankered, cannot be mistaken. They belong to the countrymen of Alexander, and the freedom of the designs and high relief, to a period when art was in perfection.*

* The above was written from memory of the coins; the coins themselves, of which I had more than a handful, having been left at Lahore in the hurry of my departure for England.

Nor would it be altogether so whimsical as the conjectures of our Hindoo friends, if I were to *hint* (nothing more) that the very name of "Akra" may be only the time-battered ruin of *axpos*, a hill. It is indeed the only eminence on the unbroken plain of Bunnoo, and might well have been honoured by the conquerors with the distinguishing title of *the* hill.

On the present occasion (February 28th, 1848), while General Cortlandt and myself were standing on the top of the chief mound of Akra, and Lieutenant Taylor was engaged in taking from below the sketch which enriches this chapter of my book, the workmen who were digging for bricks turned up a large cylindrical clay draining tile about a foot long, and ten or twelve inches in circumference, with a neck at one end so as to fit into the next tile, exactly as is practised at the present day among ourselves ! Yet this tile was probably two thousand years old.

Without wishing to force the incident into the service of any theory, or put any strained construction on it whatever, I will merely mention that the Bunnoo-

I have since, however, learnt from Major-General Taylor, Lieutenant-Governor of Sandhurst, that his son had sent several coins from Akra home, and some had been presented to the British Museum.

chee peasant may at this day be seen standing on the ruins of Akra with his feet encased in buskins exactly resembling the *foot* of the long Greek boot, "cothurnus." The sole is of the same shape, the thongs over the instep are crossed in the same pattern, and the toes of the wearer are thrust through in the self-same manner as we see in any ancient statue.* I was told that the same is common to all the peasants of Afghanistan, and I have since seen it myself in other tribes besides those of Bunnoo; but this in no way detracted from the interest I felt on first seeing such a shoe moving about on such a spot. But, alas! for such pleasing cheats of the imagination, had I asked the wearer, "Who built this ancient city?" he would have replied, "*The infidels!*"

The last word in the above sentence reminds me of an omission which I could nowhere better rectify than here.

Standing either on the ruins of Akra, or below them at the village of Bhurrit, and turning to the

* Knowing that the late Governor-General of India was an enthusiastic admirer of the military genius of Alexander the Great, I forwarded to his Lordship, as a possible vestige of the Macedonian invasion of Asia, a pair of these Bunnoo-chee buskins; and I believe that Lord Hardinge has them still in his possession.

north-east, the traveller will certainly exclaim : " What is that stupendous fortress which I see crowning the opposite mountains ? " The Bunnoochee guide will almost as certainly reply : " Kafr Kot ! "—(the infidels' dwelling).* " Infidel," in this sense, is almost synonymous with " Greek ;" for if you press for more information as to who the infidels were who built Akra and Kafr Kot, the Afghan peasant invariably shrugs his shoulders, and says : " I fancy, Alexander ! " And if this be not strictly true, nothing can be more just in spirit to the memory of that great man, than the way in which everything immense or wonderful is at once attributed to him. There is another " Kafr Kot " in the Khyssore Range, above the Plain of Esaukheyl, a valley to the south of Bunnoo and Murwut ; and I regret much that I never was able to find leisure from the present to visit these ruins of the past. The following description of the one on the Bunnoo border is from Mr. Masson's Travels.†

" While it was yet daylight we passed around the brow of a hill, opposite to which, and separated by a water-course, was a much higher one, on whose

* Sometimes the Bunnoochees call it " Hooree Muhl," or " the Fairy's Palace."

† Vol. I. pp. 101—3.

summit were a series of walls, describing the ancient fortress named in these parts, Kafr Kot, or the Infidels' Fortress. Above the path we were following, the rocks were so arranged, that I was doubtful whether the peculiarity of structure was the effect of art, or of the sportive hand of nature. They wore the appearance of decayed buildings; while on the verge of the hill was a parapet, or what so nearly resembled it, that in the cursory view my time permitted me to take, I did not dare make up my mind respecting it, and I would have been very glad, had not the fear of losing my company prevented me from staying, to have satisfied myself. Kafr Kot is believed, by the natives, to have existed before the Muhommudan invasion of India. The stones employed in its construction are represented to be of wonderful dimensions. I have been told by a gentleman who has visited it, that he did not consider it so ancient, as there are embrasures for artillery in the towers. The natives, in reply to this objection, affirm that the embrasures are modern additions.

“ The fortress has long since been abandoned, owing, it is said, to water being distant. This is one of those places which deserved a more rigid inspection. A line of massive wall, wherever found, is styled by the present inhabitants of these regions, Kafr Kot,

or Killa Kafr, equivalent and general terms, which, in most instances, ill explain the nature of the remains of antiquity on which they are conferred. So far from having been originally places of defence, the greater number of them denote the sepulchral localities of by-gone races. In the remote and sequestered sites in which they are found, it is inconceivable that large towns and fortresses should have been fixed; the former could not have flourished, and the latter would have been of no utility."

At the foot of the ruins of Akra I bade "good-by" to Taylor and Cortlandt. They returned to Duleepgurh: and I pursued my march towards the Bunnoo frontier. Our camp was pitched at Ghoreewalluh, and on the road we saw nothing but corn, corn, corn, in every direction.

Reached Ghoreewalluh about two P.M. About three koss of the new road, or half the distance between Duleepgurh and Ghoreewalluh, is already finished, and has a truly imposing and civilized appearance in this hitherto untravelled country. Trees are now being planted on each side; so that in a few years the road will be one long avenue, and the traveller be screened from the sun for a few more hours of his journey.

Ghoreewalluh is a considerable village, containing

fully fifty shops, and these much less huddled together than is usual in Bunnoo. All traces of fortifications have disappeared here as elsewhere ; and I feel happy at the thought that I leave but one fort behind me in Bunnoo, and that our own.

Several Hindoos left here yesterday on the long pilgrimage to Jugganath.

No sooner had I arrived here than the whole male population of Ghoreewalluh turned out, formed in a line, and sat down on the ground as long as I sat outside my tent, with their chins on their knees, and their eyes fixed in silent contemplation of the "Feringhee Sahib." Presently old Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, arrived from the Thull, and seeing all the Bunnoochees so near, said his prayers violently, in Pushtoo. I asked : "What is the matter?" He said : "God preserve you from all these rascals ! Why do you let them all come round you?" At the same instant, I dare say the Bunnoochees were saying among themselves : "Just look at that fool of a Feringhee, sitting down with a Vizeeree ! If he does not get a *pësh-kubz* (dagger) in his stomach, it's extraordinary."

Tuesday, February 29th.—Breakfasted at Ghoreewalluh, as I wished to give a dress of honour to Swahn Khan, and have a parting conversation

with that true-hearted and faithful friend. As soon as he had got over his delight at the gold embroidery, he reverted as usual to the subject nearest his heart—the prospects of his own tribe. He seemed anxious about how his people would be treated by “the new Sahib;” but I assured him that Taylor was much more considerate and long-suffering than I could pretend to be, which comforted him on that head. We then had a long and interesting conversation about the Vizeerees, and I took considerable pains to show him that the interests of his people and of the ruler of Bunnoo are identical. “To drive out the Vizeerees and resume their lands would be easy, but impolitic; for as poverty brought them from their own country to Bunnoo, so it would force them to plunder if expelled; and the cultivated tuppehs of the valley would then be surrounded on three sides by thieves and murderers.” (The European reader might think these remarks offensive; but Swahn deemed them highly complimentary, and merely interrupted me to say: “Very true!”) “On the other hand, if the Vizeerees take root in the soil of Bunnoo, cultivate, and pay revenue, they grow rich and contented, the Government fills its treasury, and everybody’s desire is obtained.”

Swahn Khan wagged his beard repeatedly during

this discourse, and uttered his favourite ejaculation of approval: *Rishta! rishta! Shukh nishta!* (True! true! No doubt !) But from sundry remarks he added about the want of intellect of the Vizeerees, I infer that he is by no means sure that they will abide by the agreement they made with me. So I thought it as well to add, that "however glad I should be to see the Vizeerees settle down and pay revenue in Bunnoo, yet if they preferred mutual loss to mutual benefit, I was quite ready to meet them on that tack also, and would hunt them down with as much good-will as I had shown hitherto in securing them their lands." Lastly, the old man could not resist hinting what a boon it would be if the Vizeerees were let off with paying one-sixth instead of one-fourth; but I nipped this in the bud, and begged him never to propose such a thing again, as justice required that the Bunnoochees should not pay more than the Vizeerees.

On the whole, judging from the length of time he has taken to collect the tribute of two hundred fat doombuhs, and this morning's conversation, I suspect that the Vizeerees, as their corn grows up, are beginning to grudge paying a quarter of it to Government; and it will not surprise me if many of them reap their harvests and abscond, thinking to do a clever thing. Taylor will, I fear, have trouble; but what

newly subjugated country can put its neck to the yoke without wincing?*

I had sent on at sunrise the troops that were to accompany me on my tour of the frontier, and I now followed them to Gundee.

Between Ghoreewalluh and Gundee is six koss of jungle, excellent ground thrown away for want of

* The following memorandum was made by Lieutenant Taylor at the time of receiving this Vizeeree tribute :

Name of Tribe of Vizeerees.	Share of the Tribute.	Strength of Tribes in Bunnoo.	Vukeels furnished to Official in Bunnoo.	Mullicks to receive "Loongees" or presents, on payment of revenue.
Hátsee Kheyl . .	160 sheep	1000	1	1
Sirkee Kheyl . .	40 "	300	1	1
SPEERKYE.				
Momund Kheyl . .	} 20 "	1000	2	2
Soodun Kheyl . .		360	1	1
Oomerzye . . .		500	1	1
Beezund Kheyl . .	5 "	} . . .	1	1
Payinduh Kheyl . .	} 15 "		2	2
Badun Kheyl . .				
BUKKEE KHEYL.				
Surdee Kheyl . .	} not assessed	250	1	2
Nurmee Kheyl . .		360		
Tukhtee Kheyl . .		500		
No Memo. of the Janee Kheyl.				
	259 *	4270	9	10

* The nine extra sheep were to make up for some that were not "fat."

water. This is the tract which is to be brought into cultivation by the new canal that is now being cut; but the chief of the next valley but one (Esaukheyl) has actually come forward to remonstrate, and tells me it will be an injury to his country. This I cannot understand, as the Khoorrum is seldom or never dry.* Such, however, is the constant obstacle to one's attempts to do good to any one. Somebody else says it will ruin him!

Gundee proclaims itself to be in Murwut, by the houses being made of reeds, grass, &c., instead of mud, as they are in Bunnoo.

So here I shall bring this long chapter to a close; and as the springing up of a great war at the opposite end of the Indus too soon overwhelmed these peaceful labours (if, indeed, they may be called peaceful, in virtue of the end they had in view), and prevented me from ever again returning to Bunnoo,

* By subsequent inquiries which I made, I ascertained that in the months of *Bhadon* and *Assoj* (August and September), the Khoorrum sometimes, but seldom, is dry for four or five days, and on extraordinary occasions, for ten days, at Durreh-i-Tung; but this was not sufficient to make me forego the certain benefit of reclaiming a tract little inferior to Esaukheyl itself.

The Goombeeluh river is said to be never dry.

let me ask the kind reader to review, for a moment, in his own mind, the chapters which he has read, and consider whether enough of peril, enough of anxiety and responsibility, enough of wild adventure and barbarian life, and if not enough of accomplishment, at least of good endeavour, were crowded into these first three months of my "YEAR UPON THE PUNJAB FRONTIER."

On the 9th of December, 1847, we entered Bunnoo.

On the 17th of the same month, the powerful, brave, and hitherto unconquered Vizeeree tribes resigned their independence, and consented to pay tribute; and, as far as I know, and with such occasional exceptions as any one might suppose, have abided by that agreement till this day.

On the 18th of December, was laid the foundation of the royal fort of Duleepgurh; and, in spite of the mutiny of one of the regiments, that structure was raised, by the hands of the Sikh army, under my command, to the height of twenty feet, or within six feet of the top, before I left Bunnoo, on the 28th of February, 1848, or in the short space of seventy-two days. And this, in an enemy's country, without an engineer, and almost without tools.

On the 5th of January, 1848, the people and chiefs of Bunnoo were ordered to throw down their forts, about four hundred in number.

By the end of a month, in spite of being preached against in the mosques, in spite of two open attempts at assassination, and a third plot to murder me in a gateway, I had carried that measure out, and left but two Bunnoochee forts standing in the valley, and those two by my permission.

Such were the chief results which had been accomplished by this expedition in less than three months ; but besides these, a new town had been founded, which, at this day, is flourishing ; a military and commercial road, thirty feet broad, and twenty-five miles long, had been undertaken, laid down, commenced, and has since been completed, through a formerly roadless valley, and is now (under the protection of ordinary police) traversed by the merchant and traveller in ease and security ; tracts of country from which the fertilizing mountain streams were diverted by lawless feuds, had been brought back to cultivation by the protection of a strong Government ; others lying waste, because disputed, had been adjudicated, apportioned, occupied, and sown once more ; through others, a canal had been designed and begun, and promised to create a fruitful country in a desert ;

while, still nearer approaching to civilization, a people, who had worn arms as we wear clothes, and used them as we use knives and forks, had ceased to carry arms at all; and though they quarrelled still, learnt to bring their differences to the bar of the civil court, instead of the sharp issue of the sword.

In a word, the valley of Bunnoo, which had defied the Sikh arms for five-and-twenty years, had in three months been *peacefully* annexed to the Punjab, and two independent Afghan races, the Vizeerees and the Bunnoochees, been subjugated *without a single shot being fired*.

I believe I may add, that under the firm, yet benevolent, administration of my successor, Major Reynell Taylor, there is at this moment no part of the Punjab where there is less crime, and more security, than in BUNNOO.

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—ABSURD LAW OF MORTGAGE IN MURWUT—FERTILE CROPS—MORE FEMALE “DEMONSTRATIONS”—UNUSUAL FREEDOM OF THE WOMEN OF MURWUT—EXPERIMENTAL WELL SUNK—SITE AND GARRISON OF PRYZOO WATCH-TOWER SELECTED—A NEW TOWN PROJECTED AT PRYZOO.

CHAPTER VII.

IMMEDIATELY south of Bunnoo is the sister country of Murwut, the two together, as was remarked in the description of the former, comprising "a valley, which is separated from the Dérâjât of the Indus by the lower Buttunnee hills."

Like Bunnoo, it is bound in on three sides by hills; on the west, by those of the Vizeerees and Buttunnees; on the south, still by those of the Buttunnees; and on the east, by those of the Khuttuks bordering on Esaukheyl; on the north, it is quite open towards Bunnoo, the two plains running into each other.

The approaches to Murwut from the Punjab and the plains of the Indus are as follows:—A force coming from the Punjab crosses the Indus at Esaukheyl, and comes up the right bank of the Khoorrum river, through a gap called the Durreh-i-Tung, or the Narrow Pass, between the hills of the Esaukheyl

Khuttuks and those of Largee ; and encamps for the first time in Murwut at a barren, houseless spot, called Dera Futteh Jung,* within an easy march of Lukkee.

From Dera Ishmael Khan, on the Indus, the Governor of that place, if called upon suddenly to go to the rescue of his garrison in the fort of Lukkee, marches to Murwut by the way of Puharpoor, up the Largee valley, a difficult road for troops, as the valley itself is long enough for two marches, but must be made in one, as it affords not a drop of water, unless recent heavy rain has filled one or two holes scraped by the shepherds in the earth.

But the most frequented road into Murwut, and the one pursued by all traders from the countries of Tâk, Koláchee, and Dera Ishmael Khan, and the best also for any army coming from the southward, is that called the Peyzoo Pass, through the lower Buttunnee hills. This pass is about three miles in extent, and affords an excellent road for artillery, broad and smooth—except at the northern and highest end towards Murwut, where it is stony—sloping gradually, and varying in width from five yards to fifty. At

* Dera Futteh Jung means the Place of Victory, and was so called, because Sher Muhommud Khan, the Nuwab of Dera, here defeated a large force of rebels.

the southern, or lowest end, water oozes out of the sand at the base of a precipitous rock, and may be obtained in quantities sufficient for a camp, by sending on a party a few hours previously to scrape large holes or tanks.

This pass used to be so infested with robbers that it became no pass at all; but (as recorded in my Bunnoo Diary) I established a watch-tower and garrison at the end of it, and traffic at once ceased to be molested.

There are four other passes from Tâk to Murwut across these Buttunnee hills, which it may be useful to military men to know, viz., the Kutlar, the Siggee, the Byhin, and the Tubbee. The first *may* possibly, I was told, be practicable for artillery, but the other three are only passable by horses, camels, &c. Of the whole that of Tubbee is the worst. Those of Siggee and Byhin are the nearest to Bunnoo, and the Kutlar nearest to Lukkee.

I am not aware of any pass between Peyzoo and Durreh-i-Tung. The intervening space is chiefly occupied by a very high mountain, on which there is a *ziydrut* (place of pilgrimage) of great repute and sanctity among the Afghan tribes on the Indus; and I was told that it required as much strength as zeal to carry a pilgrim over the difficulties of the ascent.

The country of Murwut, though compelled for ever to divide with Bunnoo the same hill-encircled plain, must have been thus associated in one of Nature's most eccentric moods. Instead of possessing, like Bunnoo, a strong clay soil, fertilized by superabundant streams into a perennial harvest, it is an undulating sheet of the lightest sand, which, on an average, is a desert two years out of three, and a garden the third; that being the proportion in which it suffers drought and is blessed with rain.

In reading the different accounts given by Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Masson of this country, I have been reminded of the fable of the bee and the butterfly, on the upper and under side of the aspen-leaf. Mr. Elphinstone says: "The country of the Murwuts is composed of sandy and arid plains, divided by ranges of hills."*

In Mr. Masson's description we scarcely recognise the same place: "The numerous villages, marked by their several groups of trees, the yellow tints of the ripe corn-fields, and the fantastic forms of the surrounding mountains, presented in their union and contrast a splendid scene."†

* Vol. II. p. 56, "Account of the Kingdom of Caubul."

† Vol. I. p. 85, "Journeys in Beloochistan, Afghanistan, and the Punjab."

Both travellers were right in their instance, but wrong in their rule. The one must have visited it in a year of drought, the other in a year of rain. A longer residence enabled me to see it in both conditions, and I never saw so violent and complete a contrast.

The triennial harvest of wheat, barley, and grain is so overflowing abundant, that it amply makes up for barren seasons; and living thus in a land which knows no medium between want and superabundance, seems to have no injurious effect upon the character of the people. They are one of the finest races of the Trans-Indus—tall, muscular, fair, and often rosy-cheeked; and in the evident purity of their Afghan blood, form a striking contrast to their mongrel neighbours the Bunnoochees. It is this, perhaps, which makes them personally proud and dignified; but they are frank and simple in their manners with strangers, and distinguished from all the Puthán tribes with which I am acquainted by a more generous treatment of their women.

The dress of the Murwutees is the loose shirt common to all Afghanistan; a voluminous trowser, whose folds are gathered together at the ankle in the same way as the shulwar of the Persians, but on a smaller scale, and of a dark striped cotton or silk;

and a chocolate-coloured turban. The hue of this latter article is quite a distinctive mark of a Murwut peasant.

The capital of Murwut is Lukkee, which, in Mr. Elphinstone's map, was at that time correctly placed on the *right* bank of the Goombeeluh, but which the modern traveller will find to have migrated to the *left* bank of that river. The old town of Lukkee still boasts a few huts on the right bank, but all the Hindoo traders and artisans have deserted it, in order, most probably, to be under cover of the fort, which the Sikhs established on the opposite bank.

Mr. Masson makes a mistake in placing Lukkee on the Khoorrum, from which river it is between two and three miles distant.

To the best of my knowledge, there is not one native fort, walled village, or intrenchment of any kind, to be found among the people of Murwut; a fact which, to my mind, always spoke more for their bravery than the four hundred forts of the quarrelsome, vindictive, yet cowardly Bunnoochees. Something, however, must be allowed for the difference of soil; for the sand of Murwut is as useless for building as the mud of Bunnoo is excellent: hence there are few or no mud houses even in the

villages of Murwut, except those of the chiefs, though in the town of Lukkee the shops and houses of all classes are built of that material, favoured by the vicinity of the river.

Mr. Elphinstone describes their abodes well : " Half the Murwuts are fixed and employed in agriculture ; the rest wander about with their herds of camels, living chiefly in temporary huts of branches of trees, with a wall of thorns, and a roof of straw : some few have black tents of the worst description."* And this is not only applicable to their temporary, but to their permanent villages. All are constructed of twigs, branches, osiers, reeds, &c. ; and a stiff wall of thorns, thrown loosely on the ground, surrounds the whole colony, and is closed at night with a rude gate of brambles, which is thrown on one side at dawn in the morning, to let out the cattle.

But perhaps the chief characteristic of this country is its excessive drought. There is, I believe, only *one* well in all the villages of Murwut ! The reason of this is, that the water is so far below the surface, that the people cannot afford to sink wells to it. Instead of such expensive luxuries, they dig a tank outside each village to catch rain-water ; but this precarious supply is soon exhausted, and then the

* Vol. II. p. 57.

drought suffered by the people, in the summer months, is incredible. The only way they have of procuring water is by keeping mules and bullocks, to carry skins to some distant brook or spring; and the industrious women of Murwut are thus employed all the summer, for nearly twelve hours out of the twenty-four. The poor who cannot keep a mule, have to walk to the water before they can get a draught!

To bring this state of things more fully home to the reader, I will mention the instance of a village called Teetürkheyl, on the road from Lukkee to the Peyzoo Pass; the inhabitants of which have, in general, to fetch water all the way from the Goombeluh river, or fourteen miles and a quarter, as measured by my perambulator.

Mirza Agha Abbas, of Shiráz, the intelligent native traveller, whom I have often quoted, mentions an interesting fact in connection with this subject, which is very characteristic of the religious and hospitable Putháns. "Each house," he says, "subscribes a vessel of water for the mosque, and for strangers."

Murwut being much more easy of access than Bunnoo, has never, that I am aware, been able to shake off authority; but, on the contrary, has sub-

mitted to an increase of burdens from every new master.

Originally the Doorânee Kings of Cabul imposed on the Afghans of Murwut, the light tribute of one hundred and twenty camels yearly, and the service of one hundred horsemen, with a tax of three thousand rupees on the Hindoos resident among them. Gradually, however, they raised the revenue to twelve thousand rupees a-year. (Agha Abbas says eighteen thousand, but I think not.)

To them succeeded the Nuwab of Dera Ishmael Khan, who levied sometimes twenty-seven thousand, sometimes thirty thousand, and sometimes forty thousand rupees from the Murwutees.

Next came the devouring Sikh; but though he swallowed up the Nuwab of Dera, Runjeet Sing was either too busy or too cautious to meddle much for some years with his remote Afghan dependencies. I believe Mr. Masson is correct in saying, "Maharaja Runjeet Sing once marched with an army of twenty-five thousand men to Lakki. He exacted thirty thousand rupees, but did not judge it prudent or convenient to make a permanent settlement in the country, as, it is said, he had contemplated."*

The earliest certain account that I have of the

* Vol. 1. p. 99.

Sikh proceedings in Murwut is subsequent to Runjeet's death. About the year 1842, Runjeet's son (so-called) Maharajuh Sher Sing, deputed Mullick Futteh Khan, Towannuh, to make some permanent settlement with the chiefs of Murwut. He was a brave, highly intelligent, and singularly energetic man; but like most natives preferred fraud to force, and was even less hampered with scruples about using it than the generality of his contemporaries at the laxest of all courts. Under a promise to make a "perpetual settlement" of the revenue of Murwut at the low rate of one-sixth of the produce, in kind, yearly, he induced the chiefs to consent to his building a fort in the heart of their country, at Lukkee, on the left bank of the Goombeeluh. Fatal concession! No sooner was the fort completed, and a trusty garrison of foreigners installed, than Futteh Khan ran unexpectedly short of money, and asked two tuppehs of Murwut, named Byrám and Dreyplareh to *lend* him eight thousand rupees, and he would give them credit for it in the coming harvest. Before that period came, Futteh Khan was superseded by another Governor, named Dewan Dowlut Raie, who interpreted the loan into a regularly established tax, and grafted six thousand rupees more on to it, so that ever afterwards these two tuppehs had to pay fourteen thousand

rupees a-year, in addition to the one-sixth of the produce of their fields, for which they had originally bargained. The imposition was rendered still more odious by the method of assessment and collection. He made it a poll-tax; and it was called by the people, in derision probably, the "putka," or turban, the most honoured portion of a Muhommudan's dress. Every male who was of age was liable to this tax, and consequently it fell heaviest on the largest families.

Besides the tuppehs of Byrám and Dreyplareh, there are in Murwut a third tuppeh, named Moosakheyl, and two half tuppehs, named Michunkheyl and Tajoozye, which Dowlut Raie taxed as follows :

Moosakheyl, from 15,000 to	20,000 rupees.
Michunkheyl	700 „
Tajoozye	500 „

Moosakheyl, as will be seen on the map, lies towards Bunnoo and the Vizeeree hills, and consequently never submitted to regular payments; so that the authorities were obliged to make incursions into it, and harry the people till they came to terms. When I first passed through Murwut to Bunnoo, I found the smouldering embers of more than one village of this tuppeh, which had been burnt by Dewan Dowlut Raie's orders, for refusing to pay

the revenue. In the end they used to compound for all demands, but never would allow either their crops to be measured, or their polls to be counted.

In addition to the hated "putka" tax, and the land-tax of one-sixth, the avaricious Dewan imposed on this impatient and newly-conquered Afghan people all the vexatious custom dues of the Sikh system in the Punjab, which averaged no less than eight thousand rupees per annum; and from these various sources he admitted to me that, one year with another, he obtained from Murwut seventy thousand two hundred and sixty-six rupees. With more correctness I was informed, by common report, that he never squeezed less than a lakh out of it, or £10,000 sterling.

My own idea of what would be a fair and rather easy revenue for Murwut is sixty-five thousand rupees.

In the beginning of 1847, the rage of the Murwutees at the "putka" tax rose to such a pitch, that they rebelled, and laid siege to the fort of Lukkee, with the intention of razing it, and freeing their country; an enterprise in which they were readily assisted by the neighbouring Vizeerees and Khuttuks.

The fort was commanded at that time by a very brave Puthán, named Nizam Khan, Khodukka, who first burnt the town of Lukkee to the ground, to

deprive the besiegers of shelter, and then defended the fort with his garrison for seventeen days, until his master, the Dewan, arrived from Dera Ishmael Khan with guns and reinforcements, and raised the siege.

I arrived in Murwut almost immediately afterwards, and forced the Dewan to remodel his system of assessment, by abolishing the poll-tax, and raising the land-tax from one-sixth to one-fourth, a change which was no loss to the Dewan, and was hailed as a perfect enfranchisement by the people. By a happy accident, a rainy season followed this interference; and the superstitious Murwutees considered it a Divine declaration in favour of the change. Their joy, however, was raised to its utmost when, on my report of the ruin to which Dowlut Raie had reduced every country under his charge, Sir Henry Lawrence removed him from his government, and conferred it on General Cortlandt. The Dewan was hated through the length and breadth of his province; and from latitude 31° north, on the Indus, to latitude 33° , there was no name among the mountain robbers of the Soolimânee Range which struck such terror to the people of the plains as that of their own Governor, Dowlut Raie. Yet he was in high favour with the Sikh Durbar; and from the great Chancellor, Dena Nâth, down to

the *Purwanuh-Nuvees* (writer of orders), there was not an official at Lahore who did not lament his fall. Why? Because they loved his bribes, and did not care a button for his people. Such was the Government which it was the thankless office of the British Resident and his Assistants to control !*

Having thus given a general account of the country of Murwut, let us now return to its frontier village, Gundee, where we arrived (in the preceding chapter) on the 29th of February, 1848.

On approaching the village, I was astonished to see all the women coming out to meet me ; and found that they were the bearers of a petition, begging me to forgive their husbands for deceiving the revenue measurers.† They “denied that they conspired with the measurers, or bribed them ; and if there was any mistake, it was owing to the measurers not measuring

* In “Burnes’s Cabul,” p. 96, is a well-executed plate, of which the following explanation is given in the text : “Among the company present was the young son of the Governor (of Dera Ishmael Khan), whose intelligent and beautiful countenance interested us all greatly.” In the lineaments of that “intelligent and beautiful countenance” I recognise, beyond the possibility of mistake, the future Dewan Dowlut Raie ! How ill his manhood justified the promise of his youth, my reader will be able to judge.

† See Chapter V., Diary, January 29th.

the crops, but taking the oaths of the Murwutees on the blessed Koran as to the amount, a process into which errors must unavoidably creep, as the Murwutees could only depose to the best of their understanding; and all Afghans, by the grace of God, were well known to be deficient in that commodity," &c.

A Hindoo interpreter accompanied the women; and I observed that he wore a brown turban, like the Murwut Muhommudans, and long ringlets, like theirs, which shows that the Murwutees are much more tolerant than the Bunnoochees. This man told me there were only two old men in the village, few of the men of Gundee outliving the prime of manhood, on account of a blood feud raging between two divisions of the Dulkhozye tribe of Murwut, headed respectively by Zufr Khan and Sahib Khan; which feud produced usually three stand-up fights a year, the Government garrison at Lukkee assisting one side or the other for a consideration.

DIARY RESUMED.

March 1st, 1848.—Marched from Gundee to Lukkee, the capital of Murwut; distance six koss of waste land similar to that which lies between Ghoree-

walluh and Gundee. It will all be irrigated by the new canal.

The late severe rain has done much injury to the fort of Lukkee. Memorandum : To write to Cortlandt to send workmen as soon as they can be spared from Duleepgurh, to put a rampart to the north-west bastion ; a roof to both gun-bastions, to protect the sentries from the sun ; brick houses for the garrison, instead of grass, which exposes them to fire ; and raise the level of the magazine floors, which is now below that of the ground outside, and consequently damp. Also re-bore* and re-mount the two heavy guns, and re-mount the light gun, if of any use. Also

* The European ordnance-officer will be surprised at the easy way in which I here speak of re-boring artillery ; but not only that occupation, but every other connected with cannon foundry, has become almost as familiar to the smiths of the Punjab, as shoeing a horse is in the villages of England. Runjeet Sing maintained a very extensive establishment of military artisans, who were constantly employed either in imitating European models, or improving them for Asiatic use ; and these men disseminated their knowledge, in time, throughout the whole craft ; so that the Punjab is probably more full of ingenious workmen than any part of India of an equal size. Just before I left Lahore, a common blacksmith repaired a theodolite for Colonel Napier, of the Engineers, so beautifully, that it was impossible to find any difference between the old piece and the new.

complete the complement of artillerymen, and send "standing orders" to the new Commandant, Muhomud Ali Khan. This young fellow is already aghast at the country he has got into, and I suspect will soon find the breeze of these Afghan hills disagree with his metropolitan constitution. What a melancholy change for a Lahore dandy: to sit on the bastions of Lukkee, and watch the fish rise in the undrinkable Goombeeluh!

The fort of Lukkee, which holds Murwut in subjection, consists of an inner and an outer square enclosure, both built of mud, of a very crumbly description, owing to the nature of the soil. The outer fort is one hundred yards square, and the inner one sixty yards. In the latter is a tank for water, on which the strength of the fort so mainly depends, that I caused Dewan Dowlut Raie to enlarge it and line it with burnt brick at considerable cost. It is filled from the Khoorrum, not the Goombeeluh. There is no well in the fort. The ditch was about eight feet wide, but I rather think Major Reynell Taylor widened it and threw up a glaçis, with a covered way, on an occasion which will be related in due course. Altogether it is a very good fort to control a people who have no artillery; but its walls are so rotten from the material of which they are made,

that even six-pounders would breach them in an hour.

The vicinity of Lukkee is quite unsuitable for a military cantonment, and ought never to be chosen as a station for one soldier more than is absolutely necessary to garrison the fort. In the first place the water of the Goombeeluh is most unwholesome to drink, producing inflammation, &c. to a most painful extent in strangers; and secondly, the land between the Goombeeluh and Khoorrum rivers is low, swampy, and feverish, and the breeze which comes over it produces sickness to such a degree that in the summer of 1847, one of General Cortlandt's regiments of Hindoostanees was almost destroyed by a few months' residence at Lukkee, and the men were obliged to be put into boats at Esaukheyl, and floated down the Indus to Dera.

The place where they were cantoned had been taken ignorantly from a fakeer, to whose vengeance the natives attributed the sickness, but the less superstitious European officer will see in it only the operation of natural causes, and avoid the place in future.

The town of Lukkee (which is about two hundred yards from the fort) is now very well peopled, and thriving, and seems quite to have got over its double

calamity of being fired by the Government and plundered by the rebels !

The ground from here to the Goombeeluh slopes so much that a dam is required to be thrown round the north of the town, so as to save it from the flood which runs down to the river from the plains above, after heavy rain.

March 2nd.—Proceeded to Teetürkheyl, fourteen miles and a quarter. The whole valley of Murwut is now one sheet of corn, and no one can remember such a harvest. The tremendous rain, however, has done some damage, for our road this morning lay through the lands of Ubbakheyl and Mundrakheyl, across which the hail-storm passed, and we saw that the corn had been literally mowed off by its violence, a few inches from the ground, over a distance of about two miles.

(It afterwards turned out that the corn had not been in ear, and therefore sprang up again, and bore more than any other corn in the valley.)

At every village, from Gundee to this place, there has been a “ demonstration ” of women got up to induce me to let their husbands off from paying the revenue which the crop-measurers were bribed to suppress ; and very severe actions have I had to fight with these Murwut amazons, but all in good-humour ;

for they break their way through the escort, seize my horse by the bridle, and taking me regularly prisoner, commence a kind of deprecatory glee, made up of fractional parts of the simple burden, *Uruz lurree !* (I have a petition). Set to music, it would run thus :

Uruz lurree !—lurree !
Lurree !—Uruz !—ruz !
Ruz !—Uruz !—urree !
Urree !—Lurree !—Uz !

The effect of it, rising in A sharp from the throats of at least two hundred women, half of them laughing, while the other half scream, must be left to an imaginative ear. Not one of them ever says what the petition is, nor will they allow me to speak ; it being mutually comprehended, by me that they want the revenue to be excused, and by them that I will not do it. In the end I have to watch an opportunity to bolt, followed by all my horsemen, and the loud laughter of the unsuccessful petitioners. On these occasions the husbands kept out of sight, or just peeped round the corners to see whether the brown beauty which melted their own hearts had any softening influence on a Feringhee ; their teeth certainly are brilliant, but what said the wolf to Little Red Ridinghood ?

Scarcely in any case has “ a husband ” followed

the demonstration up by coming to my tent to complain ; and it is well known they will go miles to recover a few *pice* (half-pence) if they know they are in the right.

This custom of allowing their women to be seen is a trait worthy of remark, as quite peculiar to Murwut, and contrary to one of the strongest prejudices of Afghans, who jealously shut up their females. Even in low-bred and vicious Bunnoo the women shun observation ; and in Peshawur (my Barukzye escort told me) seclusion is so rigidly enforced, that “ not a woman dared to look out at a passing Sirdar, to see whether or no he were well-mounted and dressed.” The enlightened ladies of Murwut, therefore, drew down from all the Afghans in my train unqualified expressions of blame and astonishment ; and no sooner did we approach a village and catch sight of the blue petticoated crowd outside, than “ *Tobah! Tobah!*” (Shame! Shame!) burst from every mouth.

The want of water here is so serious an inconvenience to troops passing and re-passing, that I have ordered a well to be sunk forthwith at Government expense, cost what it may. The villagers say there is a tradition that water is more than sixty cubits from the surface, and so they have never tried to dig

a well to it, but if mine succeeds, they say all the villages will follow the example.

March 3rd.—Marched through the Peyzoo Pass, and encamped at the southern entrance, which is no longer in Murwut but Tâk.

Spent the day in determining the best position for the watch-tower that is to keep this pass in order, and in selecting recruits brought forward by Mittoo Khan to form the garrison. Plenty of candidates, and I chose out a very proper set of fellows, as hard as nails.

Mittoo Khan is anxious not only to be Commandant of the Peyzoo tower, but founder of a Peyzoo town, and cultivator of the surrounding waste. This would form a most desirable halting-place; but as usual with all propositions for the improvement of these quarrelsome countries, objections are immediately started.

Firstly. The land which has hitherto lain waste is at once claimed by three countries—Murwut, Tâk, and Koláchee.

Secondly. The water which comes down the Peyzoo Pass in seasons of rain has hitherto been turned to account in the fields of the Koondee people, about four koss to the west; and they say it would injure them to interpose a new colony at Peyzoo.

In these difficulties, all I can do is to decide that a town at Peyzoo shall be founded for the benefit of travellers ; and who is to colonize it, and who cultivate the land, must be left to the decision of a Commission of Boundaries.

For the present, Shah Niwaz Khan of Tâk must build the watch-tower, and take credit for expense in his revenue accounts.

Wood from Tâk : stones and mud on the spot.

Wrote to Shah Niwaz Khan, the Governor of Tâk, to meet me at Tukwâruh, that I may hear how he and his country get on.

And now, as the course of our narrative is carrying us to the southward, and will not return this way again, I think those readers who look in these volumes for something better than personal adventures, will be glad of some account of the two countries we are leaving on our right and left—Tâk in the Dérâjât of the Indus, and Esaukheyl on the bank of that river.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COUNTRY OF ESAUKHEYL—COURSE OF THE INDUS—IT CHANGES ITS BED AND INVADERS 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-KAFIRIEE," 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 ESAUKHEYLEES.

CHAPTER VIII.

ESAUKHEYL is a slip of country about forty miles long, which lies parallel with the Indus, having the great salt mines of Kálábágh on the north, the Khysore Range on the south, and the Khuttuk branch of the Salt Range on the west. Between the two latter ranges at Durreh-i-Tung, or the Narrow Pass, a peep is also obtained of the adjoining country of Murwut. On the east the mighty Indus used to be its boundary, but in justice cannot be so termed any longer.

The Indus pursues its course with the sagacity of a living thing. Burning with all the zeal of the Muhommudan races on its banks to perform its pilgrimage, it seems, from its high altitude in Tibet, to have scanned the map of Central Asia, and discerned that it was nearer to the Indian Ocean

than the Caspian. In vain the Indian Caucasus, seeking a bridegroom for her daughter Oxus, stands across its path ; it detects an opening, and rushes by. In vain the Soolimânee Range stretches out its arms to draw it into the thirsty vales of Afghanistan ; it leaps through the rocks of Attock and Kálábágh, and takes refuge in the sandy deserts of the south, nor resumes its western course till the Mountains of Solomon are passed, when it turns with its fellow-traveller, the Sutlej ; and the two, with loud songs, as of pilgrims whose place of pilgrimage is in sight, roll on uninterruptedly to the sea.

From the time that it turns southward at Attock till the time when it turns westward again at Mittenkote, the Indus divides the Punjab from Afghanistan ; and in that particular part of its long southern stretch with which this book is concerned (that is, below the Salt Range), it divides the Dérâjât, or plain of the Indus, from that division of the Punjab which lies between the Indus and the Jheylum, and is therefore called the Sind Sâgur Doâb.*

The Indus has for many years been gradually taking a more westernly course in its passage to the Sutlej, and nowhere perhaps so markedly as at Esaukheyl.

* Doâb means a delta between two rivers ; and Sindh Sâgur means the sea of the Indus ; and a sea it is in its flood !

Here, year after year, it has encroached on the western bank, and in removing from the Sindh Sâgur has increased its breadth of *terra firma*. The alluvium thus thrown up has in process of time created on the left, or eastern bank, a low but highly fertile tract called Kuchee.

At Meanwallee, the point where you leave the Sindh Sâgur Doâb to cross over to Esaukheyl, the alluvial tract just spoken of is about twelve miles broad when the river is at its lowest. In other words, the Indus has already removed twelve miles from that part of the Sindh Sâgur ; and though in seasons of its utmost flood the river still reaches its former bank, and permits the villagers on the old high ground to fill pitchers from the waters with which Kuchee is then overspread, yet in ordinary times the original Doâb of Sindh Sâgur is now no longer discernible from the ferries of Esaukheyl.

It was impossible for the Afghans of Esaukheyl to see twelve miles of the breadth of their country quietly transferred to the people of the Punjab ; and when Ahmud Khan (elder brother of Muhommud Khan, the present chief) was at their head, they brought the men of Kuchee to an understanding, and caused a mutual boundary to be laid down in

Kuchee on the eastern bank, parallel with the Indus, the Sindh Sâgur, and Esaukheyl.

So much of Kuchee as was to the east of this boundary, was to remain the gain of the people of Sindh Sâgur; but whatever more alluvium might be thrown up subsequently on the west of the boundary was to be recognised as so much *emigrated* Esaukheyl.

In my judgment, therefore, the eastern boundary of Esaukheyl is that laid down in Ahmud Khan's time, in Kuchee; and not the River Indus.

The point, however, was disputed so late as the year 1848, when I had both the countries, Cis and Trans, under my charge.

In the confusion of the Punjab kingdom, and the jealousies ever existing between the Sikh Governors of neighbouring districts, Ahmud Khan's boundary was but ill observed; and the land, not being needed by the oppressed Esaukheylees, became covered with a high jungle of reeds, tiger-grass, and tamarisk.

I have heard old Khalsa soldiers say, that when Runjeet Sing first came this way—probably when he went to Lukkee, in Murwut—he opened a way through this jungle for his army, by putting four elephants abreast, and making them go on in front,

crushing, tearing down, and trampling into a highway, the undisturbed vegetation of years.

The residence of a British Agent at the Lahore Court, from the year 1846, very soon gave a new value to land and impulse to cultivation, by establishing every man's rights, and securing to him his gains; and Sir Henry Lawrence still farther promoted industry by proclaiming that all land newly brought into cultivation, without prejudice to older land, should be rent-free for three years.

Amongst others, the Esaukheylees wished to extend their cultivation, by breaking up their jungle-covered alluvium, on the opposite bank of the river; and many were the formal notices filed in General Cortlandt's court, of their intention to embark capital, on the faith of the Resident's term of grace.

But the men of Kuchee thought the history of their mushroom country was already old enough to be forgotten, and they claimed the whole of the new land between the high bank of the old Sindh Sâgur and the Indus. "There was not a child," they said, "so ignorant as not to know that Esaukheyl was on the *right* bank of the Indus!"

After hearing both sides, I thought the face of the country, with which I was myself familiar,

decided clearly enough in favour of the men of Esaukheyl; and I ordered the elders of that country, with their chief and Government Kárdár, to go over to Kuchee, meet the elders and authorities on a certain day, and formally retrace the boundary of Ahmud Khan.

The Kárdár of Kuchee, a true Sikh official, named Rám Sing, instead of obeying his orders, and tracing the old boundary, allowed his clients—the men of Kuchee—to re-open the whole question, and start, *de novo*, with the protest that their boundary was the Indus, flow where it might.

The expression they used on this occasion, was that the Indus was a “hud-i-Secundur,” or Alexandrian boundary; of which, as I had never heard before, I asked the meaning, and was informed, that they did not intend to say that Alexander the Great had decided the Indus to be their boundary, but that the Indus was an Alexander in its own peculiar way, dividing lands as it thought proper, and giving them to whom it chose, by fiats, which could neither be disputed nor resisted.

The plea was too poetical for our purpose, which was eminently practical; and, if admitted, would have left the Esaukheyles the prospect of soon having

no country at all.* So I fined Rám Sing fifty rupees for thinking, when he ought to have obeyed; and, as the season was lost by the delay, left the boundary of Ahmud Khan to be retraced by General Cortlandt, when he should leave Bunnoo for Dera. Ultimately, the Mooltan war called away the General much too precipitately to think of provincial boundaries; and I know not whether the eastern boundary of Esaukheyl has or has not been defined until this day.

Mr. Elphinstone's general description of Esaukheyl is better than any I can give. He says: "It is a very fertile, well-watered, populous, and highly-cultivated country. The water-courses are so numerous and so broad and deep as greatly to obstruct the roads. The villages are thickly planted, and most of them

* As an illustration of the transition from having country to having none, I may mention that in one part of Esaukheyl, the Indus has within the last few years cut off a considerable slice, and made an adjacent island of it. The zumeendars clung to their land with the usual tenacity, and actually established two villages on the island; one named Cheenuh Powree, and one named Sandeh Walluh. Occasionally the Indus rose and overwhelmed the island, when both colonies took boat and returned to the mother country, Esaukheyl, but emigrated again as soon as ever the island reappeared.

very large; most of the houses are thatched. The chief produce of the whole country is wheat.”*

When however he adds that, “the Esaukheyles disregard the royal authority, and have little government within themselves, they plunder weak travellers, and steal from those who are too strong to be plundered,” this takes us back to a period long gone by, and the description is no longer applicable. So I shall tell the reader what I know myself of this people, their country, past history, and present condition.

Whence the name of Esaukheyl comes from, I know not, for there is no longer any trace of it left among its people. The country generally is so called; but if we go to the tribes, we find them divided into four families—the Zukkookheyl, the Mummookheyl, the Badunzye, and the Uppookheyl. Probably, therefore, Zukkoo, Mummoo, Badun, and Uppoo, were the four sons of Esau Khan, the founder of the tribe.†

* “Elphinstone,” Vol. II. p. 53.

† As a specimen of the fanciful etymology of antiquarian geographers, I may mention here, that even Reynell, in his “Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan,” discovers in “Issakyl,” or, Esaukheyl, the country of the “Assacini.” Unfortunately the Esaukheyles are not the aborigines, but modern world invaders. See “Reynell,” p. 117.

Even the chief town of the country is not, I believe, called Esaukheyl by the natives, but Zukkookheyl, though their Sikh masters got into the habit of calling it Esaukheyl, as being the capital, a custom which I was thus led to adopt, and which is probably perpetuated under our own Government.

The present head of the Esaukheyl (Muhommud Khan) showed me his family papers, and the earliest records they contained were shortly as follow :—

In the reign of Ahmud Shah (who was King of the Cabul empire from A.D. 1747 to 1773) the Lord of the Esaukheyl was Duleyl Khan, great grandfather of the present chief, and he received a grant (of which I saw the original) from that monarch, declaring that the four tuppehs of Esaukheyl were for the future his, as a reward for past services ; half of the revenue thence derived to be his own ; and three hundred *tomauns* (six thousand rupees) to be paid him yearly out of the revenues of Murwut and Bunnoo, on conditions of service, *i. e.*, assisting in collecting the revenue of those districts.

From this fact we gather incidentally that Murwut and Bunnoo never paid revenue to the most powerful King that ever sat upon the throne of Cabul, unless compelled by force ; and that even Esaukheyl

was so little obedient that Ahmud Shah gave the Khan one half the revenue as a bribe for collecting the other.

When Duleyl Khan died, Ahmud Shah confirmed the above privileges to his son, Khan Zeman Khan, who seems to have been not only loyal but a courtier ; for on the death of Ahmud Shah we find a grant from his son and successor, Timour Shah, again confirming the family privileges, and adding thereto two hundred tomauns more (or four thousand rupees) per annum, in consideration of Khan Zeman riding, with twenty-two horsemen of his tribe, in the Shah's own escort.

Elphinstone says, that under Timour, " the power of the Doorânees first became stationary, and has since declined ;"* and we could not find a better illustration than is next presented us in the annals of this little frontier province. Fifty years after, Khan Zeman esteemed it an honour to ride in the dust kicked up by Timour Shah's horse ; and Khan Zeman's son, Oomur Khan, is driving a hard bargain with the Nuwab of Dera Ishmael Khan, late a vassal of Cabul, now the sovereign of the Plains of the Indus ! The Nuwab confirmed Oomur Khan in

* Vol. II. p. 299.

the chieftainship, but allowed him only a quarter instead of half of the revenues of his country. (He was nearer at hand than the great Kings of Cabul had ever been, and so the Esaukheylees were more under his thumb.)

When Oomur Khan died, his son, Ahmud Khan, elder brother of the present chief of the tribe of Esaukheyl, succeeded at first to the same privileges and the same allegiance ; but both were soon changed : the allegiance from the Nuwab of Dera to Runjeet Sing, and the privileges from one-fourth to one-eighth of the revenues of his country.

The date of this grant is 1893 of the Hindoo Era of Bikrum Ajeet, or A.D. 1836 ; and it contains two interesting facts concerning the country of Esaukheyl.

Firstly. It states that, whereas there is a mine in Esaukheyl whence saltpetre is extracted, half the produce of which was allowed to the chief under the rule of the Nuwab of Dera ; the half is henceforward reduced to a third.

Secondly. It states that whereas Oomur Khan had constructed a canal, and brought new tracts of land into cultivation ; and his former sovereign, the Nuwab of Dera, instead of taking one-fourth of produce, which is the usual tax on all newly-cultivated ground,

had, in consideration of Oomur Khan's benefits to the community, only taken one-sixth ; so this was now confirmed under the Sikhs.

The saltpetre mine here alluded to was, I believe, at Kotkee, in the Khuttuk hills, west of Esaukheyl ; but not very long after one-third of its produce was thus secured to Ahmud Khan by the Sikh Government, a Sikh General, Rajah Soocheyt Sing, gave one Hoossein Khan, chief of the neighbouring tribe of Khyssore, and an enemy of the Esaukheyl, a kind of "letter of marque," to go and inflict injury on Ahmud Khan ; and one of the first things he did was to burn and destroy all the works at the Kotkee saltpetre mine ; since which, to the best of my belief, the mine has never been re-opened.

The canal spoken of in the grant, as having been cut by Oomur Khan, still exists in full operation and utility, and is the cause both of the fertility and bad roads of Esaukheyl, noticed by Elphinstone.

This canal is cut from the Khoorrum river near Durreh-i-Tung, where it enters Esaukheyl on its passage to the Indus ; and as from the chief canal there have been cut no less than seven smaller ones (called in the language of the country "Kus-es"), from each of which again are innumerable ducts for irrigation, it may easily be conceived how much the

public spirit of Oomur Khan improved the fields, at the expense of the highways of his country.

The Khoorrum at Bunnoo falls into the Indus at Kuglanwalluh in Esaukheyl, and as far as my information goes, is the only river in the country, Esaukheyl producing no native stream. There is, however, a ravine called *Punialluh* or *Paneewalluh* (the watery one), which brings down water to the village of Attock in Esaukheyl in the rainy season.

The quantity of land cultivated in all Esaukheyl by means of irrigation from the Khoorrum and the Indus was registered in 1848 as twenty-two thousand three hundred and fifty-one beguhs. Cultivated by irrigation of wells, two hundred and twenty-four. Dependent entirely on rain for cultivation, thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty-seven. Total, fifty-nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-two beguhs.

The calculation in Esaukheyl is that twenty-five beguhs can be cultivated by one plough. The most that a beguh of the best land will produce is eight rupees a year.

The family papers of the Esaukheyl chief are brought down to the present generation by a post-script to the Sikh grant last quoted, dated 1895, S.A.B., or 1838, A.D.; that is, two years later than

the body of the grant. In these two years, Ahmud Khan had died without issue, and the postscript is merely to transfer the privileges which he had enjoyed to his next brother, Muhommud Khan, who is living at this day.

From a perusal of these records, we should not gather that the chiefs of Esaukheyl had suffered from the Sikhs more than the usual retrenchments, which naturally follow every new conquest. But the facts are far otherwise ; and as the tyrannical conduct of the Sikh Provincial Governors in Esaukheyl is only a specimen of what they did in every other country of the Upper • Dérâjât (of which only I am able to speak from personal knowledge), I shall here briefly fill up the narrative, and show how it was quite possible for a vassal of the Sikhs to have a grant of one-eighth of the revenues of his country from the Sikh Sovereign, and yet he himself be a houseless exile from that country, while a Sikh official pocketed his income.

When Maharajuh Runjeet Sing, in 1821 or 1822, took Munkhera, in the Sindh Sâgur Doâb, he ratified to the conquered Nuwab perpetual possession of the territory of Dera Ishmael Khan, Trans-Indus ; and to make the treaty more solemn, dipped his royal hand in saffron, and stamped the impression on the paper. Yet a few years afterwards (I think in 1836), he did

not so much forget himself, as kingly honour, in sending an army to retake it. He was sufficiently ashamed, however, not to go in person ; and the faith-breaking army was commanded by his grandson, Prince Nao Nihal Sing.

The first Governor whom Nao Nihal installed in Dera, after deposing the Nuwab, was of course a Hindoo, and his name was Dewan Lukkee Mull, an able but grasping man, who, not content with grinding these countries during his own life, provided for their future ruin by begetting that Dewan Dowlut Raie, who was mentioned in the last chapter, and leaving him to succeed to the Government.

Lukkee Mull was not a mere collector of revenues, as all Governors should be ; he farmed them from the Crown, and looked about in every corner, not to see what he could remit, but what more he could impose.

The little valley of Esaukheyl presented to him a spectacle at once tempting and sad. There was a sight truly harrowing to the soul of a Hindoo Governor—a Muhommudan gentleman in quiet enjoyment of a good income.

Lukkee Mull made a memorandum in his mind that he *wanted* Ahmud Khan's one-eighth of the revenues of Esaukheyl, and by representing that powerless chief as rebellious, drew down upon him at once two sepa-

rate armies, one under Sirdar Futtch Sing Mân, and the other under Rajah Soocheyt Sing.

Ahmud Khan fled to Kote Chanduh, in the Khut-tuk hills, but being pursued by Soocheyt Sing, abandoned his country altogether, and took refuge in Bunnoo with Sher Must Khan, the hospitable chief of Jhundookheyl, under whose roof he died.

(It was at this period that Hoossein Khan of Khyssore burnt the works at the Kotkee mines).

Lukkee Mull now thought the family property was his, but Nao Nihal Sing, who had originally annexed these countries to the Punjab, seems to have taken a sincere interest in the family of Esaukheyl, and he hastened to save them from destruction by appointing the deceased Ahmud Khan's brother, Muhommud Khan, to the full rights and privileges of the chieftainship.

Shortly after this, one of the biennial Sikh expeditions was got ready against Bunnoo and Murwut; to conduct which Sheikh Emamooddeen was sent from Lahore, and he was joined on his arrival at Esaukheyl by Dewan Lukkee Mull with his provincial force.

It is quite characteristic of native custom that the Dewan did not at this time persuade the Sheikh to seize and dispossess the chief of Esaukheyl, though in

his own mind he had quite decided to do so. Instead of this straightforward act of tyranny, he marched away towards Bunnoo, and left Muhommud Khan under the delusion that his enemy had gone without doing him an injury. No sooner had the army reached Lukkee in Murwut, than the Dewan persuaded the Sheikh to despatch that ever-ready foe, Hoossein Khan, of Khyssore, back with a force to Esaukheyl to surprise and make prisoner the chief.

(This too, though they had just received from Captain Mackeson, a recommendatory letter to be specially kind to Muhommud Khan, who, in consequence of a letter from Colonel Wade, then Governor-General's Agent on the north-western frontier, had escorted Captain Mackeson in safety through the Esaukheyl territory to Kalabagh on his way to Peshawur. For it was observable of the chiefs of Esaukheyl that they were always hospitable and attentive to British officers, long before the wisest seer could have foretold the ultimate absorption of the Punjab in British India. Mr. Elphinstone speaks of it in the year 1808, Mr. Masson heard of it in 1826, and Sir A. Burnes experienced it in 1837.)

Muhommud Khan got intelligence from a friend in time to fly ; but several of his family were caught, and carried off. Amongst those who escaped was the

chief's second and ablest son, Shah Niwaz Khan ; and this youth took horse, and scarcely rested by the way till he reached Peshawur, where Nao Nihal Sing then was, and threw himself at that Prince's feet with a petition for assistance.

The Prince again interposed ; Muhommud Khan's imprisoned family were released, and the Khan himself reinstated in his country.

Will it be believed, that after all these rebukes from the Prince, who, in Runjeet's declining years was the most powerful personage in the empire, the implacable Dewan did not forego his purpose ; but shortly after, when the great Runjeet, worn out more by debauchery than years, died, and the Esaukheyl chief, according to native custom, sent his son, Shah Niwaz, to Lahore to offer his condolence (*matum poorsee*), Lukkee Mul sent a purse to Sirdar Futteh Sing Mân, who was then lying with an army by the way Shah Niwaz must pass, and begged him as an old friend to intercept him !

The Sirdar readily consented, and actually laid an ambush, and seized Shah Niwaz while returning along the highway from the Sikh Court, with a dress of honour, which had been conferred on him by Nao Nihal, now heir-apparent to the throne ! The Sirdar then sent him a prisoner to the Dewan,

with "many thanks for the purse;" and Lukkee Mull, feeling that he had at last crippled Muhommud Khan's right hand, and put out of the way the only son who had the energy to "appeal to Cæsar," proceeded to execute his darling project, and confiscated, at one fell swoop, the whole revenue of the chief of Esaukheyl.

The luckless chief fled again an exile to barbarous, but *less barbarous* Bunnoo. His son, Shah Niwaz, remained two years and a half in prison at Dera Ishmael Khan, and Dewan Lukkee Mull enjoyed their income. Meanwhile, Maharajuh Khurruk Sing, the imbecile son and successor of Runjeet, threatened to live too long, and keep Nao Nihal Sing from the throne; so that impatient Prince, who thought he had a talent for empire, poisoned his father, and returning to the palace from the dead King's funeral pile, was killed himself by the falling of the palace gateway; as awful and striking a dispensation of Providence as history records.

Maharajuh Sher Sing succeeded to the Sikh throne, and being informed by his Vizeer, Rajah Dhyān Sing, of Shah Niwaz Khan's captivity, ordered Dewan Lukkee Mull to send him to Lahore, where he conferred a dress of honour on him, and sent him back to his country, under charge of Mullick Futteh Khan,

Towannuh, who was going to collect the Bunnoo revenue, and was ordered to reinstate the chief of Esaukheyl, as he passed through.

But Futteh Khan had outbid Dewan Lukkee Mull for the contract of the Murwut revenue, and it was at this time that he built the fort of Lukkee. He was, therefore, doubly the Dewan's enemy ; and the Dewan refused to obey the royal mandate, by reinstating his victims. When, therefore, Futteh Khan had collected the revenue of Bunnoo, Shah Niwaz returned with him to Lahore, once more to petition the throne for justice.

Such was the state of the authority of Runjeet's successors, on the distant frontiers of their empire.

The Prime Minister of the country, Rajah Dhyan Sing, felt the indignity, and would have surely repaid it by the utter extermination of the arrogant Dewan ; for, imperturbable in temper, and mild as a child in manner, he was implacable in his quarrels, and followed those who had once offended him, through long years of seeming impunity, until an unexceptionable opportunity (in which the Rajah was choice) offered for revenge, complete as to the victim, safe as to himself, and approved just in popular opinion.

But, as Shah Niwaz Khan himself once told me, with a sigh : " It pleased God that the Rajah and his



royal master should both be murdered !” They fell on the same day ; and the unhappy chief of Esaukheyl was left once more at the mercy of the Governor of Dera, and a hopeless exile in Bunnoo.

See, too, another episode in this strange tale. Mullick Futteh Khan, the powerful courtier, the protector of the chief of Esaukheyl, and favourite of Rajah Dhyan Sing, was not found at the Vizier’s side, when the Sindhanwalluh assassin plunged a dagger into his back. Who knows whether he was guilty of so black a deed as consenting to his master’s murder ? But the Vizier’s son, Rajah Heera Sing, now Vizier himself, so thought ; and the suspected Mullick fled from the Punjab, and took refuge among the Afghans of Bunnoo and the Vizeeree country : so there, under one roof, in a corner of the mud fort of Jhundookheyl, on the far banks of the Khoorrum, the afflicted chief of Esaukheyl and his fallen patron met, in the equality of exile, waiting for the next revolution.

It soon came. Heera Sing was driven out of Lahore like a dog, and killed by the very soldiery he had been the first to corrupt by bribes. The “ins” went out, and the “outs” came in. The drunken uncle of Maharajuh Duleep Sing (Jowáhir Sing, by name) succeeded to the Vizarut ; Futteh

Khan emerged from exile ; Dewan Lukkee Mull was expelled from the government of Dera, and died, probably of chagrin, as he was a man of mind, and the Esaukheyl family got their own again.

But their trials were not yet over. Ranee Jhunda, the infamous Queen-Mother, among a thousand intrigues, had one lover, a broad-shouldered Brahmin, named Lal Sing, to whom she was devoted beyond the power of advice or shame. Even her drunken brother, the Vizier, between his cups, remonstrated. To get rid of his sermons, the Ranee got the Lahore soldiery to murder her brother, and instal her lover in the premiership. "

Again the "ins" must go out, and the "outs" come in. Lukkee Mull was dead ; but his son, Dowlut Raie, lived, and inherited his wealth. Futteh Khan was expelled from the government of Dera, not without a struggle ; Dowlut Raie took his father's place ; and Muhommud Khan, the chief of Esaukheyl, collected his family and his chattels, and went back into exile in Bunnoo, with the regularity of a clock. Dowlut Raie, with equal punctuality, possessed himself of the family estate.

Thus stood affairs in 1847, when I first went to Bunnoo, where I found Muhommud Khan, the rightful and loyal lord of a fertile valley, decrepid with the

old age of misfortune, an exile, and living in squalid dependence on a hospitable rebel.

I heard the tale, and asked Dewan Dowlut Raie if it was true ; if he had really got no order from the Crown to depose a subject-chief, and appropriate his lands ? He admitted it was true, and he had none ; but in his judgment and conscience, it was necessary for the peace of the country, &c.

In the judgment and conscience of Sir Henry Lawrence, it was necessary for the peace of the country, and the honour of the British administration of Punjab affairs, that such a Governor should be Governor no more ; so Dewan Dowlut Raie was superseded by General Van Cortlandt, and the old chief of Esaukheyl returned to his country and his rights—I trust, with all my heart, for ever.

In the sequel, it will be seen how his son, Shah Niwaz, joined my standard in the Mooltan war, and paid the debt of gratitude at the cannon's mouth. He was a faithful servant ; and may the prosperity of his family, under British rule, be the enduring monument over his grave !

I must now say a few words about the Esaukheyl revenue. During my residence in Bunnoo, in the spring of 1848, I collected, with very great labour, the materials for a revenue settlement of Esaukheyl ;

but was called away by the war, and never returned. From the village records of the last five years, which I took down myself, the revenues appeared as follows:

1	Average land revenue . . .	36374	rupees.
2	Ditto, various cesses . . .	6454	„
3	Ditto, customs . . .	7000	„
4	Trinne, or grazing tax . .	900	„
5	Gold-washing tax . . .	500	„
Total average of five years		51228	„

I was however afterwards furnished by Shah Niwaz, Khan of Esaukheyl, with a detailed statement of the cesses which form item No. 2 in the above account, as actually levied by Dewan Dowlut Raie and his father, and they amounted to no less than nineteen thousand rupees a-year, or more than half as much as the land tax! If correctly given (and I incline to the belief that they are, and that they were kept back by the village accountants when registering with me), then the total revenue of Esaukheyl would be sixty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-four rupees.

The Khan's one-eighth of this would only amount to seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-three rupees per annum; but his other hereditary privileges on account of opening canals, &c., made up

his income to between eighteen and twenty thousand rupees a-year.

The item, No. 5, called the gold-washing tax, refers to the interesting fact, that a few industrious men do get a livelihood by separating from the muddy tide of the Indus at Esaukheyl the small particles of gold which that river brings down from the mountains, and which was considerable enough to bear a tax of five hundred rupees a-year. A question will arise to the geologist whether this gold was really brought down the main stream of the Indus from the unsearched regions where it takes its rise, or was contributed by the Cabul River?

And this reminds me that naphtha oozes out in considerable quantities from a hill in Esaukheyl. The natives are either ignorant or careless of its value, and only use it as a cure for sores on the backs of their camels ; which animals are exceedingly abundant here, as elsewhere throughout the Dérâjât.

The Khyssore hills, on the south-west of Esaukheyl have another remarkable curiosity which should be mentioned, and that is " Kote-i-Kâfiree," or The Infidel's Fort. I never had leisure for pleasure excursions while in that country, or should have been glad to visit it and satisfy myself whether it

is a production of human art, or a mere limestone eccentricity of nature. Nor could I ever discern it from the plain below, though Burnes says: "the landscape was striking—bare, brown, and bleak rocks overlooked the plain; their summits crowned with the ruins of infidel forts, &c."*

Agha Abbas actually visited the spot, and has the following note of it:

"There are two forts at Kote-i-Kâfiree, both in ruins; one below and one on the hill." General Cortlandt also informed me that there was no doubt an extensive fortress had once existed there, for all the way from the summit down to the plain, reservoirs were cut in the rock in successive stages, one above another, such as are used to convey water by wheel-work to a height.

The spot is infamous in local annals, not more from its infidel name than from a treacherous and cold-blooded murder committed there on an Afghan chief, named Shah Walee Khan, Neeahzee, by order of Rajah Soocheyt Sing.

He was a chief of considerable character, and had done the Sikhs great service, but the Rajah either wanted him no longer, or else suspected him, so

* "Burnes' Cabul," p. 96.

made a pretence of wishing to cross the Hill of the Infidel's Fort with his army, and sent Shah Walee Khan with a party of Sikhs to explore a road for the artillery. At the hour of noontide prayer the Afghan stayed his steps, spread his scarf upon the mountain path, and knelt down to pray. In the midst of his genuflections the Sikhs struck off his head, then hurried back to camp and related, with well-feigned horror, how the insurgents in the hills had surprised and driven back their party and killed their guide. The Rajah listened with tears in his eyes, then sent for the lifeless corpse and buried it with the utmost honour. Of the Rajah's many reckless and violent acts against the Muhommudans none has brought his memory into such just execration as his murder of Shah Walee Khan at the Infidel's Fort.

It may be as well to mention that there are two passes from the Esaukheyl plain into the Khuttuk hills; one called Thora Kawura (probably from the water in it being brackish), which the people of the village of Korundee, in Esaukheyl, who are of the Khuttuk tribe, have kept open ever since they were excused payment of all small cesses by Oomur Khan. The other is called Chuchallee, and leads into Chounteruh, above Kurruk, on the east of Bunnoo.

Imitating the wisdom of his ancestor, Ahmud Khan kept this pass open by remitting all cesses to the people of Chapuree. It were well if more civilized rulers would not despise the lesson, and when dealing with races whom it is little honourable to beat, and discreditable to be baffled by, would remember the advice of the Persian to "Tip the sword with gold."

I shall close this account of the country of Esaukheyl with Mr. Elphinstone's experience of its people, as a traveller, and my own experience of them, as a Governor.

He says: "The people were more swarthy than we expected to see men of their nation, and looked more like Indians than Persians; they were, however, easily distinguished from the former people by their long and thick hair, their beards, the loose folds of their turbans, and a certain independent and manly air, that marked them for Afghauns. They are notorious robbers, and carried off some of our camels, and some of the King's horses; but their ordinary behaviour was civil and decent. I was surprised at their simplicity and equality. Though they are a wealthy and flourishing tribe, their chief, who accompanied me through the whole of their lands, was as

plain in his dress, and as simple in his manners as the most ordinary person in the tribe.”*

Their appearance still approximates more to that of Indians than Khorassanees; their propensity to plunder has been curbed by regular government and Sikh fines; their simplicity of life, it may easily be believed, has suffered no innovations of luxury from the grinding exactions of rulers who left them barely the means of subsistence; but the primitive equality and community of interest, characteristic of an Afghan tribe, has disappeared for ever. Sikh rule left their chiefs little power, and consequently little respect. It became a speculation with many to side with their new masters, and assist them with local knowledge. These parasites were rewarded at the expense of their countrymen, and instated in the confiscated estates of offenders. Two parties sprang up amidst a once united people, corresponding exactly with those of the Punjab—the ins and the outs. When Dewan Dowlut Raie triumphed, the Khan, and all his party, lost possession of their lands, and the Dewan’s friends stepped into their shoes. When Futteh Khan obtained the government of Dera, the exiled party all returned, and the traitors fled for their lives. Thus it hap-

* Introduction to “Elphinstone’s Caabul,” p. 47.

pened that when I came to Esaukheyl, there was scarcely a field in it which had not two claimants and one lawsuit. The whole country was full of litigants and cries for justice ; and to this day, I feel assured that there is no more legitimate object of compassion than the magistrate who has charge of Esaukheyl.

CHAPTER IX.

COUNTRY OF TAK—ITS BOUNDARIES AND RIVERS—THE TRUE COURSE OF THE GOMUL—ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT TOWN OF TAK—MR. ELPHINSTONE'S ACCOUNT OF KUTTAL KHAN, AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF HIS SON SURWUR, WITH THE AUTHOR'S SEQUEL—TAK BECOMES TRIBUTARY TO THE SIKHS—SURWUR DIES—ALLADAD SUCCEEDS, AND IS EXPELLED—HIS INROADS ON HIS FORMER KINGDOM—TAK GIVEN IN JAGEER TO THREE AFGHAN CHIEFS—ITS REVENUES—ALLADAD RENEWS HIS ATTACKS—HIS MURDER OF THE SON OF THE KILLADAR OF TAK—THE HISTORY OF TAK 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 TAK—THE PRESENT STATE OF THE COUNTRY NOT ANSWERING TO MR. MASSON'S ACCOUNT OF ITS FORMER FRUITFULNESS—TRADE BETWEEN THE VIZEERES AND THE PEOPLE OF TAK—AGHA ABBAS'S ACCOUNT OF THE MINERAL WEALTH OF KANEEGOOBBUM, AND VIZEEREE MODE OF SMELTING IRON—SUPPOSED PRACTICABILITY FOR GUNS OF THE GWALEYREE PASS—POVINDUH TRADERS BETWEEN KHORASSAN AND INDIA—GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TRADE CARRIED ON BY THEM—HARDY CHARACTER OF THE POVINDUHS—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 TAK.

CHAPTER IX.

WE may now return to Tâk with a good conscience.

Tâk is the most northern country of the Dérâjât, or plain of the Indus.

It has the Buttunnee branch of the Soolimânee Range and the country of Murwut, on the north ; the Vizeeree and Sheerânee hills of the same range, on the west ; Kolâchee, or the country of the Gunda-poor, on the south ; and Puharpoor on the east.

Tâk is irrigated by two hill streams, the Zam and the Gomul, whose waters have turned a barren plain and camel pasture into a fertile and highly cultivated country, during the last three generations. A third hill stream reaches the lands of Koondee on the north-east of Tâk, near the Peyzoo Pass. It is called Soohaylee ; and its waters, unlike those of the Zam and

Gomul, are esteemed pure and wholesome to drink, but I am not aware that they contribute much to the cultivation.

Of these rivers the Gomul is the principal, and may well be called the parent of the present prosperity of the country. According to Elphinstone, it takes its rise at Doorchelly, about fifty miles south-east of Ghuznee; but according to Dr. Honigberger, as quoted by Elphinstone, it rises near the lake called *Abistadeh* (standing water), an equal distance from Ghuznee, in the south-west.* Before it reaches Tak, according to the former authority, it receives the waters of the Mummye, the Coondoor, and the Zhobe; so that it may well be an abundant blessing to the soil on which it ultimately rests.

Mr. Elphinstone is, however, wrong in his map, in conducting the Gomul into Tâk, as though that were its natural course; and in my present map, I have endeavoured to convey all the new information as to the outlets of these hills, which a longer residence on the frontier enabled me to obtain.

The Gomul river emerges from the great Soolimânee Range, by the same pass as the Lohânee caravans (called the Pass of Gwaleyree, or Gholairee), and it would naturally pursue its course between the inner

* See "Elphinstone's Caabul," Vol. 1. pp. 151, 2.

and outer range of the lower Sheerânee hills, which lie at the foot of the *Tukht-i-Solimdn* (Throne of Solomon). But Surwur Khan, a former Lord of Tâk (of whom more by and bye), threw an enormous dam across the Gomul, at Gwaleyree, and diverted it into Tâk through the lands of the Meeanees, who live at the mouth of the pass, and erected a fort, called Sahibdad-Kee-Kote, to guard the same. Thus no portion of the Gomul reaches the Gundapoor country, south of Tâk, except in seasons of flood, when the overflow which escapes the Gwaleyree dam takes its natural course, and comes down to Koláchee, through the *Ruttee Kummur* (Red Pass). From Gwaleyree, this overflow loses the name of Gomul, and is called in the Gundapoor country Loonee, under which denomination alone does the Gomul river reach the Indus, after irrigating Koláchee in very rainy seasons; for so much of its waters as enter Tâk are exhausted in its fields.

The country of Tâk, three generations ago, would have been described as the pasture grounds of the Lohânee tribe of Dowlutkheyl, whose old headquarters I believe still exist under the name of *Tâk-i-Kohna* (Old Tâk), three koss from the present capital.

The present extensive town of Tâk was founded

in a very humble manner by one Kuttál Khan, of the Kuttykheyl branch of the Dowlutkheyls (son of Zeman Khan, their hereditary chief), who migrated from Old Tâk with about half a dozen families of operatives, chiefly potters, and settled where the mansion called Surwur Khan's Huveylee now stands.

One day, a potter's wife came and complained to him that the people of Old Tâk had carried off her mule, which she had taken to the river to fetch water, and added: "My husband and I came here at your invitation, and we rely on your honour to protect us." Kuttál Khan, like a true Afghan, swore great oaths not to eat or drink till he had avenged her; and, taking a handful of men along with him, went out to Old Tâk, killed the thieves, and brought back the mule.

The poor people of Old Tâk beheld this act with admiration; and, considering Kuttál a better chief than his father to live under, they migrated in large numbers to New Tâk, which soon contained one hundred shops of *Khutrees* (Hindoo traders), and about one thousand families of Hindoos and Muhomudans together; a change at which the rest of the Dowlutkheyl looked on with jealousy, but involuntary respect; for Kuttál was admitted to be no ordinary Afghan.

I am sure the reader will thank me if I give the rest of the story in Mr. Elphinstone's words, for it is told with as much spirit as knowledge of Afghan feeling.

"The Dowlutkhail had formerly an hereditary Khaun, who seems to have been held in great veneration by the tribe. By degrees, however, his authority grew weak, and the government fell first into the hands of the Mulliks, and afterwards of the people. The Dowlutkhail were now in the same state of anarchy that I have described among the Eusofzyes. They had no Chelwashtees, and all hereditary authority was completely disregarded. They were, however, obliged to nominate some person to manage their affairs with the King's Sirdar, and although this person had little power, he had more than any other individual, and was called the Khaun. He was chosen out of all the families of the tribe indiscriminately, but the choice sometimes fell on the descendants of the ancient Khauns. This was the case about the beginning of the last generation, when Kuttaul Khaun held the office, and so much ingratiated himself with Muddud Khaun, then Sirdar of Damaun, that he formed the design of making himself master of the tribe, by means of that chief's assistance. He at first assiduously courted popularity, and persuaded the

Dowlutkhail to engage in the reduction of some little tribes in their neighbourhood.

“He was intrusted with the command, and thus obtained a pretext for raising troops, which the contributions of the Dowlutkhail, and his exactions from the conquered tribes, gave him the means of maintaining. By these means he collected about three hundred Belooches and Sindees, and proceeded to build a fort; after which he thought himself secure, assumed the right to levy a revenue from the public ryots, and began to tyrannize over his own tribe.

“The tribe was at first struck with dismay, and submitted to his oppression, till at length he openly assumed the character of a Sovereign, and ordered the people to pay their duty at his Court every morning. Two of the Mulliks, to whom he first proposed this homage, refusing to comply, Kuttaul told them, that if they did not attend in the course of two mornings, their heads should be hung up over their own doors by the third.

“The Mulliks withdrew, and hastily assembling the tribe and the ryots, pointed out Kuttaul's designs, and engaged them in a conspiracy against him, which was confirmed by solemn oaths. Next morning the whole assembled in arms, and besieged

Kuttaul in his fort. After a siege of three days, in which many people were killed, the water in the fort was exhausted, and the garrison was obliged to evacuate it, and Kuttaul escaped on horseback, accompanied by some trusty attendants on foot. His flight was soon discovered, his enemies set off in all directions to pursue him, and eight of them took the road by which Kuttaul was flying. His attendants were soon fatigued, and one man alone remained with him. Kuttaul (says one of my informants) at this time wore a robe which was given him by a Dervise, and by the virtue of which he had obtained his present greatness; in the precipitation of his flight this robe fell off, and immediately his remaining attendant became lame, and lagged behind: soon after his pursuers appeared; Kuttaul's courage had left him with his robe, and he had recourse to humble entreaties for mercy; some of his pursuers answered that they were sworn, and others that he had never shown mercy to them, and at last one of them ran him through with a spear. Kuttaul's family were all seized. Gool Khaun, one of the principal conspirators, was put at the head of the tribe, and thus was baffled the first attempt at the subversion of the liberties of the Dowlutkhail.

“ Surwur Khaun, the eldest son of Kuttaul, was at this time only sixteen, but he was well educated, and endowed with great natural capacity. By the assistance of his mother, he effected his escape from prison, and, by a train of reasoning, which could only have occurred to an Afghaun, he was led to go straight to Zuffer, the brother of Gool Khaun, and throw himself on his protection. He reached this chief's house without discovery, and Zuffer, in the true spirit of Afghaun honour, immediately resolved to protect him, even at the risk of his brother's destruction. He accordingly fled with him to the Murwut country, and soon after began to intrigue at Caubul for assistance from the Court. Their intrigues were soon successful, and Abdooreheem Khaun* was sent with four thousand men to restore Surwur to his father's office.

“ In the meantime, Gool Khaun had begun to be heartily tired of his magistracy. The tribe had turned into a turbulent democracy, over which he exercised a precarious, yet invidious, authority; a sedition had broken out about the property left by Kuttaul, which Gool Khaun wished to appropriate to himself.

* The same who was afterwards declared King by the Ghiljees.

“ The Dowlutkhail began to murmur at his government ; and one of them had drawn his sword on him, and asked, ‘ If he thought they had killed Kuttaul to make him their master ? ’ He was, therefore, equally terrified at the prospect of Surwur’s success, and at the continuance of the democracy, and listened with pleasure to an overture which Surwur made to him, and which seemed to present the only safe retreat from his perilous situation. Accordingly, when Surwur approached, Gool Khaun’s management, supported by the terror of the royal arms, disposed the Dowlutkhail to submit ; and Surwur taking a solemn oath to forget past injuries, they consented to receive him as their chief. This appearance of forgiveness was kept up till all the leading men had been got together, when eighteen of them were seized and put to death. Gool Khaun was spared, but on a subsequent quarrel, Surwur put him also to death.

“ His government was now established, all those who could oppose him had been made away with, and nobody in the tribe had the courage to rebel. He continued to strengthen himself, and to put the murderers of his father to death as they fell into his hands, till twelve years ago, when all his enemies

were extirpated, and his power was at its height. Since then he has governed with great justice and moderation; his steady and impartial administration is popular among the ryots, but odious to the Dowlutkhail, whose independence it restrains."

Thus far had the story proceeded in the time of the elegant historian I have quoted, and the accounts I have of it differ but slightly from the above. My information, however, leads me to believe that Kuttál Khan, before his death, had been regularly nominated from Cabul to the government of his country, and that he remitted sometimes fifteen thousand and sometimes twenty thousand rupees of revenue to the King; that he was, while in this capacity, called upon to join the royal army with the Tâk contingent of militia, on some expedition to the south; that before going he appointed his son, Surwur Khan, his deputy in Tâk; and that it was during Kuttál's absence that the youthful Surwur laid the foundation of the extensive fort which is standing at this day, and enlarged the city; and lastly, that Kuttál Khan returned from the expedition laden with jewels and other valuable booty, the sight of which so excited the cupidity of the rest of the tribe, that as much in the hope of plunder as of independence they rose, besieged and murdered him.

I think these circumstances the more probable, because about the year 1782, Timour Shah, of Cabul, did send an expedition to subdue a rebellion of the Talpoorees in Sindh, which expedition was commanded by the very Muddud Khan whom Mr. Elphinstone says was Sirdar of the plain of the Indus in Kuttál Khan's time, and who "laid waste the country (of Sindh) with fire and sword; and so severe were his ravages, that a dreadful famine followed his campaign; and the province of Sindh is said not yet to have recovered from what it suffered on that occasion."* So that Kuttál, the friend of such a devastator, might well have come home "laden with jewels," and in that case was quite certain to be plundered by his tribe, if they were strong enough to do so.

Let me now contribute the sequel. When Surwur Khan, of Kuttykheyl, had repossessed himself of the fort and government of Tâk, he set vigorously to work to strengthen both; collected guns, soldiers, &c., and became a powerful independent prince. He was one of those men who seem born to usurpation, and justify their mission by using power for the benefit of mankind. His creative genius could see future

* "Elphinstone," Vol. II, p. 304.

harvests on the parched and thorny plain of Tâk ; and he went up in arms to the hills, fought with the wild Vizeerees for the streams, and led the fertilizing waters down into his country. Thus the Dowlutkheyl passed in his day from a pastoral to a cultivating people ; and as he imposed on them a mild revenue and just laws, they had no reason to regret the loss of their ancestral liberties ; and certainly I can myself testify that they sincerely revere his memory, and make his acts and his laws the standard of excellence in government. Had he lived in the west instead of the east he would have been one of the most civilized princes of his day, for he had a passion for the beautiful as strong as his love of utility and right. He sent north, south, east, and west, for trees and flowers of every kind, and planted them round his fort and city ; and as formerly there was not a tree in Tâk, so now there was not one in all the east of which a specimen was not to be found here.* The luxurious private gardens of the fort were the abodes of the choicest

* Mr. Masson, who visited Tâk in 1826, says : "The approach to Tâk from the east is distinguished by an avenue of full-grown Mimosas, extending perhaps three miles."—(Vol. 1. p. 49.) These have long since been cleared away by the Sikhs.

slaves, and the common people still tell marvellous tales of the harem of Surwur Khan.*

When the Cabul dynasty decayed, and the sovereignty of the Dérājât was usurped by the Dera Ishmael Khan Nuwab, I am not aware that Surwur Khan ever submitted to his authority; and as he assumed the title of Nuwab himself, it is probable that the two never stood to each other in any other relation than that of rivals.

But the resources of the little province of Tâk were unequal to a contest with the "Lion of the Punjab;" and when the Sikhs crossed the Indus, and swept away the Nuwab of Dera, Surwur Khan showed his usual ability in tendering his submission, and agreeing to pay tribute.

This tribute originally consisted of three thousand rupees, three horses, one pair of hawks, twenty-five camels, and eight hunting dogs; but three years after this was imposed, Runjeet Sing went in person across the Indus, and raised the Tâk tribute to sixty thousand rupees. Surwur Khan knew well that he could not resist; and so long as he lived, saved himself from dishonour, and his people from oppression, by regularly paying what was imposed on him, so that

* Mr. Masson says, "His *zenâna* (female establishment) contains above two hundred females."—(Vol. i. p. 51.)

the Sikhs had no excuse for sending a plundering army into Tâk.

When Surwur Khan died he was succeeded by his eldest son, Alladad Khan, a voluptuary who carried all his father's love of pleasure to excess, without inheriting his ability, or any other noble quality save courage.

The Sikhs thought the time was come to raise the revenue of this tributary province; Alladad, lost in revelry, paid no heed to his affairs, fell into arrears, became refractory, and was crushed. He fled to the hills, and took refuge among the Vizeerees, either his mother, or some other of his father's wives, having been a daughter of that tribe; and the country of Tâk was given by Runjeet Sing as a jageer to his grandson, Nao Nihal.

Assisted by his Vizeeree relations, Alladad made such continual inroads into his former kingdom, that he almost reduced it to the barrenness from which his father had raised it; and Nao Nihal, unable with his Sikh regulars and guns to come up with an enemy who descended by surprise, and retreated as rapidly to the hills, threw up his jageer in disgust; and the Sikhs not knowing what else to do with it, made it a means of pensioning a few unoffending relatives and dependents of Surwur Khan, and three

Afghan chiefs, who had been retainers of the Nuwab of Dera when he gave up his Trans-Indus country.

As the terms of this jageer will illustrate the resources of the country of Tâk, I append them here.

	RUPEES.
For Páyindah Khan, Khájekzye, and the maintenance of his family	8,380
To ditto, for keeping up ninety-seven horsemen, to do service whenever called out by the Crown	19,700
Ditto, for five zumbooruh or camel-swivels	900
	<hr/> 28,980
For Ashik Muhommud Khan, Aleezye, and family	7,380
Ditto, for sixty-nine horsemen	15,470
Ditto, for five zumbooruh	900
	<hr/> 23,750
For Hiyát Oolluh Khan, Suddozye, and family	5,900
Ditto for sixty-two horsemen	13,030
	<hr/> 18,930
Sahibdad Khan, Kuttykheyl, son of Surwur Khan	2,000
Khodadad Khan, Kuttykheyl, another son of Surwur	720
Shah Niwaz Khan, Kuttykheyl, grandson of Surwur, and son of the refugee, Alladad	3,000
Five old adherents of the Kuttykheyl family	6,020
	<hr/> 11,740
Total pensions and jageers	<hr/> 83,400

The revenues of Tâk were estimated at one hun-

dred thousand rupees per annum, which, after paying the above, would leave sixteen thousand six hundred rupees. Also three thousand rupees of the pensions were chargeable on the treasury of Dera Ishmael Khan ; so that of the Tâk revenues nineteen thousand six hundred rupees remained undisposed of, and this sum was allowed to the three Afghan chiefs at the head of the list, for the repairs and garrison of the fort of Tâk.

I may here remark that, under Surwur Khan, the revenues of Tâk in the height of its prosperity varied from one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees to one hundred and fifty thousand rupees per annum, but declined immediately after his death.

Alladad Khan was by no means conciliated by these miserable pensions to his son and relatives, and betook himself to the Court of Cabul to implore the assistance of Dost Muhommud Khan in recovering, not only Tâk, but the whole Trans-Indus from the Sikhs. The Ameer received him kindly, and entered into the negotiation at one time so heartily as to promise one of his daughters in marriage to the exiled Prince ; but changing his mind as to the policy of provoking farther the conquerors of Peshawur, the promised alliance also was broken off, and Alladad returned unassisted to retrieve his fortunes as best he might.

The Vizeerees showed an enduring attachment to the young chief, sprung as he was on the mother's side from their own tribe; and these, joined by the predatory Buttunnees between Tâk and Murwut, once more put Alladad Khan at the head of a formidable though undisciplined army, and choosing a time when the Afghan Jageerdars happened to be absent at Dera, they swept down from the Gwaleyree Pass like a torrent, hoping to carry the fort of Tâk by surprise.

The Afghan Jageerdars had left the fort in charge of one Khooda Buksh Khan, Khuttuk, a soldier of the most determined courage, as had been already proved in a single combat with a Vizeeree, who at one blow cut off the Khuttuk's sword hand above the wrist, and thought he had secured the victory; but Khooda Buksh threw himself forward on his adversary's breast, bore him to the ground, and never rose till he had strangled him in the iron grip of his left hand.

So sudden was Alladad's descent upon his former capital, that he carried the city walls at once, and surprised the *killadar's* (warden) son with a small part of the garrison in the streets; but the alarm was given to the fort, and the gates closed before the insurgents could reach the ditch.

Then followed an incident well worthy of Roman history.

Alladad enraged at the failure of his well-planned measures, carried out the son of the killadar in front of the walls of the fortress, and summoned the garrison to surrender. "Give up the keys," he shouted to Khooda Buksh, "or your son's head shall be cut off!"

The intrepid warden replied: "If I lose my son, I can get more; but honour lost is neither to be recovered nor replaced." This noble speech is related to this day upon the border with enthusiasm and pride, but it found no echo then in the inhuman and vindictive heart of the drunken exile. "Strike!" he cried to the guards, and the youth's head rolled in the dust before his father's eyes. A volley from the garrison replied to this atrocious act, but Alladad escaped unscathed, and having plundered and fired the town, retired to the hills as rapidly as he had come.*

* This story will recal to the reader of Indian history that of the Emperor Humâyoon, whose son, Ukbur, was in vain exhibited to him on a funeral pile, by his brother and rival, Kâmrân, to intimidate him from laying siege to Cabul. The Emperor, however, showed less humanity than Kâmrân, for the former went on with the siege, but the latter released the boy uninjured.

These disturbances could not long be kept from the royal ear. Nao Nihal Sing was dead, and Sher Sing sat upon the throne. The Afghan Jageerdars of Tâk, and Dowlut Raie, the Hindoo Governor of Dera Ishmael Khan, had lost their best patron at the Court ; and when Mullick Futteh Khan stood up in the Durbar, and offered to pacify the Upper Dérâjât if Alladad might be recalled from exile, and made Governor of his former kingdom, on an allowance of twenty thousand rupees a-year, the easy remedy was joyfully accepted, the three Afghan chiefs were ordered to give up their jageer, and Dowlut Raie his government. Scarcely, however, had Alladad Khan, in obedience to the summons, reached the frontier of his beloved country, than he died. Dowlut Raie and the Afghan Jageerdars refused to surrender their provinces to Futteh Khan ; and a series of struggles ensued between them which long kept the Dérâjât in a state of anarchy.

Maharajuh Sher Sing in turn had been murdered, and the turbulent minority of Duleep Sing begun. The pretensions of Dowlut Raie and Futteh Khan were supported at Lahore by the two opposing factions in the state, and beyond the Indus by their own personal partisans.

Mullick Futteh Khan was the idol, both of the

people and the chiefs, of almost every tribe along the Upper Indus.

Like Cataline, he was *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, and he seemed to think the revenue of the King was collected only for him to give away. Was a peasant poor, or a tribe in despair at a bad season, the Mullick remitted the revenue and sent them away happy. Had a chief been driven into exile by Dowlut Raie, or his father, or any Sikh chief, the Mullick either sent, or went himself, to bring him back to his home with honour. Had a Muhommudan fakeer been deprived of his allowance by the avarice of his rival, Futteh Khan restored it, and sought a blessing, perhaps, for some deed of violence.

It may be easily conceived, therefore, that among a Muhommudan people, whose code of morals was little more than a sliding-scale of opportunities, the open-handed Mullick would be popular, and the frontier quiet under his rule.

Dowlut Raie, on the other hand, had not, that I am aware of, a single friend among the chiefs; nor one tribe of all he ruled, who did not groan under his exactions, and long to exchange him for Futteh Khan. Individual partisans he had in every tribe—those in whose favour lawsuits had been sold. The Hindoo traders also loved him, for he protected them in their

usury, and imposed on them no share of the taxes. As a general remark, however, he was odious. But if he had no popularity, he had some artillery, and the best soldiers on the Indus border in his pay, the Afghan Jageerdars of Tâk, and the Afghan settlers, known in the Punjab as the Mooltanee Puthâns (of whom subsequently the most valuable division of my own army was composed), and these made him more than a match for the popular Mullick Futteh Khan, Towannuh.

About the time of the first Sikh war with the British, the alternations of this struggle in the Upper Dérâjât, had given the government once more to Futteh Khan; and having ousted Dowlut Raie he made a last effort to conciliate the three Afghan Jageerdars of Tâk, by a solemn oath of future friendship. The Afghan Khans agreed, and they and the Mullick met by appointment at the shrine of three Syuds, brothers, who lived at Meanwallee, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to Esaukheyl, and whose reputation for prophecy and miracles was spread throughout the country.

Here reverently taking up the blessed Koran with one hand, and putting the other on the head of one of the holy men, the four deadly enemies swore solemnly to cast enmity out of their hearts, and henceforward

live in peace ; and the holy witness responded with a prayer that Allah would curse him who should forget his vow.

The awful ceremony ended, doubts assailed the holy man as to the issue, as he reflected calmly on the characters of the men he had dismissed. So he summoned them all privately, and at separate times, to his cell once more. To the Khans he said : "Beware still ! The Mullick is a hater of all rich men, and those who stand between him and power ; it is true he has sworn, but place no reliance on his vow."

To the Mullick he said : " My son, these men are still your enemies, and if they can, they will take away your life. Place no reliance on their oaths !"

Such warnings from such a mouth were prophecies. The Khans went away to kill the Mullick, and the Mullick resolved to be before the Khans.

Both enlisted men, and watched their opportunity. At last, one day, Payinduh Khan, the most able of the three Afghan chiefs, came with his son to the house of Futteh Khan, and begged him to accompany them home, and pay a friendly visit to the other two, Ashik Muhommud, and Hiyat Oolluh. The *ukhbār nuvees* (news-writer, or spy) had warned the Mullick the day before, that the Afghans had held a lengthened council, and matured their plans.

The Mullick decided on taking the initiative, and destroying the one enemy in his power. Having sat a little with Payinduh Khan, he left the room, and when Payinduh Khan inquired, after some time, where he had gone, the Mullick sent back word "he was at dinner, and the Khan was to wait till he had finished his meal!" The proud Afghans rose, at this insult, from the ground, and Secundur Khan, Payinduh's son, unable to control his rage, drew his sword, and cut down the messenger in the room. This blow alone was needed. A dozen swords were drawn, in an instant, and sheathed in the bodies of the two Afghan chiefs.* Their retainers fled to the houses of the other Khans with the alarm; the drums on both sides were beaten, and forces mustered. A desperate fight ensued in the streets of Dera Ishmael Khan. Hiyat Oolluh Khan escaped to the fortified garden of the Nuwab of Dera; but Ashik Muhommud Khan was killed, and his house plundered and burnt. Next day, the Nuwab gave forty thousand rupees to Futteh Khan, to allow the remnant of his enemies, and their

* This treacherous death was no more than a just retribution to Payinduh Khan for the perjury with which he entrapped Oomur Khan, the Chief of Drábund, into the hands of the Dera Nuwab, who murdered him in cold blood.

families, to depart across the Indus. And so, for the present, the Mullick was the conqueror. He had "killed, and taken possession."

But not long did he enjoy his triumph. The cry of just complaint came up to the throne from the mothers and widows of the enemies he had so unscrupulously removed, and Dowlut Raie was once more ordered to resume the government of Dera Ishmael Khan.

Alas ! for the country whose choice of Governors lies between such men, between one who brooks no rivals in the land, and one who leaves no people !

The Dewan arrived at Bhukkur, opposite Dera Ishmael Khan, and sent his credentials across to Futteh Khan. The Mullick replied, by crossing the Indus with his forces to give him battle ; but the Dewan had taken up his position in a walled garden at Bhukkur, which the irregular soldiers of the Mullick refused to storm, and after three or four days' ineffectual demonstration, Futteh Khan returned to his own district across the river.

And here, as in many other instances, in the recent history of this troubled border, was shown the great superiority of the Mooltanee Putháns over any other soldiers in those parts ; for not only did they defend their patron, the Dewan, in the position they

took up for him at Bhukkur, and no sooner had the enemy withdrawn across the Indus, than they boldly proposed to follow, and put the question of who should be Governor, to the issue of the sword, though their own numbers were comparatively insignificant. The giver of this counsel, I am pleased to mention, was Foujdar Khan, Alizye, nephew of the murdered Ashik Muhommud Khan, and afterwards the chief officer of my force in the war of 1848—9.

Dewan Dowlut Raie, though no hero, was wise enough to agree to the venture, and the usual fortune attended the daring deed.

Futteh Khan, Towannuh, amazed at the presumption of his rival, advanced eleven koss from Dera, with about three thousand men, to meet and destroy him; but, on coming in sight of the small but compact body of those same Mooltanee Putháns, who had at one time or another inflicted severe defeats on every tribe composing the province of Dera Ishmael Khan, the numerous but inexperienced peasants who adhered to him shrank from the contest, and, remembering former feuds, fled in every direction to their homes. Cursing the cowardice which had lost him a province, and the fickle popularity for which he had reduced himself to poverty, the Mullick, with all the bad passions of his dark and

vehement soul aroused, retreated to the fort of Ukalgurh, about a mile and a half from the town of Dera. He had a double mission there—to save his son, whom he had left in charge of the fortress, and to massacre the prisoners of rank he had taken from his foes. That done, he fled, and never again regained the government of Dera.

Let us now return from this general view of the politics of Dera Ishmael Khan to the affairs of that corner of the province with which this chapter is concerned—the country of Tâk.

Amongst those who fell in the cells of Ukalgurh, was Sahibdad Khan, Khuttykheyl, the favourite son of Surwur Khan of Tâk. In almost all Asiatic civil wars, families divide; sometimes from personal motives, and sometimes from common consent, to secure the family estates, whichever side gain the victory. Sahibdad had sided with Dowlut Raie and the Afghans, simply because he was *not* the heir of the old reigning family of Tâk, and would profit more by keeping the heir *out*, than by helping Futteh Khan to bring him *in*.

The actual heir was his nephew, Shah Niwaz Khan, Khuttykheyl, son of the deceased Alladad Khan, a youth about twenty, who, naturally espousing the cause of his father's friend, had now become a mark for the full vengeance of the Afghan chiefs, who held

his father's country in jageer. Of the original Jageerdars, the reader will remember that two were slain by Futteh Khan at Dera, at the commencement of the war; but Hiyat Oolluh remained, and the surviving sons of Payinduh Khan and Ashik Muhom-mud shared with him the government and revenues of Tâk, in their fathers' places.

They proceeded at once to confiscate Shah Niwaz Khan's pension of three thousand rupees per annum, without any order from Lahore; and the unhappy grandson of the great Surwur, thus reduced to beggary, abandoned his country, and became a miserable dependent on the fallen Mullick of Towannuh.

By one of those singular accidents which give interest to a stirring life, I, who was ultimately to have charge of the Upper Dérâjât, met this young exiled chief in the winter of 1846, in the hills of Jummo, upwards of three hundred miles from Tâk. He had come there in the train of the hospitable Mullick, whose active brain discerned, in the rebellion of Sheikh Emamooddeen in Cachmere, the means of rising once more to power, by rendering service to the British.

One morning, my moonshee introduced two Puthâns, who, he said, were in distress. They were dressed in the commonest white clothing, and had an

air of misery mingled with "ashamed to beg." They talked of places I had never heard of across the Indus, and of events of which I was ignorant; but I gathered that they had seen better days, and, without attending much to the story, gave them ten rupees between them. They took the money gratefully, and departed; and I saw them no more till February of the following year, when I was ordered to proceed in charge of the first expedition to Bunnoo.

Again my two Puthán petitioners appeared, and asked to be allowed to go with me, as their native country was also across the Indus, and they would fain visit their homes again, if they might do so under my protection. Moreover, their wives and families had taken refuge in Bunnoo, and perhaps they might be of service to me. I consented, and we all left Lahore together. On the march, I naturally busied myself with seeking information about the countries we were going to; and, during the heat of the day, collected a knot of natives round me, in the shade of a tree, and deliberately picked their brains. It was in one of these conversations that our talk brought us to Ták, and, with my finger on the map, I asked who knew anything about that country? One of the two Putháns modestly lifted up his head, and said: "My father was once King of it!" It was

indeed Shah Niwaz Khan, Khuttykhey1, the son of that Alladad from whom the Sikhs had taken Tâk; and grandson of that Surwur who had brought streams from the mountains to fertilize it, and turned its desert plain into a richly-cultivated land.

As his tale unfolded, I thought of my miserable ten rupees at Jummoo, and felt deeply grieved at having given such paltry relief to such great misfortunes. On inquiry, I found he had had no food for two days, after selling his arms and a few remaining ornaments; so I ordered him five hundred rupees out of the treasury, and sent him on rejoicing to Bunnoo, to see his exiled family, and bring me tidings from the valley.

At the conclusion of the first expedition, Shah Niwaz accompanied me in my *détour* through Murwut, Tâk, and Dera Ishmael Khan, and thus caught a transient peep at the tall fort of his ancestors. My tent was pitched in an open space in the midst of a grove of dates. "Ah!" said he, "this is where my father used to come and see the horsemen spear the tent-peg at the festival of the Eed, after the long fast of Rumzan. A happy time it was! and what a treat we children thought it to taste the young camels that were killed and kubâbed for the evening feast!"

One of my duties was to inquire how the Sikh officials governed the provinces intrusted to them, and see what was the condition of the countries themselves. I found Tâk little more satisfactory in appearance than the countries under the immediate rule of Dowlut Raie; but as few complaints were made to me by the people, I had no occasion to report more to the Resident at Lahore than that I could not see any signs of prosperity in the jageer of the Afghan chiefs. But it so happened that at this time great reductions were being made by the Lahore Council in the jageers of all the chiefs of the Punjab (unless, perhaps, their own might be excepted!) to meet the exigencies of the State; and one of the first things I heard on returning to Lahore was that the jageer of Tâk was to be resumed. The measure had been proposed by the Chancellor, Rajah Deena Nâth, though he was well known to be the chief patron of Dowlut Raie and his friends the Afghan chiefs. Greatly as I was astonished, I could find no clue to the mystery at that time; and the Resident, hard pressed for finances, readily consented to see a lakh of rupees per annum transferred to schedule A, and the foreigners who held it to schedule B.

The question that succeeded was, what was to be done with Tâk? I was then, and am still, of opinion

that a people is almost always more justly ruled and better off under the British Government than under their own native chiefs ; but I was equally of opinion, from my own personal observation, that a Muhomudan tribe is infinitely happier under its own Khan, even if he be below par, than under a bigoted Sikh official. For this reason I had double pleasure in procuring the restoration of the chiefs of Esaukheyl, for I believed the change would be no better for them than for the people ; and now that Tâk was no longer to be a jageer, but to be governed by a Sikh Kârdâr, I unhesitatingly made a similar recommendation, and begged the Resident to give the charge to Shah Niwaz. He would, it is true, no longer be an independent prince like his father, and he would have to collect revenue for the Sikhs instead of for himself ; but it would make him well off in worldly circumstances, it would restore him to his home and country, and it would place over the people a grandson of that Surwur Khan whose memory was so dear to them, and whose laws they were always regretting.

That so sudden a turn of fortune would not inspire Shah Niwaz with the hope of making himself independent (a doubt which must arise, and be well weighed in such a case), I judged from his disposition, which was humble almost to broken-heartedness.

The proposal pleased Sir Henry Lawrence, who valued power only for the good it enabled him to do ; and though the measure was vehemently opposed by the Sikh Chancellor, who prophesied a rebellion, and discountenanced even by the timid Tej Sing, who went so far as to shake his head in open council, poor Shah Niwaz Khan, who yesterday had no clothes, received a dress of honour (not much moth-eaten), and was dispatched with a bounding and grateful heart to administer the government of his native country.*

The terms on which he received it were these :—The revenue of Tāk was estimated at one hundred thousand rupees a-year, of which he was to pay seventy-five thousand to the Sikh treasury, and keep twenty-five

* During the war of 1848—9, when the Mooltanee Puthāns did better service as soldiers than they had ever done as governors of country, they disclosed to me the reason both of their removal from Tāk by Deena Nāth, and that official's opposition to the appointment of Shah Niwaz. The Chancellor calculated that when they were reduced to despair by losing their jageer, they would pay handsomely to recover it: a golden prospect unexpectedly marred by Shah Niwaz getting it for nothing! I am afraid the ousted Mooltaneees to this day think I also recommended their removal, in order to restore Shah Niwaz ; but I only availed myself of the opening. I neither made it, nor hoped for it.

thousand for his own maintenance and civil expenses. The Crown was to pay the garrison, and repairs of the fort. This arrangement was to be at first only for one probationary year; during which, if the Khan gave satisfaction, the lease was to be renewed "during good behaviour."

This took place in the summer of 1847. Six months afterwards, I returned to Bunnoo with the second expedition, and during the whole of my stay in those parts, I never had but two complaints brought against the young Khan, and both were frivolous; while the whole country (not only of Tâk, but the adjacent valleys) was full of his good report. Tâk proved to be on the verge of ruin. The Afghan chiefs had screwed the people till they abandoned their lands, and went elsewhere; and when they received the tidings of their removal, they put the very waters of the rivers up for sale to the cultivators, and when these refused to purchase, turned the streams into the ditch of the fort of Tâk, and wasted it rather than let it feed the poor. A more wanton and iniquitous act of tyranny never came under my notice, —even across the Indus. Shah Niwaz recalled the fugitive cultivators of his tribe; restored the revenue laws of his grandfather, Surwur Khan; sat daily in his own durbar, and transacted his own affairs with an ability

for which none had given him credit, and which required no assistance from middle-men ; and, in short, so ruled the country which had been intrusted to him, that it prospered and was happy.

I will mention one amusing instance of Shah Niwaz Khan's reforms, before passing to other topics.

At the same time that he was appointed to the charge of Tâk, General Van Cortlandt was appointed to supersede Dewan Dowlut Raie in the government of the whole province of Dera Ishmael Khan. Shah Niwaz, therefore, accompanied his superior as far as Dera, on arrival at which place they heard that Tâk was in a state of siege. The Afghan Jageerdars, so often mentioned, and now about to be removed, had made prisoners of two Vizeerees from the adjacent mountains, and endeavoured, by pouring hot water on the muscles of their arms, and other barbarous tortures, to extract a heavy ransom from them, or their friends. The prisoners found means to convey intelligence of their situation to the tribe ; and the enraged Vizeerees rose, and descended into the plains to attack Tâk, and liberate their countrymen.

At this juncture General Cortlandt arrived at Dera, and the beleaguered Jageerdars of Tâk called on him to assist them and save the town from plunder. The General consulted with Shah Niwaz, who finally

undertook to draw off the Vizeerees if the two prisoners were given up to him, a negotiation in which he at once succeeded. But this was not all. Shan Niwaz found among the mountain host a band of outlaws from his own country, who had formerly been his father's soldiers, and on that account expelled by the Jageerdars. These men revenged and fed themselves by such constant forays across the border that they became the dread of the country. If ever they caught a Kuthree trader on the road, they put him up behind them on a saddle, and bumped him off to the Vizeeree hills, whence they made him write for a ransom suitable to the state of his business, sometimes not less than one thousand rupees.

At the time I speak of, no Hindoo dare go out of his village.

The leader of this daring gang was a man named Peera. Shah Niwaz took off the ban of outlawry, and invited him to return to Tâk, pardoned of all past offences, if he would lead an honest life for the future. Peera joyfully agreed, and bidding a rude farewell to the Vizeerees who had sheltered him in his misfortune (among whom he distributed eighty camels he had lately driven away from the plains!) he mounted the faithful mare, to whose fleetness and endurance he had often owed his life, and

rode into Tâk as proudly as any Consul, for whom a triumph was waiting in the streets of Rome. Nor went he without his greeting. The people of the city flocked out to meet him, and dancers and musicians led the way to his ancient hovel. Trays of sweetmeats were there presented him, a citizen's dinner smoked under his unaccustomed nose, the high-bred mare, all skin and bone from her long marches, was rubbed down and caressed by admiring boys and girls ; and all night long, under the bright moon, the most beautiful dancers of Tâk strove who should win most smiles from the repentant outlaw. So great was the people's terror of him while abroad, and joy at his adopting the pursuits of peace.

It was a series of such acts as this that made the appointment of Shah Niwaz Khan a blessing to the country of Tâk.

Let us now turn from the rulers to the country itself.

The town and fort of Tâk are enclosed within one wall. The town when I saw it in 1847 was fast falling into decay, not more than sixty shops being occupied, and whole streets were without inhabitants. There might, perhaps, have been three hundred families in all, Hindoos and Muhommudans. I was

told there were ten Musjids, one Thâkoordwaruh, and two Dhurumsâluhs in the city. The whole of the town was built of mud.

The fort was an enormous pile of the same material, about two hundred and fifty yards square; the walls were four yards thick, faced with bricks; and the ditch five yards broad, by as many deep. Inside this enclosure was a citadel, of which the walls were unusually lofty; if I were to trust to my memory, I should say not less than forty feet high. I forget whether there was a rampart all round, but the corner bastions were mounted with artillery of a very rattle-trap description, and were ascended by a ramp from the ground.

Agha Abbas makes a note that the outer fort had seven gates, and the inner two, and one of the former was called Huzzrt Eesau, the name of our Saviour among the Muhommudans. The same accurate observer says there are three wells in the citadel, which is called the Nourung Killah. On the east and north, the extensive walled gardens of Surwur Khan adjoin the fort; on the south, an immense date-tree grove; and on the west, the city. The ground north and west of the city and fort is rendered inaccessible by ravines and broken ground; but nothing could be more unmilitary than

the cover afforded in every other direction to an approaching enemy. The whole was dreadfully out of repair when I saw it; but the pile was so vast, that it might well suffice, even in its decay, to overawe any irregular army.

Mr. Masson says: "Tâk is famed for its fruits, which are plentiful and cheap. Its gardens yield grapes, oranges, pomegranates, citrons, plums, &c. East of the town is an immense grove of shâhtut, or long mulberry-trees, which have attained a size superior to any I have elsewhere observed."* The cultivation of these delicacies had evidently not been patronized under the Sikhs, for though the people told me a few grapes still grew, they no longer boasted any other fruit except the date, of which large quantities are yearly sent to Dera, Koláchee, and Drábund. Most exquisite rosy-cheeked apples are however obtained from the neighbouring Vizeeree hills.

A great trade is carried on between the Vizeerees and the people of Tâk when the Governor of the latter is wise enough to be on good terms with his mountain neighbours. The chief article is iron, which is brought from Káneegoorrum, the religious capital of the Vizeeree country, where the Syuds,

* Vol. I. pp. 49, 50.

who are their spiritual guides, reside. Káneegoorrum would be well worth the visit of a scientific European, who might easily procure an escort from Shah Niwaz Khan of Tâk. It is about forty miles south-west of Tâk, in the outer ranges of the Soolimânee hills.

Its mineral wealth is spoken of by all the mountaineers ; and is thus intelligently mentioned by Agha Abbas who ran great risks to see it : “ To the west, in the pass, is a very lofty and extensive black mountain, called Peer Karal, in which I was informed copper is to be found. Disputes between the neighbouring chiefs led to the mines of this mineral being closed. The people also believe in the existence of stones impregnated with gold. I much wished to visit this mountain, but was prevented by the cold and want of a guide. Throughout the hills iron abounds, and there must be no less than fifty or sixty manufactories. The price of unwrought iron is three rupees (Mehrábee) the pukka maund (or eighty pounds). The Vizeerees sell the same quantity at Tâk for four rupees, and four and a quarter. Merchants purchase it from the Vizeerees for two and three-quarters and three rupees. The method of extracting the iron is as follows : A pit is dug, about three feet and a half in diameter, and the same in depth, the top of which is closed with a

perforated cover of clay, over which is spread a coat of charcoal (which is made in great quantities in the neighbouring hills). Over this, the stones containing the iron are heaped, being first broken small, and over them again charcoal is heaped.

Round this heap five or six bellows are applied. The iron falls through the perforated cover into the pit, from which it is extracted to be wrought, before being sold. The iron in being wrought loses three-fourths and five-eighths of its weight. This process is alone undertaken by blacksmiths.

Beyond the Peer Karal coal is found, which is called "Sung-i-Moomye."

I have already mentioned the Gwaleyree Pass into the Vizeeree hills west of Bunnoo. It was explored from Ghuznee downwards by Lieutenant Broadfoot, of the Madras Engineers, who was killed, I believe, at Purwan Durreh. He accompanied a Lohânee caravan which was in the service of our Government.

It is a matter of regret to me that I have not got that lamented officer's report upon this pass, which he had so good an opportunity of reconnoitring; but it is to be found in the Quarter-Master General's Department of the Bengal army.

My own impression is that it must either be practicable, or easily made so, for guns, as it is the route

pursued by almost the whole of the *Powindus* (traders) between Khorassan and India.

These extraordinary merchants, whose enterprise for the sake of commerce reminds us strongly of the English character, are taken from several Afghan tribes ; but the principal are the Kharotees, who enter Tâk at the *débouche* of the Gomul, and there pasture their cattle, going no farther than the Dérâjât ; the Meankheyls, who leave Tâk to their left, and pursuing the true bed of the Gomul, now called Loonee, issue into the Dérâjât at the Ruttee Kummur Pass in Koláchee, and thence spread along the Damán ; and lastly, the Nássurs, who advance by the same route, but continue it farther in the hills, and emerge lower down at Zirkunnee Pass, on the border of Koláchee and Drábund.

The Kharotees alone have any connection with the country of Tâk, now under consideration ; and I shall leave the Nássurs to be described when we find them in their pastures at Koláchee, and the Meankheyls in their own country of Drábund.

But a general description of the trade carried on by all of them may best be given here where we meet them first.

The whole of the trade between India and Central Asia is carried on by periodical caravans, which cross

and re-cross the Soolimânee mountains every year. They are conducted by Afghan merchants, who are generally called Lohânees, but locally in the Dérâjât Powinduhs, or Povindeuhs. The derivation of the latter name I know not, but Lohânee is the common name of a family of tribes, enumerated by Mr. Elphinstone as the Dowlutkheyl (of Tâk), the Esaukheyl, the Murwuts, the Khyssores (inhabitants of an insignificant range south of Esaukheyl), the Meankheyl (of Drâbund), the Babhurs (of Choudwan), and Stooranees (of the hills west of Dera Futteh Khan).

It will be seen, therefore, that Lohânee is not a name applicable to either the Kharotees or the Nâssurs, so I prefer calling them Powinduhs, a name which they all acknowledge.

To any one commonly familiar with the internal divisions of Afghanistan, a glance at the map of Central Asia will suffice to convey a just notion of the enterprise these merchants have voluntarily undertaken and successfully accomplished. They sell to the luxurious Muhommudan at Delhi the dried fruits of Bokhârâ, and buy at Calcutta English calico and muslin for the soft harems of Herât, and the savage tribes of Toorkistan ; while midway in their path lie the rugged Mountains of Solomon, whose snows and

torrents are friendly in comparison with the unappeasable Vizeerees who live amongst them, and carry on against the merchants "war to the knife," year after year, and generation after generation.

To meet the opposition that awaits them at this part of their road, the Powinduhs are compelled to move in large bodies of from five thousand to ten thousand, and regular marches and encampments are observed, under an elected Khan, or leader, exactly like an army moving through an enemy's country.

A day's march in the Vizeeree hills seldom passes without a skirmish in van or rear, the cutting up of some stragglers, or the plundering of some cattle. Occasionally there is a regular pitched battle of the most bloody character, when any particular event has occurred to exasperate the hatred on both sides. The merchants have more than once attempted to come to a compromise with their enemies, and arrange for an unmolested passage on payment of a fixed "black mail," but the Vizeeree Council has invariably, and I believe *nemine dissente*, refused the offer of peace.

The consequence is that the Powinduhs are as much soldiers as merchants. They are always heavily armed, even while pasturing their flocks and herds in the Dérâjât, though they pay the British Government the

compliment of going unarmed into India. In appearance, with their storm-stained Afghan clothing, reckless manners, and boisterous voices, they are the rudest of the rude ; and though the few individuals who are deemed sufficient to conduct the caravans into India, show a cunning quite commercial in their mild and quiet conduct, never taking the law into their own hands, and always appealing to the justice of the magistrates, yet when united in large bodies, as they are throughout the winter and spring, in the plain of the Indus, they are, or fain would be, utterly lawless, and succumb only to superior force. They paid heavy custom dues to the Sikh authorities on the Indus, because there was no help for it, as their caravans would otherwise have been seized in the Punjab ; but beyond that, the Sikhs never ventured to interfere with them, though they commit all sorts of depredations on the lands under the skirts of the hills.

I hardly ever saw a Powinduh who had not one or more wounds on his body ; and the loss of an eye, broken noses, scored skulls, lame legs, and mutilated arms, are almost as common as freckles in England.

In the language of dog-fanciers, they are altogether the most "hard-bitten" race of human beings I ever saw in my life, and presently I shall have to show

that I have had personal experience of their pugnacious qualities. I shall probably carry the marks of them to my grave.

The Kharotee Powinduhs, who have selected Tâk for their pasture ground, belong, I learn from Mr. Elphinstone, to a branch of the great Ghiljee tribe of Afghans. The parent tribe inhabits "the country situated to the east of Kuttawaz, among the branches of the range of Soliman ;" but the country being too limited for an increasing population, a part of them (probably the "poor relations" who do nine-tenths of all the good in the world) determined to go out and seek their fortune in the Cabul and India trade, which they have ever since pursued.

The whole tribe is estimated by Mr. Elphinstone at only five thousand or six thousand families, so that the emigrants to Tâk cannot be very numerous ; but Burnes mentions, that out of twenty-four thousand camels which carried the tents and baggage of the whole of the merchants, the year he visited the Dérâjât, three thousand belonged to the Kharotees.

The importance of their trade may be farther estimated by the fact that the Kharotees paid from ten thousand to twelve thousand rupees of customs annually to Surwur Khan of Tâk, when in the height of his power.

Surwur well knew the value of his position at the mouth of the Gwaleyree Pass, and built a fort called Dubreh, or Durburreh, to enforce payment from the Kharotees. He even contemplated the erection of a still more extensive fortress, which was to force the Nássurs and Meankheyls also to pay him tribute before going on to Koláchee and Drábund; a design in which he would have been aided by the Vizeerees; but on mature consideration of his position and means, he wisely forbore to increase the jealousy already entertained of him in the Damán.

There was an equally good reason why the Sikhs should not have done it. They possessed the whole of the Indus for their customs' line, on which a single moonshee was as good as an army at Gwaleyree. They allowed even the fort of Dubreh to fall into such decay, that it could have been little or no protection to its small garrison, and but for its name, might have been abolished.

In the direction of the Gwaleyree Pass, is a Græco-Bactrian mound, of broken bricks and tiles, similar in character to Akra, in Bunnoo, though much smaller; and I was informed that there are, in all, five of these mounds on the north-west border of Tâk alone. This naturally leads to the conjecture that Akra is only one of a chain of military

posts, established to defend the plains from the hill tribes.

It remains now only to say of the country of Tâk, that it has nothing to boast of in its climate, the insalubrity of which Mr. Masson attributes to the water. Its people are accounted short-lived; and those only are said to preserve their health who drink wine, and eat much meat. But it is possible that this unorthodox use of the grape, in a Muhommudan country, might be traced to courtly excuses for the good living of the great Surwur Khan, and the debauchery of his son Alladad.

CHAPTER X.

COUNTRY OF KOLACHEE—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, KOLACHEE AND TUKWARUH, 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 KOLACHEE.

CHAPTER X.

FROM Tâk we pass southward to Koláchee.

Koláchee is properly only the name of the chief town, but commonly used to denote the whole country of the Gundapoors, which, like Tâk, is a section of the Damán, below the Soolimânee Range.

It has Tâk on the north, the Mountains of Solomon on the west, Drábund on the south-west, and Dera Ishmael Khan on the south-east and east.

Originally it must have been about seven or eight-and-twenty miles long, and about two-and-twenty wide; but upwards of forty years ago the Dera Nuwab annexed a considerable slice of its best land to Dera.

A more discouraging aspect than that of the Gundapoor country, never presented itself to a tribe in search of a place of rest. The soil is hard and ungrateful; one solitary stream, the Loonee, which

is nothing more than the overflow of the Gomul, visits it on rare occasions ; and scarcely a tree or shrub, or other sign of spontaneous vegetation, is to be seen. In a word, it may be said to be dependent on rain, and very seldom to get any !

The Gundapoors, whose native country was Speen, in Afghanistan, would probably never have descended to such an unpromising spot, had they not quarrelled with the rulers of Cabul, which obliged them, to a great extent, to abandon their former life of wandering merchants between that capital and India, and take to tillage for a livelihood.

Khan Zemán Khan, grandfather of Surwur Khan of Tâk, and chief of the Dowlutkheyls, first gave the exiled Gundapoors a tract of land called "Rórhee," on his own waste border ; and settling down, they spread themselves over the country which now bears their name.

The Gundapoors were originally divided into six families : Ibraheemzye, Yákoobzye, Hoosseinzye, Khoobeezye, Umránzye, and Dreypláruh ; who adopted the usual rude division of the soil—giving an equal share to each family, without reference to its numbers.

The injustice of such a division was met and corrected by a contrivance still more rude and pastoral :

viz :—a re-division every six years ; based on the principle that those who had before had the bad ground, should in turn receive the good, and *vice versa*.

It is hard to conceive how agriculture could have been carried on in such a fluctuating state of rights ; but the fact is, that it lasted until so late as thirty-four years ago, when the Dera Nuwab, having appropriated a considerable share of the lands to the east and south-east, the families in possession of the north and west refused to re-divide with their despoiled brethren ; and from that time may be dated the landed property of individuals.

The independence of the Gundapoors was first disturbed by Muhommud Shah Niwaz Khan, the Nuwab of Dera, who fixed an annual tribute of ten thousand rupees upon the country. This, after five or six years, was raised to fifteen thousand rupees, and again, after two or three years, to thirty thousand rupees, at which point it remained till the Nuwab's territory passed into the possession of the Khalsa, when Prince Nao Nihal Sing at once raised the revenue to fifty thousand rupees.

After a year, Dewan Lukkee Mull got the farm of the whole province of Dera Ishmael Khan, and added sundry small items, which raised the tribute of Gundapoor to sixty thousand rupees.

The burden had now become more than the country could bear, and the Khan began to press for a reduction. He soon quarrelled in consequence with the rapacious Dewan, who crowned the injuries he had inflicted on the country by plundering the instrument of his exactions, and driving him into exile.*

The chieftainship was then conferred on a more complying member of the family, Gooldad Khan, the present chief, son of Zuffur Khan, elder brother of Muhommud Ali Khan, and consequently the legitimate head of the Gundapoors, who had, on his father's death, been set aside by the Dewan, from similar motives of convenience.

The opportunity of this tardy piece of justice was embraced once more to raise the revenue to sixty-

* This was Muhommud Ali Khan, who is still alive to tell the tale, and as noble an old man as is to be found on the border.

four thousand rupees a-year. The country could not by any possibility, (in its then state of population), yield that amount ; but the new Khan, after squeezing all his subjects, made up the deficiency out of his own purse, rather than lose at once his country and position.

Dewan Dowlut Raie, when he succeeded his father, Lukkee Mull, reluctantly remitted three thousand rupees ; and the revenue of Koláchee remained at sixty-one thousand rupees a-year till the autumn of 1847, when I passed through Dera Ishmael Khan, on my way back to Lahore from the first Bunnoo expedition, and found myself surrounded by petitioners both against Gooldad Khan and the Dewan.

Gooldad, it appeared, had been obliged to pawn his jewels and private property to meet the demands of his master ; and one of the chief accusations against him, was that of not repaying the sums he had thus borrowed to make up the revenue of the Crown !

Still louder, however, were the cries of the rate-payers. A perfect crowd of Gundapoors followed me across the river, and presented me the following petition :

“We, the zumeendars of Gundapoor, humbly represent that Dewan Dowlut Raie has made Gooldad Khan our master; and as he is a tyrant, the country has been ruined in consequence. The hand of his exactions has overreached the threshold of every Afghan and Hindoo in Gundapoor.

“It has now pleased God to bring a British officer among us, and with him justice and consideration for the poor; and we are grateful for the hope thus afforded us of mercy. We pray you, in God’s name, to relieve us of the intolerable burden of our present revenue, to abolish the contract, and settle a certain share of the produce of the soil for us to pay in future, so that we may all know what we have to pay. Take this tyrant, Gooldad Khan, away from the government, and give us some one who will rule justly, that our country may not be depopulated.

“It is now some years since he took violent possession of lands belonging to many of the small farmers, which he continues to enjoy. Restore these to us; and make him give up also the unjust fines and forfeitures he has inflicted on us.

“It is only five days ago since his brother

set the soldiers on us, and wounded fourteen zumeendars, for no cause whatever. Some of the wounded were too weak to come to complain ; but others are here. Hear their petition, and do justice.

“For God’s sake remove Gooldad Khan, abolish the present revenue, and give us a new settlement according to the produce. Confer a just ruler on us, and deserve our eternal prayers.”

The English reader of the above heart-stirring appeal will hope this was a solitary case, even under the government of the Sikhs ; but it was impossible to set foot in any corner of the province misruled by Dewan Dowlut Raie, without being similarly assailed by the petitions of an oppressed people.

No sooner did Sir Henry Lawrence receive my report of the condition of the Koláchee country, than he moved the Durbar to interfere, and procured a reduction of the revenue to forty-eight thousand rupees. But the reduction came too late. The country was already ruined ; the cultivation abandoned ; the over-taxed shops deserted ; and the great

water-dams, on which the crops are entirely dependent, allowed to fall in pieces.

When, therefore, Dewan Dowlut Raie was superseded by General Cortlandt, the Resident ordered me to make an entirely new settlement of the Koláchee revenue.

Formerly the Gundapoors, when left to distribute their own burdens, assessed themselves in the following manner.

The Gundapoor landholders are called Toomuns, in contradistinction to their Jut and Puthán cultivators, who are called Moozaruhs.

Each of the six Gundapoor divisions of toomuns was called a Nullah.* On each nullah a certain sum was imposed, from one thousand rupees upwards; and as each division of the tribe had originally an equal interest in the land (as shown in their curious custom of exchange every six years), each nullah was represented in accounts by six thousand dhuddees of land; and the tax of one thousand rupees, or whatever it might happen to be, on the

* *Nullah* means a canal, or water-course; but it had no such signification here, being in no way connected with the irrigation. It was a word arbitrarily chosen, and any other would have done as well.

nullah, was allotted among the toomuns, according to the number of dhuddees of land he happened to possess.

The land of Rórhee, which had been originally given to the Gundapoor tribe, collectively, by Khan Zeman of Tâk; and in which, consequently, all the six families of the toomuns retained an interest, was an exception to the above. It was divided into three hundred and forty *Kusses*, or water-cuts (arbitrary again, having nothing to do with water),* and each of these was assessed, on an average, at ten rupees.

Both of these taxes, it will be observed, fell exclusively on the toomuns, or upper classes of actual landowners.

A capitation-tax, similar to that in Murwut, but heavier, was next imposed on Putháns generally; and this not only included the toomuns, but so many of their cultivators as could boast of being Putháns. It was generally about four rupees a turban; and

* In a similar manner the dry lands of the neighbouring country of Drábund were represented, in popular calculation, by ninety-six maunds. A maund is a weight equal to eighty pounds avoirdupoise.

being self-imposed in the place of a land-tax, was not so obnoxious as in Murwut, where it was super-added to the land-tax, as "the last straw that broke the camel's back."

Ploughs were next assessed, and this tax fell entirely on the Juts, or inferior Moossulmân cultivators; the Puthán cultivators paying the turban-tax instead.

Lastly, shops were assessed very highly: from ten to twenty rupees each.

On the produce of the land there was no direct tax at all.

It was not till Lukkee Mull raised the revenue of Koláchee from fifty thousand to sixty thousand rupees, that Ali Khan first imposed a direct tax on produce, and took one-eighth from the land. This necessitated a new adjustment of rights between the landowner and the cultivator, and the division of agricultural produce became, on an average, as follows:

One-eighth to the Sirkar, or Government.

Two-eighths to the toomuns, or landlords.

Five-eighths to the moozaruhs, or tenants; out of which the tenant had to pay his plough, or turban-tax.

The cultivator's condition was rendered worse if his toomun found it necessary to mortgage the property; in which case, by a most unjust custom, one-tenth of the tenant's share of the produce was assigned to the *girweewalluh* (creditor), by way of interest on his loan.

Certainly, not less than one half the land of Gundapoor was in pawn in the year 1848.

The obvious defects of the above system were complication of accounts, and consequent robbery of the poor, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of the country. My object, therefore, in re-modelling was to simplify the accounts, and equalise the burdens.

Commencing with shops, I taxed them at a low and encouraging, but fixed, rate of four rupees each a-year, with the view of recalling the hundreds which had been driven to the neighbouring provinces by the fluctuating, but always oppressive assessment of former times. And, whereas, Hindoo shops had been exempted from the taxes which fell on their Muhommudan neighbours, by the bigoted partiality of Prince Nao Nihal Sing, I now put all sects upon a level. If any ruler were insensible to the justice of the case, one might suppose that he would be alive

to the impolicy of excusing Hindoos from taxes in an Afghan country, on the score of their religion. This reasoning however was, I need not say, most unpopular with the Hindoos; and to make the new tax more palatable to them, I devoted the proceeds to the payment of a body of horse to patrol the western border of the Gundapoor country, and protect it from the forays of the thievish Sheraunees from the neighbouring hills, the chief sufferers by which were the Hindoos.

Two Hindoos had just been carried off by some outlawed Gundapoors, who lived among the Sheraunees, before my arrival, and five hundred rupees each were demanded as ransom from their friends. Gooldad Khan, the chief of the country, was either so powerless, or so indifferent to this state of things, that the inhabitants of the town told me the robbers came into Koláchee itself, made purchases, baked and ate their choupattees at their ease, and then laying their hands on anything that came first, rode off again to the mountains. Of course, they only plundered the Hindoos, and were protected by the Afghans.

The command of this horse-patrol I gave to a cousin of the Khan's, Kaloo Khan, Gundapoor, of

whose courage I shall have more than one trait to relate.

Proceeding next to the land, I found that the one-eighth of produce, on an average of five years, had yielded twenty-one thousand nine hundred and thirteen rupees per annum. The average total produce of the country, therefore, was one hundred and seventy-five thousand three hundred and four rupees. Out of this the Sikh Durbar insisted on not getting less than forty-eight thousand rupees ; but as a new line of customs was just then being arranged on the Indus, Gooldad Khan was ordered to relinquish the customs he took from merchants passing through his country, and ten thousand rupees would be struck off his revenue in compensation. Consequently the Sikhs would, in future, demand thirty-eight thousand rupees of revenue from Koláchee, and leave, on an average, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand three hundred and four.

Out of this the Khan, and the Gundapoor toomuns, were to be provided for.

The Khan had latterly been paying upwards of ten thousand rupees out of his own means, to make up the deficiencies of the revenue ; but he might well

do so, for he had monopolized a good deal of the best land, and never assessed his own ground on account of the public taxes, abuses which caused great discontent among the people. To make him independent of such irregular sources of income, provide for the expenses of his government, and maintain himself and his family in the honourable manner which seemed to me desirable for every hereditary chief of these Trans-Indus tribes, I allowed him fifteen thousand rupees a-year: *i. e.*—ten thousand for himself, and five thousand for his uncle, Ali Khan.

This left one hundred and twenty-two thousand three hundred and four rupees between the landlords and the cultivators.

Between these two classes the utmost ill-will existed. The toomuns, who were squeezed by the Khan, who was squeezed by the Sikh farmer of revenue, had in turn so squeezed the moozaruhs, who came next and last in the scale of production, that the latter never in any season enjoyed a full moiety of the wretched produce of their fields. In a fertile country this might have been wealth, but on the plain of Koláchee it was starvation; and the peasantry, with one voice, im-

plored that I would interfere between them and their landlords, and set a limit to rent, as well as revenue.

One of the fundamental doctrines of modern political economy, and one of the most just in theory, is that prices of all kinds regulate themselves, and should not be disturbed. But we have not to look farther than England to see how *very long* prices, if left to themselves, are in finding their just level, under every advantage of competition, and how full of suffering is the interval of transition, even if it be to better things. Have the landlords of England yet reduced their rents, so as to bear the same relation to the tenants' profits as they did before the opening of the British ports? If not, they were either too low before, or are too high now. Adjustment there has been very little; except between the tenant and the labourer, which being partial is also evil. Again, have the retail tradesmen of England, with very few exceptions, reduced their selling prices in proportion to the taxes of which they have been relieved? or is there the least sign of their soon doing so, so as to compensate the gentleman for his loss of landed income, and the labourer for his loss of wages? I fear that in both

cases the answer must be "No ;" and however successful the great experiment of Free Trade (or non-interference) may ultimately prove, it is probably the most remarkable instance of interference with prices that the world's markets have ever seen.

To remove the argument to India, the doctrine of full reliance on competition for the adjustment of prices, must be received with discretion in a country whose people follow trades by *caste*. This is a disturbing influence which requires to be corrected by another. As far as my own limited experience goes, I should be disposed to say that *competition*, in the European sense, does not exist among the trades of India, but is replaced by *combination* ; which having reference solely to class interests, should, I submit, not be permitted to regulate prices without a check. To give an illustration. Grain was dear in a large Sikh cantonment, where there were many troops ; but cheap in the neighbouring district, where there were no troops to buy, and the most wretched and primæval means of carriage. A regiment of Sikh infantry marched from its cantonment, where wheat flour was selling at 24 lbs. for the rupee, and halted at a country village, where the peasantry were buying it at 48 lbs. If things were

left to the simple laws of political economy, the influx of one thousand new consumers would have raised the price of flour at once to a proportionate height—say 40 or even 35 lbs. for the rupee. But did the Sikh soldier get it at that rate? No. The Hindoo buniyuhs, who alone sold grain in the regimental bazaar, bought the flour at perhaps forty-five in the village, and retailed it to the soldiers in camp a few pounds cheaper than they bought it yesterday in the dear cantonment, or say a profit of fifty per cent. ! The soldiers, though no political economists, would look around them for competition ; they would refuse to buy of their own exorbitant buniyuhs in the camp bazaar, and walk down with their haversacks to the buniyuhs of the village, who, having previously combined with the buniyuhs of the camp, would assuredly ask them exactly the same price. It would be a point of honour in the trade, and no temptation of selling a few more pounds would induce the one party to compete with the other. Indignant at being robbed, the soldier would make a last appeal to his commanding-officer, who would send for the camp buniyuhs, when the following examination would take place :

COLONEL. At what price did you buy your flour wholesale this morning in the village?

BUNIUH. At 45 lbs. for the rupee.

COLONEL. At what price do you now retail it to my men?

BUNIUH. At 30 lbs.

COLONEL. Why do you put fifty per cent. on an article for which you only walked fifty yards to procure?

What the buniuh would reply to this is unimportant, for it would probably be a falsehood; but the political economist, in his place, would have replied: "Because a thing is worth what it will fetch;" and therefore I submit to him this instance, out of many, as a proof that the modern principles of political economy are not to be unhesitatingly applied to all phases of the social state.

A sensible commanding-officer, in the every-day case which I have quoted, would interfere, and arbitrarily reduce the price which the buniuhs had as arbitrarily raised. And, to apply these remarks to the case of the Koláchee cultivators, they were rapidly being driven off the soil by the hard terms of their Sikh-screwed *toomuns* (landlords); and if I waited till

exaction remedied itself, the country would be without people, the toomuns themselves without tenants, and the Government without revenue. In such a crisis, it would be little satisfaction to be told “that things had *found their level* !”

Accordingly, I consented to interfere ; and, as the toomuns declared, that, after paying out of their rent their own share of the burdens imposed by the Sikhs, they never had a balance of fifteen thousand rupees a year, I settled that sum upon them, and secured to the cultivators the remaining one hundred and seven thousand three hundred and four rupees.

In other words, the cultivators had to pay nine thousand five hundred and sixty-six rupees more than one-third, and to enjoy nineteen thousand six hundred and fifty-two more than one-half, of their average agricultural produce.

In England, agriculture is not supposed to pay the farmer on any terms less favourable than the following : one-third rent, one-third expenses, and one-third profit ; but, in India the Government is very moderate which takes only one-third of the gross product, and leaves two-thirds with the landlord and his tenant.

The above settlement of the revenues of the Gundapoor country was made for a period of three years, and is consequently now expiring. The Sikh Government has been meanwhile replaced by one really anxious for the people's welfare. Light settlements are alone approved of by the Lahore Board of Administration; and when next a settlement-officer goes to Koláchee, I believe that he will find that unhappy country somewhat recovered during the last three years, but should expect that the revenue must be lightened still. The following statistics were collected during this settlement.

In the year 1847—8, there were one thousand four hundred and sixty ploughs at work in the Gundapoor country, of which not more than the odd four hundred and sixty belonged to Jut cultivators, the rest to Puthán cultivators.

Each plough was calculated to work twenty beeghuhs of land; therefore, there were twenty-nine thousand two hundred beeghuhs under cultivation. I do not remember making a note of the relative size of a beeguh in Koláchee; but, supposing it to be the same as in the upper provinces of India, or five-eighths of an English acre, then there were eighteen

thousand two hundred and fifty acres under cultivation; and the average produce being one hundred and seventy-five thousand three hundred and four rupees, this gives a produce of between nine and ten rupees, or about nineteen shillings, to each acre; and six rupees, or twelve shillings, to a beeguh, which I should say was correct; as the best land in the Upper Dérâjât, even on the banks of the Indus, will not yield more than eight rupees a beeguh per annum, under the common crops of grain.

In the whole country, there were the following artisans and trades :

Goldsmiths	.	.	.	.	.	4
Printers of stuff	.	.	.	.	.	$\frac{1}{2}$ *
Potters	.	.	.	.	.	13

* It may astonish my readers to hear of *half* a printer, but such is the idiom of the country; and a very expressive one it is, for it means a poor man who ought only to be taxed half as much as his neighbours. In the same way the owner of one bullock was said to have "half a plough;" and sometimes the calculation goes to such niceties, as calling a rate-payer "three-quarters of a washerman."

Ironsmiths	.	.	.	.	.	33
Trackers	.	.	.	.	.	2
Carpenters	.	.	.	.	.	23
Shepherds	.	.	.	.	.	16
Weavers	.	.	.	.	.	99
Butchers	.	.	.	.	.	13
Shoemakers, and other workers in leather						56
Washermen	.	.	.	.	.	110
Oilmen	.	.	.	.	.	11
Camel-drivers	.	.	.	.	.	23
Fishermen	.	.	.	.	.	3

In the town of Koláchee itself, there were said to be two hundred and fifty Hindoo shops, chiefly dealers in grain, and one hundred more scattered about the Gundapoor villages. In the whole Gundapoor country, there were three hundred and eighty-seven shops of Muhommudans.

The chief towns of the Gundapoor country are Koláchee and Tukwáruh. The former is of considerable size, but was a complete wreck when I saw it in 1848. All signs of the commerce, for which it was once famous, had vanished with the agricultural prosperity

of the Gundapoor tribe. Elphinstone speaks of the Gundapoors being "great merchants; fifty or sixty go every year to Khorassaun, and four times as many to India."* A few camels from Koláchee may still join the great Powinduh caravans on their yearly journey to Cabul, but all trade with Indiä has ceased.

A highly interesting circumstance connected with the Indian trade came under my notice. Ali Khan, Gundapoor, the uncle of the present chief, Gooldâd Khan, told me he could remember well, as a youth, being sent by his father and elder brother with a string of Cabul horses, to the fair of Hurdwâr, on the Ganges. He also showed me a Pushtoo version of the Bible, printed at Serampore, in 1818, which he said had been given him, thirty years before, at Hurdwâr, by an English gentleman, who told him to "Take care of it, and neither fling it into the fire nor the river; but hoard it up against the day when the British should be rulers of his country!" Ali Khan said little to anybody of his possessing this book, but

* Vol. II. p. 67.

put it carefully by in a linen cover, and produced it with great mystery, when I came to settle the revenue of his nephew's country, "thinking that the time predicted by the Englishman had arrived!" The only person, I believe, to whom he had shown the volume was a Moolluh, who read several passages in the Old Testament, and told Ali Khan "it was a true story, and was all about their own Muhommudan Prophets, Father Moses and Father Noah."

I examined the book with great interest. It was not printed in the Persian character, but the common Pushtoo language of Afghanistan; and was the only specimen I had ever seen of Pushtoo reduced to writing. The accomplishment of such a translation was a highly honourable proof of the zeal and industry of the Serampore Mission; and should these pages ever meet the eye of Mr. John Marshman, of Serampore,* whose own pen is consistently guided by a love of civil order and religious truth, he may probably be able to identify "the English gentleman"

* Editor of "The Friend of India."

who, thirty-two years ago on the banks of the Ganges, at the then frontier of British India, gave to a young Afghan chief, from beyond the distant Indus, a Bible in his own barbarous tongue, and foresaw the day when the followers of the "Son of David" should extend their dominion to the "Throne of Solomon."

Koláchee is situated on the left bank of the Loonee River, is built entirely of mud, and has a mud-wall, about the height of a man, all round it, open at the streets, and without gates. The district of Koláchee Proper consists of twenty-one "Kirrees,"—a Pushtoo word so entirely peculiar to a nomadic race, that I scarcely know how to translate it. It is not a village, because it is movable at will; and yet it may abide in a village, and so cannot always be a camp. Perhaps "colony" is the best rendering.

Of these twenty-one colonies of Koláchee, five only live outside the city in separate villages, and the other sixteen colonies inside, occupying as many "turufs," or "quarters" of the town of Koláchee, of which they constitute the main population. Each colony has its own shops, tradesmen, and artisans in the city, and

its own division of fields in the environs ; so that, in fact, it would be the best description of the town of Koláchee, to say that it was a conglomeration of sixteen villages, standing in the middle of the lands of all.

The Hindoos of Koláchee used to carry on a good deal of trade with the Vizeerees, who exchanged the iron and timber of their hills, for corn and such manufactures of the plains, as their rude state of life required ; but this intercourse was brought to a sudden stop a few months previous to my arrival, by some Vizeeree thieves carrying off eighty camels from the Koláchee border, and Gooldád Khan seizing, in reprisal, a quantity of Vizeeree iron, deposited for sale in a shop at Koláchee. The iron was worth about fourteen hundred rupees, but the camels were worth a thousand more ; so the Vizeerees, thinking they had the best of it, refused to redeem their iron by giving up the camels. This is the kind of annoyance to which this border must ever remain exposed ; but as this is almost the extent of it, the frontier must be acknowledged a quiet one, for an empire so great as British India.

Tukwâruh, the only other town of any importance in the Gundapoor country, was in a still more ruinous condition than Koláchee, when I saw it. Certainly half the houses had been abandoned in consequence of the excessive revenue put upon the country; and had no interference taken place, the whole of the fields must have been left untilled. The cultivation of Tukwâruh is dependent on five large water-dams (called in the language, *Gundees*,) on the west, or Tâk and Koláchee border; but as all the water they collect is so much intercepted from the district of Dera Ishmael Khan, Dewan Dowlut Raie and his father, while Governors of Dera, were in the habit of sending soldiers up to Tukwâruh to cut holes in the dams and let the water flow on to Dera; nor would they allow the Gundapoors to repair their dams again till (contrary to all justice) the country *below* them was irrigated. The reason of this was simple: the Gundapoor chief held his country on lease, and whether there was a harvest or no harvest, he was obliged to pay the rent. The cultivators of Dera had no lease, but paid the Dewan a share of their produce, so that he was personally interested in their crops being watered.

The men of Tukwâruh were disheartened at this treatment, and ceased to labour at the dams, so that unless rain fell exactly at the right season the fields were never even sown.

The names of the dams were as follow :

1. Peera Kheyl, which is the head of all.
2. Khuzjukkee.
3. Kheendye.
4. Munzjhukkee.
5. Humranzye.

Of all these the last alone was in repair, and when the heavy rains which preceded my visit brought down floods of water which would have ensured an abundant harvest, the exasperated villagers watched it sweeping uselessly away over their broken dams.

As soon as I arrived, and saw how matters stood, I encouraged them to repair these useful works, by promising that they should no more be broken down, and making as many remissions as I thought the Sikh Durbar would sanction ; and before I left, the

drummer of Tukwâruh had gone round with the joyful news, and summoned every owner of a plough to attend with his oxen at the dams, or pay a daily fine.

The twenty-one kirrees of Koláchee Proper only mustered three hundred and nineteen ploughs amongst them, while those of Tukwâruh, nineteen in number, worked four hundred and forty-four; out of which, however, one hundred and twenty only paid half revenue with Tukwâruh, as they belonged to four kirrees, called Mullung, the greater part of whose lands had, thirty years before, been annexed to Dera Ishmael Khan by the Nuwab; leaving them, emphatically, "not half the men they were."

When the revenue settlement of the Gundapoor country was complete, old Ali Khan, the owner of the Pushtoo Bible, requested me to persuade his nephew Gooldâd Khan to let him have the farm of Tukwâruh, which I very gladly did, as the uncle was a wise man, and the nephew a fool; and I am quite sure the people profited by the exchange. The booby Gooldâd, when much perplexed with his unruly and

insolvent tribe, was wont to talk of retiring from the world, and seeking in the primæval cloisters of the Soolimânee mountains a refuge against Sikh tax-gatherers, oppressive revenues, uncollectable cesses, and other trials of the world below in Koláchee. How greatly I longed each night that I might awake next morning and find him gone ! In that event I would certainly have installed Ali Khan in charge of the whole country of Gundapoor. But Gooldâd was not even discreet enough to run away ; and as I see him, in my mind's eye at this moment, with his long brown ringlets hanging dumpily over the massive shield on his shoulders, his apple-face distended with astonishment at the simplest question, his little eyes peering round the company in search of some good Muhommudan to furnish him with any answer in the world, and his fat fingers crumpling his clothes in the agony of his mental calculation ; I have only to picture him under British rule, called up before the " Commissioner Sahib " to account for his arrears ; and little doubt remains that he has long since repented of being born a chief !

And now, Reader, let me close this account of Koláchee by assuring you that you need never visit it unless you are in search of two things — very brave soldiers, and very delicious melons.

CHAPTER XI.

DIARY OF AUTHOR'S MARCH RESUMED—WASTE LAND BETWEEN PEYZOO AND TUKWARUH—POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE FROM OVER-TAXATION—RELIEF—GOOLDAD KHAN CANNOT RULE, AND WILL NOT BE RULED—SATISFACTORY REPORT FROM SHAH NIWAZ KHAN OF TAK—INTERVIEW WITH GOOLDAD—HIS PAPERS STILL UNPREPARED—BARRENNESS OF HIS COUNTRY—THE PEOPLE OF KOLACHEE 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 SHAHZAD, NASSUR—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—SHAHZAD RETREATS TO THE MOUNTAINS—THIS METHOD OF ESTABLISHING AUTHORITY NOT APPROVED OF AT HEAD-QUARTERS—PETITION FROM A BELOT FAKIR—RUNJEET SING'S PRIMITIVE SECRETARIAT—RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE DERAJAT—COMPARISON BETWEEN THEM AND THEIR COUNTRYMEN OF WESTERN AFGHANISTAN FAVORABLE TO THE FORMER—WATCH-TOWER PROJECTED TO CHECK SHERAUNEE DEPREDATIONS—HONESTY OF SHAH NIWAZ KHAN OF TAK—THE KOLACHEE SETTLEMENT CONCLUDED—DEPARTURE TO DRABUND.

CHAPTER XI.

LET us now, dear reader, set a good example to all travellers, and fill up our Diary.

March 4th, 1848.—Made a march of nine koss, from Peyzoo to Tukwâruh, between which places the road is over an unbroken plain of land waste for want of water, and abandoned to the Kharotee tribe of Powinduhs, who pay the chief of Tâk a yearly tribute for permission to come here and pasture their flocks of *doombuh* (sheep), and droves of camels. Several camps of them in sight; the men have a wilder and poorer appearance than any other of the Cabul merchants.

(Tukwâruh has been already described in the last chapter).

A great many of the Tukwâruh people have fled in despair to Tâk, to live under Shah Niwâz Khan,

and some to Murwut ; " any place," they say, " better than the Koláchee country." The last autumn revenue has not yet been collected ; the people unable to pay, and the Khan's sepoy's unable to make them. I have at once excused the cesses on ploughs, turbans, and shops ; and the poor fellows seeing something done for them have gone away to consult how to pay the rest. They have been persuaded also to repair their water-dams, on my guarantee that they shall not be broken any more.

While all this is going on, Gooldâd Khan has not even taken the trouble to meet me on his frontier, though he knows I am come to settle the revenue of his country, and that things are in such a dreadful state it is quite a toss up whether he is turned out or not. One thing must be said on his behalf, he was born without common sense ; to help him, I appointed his sensible and good-natured cousin, Kâloo Khan, to be his deputy ; but it appears that Gooldâd, like Shakespeare's " great lubberly post-master's boy," has been crying over the indignity. " Am I not the Prince then ? Isn't Koláchee my country ? You shan't put it in order." He will not even let Kâloo Khan collect the revenue for him, though he does not know how to do it himself.

Shah Niwâz Khan of Tâk arrived in camp, and

gives a modest but satisfactory account of his country. His best report, however, is in the mouths of the common people of the districts round, who already compare him to his wise grandfather, Surwur Khan. He shows as much moderation in his prosperity as he did fortitude in his troubles. I cannot say what a happiness it is to me to have had it in my power at once to restore him to his home, and to recover a whole people from ruin. It is, perhaps, the best thing I have done on this frontier: yet it was only a happy hit—a thought that it would do—a recommendation to Lawrence—his order—and it was done. Talk of conjuring trees with singing birds out of a mere cherry-stone, why here is a populous country conjured up in a waste by the scratch of a pen. Happy Asia, where such things may alone be done! Sad Asia, whose princes so seldom do them!

March 5th.—To Huttálee, about six koss. Forgot it was Sunday. When shall I hear church-bells again?

Memorandum.—Gooldád Khan presented himself this morning at Tukwáruh just as I was about to leave. He looks dreadfully bothered, and I dare say I shall do the same when we come to the accounts.

A company of General Cortlandt's Kuthâr Mookhee



Regiment arrived from the fort of Tâk to join my escort.

On arriving at Huttálee, gave Gooldâd an interview ; and on expressing a hope that he had prepared a full return of the last five years' revenue as data for the settlement, learnt that he only began it four days ago ! This after two months' notice. Sent him off to Koláchee to finish it, and told him I would not see him again till he brought it. Time is of no importance to this fat fellow. He spends it, I hear, in wrestling with wild beasts.

The everlasting cry of *Furyâd, Sahib log ! Furyâd ! Furyâd !* (A complaint, O Englishman ! a complaint ! a complaint !) which fills my ears all day from the crowd around my tent, is quite distressing ; but it seems all revenue complaint ; and though Gooldâd is clearly an idiot, he cannot justly be charged with the exactions which the Sikhs make from Koláchee. A long and unremitting system of over-taxation has been imposed on the province, the revenue rising as the people grew poorer, and at last the country can no more ; the ryots abandon it, the irrigation dams decay, and the fertilizing streams escape and grow no food. The Khan has just sense enough to blubber over the difficulties of his position.

March 6th.—To Koláchee, about six koss. There is hardly a vestige of cultivation to be seen in the land. The rain fell too late. Waste—waste—waste, on every side. Wretched Koláchee!

On arriving at the city, the whole population moved out in a body, and raising their hands in the air, cried out with one voice, “Furyâd, Sahib log! Furyâd!” I felt it to be a powerful appeal; and by the help of God will, before I leave, lighten the burdens of the poor, and distribute them more equally on the toomuns than they are at present. Rode through the city, and saw no comfort anywhere.

Gooldâd Khan’s mother has written me a touching letter in favour of her son, reminding me of a circumstance I had forgotten, that I released her out of prison last year (where Dewan Dowlut Raie had placed her as security for the debts which her son had incurred to pay the deficiencies of his people’s revenue.) “From that time forth,” she says, “she became my purchased slave, and has a right, by the customs of the East, to claim my protection for her children.” Nevertheless, I refused to accept the ziyâfut of sweetmeats, &c., which accompanied her letter, in order to appear inexorable, and make her hurry Gooldâd in preparing the five years’ return.

The Futtch Pultun (or Regiment of Victory) ar-

rived from Hussun Abdâl. (This was a regiment of Sikh regulars, which Mr. John Lawrence had ordered to proceed and join me when there seemed every probability of the Dourees invading Bunnoo. That alarm having passed away, I directed them not to march on Bunnoo, but Koláchee, as the tribes I was about to visit in my tour about Girâng were almost living in a state of war with their hill neighbours, and it was necessary to have the means of enforcing order. From Bunnoo I brought with me two Light Horse Artillery guns, ten zumbooruhs, three companies of Infantry, and about three hundred horsemen, which, joined with the new Sikh regiment, made up a handy little force of about twelve hundred men. Little did I dream how much work was in store for them !)

March 7th.—As we were pitched in a very confined spot yesterday, at sunrise this morning I moved the camp to the south-west of the city, and encamped on the bank of the Loonee. It quite grieves me to see this stream rushing on to waste itself in the Indus ; and reflect that, if the dams had been in repair, it might all have been thrown over the dried-up fields. It is too late now. The dam cannot be repaired till the water has run off.

A long day of settlement work, trying to extract the accounts from Gooldâd's Hindoos, who have ren-

dered none to him for six years. At the close, I reconciled Gooldâd Khan to his uncle, Ali Khan, and cousin, Kâloo Khan, and begged them all to go home and help each other in extricating themselves and their country from the present dilemma. I also lent them a sharp moonshee of my own, and Shah Niwâz lent them another, to help at the papers. They were very grateful and happy. A beam of feeling quite made Gooldâd look intellectual as he embraced his uncle.

Altogether a good day, though tough in this weather, which is daily getting hotter.

March 8th.—Some time ago I saw in the Persian News-letter from Kolâchee that a Russâldâr, named Surwur Khan, had arrived from Rajpootânâ, and given out that he was on a special mission from Colonel Sutherland. The circumstance escaped my memory, or I meant to have asked more about him ; but the other day at Tukwâruh, the said Russâldâr appeared on the line of march, and joining my escort, said mysteriously that he would deliver his message when we reached my tent. To my astonishment, he then declared that the Resident of Rajpootânâ had sent him to me, “as his local knowledge might be useful to me in the Gwaleyree Pass to Cabul !” I asked him if he had any writing to prove this assertion ? He

said he had a Persian Purwânuh, which he had left at Koláchee. The whole thing was so incredible, and the idea so mischievous if it should get about among the natives, that I took his evidence down in order to convict him, and sent him off to Koláchee for the letter. All I could learn of him was, that he was a native of Koláchee, who had gone to India, and entered the service of the Tonk Nuwab. To-day he came to show me the letter Colonel Sutherland had given him, and produced an ill-written and worse-spelt introduction of himself, addressed "to any and all of the British gentlemen" in these parts, on a dirty scrap of paper, without signature or seal of any kind. A forgery so clumsy I never saw, and the man must be not only a rogue but a fool. Any one who had lived a week Trans-Indus would know it was written by a village Syud. I quite *smelt* the imposture across the tent, and taxed him plainly with having got it written in Koláchee, which he stoutly denied. This aggravates his offence; and as I know not whether his "designs be wicked or charitable," I have sent him a prisoner to Dera until the Lahore Resident can make inquiries.

Up to this moment I have never been able to make out what this man's motives were for attempting to deceive me, unless it was to gain importance in his

native place ; but it was only one instance out of many that India still looks for another Cabul war.

Asiatics are never more completely deceived than by the truth. Seldom telling it themselves, they as seldom believe it when it is told ; and Rajah after Rajah, Prince after Prince, in Hindoostan, has lost his dominions by suspiciously rushing into war when the British had assured him of peace. Runjeet Sing, and the chiefs of Bhâwulpoor, are the only rulers I ever could discover to have thoroughly believed in a friendly alliance ; and security, prosperity, and honour, were the result. When Runjeet died, it became the fashion among the Sikhs to expect a British war, and like many prophets of evil among ourselves, they made their own prophecy come true.

The people of the Punjab and India, and probably Afghanistan, have never for a moment given their credence to Lord Ellenborough's honest proclamation of entire content at the vengeance exacted from Cabul by General Pollock. They believed firmly, even before the last war, which certainly must have confirmed their belief, that we are nursing projects of still farther revenge, and making the Punjab a stepping-stone to Cabul. You indignantly disavow such an idea, and the hearer winks at you as if you were his accomplice—looks at you with admiration, as the best liar

he ever saw for a white man ; and when you get thoroughly angry, walks off in raptures at your acting, and tells his friends that you are the very deepest fellow he ever met with, and will certainly rise to the Governor-Generalship of India ! Even Time, that bleacher of sullied reputations, will never prove to native satisfaction that we desire not Cabul ; and if, as from my heart I trust, the next, and the next generation, still find us unburdened with that heap of stones, they will only say that we “let I dare not, wait upon I would.” From these remarks, the reader may guess my annoyance at finding Surwur Khan in the country under my charge, at the very mouth of the commercial road to Cabul, giving out that he was sent by a British Resident to show me the road.

As all my days and half my nights were occupied at Koláchee with two questions very uninteresting to the general reader, viz., the revenue accounts of the Gundapoor country, and disputes between the Lahore Durbar and Dewán Moolráj of Mooltan, about customs on the River Indus, I shall just skim over these deep waters of the Diary, and dip, like a swallow, when I see anything fit for food upon the surface.

March 14th.—Sent out spies to ascertain where-

abouts Shahzâd Khan, the head of the Nâssur tribe of Powinduhs, is lying hid under the Sheraunee hills.

The Powinduh merchants not only had to pay customs to the Sikhs for the goods they introduced into the Punjab, but a tax called "trinnee,"* for liberty to pasture their camels during the winter and spring in the Dérâjât. The camels were only counted once in many years, and none of the merchants objected to the tax, except this Shahzâd Khan, Nâssur, who positively and obstinately refused. He was a thorough Afghan in his hatred of all Hindoos, and all forms of taxation. He boasted that he had defied Dost Muhommud, the Ameer of Cabul, and the Nuwab of Dera ; and was it to be supposed he would knuckle down to the dogs of Sikhs ?

On hearing this, when I arrived at Bunnoo in the winter, I wrote and asked him to come and talk it over with me ; but he knew he was wrong, and would not come. I then ordered him to come, or else to be off out of the limits of the Sikh kingdom, whose laws he did not like. He refused to do either. Lastly, I wrote to Kâloo Khan, at Kolâchee, to seize him, but he was afraid the Nâssurs would rise and sack Kolâchee, so he begged to be excused. It was

* From the Sanscrit word *trin* (grass).

disagreeable to put these things in one's pocket, but I was obliged to do so from Christmas to the present time. Now, however, I was quite determined to clear the account; for the man who hopes to rule a barbarous country must first make his orders law. Else the barbarians will very soon rule *him*.

Tuesday, March 15th.—The spies have returned; saw Shahzâd Khan, who is encamped at the foot of the hills, with about forty of his own people only, ready to take to the hill-side at a moment's warning. About nine koss from here. That section of the Nâssurs who consider him their chief, have separated and spread themselves along the foot of the hills in parties, pretending to be Kharotees and not Nâssurs. Revolved it in my mind, and determined to have a try to seize him; but, knowing that one or two of his spies were sitting at my own door in the crowd of petitioners, I issued no orders; and when the crowd broke up at sunset, the spies probably ran home to Shahzâd, and told him that the cavalry had not looked to their horse's shoes, nor the infantry to their cart-ridge-boxes. Just before going to bed, I sent for a confidential man of Kâlloo Khan's, named Muhommud Koreyshee, and told him quietly to warn his young master to be ready, with a few tried men, to start with me when only one watch and a half of the night

should be left, so as to allow of our reaching the Nássur's lair about break of dawn, when we could all see each other. I shall take Sirdar Muhommud Alim Khan, Barukzye, and his two hundred Doorânee horsemen; the sixty Sikh regular cavalry, and twenty-five of the irregular Hindoostanee horse that are with me on orderly duty, so as to do it all rapidly with horse alone; but in case the alarm reach the other camps of the tribe, and a rising take place in our rear, I shall order two companies of infantry, and ten camel-swivels, with twenty horse, to start with us, and move leisurely after us in reserve. If we fail in catching "the old bird on the nest," we shall at least bag a lot of his camels to pay the arrears of "trinnee."

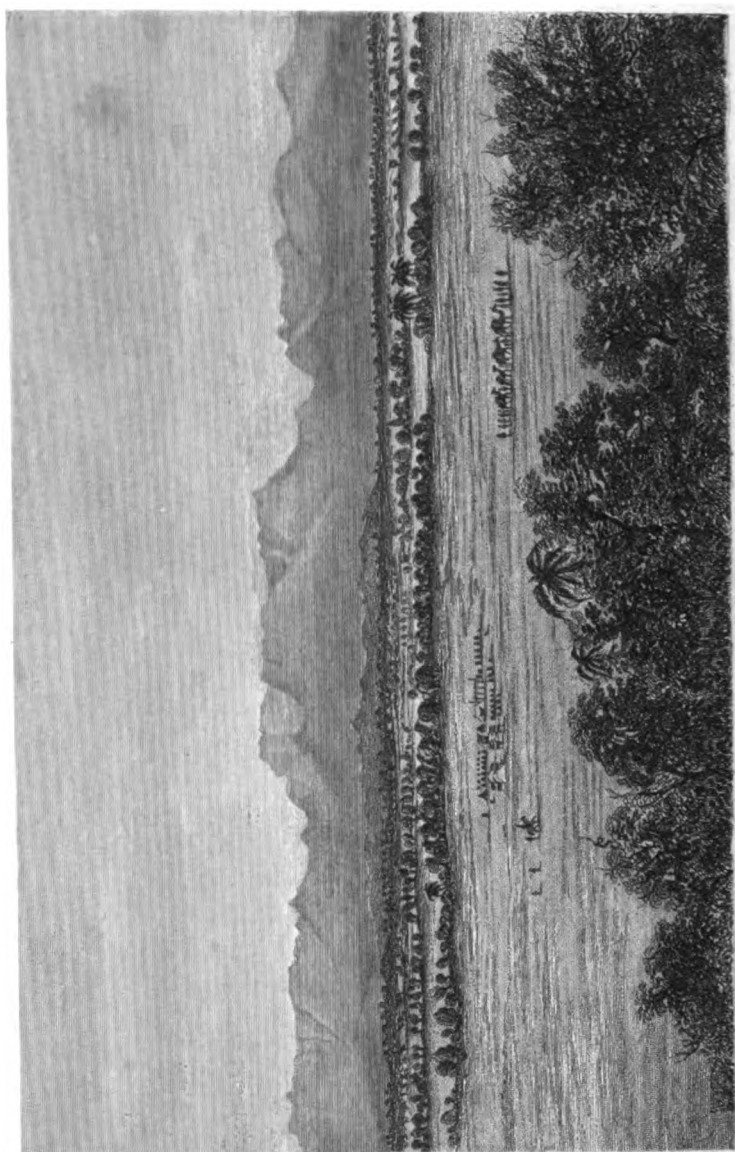
Wednesday, March 16th.—As proposed, I got up at midnight, and sending, one by one, for the Barukzye Sirdar's Vukeel, the Russâldâr of the Sikh cavalry, the Adjutant of the Sooruj-Mookhee detachment, and the Jummadâr of the zumbooruhs. I ordered them to get ready, with dispatch and silence, two hundred Doorânee, and sixty Sikh regular horsemen, to accompany me; and two hundred and fifty infantry, with thirty rounds of ammunition each, and twelve zumbooruhs to follow, under the Adjutant, as a reserve.

When all these were ready, I summoned Colonel Futteh Sing, of the Futteh Regiment, and made the camp over to his charge, in my absence; then, joined by Káloo Khan, and about ten of his own followers from the city, we set forth; Sirdar Muhommud Alim and I in the centre; the Sikh Russáldâr on the right (left in front, so as to be ready to wheel up in a moment); and the Doorânees on the left, in such order as they were used to. Showers had been falling all night, and the Loonee was so swollen, and rushing at such a rate, that the guides remonstrated against crossing. On we went, however, and gained the opposite bank, though not without danger, both from the tide and an immense quicksand, in which the whole party got involved. I was riding a big chestnut Arab, named, for his strength, after the hero, Zál; but at one time he stuck so, that I thought we were gone, and know not how the weaker horses got through at all. On emerging safe on the other side, I sent back orders to the infantry reserve not to follow us over this ford, but go higher up the river and look for a better, which I afterwards learned they did, and got over very well, but very wet.

We pushed on through a very ugly night, and came in sight of the watch-fires of the Nâssur camps about daybreak. The guides pointed out Shahzâd's,



AN OBSCURE AND UNDESIRABLE "NEW AND IMPROVED" CHURCH.



From a sketch by Major Reginald Dyer, R.E. 1897.

far away in the rear of all, under the outer ridges, which lie like pebble-stones beneath the mountain called Solomon's Throne ; and I called a halt under the shelter of a ravine, to look at it, breathe the horses, and let the stragglers close up. Great was then my surprise to discover, by the morning light, that the gallant band of nearly three hundred men had dwindled down to about seventy or eighty ! The heroes had taken advantage of the night to lose their way ; and I was afterwards told by the infantry reserve that one hundred Doorânees turned back from the middle of the Loonee river, and declared that "the Sahib was not going on." I told the Sikh Russâldâr to muster his men : he reported twenty present out of sixty. Of the two hundred Doorânees, there may have been forty ; Kâloo Khan had about five men, and I had about twelve or fourteen others (some of Lumsden's Guide Corps, Orderlies, &c.)

This was clearly quite inadequate to perform the feat for which we had come—viz. to seize Shahzâd Khan in the midst of his people, and carry him off prisoner. The stout rebel, who had fought with Dost Muhommud, the Nuwab of Dera, and Dewan Lukkee Mull, was not very likely to be overpowered by eighty men ; yet I felt that it would be more honourable and more wise, if I hoped for influence in this

wild country, to be defeated in a bold attempt, than not to make it, after going twelve miles to do so ; so getting the men together, with a heart not over light, I led them on at a gentle trot to the rebel camp.

The grey dawn was just removing the friendly veil that had hitherto concealed us, the watch-fires of the mountaineers were dying out, and we could see the savage Cabul dogs of the merchants spring up from beside the ashes, before their accursed howl of alarm and warning reached our ears.

The Doorânees now galloped to the front, as if no power on earth should prevent them from being first in the fray ; and though I succeeded in calling them in, and keeping them with the rest of the party, they still whirled their guns over their heads, and shouted valorously that they would eat up the Nâssurs.

But the Nâssurs seemed in no hurry to be eaten, and turned out, at the baying of the dogs and the shouts of the Doorânees, like a nest of hornets, with juzails, swords, clubs, and even stones.

I thought the best chance I had was to make my few fellows fight, whether they would or no, so led them round to the rear of the Nâssur camp, and got them between it and the hill, under a dropping fire of

bullets, which did little or no harm ; then, beckoning with my hand to the Nâssurs, I told Kaloo Khan to shout to them, in Pushtoo, to surrender ; a barefaced proposition, to which the Nâssurs replied only with a handsome volley of both bullets and abuse. "Come on," they cried, "come on, you Feringhee dog, and don't stand talking about surrender !" In truth, it was no time, for the fire was getting thick ; so seeing nothing else left, I drew my own sword, took a tight hold of a chain bridle, given me prophetically by Reynell Taylor, stuck the spurs into Zâl, and, calling on all behind me to follow, plunged into the camp.

The attacking party always has such an advantage that I am quite sure, if our men had followed up, few as they were, they might have either seized or killed Shahzâd ; but it shames me to relate, that out of seventy or eighty, not fifteen charged, and scarcely a dozen reached the middle of the camp.

The dozen was composed of Muhommud Alim Khan (I think I see him now with his blue and gold shawl turban all knocked about his ears !) Kaloo Khan, and Lumsden's Duffadar of Guides ; each backed by a few faithful henchmen. The only officer *non-inventus* was the Sikh Russaldars. The *mêlée*, therefore, was much thicker in our neighbourhood than was at all pleasant, and how we ever got out of it is unaccount-

able ; but we did, after cutting our way from one end to the other of the Nâssur camp. Somewhere about the middle of it a tall ruffian, whom I was told afterwards was Shahzâd's brother, walked deliberately at me with his juzail, and sticking it into my stomach, so that the muzzle almost pushed me out of my saddle, fired ! The priming flashed in the pan, and as he drew back the juzail I cut him full over the head ; but I might as well have hit a cannon ball, the sword turned in my hand ; and the Nâssur, without even re-settling his turban, commenced re-priming his juzail, an operation which I did not stay to see completed. Between 1845 and 1849 there was no lack of peril on the Punjab frontier, and I, like all the rest, had my share ; but I have always looked back to the moment when that juzail missed fire as the one of all my life when I looked death closest in the face.

On getting out to the fresh air again I looked round and found myself with two men, one of whom was a highwayman I had pardoned a week or ten days before. The brave Doorânees and Sikhs might be seen circling and curvetting round the circumference of the camp, handsomely followed up by the enemy, and I was thinking what course to pursue when my eye fell on the Nâssur herd of camels tied

down in a ring. "Now," said I to the highwayman, "the victory is ours after all," and away we both dashed at the camels, whose long necks were already bobbing about with fright, like geese looking out of a market basket. Up they all jumped, and tore themselves free from their fastenings; and I put a lot of them before me, and drove them off as if I had all my life been a moss-trooper, my friend the thief entering heart and soul into the business, and giving them a professional poke with his spear, which set them stepping out gloriously. The Nâssurs, who were in charge, yelled like demons, and one "took up a rock," as Homer would have said (a great stone as big as his own head), and hurled it at me with such good aim that it hit me below the knee, and would have unhorsed me if that excellent villain, the highwayman, had not put his hand under my shoulder, and tossed me back again into the saddle. The heroes outside now joined us, and very glad I was to see them, for the whole swarm of angry Nâssurs were in hot pursuit of their camels. The Sikh run-aways, at this point, did something to make amends; forming line in the rear behind us, and keeping off the Nâssurs with their musketry till we had pricked the spoil quite out of reach, when they galloped up

to us, and left the Nâssurs puffing in the middle of the plain.

I think none of us spoke for some time ; but the scuffle had been so sharp, and might have been so serious, and most of us had been giving and taking blows with such good-will, that our brains were busy enough revolving the confused events which had crowded themselves into the last ten minutes.

When we had made about a mile I called a halt, and looked about to see who was hit besides myself. Three horsemen only were wounded with musket balls, and I began to think we had got off cheaply, when a whisper arose that " Kaloo Khan was missing !"

" Missing ?" I said, " why he was by my side in the middle of the camp just now. Who saw him last ?" A Doorânee follower of Muhommud Alim's spoke up and said : " He saw him knocked over the crupper of his horse, but was too busy looking after his own master to help any one else !"

What was to be done ? It was certain that he was either dead, or a prisoner. The men I had with me would not have gone back for all the Khans in Asia ; and if they could have been persuaded, our return would only have been the signal for Kaloo Khan's murder, if he still lived. The same argument

applied to the reserve of infantry, who could not now be very far behind.

A follower of the young Khan's, well versed in this kind of work, suggested a reprisal; and seeing no other remedy I dispatched a messenger in search of the reserve, with orders to turn back and surround another Nâssur camp nearer home, and close to the fields of the Gundapoors, where resistance was impossible; and if they could, secure two or three Nâssur chiefs to exchange for Kaloo Khan. This they did, and made prisoners of two Mullicks, one of whom was Sir Must Khan, who divided with Shahzâd the chieftainship of the tribe. The reserve also brought away upwards of two hundred more camels, to add to those which we had captured from Shahzâd; so that in all we got three hundred and twenty.

I will give the conclusion of this episode here, instead of waiting till we find it in the Diary. Shahzâd Khan struck his camp immediately after the fight, and marched away out of the Dérâjât into the Sheraunee hills, with all his flocks and herds and people, and poor Kaloo Khan, who had got no less than six or seven severe, but not dangerous, sabre cuts, over his head, shoulder, and arms, which the Nâssur women sewed up with hairs pulled out of his own horse's tail.

I received intelligence that Shahzâd's brother was grazing the majority of his camels on the left bank of the Indus, and I sent a party after him, but he had got a message from Shahzâd first, and made a forced march into the Mooltan territory, whence he re-crossed the Indus, and got up through the Ooshteraunee hills to his brother.

At last I gave the camels, seventy-five in number, which I had carried off from Shahzâd's own camp, to Ali Khan, Kaloo Khan's father, who took them to the mouth of the nearest pass, and bartered them for his son, who returned very weak in flesh, but stout in heart, and justly proud of his honourable wounds, to which, indeed, he has since added more than one in my service, in battles where still harder knocks were received than in the skirmish under the Tukht-i-Sooliman.

On Kaloo Khan's return, Sir Must Khan and the other Nâssur hostages were dismissed with honour; and at parting, I bound a handsome turban round Sir Must's head, and told him I should henceforward consider him the chief of the Nâssur clan, and treat all who adhered to Shahzâd as rebels.

Of the two hundred and forty camels carried off by the reserve, along with Sir Must, only ten proved to belong to Sir Must himself, and ninety-six to other

honest men, all of which were given back to them. The remainder proved to be the property of Shahzâd himself, who, anticipating an attack from my close neighbourhood, had put the majority of his camels under the charge of other Nâssurs, who were on good terms with the Sikh Government.

These, therefore, I confiscated; gave thirteen of the finest (worth about £100) to Kaloo Khan to pay his doctor's bill; one to each of the four wounded horsemen; and sold the rest on account of Government, realising thereby three thousand six hundred rupees, in satisfaction of the fifty rupees of "trinnee" which Shahzâd said "he never would pay to the dogs of Sikhs and Feringhees!"

From that time until I left India the face of Shahzâd Khan, Nâssur, was seen no more in the pastures of the Dérâjât; and though the Mooltan war raged upon the frontier, and a son of Dost Muhommud of Cabul came down as far as Bunnoo with an army, and invited Shahzâd to join him and take revenge, the Nâssur saw farther into the future than the Doorânee Prince, and declined descending from his mountain hiding-place.

Nor was I ever again told by any other Cabul merchant in the province under my charge, that he

would not come when he was called, or would not obey the laws of the Sikh territory in which he lived, and bought, and sold.

But I should lead those astray to whom I most wish that these pages may be useful, if I were not to tell them that older heads did by no means approve of this mode of establishing authority. In demi-official language, the Resident (Sir F. Currie) gave me a proper good "wiggling," and pointed out to me that it was very questionable, whether for the sake of seizing a revenue defaulter, it was worth while to risk the consequences which would have ensued in the province if my life had been lost in the affair. Neither could he approve of the reprisal made by the reserve, and the detention of the captured Nâssurs until Kaloo Khan was released by Shahzâd. He was aware that the custom was one generally prevalent in the East, and often successful; but it was the duty of British officers to set the example of doing strict justice to all, and not to consent for the sake of doing a great right, or gaining a great object, to do even a little wrong.

On the other hand, it is to be observed that the Resident was not aware, at this time, that the camels captured by the reserve, along with the Nâssur

hostages, actually proved to belong to Shahzâd; thereby establishing that community of cause which pervades a pastoral tribe, and may justly render the whole responsible for the offences of any one of its members.

March 22nd, 1848.—Hyder Chirâgh, the holy man of Belot, on the Indus, came to see me, and of course brought a pocketfull of petitions, backed by all the grants that were ever issued, by all the Delhi Kings that ever reigned. What a characteristic difference there is between the broad sheet, noble handwriting, and imperial signet of the great Moghuls, and the shabby scrap, ill-written and spelt, which bears the seal, no bigger than one's nail, of the founder of the Sikh Empire.*

The Belot fakeer above-mentioned was vehemently suspected of holding the Sheah doctrines of

* Runjeet Sing was far advanced in his career of conquest before he made use of any Secretariat at all, or kept any written accounts whatsoever. He was wont to hand over the tribute of his provinces, as he collected it, to any Sikh who rode at his right hand, and tell him, verbally, to make occasional payments, which the horseman notched off on a stick until the money was all spent, when he took his stick up to Runjeet, and rehearsed the payments, which the monarch audited with a never-failing memory, and then ordered the stick to be broken.

Islam ; though he carefully concealed it in a country where the people are all violent Soonnees. I have never seen races more exact in religious observances, than those of the Dérâjât. Whatever occupation they might be engaged in, whether business or pleasure, it was always interrupted at the hours of prayer ; and if one forgot it, another would pull him by the sleeve, and remind him. In my tent, which was always full of people concerned in some cause or other, they would break off the conversation, and beg to be excused for a moment ; then take a scarf, and spreading it in the corner towards Mecca, devoutly commence their genuflections. If there was not room for all to pray at once, the business in hand went on, and the solemn effect of the sonorous Arabic ejaculations of the Koran, was oftentimes sadly marred by the evident attention which the devotee paid to the proceedings ; producing that very common squint—one eye to this world, and one to Heaven.

Once I remember asking from those who were not praying, how many koss it might be to a certain village, and received for answer "Ten ;" when a man praying in the corner snapped one of the Prophet's titles in two, and called out "Fourteen," in a kind of parenthesis between the syllables. A

still more indecorous interruption occurred during the Koláchee settlement. One of the Gundapoor toomuns was at his noontide prayer, while his tenant, a Jut, was giving me his deposition as to the produce of the estate. Suddenly we were all startled by the toomun turning round, and saying, "That's a lie! Wait till I have done my prayers, and I'll tell you all about it." As a general remark, the Afghans of the Dérájât are wont to draw a favourable comparison between themselves and their brethren in Western Afghanistan, by describing the latter as "Khoodâ-purust, wuleykin Khoodâ-turrus naheen;" i. e. a God-worshipping, but not God-fearing people; and, as far as my experience goes, I think they have justice on their side.

March 24th.—This day heard of twelve cows being carried off from the pastures of the town of Loonee, about four koss from the hills, by some Sheraunee horsemen. The Sheraunees occupy that part of the Soolimânee mountains which forms the western boundary of Koláchee; and as they not only carry off cows but cow-worshippers, I think of putting a small watch-tower near the Zurgunnee Pass to check them.

Shah Niwaz Khan, of Tâk, has sent to let me know that the Vizeerees, above the Gwaleyree Pass,

have restored to him a small gun which his father, Alladad Khan, deposited with them for security when expelled his kingdom, and requests my orders as to its disposal. This is doubly strange—of them to have the honesty to return it, and of him to have the wisdom to report instead of concealing it, as is the fashion in the Punjab.

March 28th.—The Koláchee settlement being at last concluded, I this morning sent the camp on to Drábund; remained myself at Koláchee during the day to wind up affairs, and followed the camp in the evening. My knee is still so bad from the Nâssur skirmish, that I could not ride, and was obliged to be carried in a palanquin. A desert the whole way.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COUNTRY OF DRABUND—ITS BOUNDARIES, EXTENT, &c.—ITS
PAST AND PRESENT OCCUPANTS—FAMILIES OF THE TRIBE OF MEAN-
KHEYL—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
DRABUND UNDER THE SIKHS—CONDITION OF THE CHIEF AND PEOPLE
AT THIS PERIOD—CONTRARY TO CUSTOM THE DRY LANDS MORE PROFIT-
ABLE THAN THE IRRIGATED—REVISED SETTLEMENT BY THE AUTHOR
—INCURSIONS OF THE SHERAUNEEs—STATISTICS OF DRABUND AGRI-
CULTURE, TRADES, AND POPULATION—THE TOWN AND FORT OF
DRABUND—ITS SOLITARY PRODUCTION—TOWN OF MOOSEHZYE—THE
HILL-FRONTIER OF DRABUND—PASSES OF ZIRKUNNEE, DRABUND, AND
ZAM—COLONY OF SHEIKHS, AND POWINDUH CEMETERIES, AT ZIR-
KUNNEE—RUINED FORT OF GOOL HUBEEB RECOMMENDED FOR AN
OUTPOST TO PROTECT THE TOWN OF DRABUND—ANOTHER GRÆCO-
BACTRIAN MOUND—THE WHOLE HILL-FRONTIER WASTE IN CONSE-
QUENCE OF SHERAUNEE DEFPREDATION.

CHAPTER XII.

DRABUND, as it is vulgarly pronounced, ought, I believe, to be called "Durruh-bund;" but it is not : like the Smythes, whom the world insists on calling Smith.

Durruh-bund means the Closed Pass, and the chief town with its tumble-down fort was intended by its founders to command the passes into the Sheraunee hills, only it does not.

Drábund is a small section of the Damán Proper, or skirts of the hills, not extending across the Dérájât to the Indus. It lies south and south-west of the country of the Gundapoors, which we have just left.

Its boundary with Koláchee on the north is the Nullah, or Stream of Zirkunnee, or Sawan ; on the west, the outer ridge of the Tukht-i-Sooliman ; on the south, with the Babhurs, a line of pillars laid down by me, equi-distant between the two disputed courses of the Kowruh Nullah, or Bitter Stream ;

and on the east, the district of Sindh (as the natives still say in their hereditary geography), or, in more modern phrase, the district of Dera Ishmael Khan.*

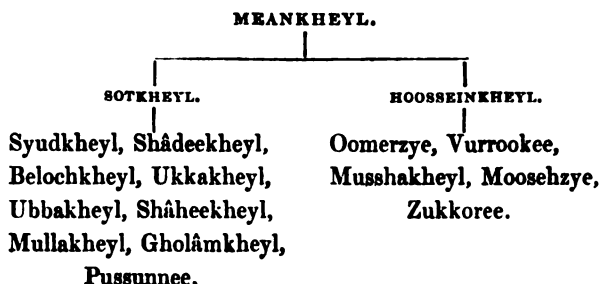
The Drábund country altogether is about twelve miles by twenty-one in extent; and in character generally resembles the neighbouring country of the Gundapoors; but Drábund is more undulated towards the hills, its villages are surrounded by more trees and vegetation, and on the whole it wears a more cheerful and prosperous appearance.

The possessors of Drábund are the Meankheyl Afghans, a branch of the great Lohânee tribe, who took it from a tribe of Afghan fakeers, called Surwanees, now almost extinct, and another tribe named the Bukhtiarees, whom Elphinstone describes as having come originally from Persia.

Here and there a few individual Surwanees may yet be found. The Bukhtiarees have long since become so mixed with their Meankheyl conquerors as to be almost identical.

* This use of the word is curious, as authorities are generally of opinion that Sindh only included Sungurh, which is south, not only of Ishmael Khan, but Futteh Khan also. The name being borrowed from the river Sindh, or Indus, it would be natural to suppose that it should extend from the sea to the Salt Range.

The subdivisions of Meankheyl are as follow :



The above families divided the land of Drábund with the Bukhtiárees thus: One-fourth of the country was monopolised by the Moosehzyes, the most powerful branch of the Meankheyl tribe. The Moosehzyes were subdivided into four families, named : Tâjookheyl, Khánnokheyl, Muddeekheyl, Mummundzye, who gave one-fourth of their own one-fourth of Drábund to the Khan of the Meankheyls, on account of a canal named Boolee, which his family had cut to irrigate their lands ; and the remaining three-fourths they again divided into four parts, and each took one. No other family of the Meankheyls had any interest in the lands of the Moosehzyes, who formed a distinct colony of their own, at a considerable town named Moosehzye, on the southern border of the Drábund country. The remaining three-fourths of Drábund were first classi-

fied as Vichôbee and Tandôbee, or Dry Lands and Irrigated Lands; and then distributed as follows:

The Vichôbee, or Dry Lands, were, for the sake of popular calculation and comprehension, assumed to be equal to ninety-six maunds. A maund is a weight equal to forty seers, and a seer is equal to two English pounds.

Of the ninety-six maunds, twenty went to the Syudkheyl, Mullakheyl, Shâheekheyl, and Gholâm-kheyl; twenty to the Shâdeekheyl and Belochkheyl; twenty to the Oomerzye, Vurrookee, Zukkoree, and Musshakheyl; twenty to the Ubbakheyl, Ukkakheyl, and Pussunnee; and the remaining sixteen to the Bukhtiârees.

The Tandôbee, or Irrigated Lands, were in like manner represented (like the lands of Kolâchee, described in Chapter X.) by seventy-two nullahs, or canals, or in other words, shares; and were distributed as follow:

Twenty to the Shâdeekheyl and Belochkheyl; sixteen to the Syudkheyl, Mullakheyl, Shâheekheyl, and Gholâm-kheyl; ten nullahs and thirteen annas to the Oomerzye, Vurrookee, Musshakheyl, and Zukkoree; ten and a half nullahs to the Bukhtiârees; six and a quarter to Ukkakheyl; three nullahs and fifteen annas to Pussunnee; and four and a half to Ubbakheyl.

In the above allotment it will be observed, that wherever fractional parts of the nullah, or canal, fall to the share of a tribe, the fraction is called an "anna." Now, an anna is a copper piece of money, the sixteenth part of a rupee; and consequently the integral nullah, or canal, is assumed to be equal to a rupee—that is, a running stream to a silver coin! A punster will see a very natural connection between these symbols in their mutual currency; but more sober inquirers will be amazed at the barbarism and absence of the very simplest land measures, which could drive a people to the standards of money and avoirdupoise for the division of a plane surface. Nevertheless these rude substitutes were very handy to a people ignorant of vulgar and decimal fractions; for as the shares of land were to determine the amount of revenue in coin, or grain, due from each shareholder, no measure could be more to the point than fractional shares of coin and weight.*

These divisions, which were made when the Meankheyls first took the country from the Surwanees and Bukhtiárees, have held good to the present day;

* A mathematical friend has even discovered great merit in the practice; since "the rupee gives a system of fractions based on a modulus 16, which has no less than three divisions; a very great advantage. So also of the maund."

and every village in Drábund, except those of the Moosehzyes, whose separate quarter has been before described, is still parcelled out by the above standard, to every family of the Meankheyls.

The merchant landowners themselves live all together in their chief town of Drábund, like Irish landlords in London; and beyond receiving their shares of the rent, have no concern whatever with the villages, which are inhabited only by the *moozá-ruhs* (cultivating tenants). There is, however, this honourable distinction between them and the generality of Irish landlords, whether Saxon or Celtic: the rent which they consider fair, they take directly from the people; and if mountain-robbers come down to plunder the people's fields, the gentlemen of Meankheyl take horse, and sword, and shield, and venture their lives in defence of their tenantry; whereas, with some few exceptions, such as those of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Bantry, and Mr. Herbert, of Muckruss, the estates I lately passed through in Ireland seemed not merely to be harried, but actually occupied by *chevaliers d'industrie*, called in the language of the country "Middlemen," to whom it appeared to me, that both the tenants and the landlords paid very black mail indeed.

But to return from Ireland to the Indus.

When the Dowlutkheyls settled in Tâk, and the Gundapoors in Koláchee, they gave up, as tribes, their migratory commerce with Khorassan, though individual merchants from both countries still join the yearly caravans of the Powinduhs.

But the Meankheyls of Drábund adopted a wiser plan, and used their agricultural settlement in Drábund as a centre for their commerce, midway between their two great *termini*—India and Bokhâra.

Half at least of the tribe, with all their women and children, as in the days when they had no local habitation, are constantly engaged in the common traffic, while the rest carry on the common agriculture; and the benefit of this double enterprise is conspicuously visible in the superior wealth and prosperity of the Meankheyls, to that of any other tribe in the Damán; unless, indeed, their southern neighbours, the Bâbhurs, who have followed a similar policy, may dispute the palm with them.

It will be presently shown that the Meankheyl agriculture is favoured by very light taxes; but it is less to this than to their commerce that the riches of the tribe are to be traced. Their caravans are the most valuable that come to India from Khorassan, containing less fruit than those of the Nâssurs and Kharotees, and more stuffs and dyes. The result is

seen in their personal appearance and conduct. They dress better, live better, behave better, and are altogether less savage than the other Powinduh tribes. The sense of wealth gives an importance and respectability to their manners, and they have too much at stake to involve themselves in quarrels with any Government, however exacting. A Meankheyl merchant will remonstrate with all the eloquence of avarice, and bribe with all the generosity of a smuggler, but he seldom or never resists ill-used authority with the vulgar desperation of a needy man.

Another sign of their being well to do in the world is this: the Meankheyls do not take military service. They hold the opinion of the song, that "he may take castles who has not a groat;" and are not ashamed to own that they had rather lead caravans through the defiles and snows of the Soolimânee Range, than armies into that profitless breach, where the "exchange" is against both parties. But let me do them justice: this is worldly wisdom, and not cowardice. A small band of Meankheyls followed me, out of gratitude, to Mooltan; and Hussun Khan, their chief, died in leading them to the front.

I could gain no information of the condition of the Meankheyls of Drábund, under the Kings of Cabul; but they subsequently fell, at the same time as their

neighbours, under the dominion of the Nuwab or Dera Ishmael Khan, who commenced by imposing on them a light tribute of eleven thousand rupees, and raised it, as he gained strength, to eighteen thousand per annum.

At this time the head of the Meankheyls was Oomur Khan, an able and ambitious man, who having usurped the chieftainship of his own tribe, was much more inclined to destroy its independence himself, than to submit to an interloping conqueror; and the Nuwab, finding him in the way, sent one of his most honourable captains with a Koran, to swear a solemn oath of peace with him. The oath was accepted, the Koran opened, and the whole party knelt down to pray, when the Khan was seized by some guards from behind, and carried off a prisoner!

The Nuwab of Dera rode out on the Drábund road in the evening to meet the returning captain, not without much anxiety as to the result; and when he saw Oomur Khan a prisoner, he got into such good humour, that he had his head chopped off on the spot!

The "captain" in this story was that Payinduh Khan, afterwards one of the Jágeerdárs of Tâk, who was treacherously murdered by Mullick Futteh Khan, Towannuh. My reader, who has perused both tales, will probably think he was well served.

The other character—the Nuwab—still survives, but has been equally overtaken by the Nemesis of Time. With a princely pension of nearly a lakh of rupees per annum, and every luxury that Eastern wealth can furnish, his existence is a curse, in “linked” *misery* “long drawn out.” A fire consumes his body, which the coolest sherbet cannot quench, nor ice extinguish; and there the once strong man, whose greatest pride it used to be to wrestle with the Roostums of his Court, wastes away, an effeminate hypochondriac, whose slaves restlessly fan him all the winter, and sprinkle him with ewers of water all the summer. Without the virtue of Diogenes, his happiness is confined within the narrow limits of a tub.

In time he too fell a victim to the treachery of a more powerful neighbour; and the Sikhs advanced their frontier from the Indus to the Soolimânce Range.

The revenue of Drábund was now changed. Instead of a fixed tribute of eighteen thousand rupers a-year, Prince Nao Nihal Sing decided on taking from the agriculturists one-seventh of the produce of their land; from the merchants one thousand rupees a-year trinnee, or grazing-tax; and a like sum from the shopkeepers and artisans. The effect of this new arrangement was to get about three

thousand rupees a-year more than formerly from the merchants and landowners of Drábund ; but it was still a very unusually light tribute, with reference to the resources of the country ; and I have always accounted for it by supposing that it was a prudent concession to a very powerful tribe, whose commerce might be expected to contribute more largely than their agriculture to the public treasury.

Nao Nihal Sing's settlement of the Drábund revenue held good until Dewan Lukkee Mull got the farming of the province of Dera Ishmael Khan, when that ingenious financier added the following items to the account :

RUPEES.

350	{	As pocket-money for the son of the conquered Nuwab of Dera.
150	Thânnadâree.	{ Both meaning expenses of the civil government, police, collections, &c.
100	Ummuldâree.	
600	{	Price of camels which he said were ordered by the Crown, and therefore could not be paid for !
60	{	Surdaiee (<i>i. e.</i> to provide cool drinks for the Dewan, when he came into that hot country !
250	{	To purchase a fine horse, which the Dewan was to buy (being a good judge), and present to the Maharajuh, in the name of the unhappy men of Drábund !
40	{	To purchase dogs for the same purpose, the Maharajuh being very fond of dogs !

RUPEES.

300	{ To pay for the hire of the camels, which the Dewan entertained to carry away the Crown share of the produce of Drábund !
1500	{ Nuzzurana, or a <i>douceur</i> to the Dewan to take no more !

Total 3400 Additional taxes totally unauthorized.

For barefaced impudence, I suppose nothing in the whole history of taxation can exceed the above ; and the sufferers who recounted the items to me, could not help laughing at them themselves.

After Dewan Lukkee Mull's death, Dowlut Raie followed dutifully in his father's steps, and abated not a fraction of these irregular demands, but took anything more he could pick up ; yet all the inquiries I made led me to believe, that, one year with another, twenty thousand rupees (mihrabee, of fourteen annas each) was as much revenue as Drábund ever yielded to the Sikhs.

In the Lahore Durbar Office, the revenue of Drábund was registered at forty-one thousand rupees ; but this sum was an estimate spitefully made by Mullick Futteh Khan, Towannuh, in order to get the rent raised on his enemy, Dowlut Raie ; and the Mullick was caught in his own trap, for, when called to give an account of his own stewardship of those countries, the revenue

of Drábund was assumed to be what he had himself deposed.

The Lahore Government, indeed, had little or no means of ascertaining what any of their Upper Trans-Indus territories produced ; for they always farmed the revenues to contractors, like Lukkee Mull, Dowlut Raie, and Futteh Khan, and consequently never knew the details of profit or loss. But in the Hindoo year 1903, in a fit of jealousy, they refused to let Dowlut Raie rent the province of Ishmael Khan, and only employed him as their own agent. The returns of this period, therefore, were the only authentic records which the Lahore Durbar possessed of the revenues of Drábund ; and they extend over a year and a half. They are as follow :

FOR THE WHOLE YEAR 1903.

RUPEES.			
Land	,	.	13671 4 6
Cesses, Fines, &c.	.	.	10237 11 3
Total			23908 15 9

FOR THE SPRING HALF-YEAR OF 1904.

RUPEES.			
Land	.	.	3777 8 0
Cesses, Fines, &c.	.	.	3096 8 3
Total			6874 0 3

Supposing these three half years to have yielded average harvests, then an average year's revenue of Drábund, under the Sikhs, was twenty thousand five hundred and twenty-two rupees ; which, as I said before, is probably a just estimate.

But, as I was ordered to make a new settlement of all the countries under my charge, I caused the Sikh Kárdár to prepare a statement of the payments, for the last six years, from the village records ; which he did, and exhibited an average of only seventeen thousand four hundred and forty-seven ; of which eleven thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight were from the one-seventh of land produce, one thousand and fifty-four from taxes on shops, and four thousand five hundred and five from other cesses, which fell on the landowners exclusively.

The condition of the people, under this state of the revenue, was as follows :

First, the Crown took one-seventh of land produce. The second claim was by right that of the Khan of the tribe, now Uzeem Khan, the second and only surviving son of the murdered Oomur Khan. He was entitled to one-tenth of the remaining six-sevenths of produce from the Vichôbee, or Dry Lands ; the value of which tithe was about one thousand four hundred rupees a-year. From the Tandôbee, or Irrigated

Lands, he was allowed no tithe at all. The Moo-sehzye side of the tribe gave him a quarter of their whole produce in consideration of the benefit they derived from Oomur Khan's canal, called Boolee; and the income of this was about nine hundred rupees a-year. He had besides a considerable income from his own private property, but this has nothing to do with his position as chief of the Meankheyls.

Uzeem Khan, though of a good disposition and character, was totally destitute of the spirit and ability of his father, or his elder and deceased brother, Futteh Khan; so Dewan Dowlut Raie regarded him as a fat ram, and sacrificed him forthwith, by confiscating one-half of all his possessions, public or private. So gross an act of oppression required an "indulgence"—that blasphemous bargain which man presumes to make with his God in other churches besides that of Rome. The Boolee revenue from Moosehzye was laid at the feet of a priest, called Ruzza Muhommud, who sanctified with his benediction the robbery of the rest.

One of my first acts in Drábund was to restore Uzeem Khan's private property, and his tithe of the

Dry Lands, though I commuted the latter into a pension of one thousand rupees a-year, to be paid him out of the Government revenue. The Boolee property I could not restore, for the Moosehzyes disputed it; and the case was yet untried when the Mooltan war broke out.

After the Crown and the Khan, the next claim was that of the Meankheyl landlords, who proceeded to pay out of the balance whatever irregular cesses the Dewans imposed, and then took a full two-sevenths for themselves out of the remainder; thus leaving between three-sevenths and four-sevenths to the cultivator, or about one-half. This was the custom in the Vichôbee, or Dry Lands.

In the Tandôbee, or Irrigated Lands, the account was considerably modified by the landlord furnishing his tenant with the seed, and taking four-sevenths and a quarter of produce in consequence; but two-sevenths, or equivalent thereto was the share of produce which the Meankheyl zumeendars professed to pocket by the arrangement. In effect, however, contrary to the custom of all the other countries Trans-Indus, the cultivators of the irrigated lands were worse off in Drábund than the cultivators of the lands dependent on rain: still they must have

been comfortably situated, for they merely grumbled ; which is and has been incidental to cultivators since the days of Cain. They did not *scream* when they caught sight of a European coming to their assistance, like the people of Koláchee, Murwut, and Dera Futteh Khan. Indeed, when I ordered the Meankheyls to let it in future be optional with their tenants to take seed, or find it themselves, many preferred the old arrangement.

Thus, in Drábund, all parties were well off but the Government ; and it was obviously inconsistent that the Meankheyl landowners should enjoy double the revenue of their Sikh conquerors. The sword was the title-deed of both ; and whatever virtue there may be in conquest is assuredly strength.

Accordingly, in remodelling the revenues of Drábund, I raised the share of Government from one-seventh to one-fifth, and reduced the share of the earlier conquerors from two-sevenths to one-sixth, which was afterwards raised to an equal share with Government, in consideration of the following military service.

Great part of the arable lands of Drábund, which lie next to the hills, are waste, in consequence of the depredations of the Sheraunees. This thievish tribe,

which inhabits the eastern slopes of the great mountain called Solomon's Throne, used to be at peace with the Meankheyls, until one Dêvee Doss, who was the Sikh Kárdár of Drábund in Lukkee Mull's time, hung a Sheraunee, who had been caught in the village of Zirgunnee, on suspicion of theft. The mountaineers watched an opportunity, when the majority of the Meankheyls were absent repairing a dam at some distance from the town; and making a rapid descent on Drábund, plundered it of everything they could lay their hands on. On this, the Kárdár told the Meankheyls they must either be enemies of the Sheraunees or of the Government, and a regular feud was established. The Sheraunees made a second descent in Mullick Futteh Khan's time, and the loss of life on both these occasions only sharpened the mutual animosity. In the language of the country, "buddec," or evil doings, have been rife between the Sheraunees and Meankheyls ever since. Every now and then, as on the Koláchee border, the Sheraunees carried off a Hindoo, and ransomed him for sums varying from five hundred to one thousand rupees; so that I found all the Kuthrees of Drábund living in the houses of their Meankheyl masters for protection. Nay, more, there were no less than five

villages on the Drábund border (Shah Alum, Zirkunnee, Esau Khan Kee Kote, Lal Khan Kee Kote, and Mustan Kee Ghurree), which, to escape farther devastation, gave one-fourteenth of their crops as black mail to these pests of the frontier.

Against these incursions the Government garrison at Drábund could not possibly protect the people; for Drábund, if built with that view as its name implies, should have been set between the cultivation and the hills, whereas it is behind the cultivation; and by the time the alarm was brought from the fields to the fort, the Sheraunee plunderers had re-entered the mountain passes with their booty: so finding the fort useless, the people abandoned the fields in front of it—a loss of ground which I resolved to recover, by advancing the outpost from Drábund to a spot called Gool Hubeeb, between the town and the pass, where a deserted fort still stood. It was requisite, however, to strengthen the garrison, if they were to hold such a bold position; and the Meankheyls agreed to furnish twenty-five horsemen for permanent duty at this outpost, and ten others at Moosehzye, for the protection of that town; on which conditions I raised their share from one-sixth to one-fifth.

Finally, I left the land-account thus:

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N N

	RUPRES.
Government	16712
The Khan	1000
Percentage to heads of villages . . .	932
Meankheyl landlords	17640
<hr/>	
Total taken from the cultivator . . .	36284
Total left with the cultivator . . .	61716
<hr/>	
Total average produce of land of Drá- bund per annum	} 98000

Besides the above, I imposed a small tax of four rupees on every shop, whether Hindoo or Muhom-
mudan. Previously, the Hindoo shops were excused,
and a tax of one thousand rupees levied from the
Muhommudans alone.

I found in all Drábund :

Washermen	25½*
Camel drivers	1
Leathersellers and shoemakers . . .	12
Blacksmiths	4
Potters	11
Weavers	71½
Carpenters	12
Goldsmiths	2
Shepherds	1
Cotton-spinners	8
Fishermen	2
<hr/>	
Total Muhommudan tradesmen . . .	150
Hindoo dealers in grain, &c. . . .	88
<hr/>	
Total shops in Drábund	238

* It has been elsewhere explained that "half a tradesman"

The tax of four rupees each on these would yield nine hundred and fifty-two rupees a year ; so that the Government nett revenue of Drábund was fixed at seventeen thousand six hundred and sixty-four rupees.

I have less confidence in the return made to me of houses and males in Drábund, as it is possible it might have been influenced by the belief, so common among natives, that a ruler can have no motive for taking a census of heads or houses, except that of imposing a poll-tax or house-tax.

The number of houses registered in all Drábund was only one thousand five hundred and forty-five, and males, three thousand three hundred and seventy-four.

The extent of land registered was eighty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty-six ghoomaos.* Of this, thirty-six thousand seven hundred were waste; thirty thousand five hundred and fifty capable of cultivation, under proper protection and encouragement; and nineteen thousand six hundred and seventy-six actually cultivated, of which six thousand two hundred and fifty-six

means one reduced, and only capable of bearing half the burdens that his fellows do.

* A ghoomao is as much land as can be ploughed in one day by one pair of bullocks.

were Tandôbee or Irrigated, and thirteen thousand four hundred and twenty Vichôbee or Dry Lands.

There were six hundred and fifty-four ploughs in occupation, so that each worked about thirty ghoomaos, and each ghoomao produced about five rupees, or ten shillings a-year.

It remains now only to mention the towns and hill frontier of Drábund.

The chief town, from which the country derives its name, is built of mud; and when I saw it, it was dirty and ruinous. It had a covered bazaar of very melancholy dimensions, and a fort, which, in fact, was a bad stable-yard, in the middle of the town, and surrounded by much better houses, from the tops of which the garrison might be massacred. Below the town, to the eastward, a stream called the Lahoruh, which issues from the Sheraunee hills, at the Pass of Drábund, flows in a very deep ravine.

The only thing of which Drábund has to boast is, I believe, a single mangoe-tree, the fruit of which has such a delicious flavour, that Runjeet Sing used to have it sent to him at Lahore.

About three miles from Drábund, to the south, stands Moosehzye, which is by far the best town in the Meankheyl country, though it is only the capital of one quarter. It is larger, cleaner, and more

prosperous than Drábund; and though it is situated close to the mouth of the Zam Pass into the Sheraunee hills, its gallant and worthy chief, Hussun Khan, had managed to defend the colony against all the attempts of the Sheraunees. His manly form and face are still before my sight, and his merry voice still rings in my ear, though the silent grave closed over both beneath the field he helped to win at Suddoosâm.*

One word as to the hill frontier of this country. I explored it one morning with a party of fifty or sixty horsemen, with a view to ascertaining the position of the passes by which the Sheraunees descend to plunder, and how they might best be guarded against.

From the right bank of the Zirkunnee, or Sawan stream, which issues from the Zirkunnee Pass, and is the boundary of Drábund with Koláchee, to the Kowruh Nullah, or Bitter Stream, which issues from the Pass of Zam, and is the boundary of Drábund with Choudwan, is a distance of between ten and twelve miles, and this is the mountain or western frontier of Drábund.

It contains three passes into the hill country of

* See the account of that battle in Vol. 11.

the Sheraunees: viz., the Zirkunnee, on the north-west of Drábund; the Drábund Pass, nearly due west; and the Zam, south-west.

The Pass of Zirkunnee is about two koss from the village of the same name, which is in the country of Drábund. It is from this pass that the majority of the Sheraunees issue to harass the Gundapoors of Koláchee; and it was my intention to have repaired the walls of the village of Zirkunnee, and made it a strong outpost for the Koláchee patrols, although, in fact, a short distance beyond their border.

The village of Zirkunnee is the exclusive property of a colony of Sheikhs, who are fakeers, descendants of a celebrated fakeer named Sheikh Hyder, to whom, in days past, the Botunnees are said to have given the land. A stream of the purest water reaches the village from the pass, and its course is marked by several noble sheeshum-trees, which give the spot a picturesque appearance. Zirkunnee is rendered still more remarkable by its sacred ground containing the cemeteries of the Powinduhs; on the south-west that of the Meankheyls of Drabund, and on the north-west that of the Nássurs, who haunt the pastures of Koláchee. The graves are compactly made of piled stones; some all white, carefully

selected ; and all have large, upright stones placed at the head (*baleen*). The Sheikhs of Zirkunnee, notwithstanding their sacred character, live in great fear of the Sheraunees, to whom they pay one-fourteenth of their crops as black mail, which shows that the Sheraunees are not very superstitious, as, to collect this black mail, they have to pass the *ziyádrut* (place of pilgrimage) of Sheikh Hyder himself, which is in the mouth of the Zirkunnee Pass.

The pass itself was held, at the time I speak of, by Ameer Khan, and Vizeer Khan, Sheraunees, who were likewise lords of the land in the hills behind it.

It is by the Zirkunnee Pass that caravans go to Kandahar.

About five or six miles to the south of the Zirkunnee Pass, is the Pass of Drábund, the mouth of which is about eight miles from Drábund itself. Not very far from midway between the town and the Pass of Drábund, but rather nearer to the latter, are ruins of the former fort of Akhoond, Gool Hubeeb. This Akhoond, I was informed, belonged to a tribe called Hurrial, connected with the Sheraunees ; the same probably as that of "Hurreepaul," mentioned by Mr. Elphinstone as a branch of the Sheraunees, residing "in the hills and valleys at the western

base of Tukht-i-Soolimaun.”* He was consequently under no apprehension from his friends the Sheraunees, and thought to settle quietly on the lands in Drábund, which their depredations had laid waste, and which nobody else dared to occupy. Scarcely, however, had he built his mud fort than he found himself attacked by the Meankheylees, who refused to let him occupy the ground, since they could not occupy it themselves. So there lay the fort in ruins, and the fields untilled; and this is the spot which I designed, and still recommend the civil officer who has succeeded me to adopt, for the Drábund outpost, as it is hardly necessary to say that it is from this pass that the Sheraunees approach the town.

Close to the fort of Gool Hubeeb stands a rain-furrowed mound, called by the people a “Dheyr,” and which would probably prove to be another link in the chain of Græco-Bactrian outposts mentioned in my description of the frontier of Tâk.

From the Drábund Pass issues the Lahoruh, which flows by Drábund town; and a small branch of it, whose course is beautifully marked and shaded by sheeshum-trees, confers one more advantage on the site of Gool Hubeeb.

* See “Elphinstone’s Caubul,” Vol. II. p. 78.

About five miles from the Pass of Drábund, and farther to the south, is the Pass of Zam, from which flows a stream which is the ancient boundary between the Meankheyls of Moosehzye, and the Babburs of Choudwan; and which has caused a bloody feud by dividing into two branches, and leaving a debatable land between them, of the settlement of which I shall have occasion to tell the reader presently.

It is from this pass that the Sheraunees attack the town and lands of Moosehzye; but that town is itself well situated to resist them, if kept well garrisoned and well repaired.

The land along the whole length of the frontier I have described is waste throughout a breadth of about four miles; half of which, nearest to the hills, is stony and unfit for culture; and the other half good arable land, but abandoned through fear of the Sheraunees.

I cannot close this Chapter better than by referring my reader to Chap. III. Vol. II. of "Mr. Elphinstone's Caubul," for a highly interesting account of the Sheraunee people.

My own opinion as to how such enemies are to be treated, will be humbly offered in a later portion of this book.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COUNTRY OF CHOUDWAN, AND ITS BOUNDARIES—FEUD OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS BETWEEN THE BABHURS 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 BABHURS CONFIRMED—PROVERBS ABOUT THEIR WISDOM—REVENUE OF CHOUDWAN—PASSES IN THE HILL-BORDER—UNHAPPY CONCLUSION OF A HINDOO WEDDING—THE LOWLAND COUNTRY OF THE OOSHTEAUNEES—THEIR RIGHT CONTESTED BY THE KUSRANEE BELOOCHEES—THEIR VILLAGES AND EXTENT OF GROUND—SMALL REVENUE—COUNTRY NOT WORTH FIGHTING FOR—DIARY RESUMED—OOSHTEAUNEES THREATEN HOSTILITIES, BUT THINK TIMES ARE CHANGED—THEIR CHIEF, UBDOOLLA KHAN, SUBMITS AND COMES IN—HIS STORY OF THE 'CASUS BELLI'—THE BABHURS OF CHOUDWAN REJOICE OVER THE SETTLED BOUNDARY—THE SHERAUNEES MAKE AMICABLE OVERTURES—MARCH RESUMED—MUD FORT OF GOORWALLUH—CAPABILITIES OF THE KUSOFZYES FOR OUTPOST SERVICE—DESCRIPTION OF DOWLUT WALLUH—STORY OF HÔT KHAN'S FEUD WITH THE OOSHTEAUNEES—PASSES INTO THE OOSHTEAUNEE HILLS—HAPPY ADJUSTMENT OF THE FEUD WITH THE KUSRANEE—MARCH TO DERA FUTTEH KHAN—ARID NATURE OF THE COUNTRY.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE revenue settlement detailed in the last chapter detained me at Drábund from 28th March to 7th April, 1848, by which time the weather had become so hot and suffocating under the lee of the Soolimânee mountains, where a breath of air was never known to blow, that I was quite glad to gallop on to Choudwan, and fancy that I was one march nearer in hope, though not in distance, to my summer quarters in Bunnoo. How all our hearts would have sunk if in the then dull monotony of peaceful toils, and unstirred by the challenge of war, we had been told that we had neither roof nor rest before us for the burning months of summer; and instead of forgetting our fatigues in Duleepgurh, were to be encamped for months on a fiery plain under the fortress of Mooltan, with nothing but a few folds of canvas between us and the sun!

Choudwan, or the country of the Babhurs, is

part of the jageer, or estate, on which the Sikhs pensioned Nuwab Sher Muhommud Khan, of Dera Ishmael Khan, when they appropriated his Trans-Indus country. Consequently it was not under my control, and I have no farther information concerning it than might be acquired by any traveller passing through. I shall, therefore, only attempt to convey my own impression of it to the reader, and then resume my Diary.

The country of Choudwan, like Drábund, Koláchee and Tâk, is a section of the eastern Damán of the Soolimânee Range, having Drábund on the north, the Ooshteraunee lowlands on the south, Kuheeree-on-Indus on the east, and the Sheraunee and Ooshteraunee hills on the west.

These hills decide its western boundary ; its eastern I do not know ; its southern is the Sheyrun Rode, a stream which issues from the Ooshteraunee hills between the town of Choudwan and the village of Jog-i-Rindan ; and its northern boundary is a stream called the Kowruh Nullah, or Bitter Stream, concerning the identity of which there is a dispute of a hundred years standing between the Babhurs of Choudwan and the Meankheyls of Moosehzye ; and as the feud disturbed the peace of my province, I halted a day at Choudwan to settle it.

The Babhurs were in possession of a written order from Ahmud Shah of Cabul, to a Sirdar named Juhan Khan, directing him to proceed to the Damán, and settle the boundaries of the MeankheyIs with both the Gundapoors and the Babhurs. This document was ninety years old; and it was accompanied by another containing the Sirdar's decision, by which the Sawan, or Zirkunnee Nullah, was settled to be the boundary between Drábund and Koláchee, and the Nullah called Kowruh between Drábund and Choudwan. The authenticity of both documents was acknowledged on both sides; but a question had arisen as to which was the Kowruh Nullah alluded to.

There is a little rivulet about two hundred yards to the south of Moosehzye which is called Kowruh to this day, and this the Babhurs maintained to be the boundary of Juhan Khan's decision.

There is another, and larger one, about two koss to the south of Moosehzye, which is called Turkhôbee, and this the MeankheyIs declared to be the ancient Kowruh.

Kowruh and Turkhôbee, both mean the same; viz., bitter water. The former is a corrupt Hindee word, the latter is a corrupt Persian one; and the identity of the two names seemed to be put

beyond dispute when I ascertained that the two rivulets which bore them were, in fact, branches of one river which issues from the Zam Pass, divides, and after a double course of ten or twelve miles, reunites and goes on towards the Indus.

The "debatable land" is that which the two branches enclose; and so many battles had been fought about it that it was called "The Bloody Border," a baptism renewed each year.

Forty years ago the Gundapoors stepped in as mediators to stay the bloodshed, and decided that the land between the two streams should be left waste; but both sides had lately begun to cultivate again, and another struggle for the mastery was expected.

At this crisis I arrived, and finally decided that the land should be equally divided by a line of pillars from the division to the junction of the branches, and each tribe take the half next to its own border; and, more effectually to prevent a quarrel about the division, I left a moonshee of my own to erect the pillars.

Both the Babhurs and the Meankheyls were delighted with a settlement which increased their territory without touching their honour, and confessed to me that if any other tribe taunted them with

giving up half of what they had claimed, they would lay the blame on my shoulders, and say "the Sahib was *Mdlik* (master), to do as he liked, and what could they do?"

The civil or political officer in India meets with few greater pleasures in the course of his duty than the adjustment of a boundary feud. It takes such a load of anxiety off the heart of every living being on both sides; the greybeards who were watching over the common weal; the youths whose swords were its support; the mothers who wondered if their sons would escape *again*; the maiden and the wife who wept already to think how they would weep; each and all look up with such grateful eyes at the mysterious benefactor who, clad in the invisible armour of the great Government he serves, walks singly and unarmed along the boundary, followed now by the plough, and soon by golden harvests; that dull indeed, and wanting in philanthropy must he be if he can behold the scene and not feel how "blessed are the peace-makers."

I am aware that it is considered as one of the most difficult of cases that come before a district officer, but only because it is looked at with the eyes of a surveyor, or a lawyer. Take higher ground and look down on the contending villages with the

eye of a common friend and master; and you will see clearly the golden rule of boundary settlements, that the "strict rights of the parties are secondary in importance to the paramount necessity of a final settlement."

The picturesque town of Choudwan, unlike that of Drábund, is advanced to the extreme edge of the cultivation of the country, which is about three miles from the foot of the hills. It is a very considerable place, and has a more prosperous and civilized appearance than any other in the Upper Dáman. A clear stream, which I believe comes from the Zam Pass, runs through its whole length, and waters numerous gardens, whose trees throw a cool shade over the streets. In the rear of the town, instead of the front, stands a mud fort, built by Dewan Lukkee Mull, about six years ago, for the double purpose of assisting the Nuwab of Dera to overawe his tenants, the Babhurs, and of taking customs from the Powinduh, who would otherwise have stolen down the foot of the hills into the Mooltan territory at Sungurh, and so escaped the payment of one set of tolls.

Dewan Lukkee Mull died at Choudwan, before the fort was finished.

The country to the east of Choudwan is highly

cultivated, and more fertile than that of either Drábund or Koláchee; but the plain to the west and south, though the soil is excellent, is quite barren for want of water. Not a blade of grass grows on it, and its scanty brakes of tamarisk and camel-thorn are the chosen haunts of the wild antelope.

Some Babbur hunters caught a beautiful variety of this graceful animal, and presented it to me, with the assurance that no snakes would come near me while it remained in my possession, as it killed and eat them! Hence the people of the country call it the *márkhór* (eater of serpents).

Mr. Elphinstone found the Babhurs, forty years ago, "a civilized tribe, much addicted to merchandise, and, on the whole, the richest and most flourishing of the tribes of Damaun." I found them still maintaining this pre-eminence, and consider them the most superior race in the whole of the Trans-Indus countries of the Punjab. In complexion, too, they are the fairest, and show the most evident traces of northern extraction.

Their bravery has been sufficiently established by their blood feud with the powerful Meankheyls, whom they almost rival in commerce also; and their general intelligence as a tribe has given rise to many proverbs.

One says that "a Babbur fool is a Gundapoor sage;" and another tells how the Babburs ventured into agricultural partnership with the devil, and gave him his choice of the roots or stalks of the harvest. The devil choosing the stalks, they sowed nothing but onions, carrots, and turnips. The devil, very naturally annoyed, insisted next harvest on getting the roots; so the Babburs grew wheat and sugar.

One such proverb is as good as a book to the practical student of national character.

The revenue which Choudwan pays to the Nuwab is, I believe, not more than ten thousand rupees a-year.

The passes in the hill border of the Babburs are as follow:—The Zam, described in the last chapter; the Torzoë, about three miles south of the Zam; and the Sheyrun, about six miles south of the Torzoë. The two former lead into the Šheraunee, and the last into the Ooshteraunee hills.

The Šheraunees do not plunder the Choudwan country, partly owing to the reputation of the Babburs for bravery, and partly to the admirable position of the town, to the rear of which an enemy must pass before he could reach the cultivated lands. Nevertheless, the Hindoos of Choudwan, about the time I speak of, obtained an introduction to the Šheraunee

fastnesses, through the kind offices of one Muhommud Sudeek Khan, a Kandaharee soldier of good family, who, with his followers, had long been in the service of the Nuwab of Dera, and whose pay falling into arrears, without any prospect of speedy liquidation, he took his leave, and passing through the Nuwab's jageer at Choudwan, walked off with a whole marriage procession of Hindoos, and carried bride, bridegroom, friends, and fiddlers, into the grim defiles of the Sheraunees, whence they were ransomed by their relations for four thousand rupees.

Whenever this story was told among the Afghan tribes of the Dérâjât, it elicited roars of laughter; for Hindoos, in their eyes, are as fair game as a hare or a partridge; and I believe nobody enjoyed the joke more than the Nuwab, whose insolvency had caused the mischief. Had I remained in the province, I would certainly have seen that he repaid the ransom, and probably he has long since found himself (albeit a Nuwab) defendant in a British Court of Justice *versus* the despised Hindoo; and, still more foreign to Oriental notions, been obliged to pay!

And now, reader, you know as much about Choudwan as I do; so let us get on with our travels.

Immediately to the south of Choudwan, and separated from it, as has before been noticed, by the

Sheyrun stream, are the lowland possessions of the Ooshteraunees, who are accounted the bravest tribe in the Soolimânee Range. Mr. Elphinstone calls them Stooreaunees ; but having seen a good deal of them, and had upwards of two hundred of their wild infantry in the ranks of my own force during the Mooltan war, I cannot be mistaken on this point. Nor do I feel certain that Mr. Elphinstone is correct in stating that they conquered their country (*i. e.* the lowland part of which we are now speaking) “not long ago, from the Beloches of Damaun.” His book was written forty years ago, so this would make it half a century since the Ooshteraunees encroached upon the plain below their hills ; and certainly there is a quarrel on the same subject, still fresh at the present day, between the Kusranee Beloochees and the Ooshteraunees ; but each maintain that they are the aborigines, and their rivals mere immigrants from other parts ; while the evidence, if anything, favours the Ooshteraunees.

All that can be said, therefore, about this part of the frontier is, that from the boundary of Choudwan to the boundary of Vahowah, in the district of Sungurh, in the Sikh province of Mooltan, the skirts of the hills are contested by the Ooshteraunees and the Kusranees ; the former being most firmly esta-

blished on the north, about Ghoreewalluh, and the latter on the south, about Dowlutwalluh.

The lowland villages of the Ooshteraunees are still called "kirrees" and "jôgs," or camps; showing how recently they have passed from being a pastoral to an agricultural tribe. Their names are as follows: Jôg-i-Rindân, Mohânuh Kee Jôg, Mungul, Kirree Shámozye, Boozdâron Kee Jôg.

The extent of arable ground they occupy is said to be twenty thousand ghoomâos; but never more than three thousand rupees of land revenue (at the low rate of one-tenth of produce) was obtained from it by the Sikhs; they had, however, a custom station at Ghoreewalluh, which brought in twelve thousand rupees a-year. Of late years, the Ooshteraunees had kept no terms whatever with the Sikh Kárdár at Dera Futteh Khan, and he used in consequence to take what he could by violence and surprise, driving off their cattle, &c. The Dowlutwalluh district, which is in the hands of the Kusranees, was sub-let to them by a Koláchee Belooch, named Hôt Khan, who paid a rent of one thousand five hundred rupees a-year to the Sikhs for it. It is said to be ten thousand ghoomâos of land.

Nothing can be more miserable than these two

districts, and the tribes must be very badly off indeed for country who think it worth while to fight for this. It is a plain, half stones, half sand, and barren almost everywhere.

Believe me, dear reader, that it is with the greatest compunction I ask you to march over it ; but we shall never get to our journey's end unless we do.

DIARY RESUMED.

March 28th, 1848. Camp, Drábund.—Received new complaints against the Ooshteraunees, and their aggressions. The chief of them, one Ubdoolla Khan, has written a laconic note to Hôt Khan, of Dowlutwalluh, telling him to “ move off, and abandon the country to the Ooshteraunees, or else defend it like a man !” This is business-like ; and I have ordered up reinforcements from Girâng to Dowlutwalluh, and given the Kusranees permission to resist with the sword. In a few days I shall reach there myself.

Ubdoolla Khan's rival in the tribe, Futteh Khan by name, has wisely selected this opportunity to do a good thing for himself, and ruin Ubdoolla, by tendering submission. I have told him to come in as fast as he likes.

March 29th.—To-day, I wrote also to Ubdoolla Khan, Ooshteraunee, and advised him to come in before his rival, Futteh Khan. What a convenient thing it is that these mountaineers never agree! But this may be said of the whole East. I once heard Mr. John Lawrence divided it into two classes, the “zalims” and the “muzlooms”—the tyrants and the oppressed, the conquerors and the conquered, the ins and the outs. It is a satisfaction to reflect, that whatever country you march against, you have friends within the garrison, a party ready-made to your hand; the outs, who want lands, and castles, and titles, and thrones, that somebody else has taken away from them. How taken? Ask, and you will be told, “Uz rah-i-Šeenuhzoree, o zoolum” (By violence and wrong!) Turn to the ins, and ask them: “Buh zor-i-shumshér, o juwanmurdee-i-khood!” (By the strength of my sword, and my own bravery!) is the reply.

April 1st.—Ubdoolla Khan, Ooshteraunee, has written to some friends of his in my camp, asking their advice as to what he had better do—take to the hills, or come into the Sahib? In one of the notes, he uses the amusing phrase: “You see times are changed!” I trust they are, and that this border

will gradually be pacified, now Sikh Kárdárs have got a check upon them; but do what we will, Afghans cannot subsist very long without a feud.

April 5th.—Ubdoola Khan has sent in his brother, Myran Khan, a fine young fellow, who expressed every submission on his brother's part, if I would investigate the causes of the disturbance. Ubdoola will come into me at Choudwan. He said: "Hitherto every Hakim had been either a robber or a liar; and had so harassed and deceived the Ooshteraunees, that they had plundered and lied in retaliation. Now that a truth-speaking Englishman had arrived, the Ooshteraunees wished to know if it was to be peace or war? If peace, they would gladly settle down quietly on the territory allotted them. If war, they would take their chance, for God was great." I trust this affair may be peacefully settled, but the ill-blood between the sides is very great.

April 7th. Camp, Choudwan.—Ubdoola Khan, Ooshteraunee, came in (riding on a camel), and made his submission. He is a wild, bold-looking chap, with long, brown hair, yellow moustache, and cold, grey eyes. He enjoys a reputation half saintly, half soldierly, like a mediæval bishop; is considered invincible and invulnerable; and miracles run in the

family as incurably as consumption or snub noses. His account of the Kusranee and Ooshteraunec quarrel is, that Yoosoof Khan, Kusranee, came and begged land from the Ooshteraunees to settle on, and it was given him in charity. In a few years Yoosoof's settlement had become firmly established; and then the Ooshteraunees began to lose their cattle, and to be plundered continually. They accused Yoosoof Khan's people, who denied it. They replied: "We were never robbed before by our neighbours, the Kethrans and the Babhurs; but since you Kusranees have come, our cattle go." Yoosoof Khan swore oaths to keep the peace, and broke them. Once or twice the Ooshteraunees and Kethrans collected together to drive out this ungrateful settler; but each time Yoosoof begged himself off with abject prayers. But the Ooshteraunees can no longer put up with him, &c.

April 9th, Choudwan.—I deem it important, now that I have the opportunity to reconnoitre the whole length of the hill frontier of Cortlandt's province, and especially the Ooshteraunee country, which has lately been the scene of such a bloody feud. Ubdoolla Khan has done all in his power to dissuade me from going through his country, by hints of his inability to restrain the whole of the tribe: "God forbid, that

an attack should be made on the Sahib!" &c. This decides it; we *must* go, if only to show these brags of the border, that we don't care a fig for them. There is, however, some doubt whether water is procurable on the route under the hills; so I have sent horsemen to see.

Yoosoof Khan, Kusranee, Ubdoolla's enemy, arrived in camp to make his bow, and tell his side of the story; but as I had half an hour before received information that yesterday, in spite of my orders to keep the peace unless attacked, his people made a foray into the Ooshteraunce country, and carried off twelve cows, I refused to see him until the cattle were restored. Accordingly he went back in haste to effect a restitution.

The Babhurs of Choudwan were so rejoiced at the settlement last night of their boundary dispute with the Meankheyls, that the whole town "made a night of it," with drums and song, dancing and illumination.

April 10th.—The horsemen reporting a pond of rain-water at Jôg-i-Rindân, about six koss from Choudwan, I marched there this morning. A dry plain all the way. Saw several antelopes, which were very beautiful; but felt, as a Governor, that I would rather see cows. Jôg-i-Rindân is a small village of

about thirty huts. The pond furnished us with plenty of water, but rather bitter. The hills about two koss distant.

Memorandum.—I observe that, to a person at Koláchee, the Tukht-i-Soolimân's northern end seems just abreast of him ; at Drábund, its centre ; and at Choudwan, its southern end. Here we look back to it.

Just before leaving Choudwan, Kuttál Khan, the most influential chief of the Sheraunces, sent overtures through Akhoond Gool Muhommud, Babhur, and expressed a wish to have an interview. I could not wait for this, but encouraged him to come to me at Dera Ishmael Khan, when I will gladly entertain either him or his eldest son, with a few retainers ; a plan by which almost any hill chief may be kept quiet and made useful.

April 11th.—Marched from Jôg-i-Rindân to Dowlutwalluh, between seven and eight koss. Still a barren plain, but more sandy than yesterday. A dirty pond of rain, and a trickling nullah of brackish water from the Kowruh Rode, or Bitter Stream, was all that our men had to drink. Effects highly medicinal.

About four koss from Jôg-i-Rindân I turned off the direct road to visit Goorwallee, or Goorwalluh,

a compact little mud fort, which stands in an admirable position. It is about sixty yards square, has a rampart and loop-holes, and is a very serviceable affair; but the well is bitter, and the garrison weak. It is an outpost of Girâng, on the Indus. The warden is a little, ugly Eusofzye, named Fakeer Muhommud, who seemed very happy in this out-of-the-way corner of the world, spoke affectionately of the fort, and only hinted that nineteen men were not enough to hold it.

These Eusofzyes are as much meant for horrid outposts where there is no water, as camels for the desert. One of them is worth the salt of six Hindoostanees in such a situation.

A few Kuthrees' huts are huddled round the foot of Goorwalluh.

Dowlutwalluh, where we are encamped, is a large village, but very much the worse for a siege, which it lately endured from the Ooshteraunees, who got into the outside houses, bored holes in the walls, and fired away from under this shelter at the Kusranees in Dowlutwalluh fort, a dilapidated tower of burnt bricks, two stories high, with a still more dilapidated wall. In this fort lives the chief zumeendar, Hôt Khan, Koláchee (not derived from Koláchee in the Gundapoor country, but a tribe of Beloochees). If

the story I hear of him is true, the country is either the rightful property of the Ooshteraunees, or else the latter conquered it from the Beloochees a very long time ago. It runs thus: Hôt Khan was originally a servant of Ubdoolla Khan, Ooshteraunee's father, who, as a reward, gave him so much ground out of his own pastures to cultivate, with the very primitive agreement that each was to take as much of the crops as the necessities of his own household required. The farm thrived, and at last Hôt Khan thought it would be better to pay a light revenue to a regular ruler, than go share and share alike with a friend who was no longer useful to him. So he put himself under the protection of the Nuwab of Dera, and shook off his benefactor. Another settler, Yoosoof Khan, Kusranee, then came and begged some spare lands of the Ooshteraunees; sat himself down to cultivate; invited more of his countrymen to follow; and when strong enough declared the lands his own, and allied himself with Hôt Khan of Dowlutwalluh. The latter was getting old and paralytic, and he at last was as glad to give up his Dowlutwalluh farm to the active Yoosoof, as Yoosoof was to get the fort as a base of operations for the future.

Now commenced that series of forays and raids on the Ooshteraunee lowlanders about Goorwalluh, which

determined them to call down their mountain friends and expel these ungrateful Kusranees from the soil. Fights and murders followed ; and about a month before I reached the country, the Ooshteraunees of hill and plain, assisted by a neighbouring tribe called Kethrans, descended and laid siege to Dowlutwalluh. But Yoosoof, too, had summoned his clan from the rear, and though the Kusranees were driven out of the village into the fort, they defended the crazy citadel with such obstinacy, that the Ooshteraunees were unable to take it, and drew off to recruit their strength.

In this defence the garrison had seventeen of their number killed, and many wounded, and would probably have been unable to sustain a second siege ; but the report of my approach with troops and guns produced a timely suspension of hostilities, and I now find myself saddled with the dispute.

Memorandum.—Besides the Sheyrun Pass, which is their boundary, the Ooshteraunees have three passes into their own hills : the Oormuck, which leads to the head-quarters of the tribe ; the Vooch, or Kooeh Bharuh, which is frequented by the Powinduh caravans, and is in the hands of Futteh Khan ; and Kooch Peyor, which is in the hands of Ubdoolla Khan.

As our next march will take us to the Indus, and the tide of war will soon o'erflow, and sweep away the very memory of these peaceful labours, I will here chronicle the happy ending of the Ooshteraunee and Kusranee feud. Knowing their superstitious natures, I called in a holy priest, and explaining to him my earnest wish to put an end to this bloody strife, I bade him take up his Koran, and follow me to the bank of the Indus, where I had already assembled the chiefs and followers of the contending sides. There, leading in the priest, I addressed the assembly, recounted the forays of the last few years, and the barren fields and desolate hearths they had occasioned ; the consequent poverty of the people, and resentment of the Government ; and my own determination to treat either party as an enemy who should in future bring disgrace upon my head, by appealing to the sword, instead of me, for justice. " You know your own boundaries well enough," I said ; " they are written down in your hearts, though you say you have got no papers ; and Allah sees them, though I cannot. This holy man will swear you both on the Koran. Tell him a lie at your peril. Declare your boundaries now, once for all, and I will see you stick to them. Then there will be peace, and you will all cultivate, and get rich,

and be good friends with Government; and there will be no necessity for an army to come with guns you could put your heads into, and blow all your villages away like a whirlwind. As for the past, everybody's honour is satisfied. The Kusranees pride themselves on being thieves, and they stole the Ooshteraunee cattle; the Ooshteraunees pride themselves on being brave, and they killed the Kusranees in the fight. Now begin a new score; shake hands; and when you have done swearing, come along to my tent, where there is a new turban for every follower, a shawl for every chief, and a good dinner for everybody."

I then left them to the priest, who frightened them dreadfully, I was told, and then made them swear on the Koran to keep the peace and their own boundaries; after which, they all got dresses of honour, and dined together without stabbing any one. Once only during the war did I hear of this peace being disturbed. Futeth Khan, Ooshteraunee, followed me to Mooltan, with all his retainers; and one day he came to me, boiling with rage, and requested a furlough: "so many days to go home; a day to stay and shoot a Kusranee, who had stolen one of his goats; and so many days to come back again. On his honour," he said, "he would not overstay his leave, and hoped

there would be no fight while he was away !” I had very great trouble to prevent his going, and he was sulky for a long while afterwards at having been made to pocket an affront : however, I have little doubt that he has shot the man since.

April 12th.—Marched to Dera Futteh Khan on the Indus, at least sixteen miles, and perhaps twenty. The heat of the day obliged us to move by night, but I could see that we were crossing a parched-up plain, over which never-despairing man had spread a great net-work of dams and banks to catch and hold the little rain that falls. In the whole distance between Dowlutwalluh and Dera Futteh Khan, I saw no corn or vegetation of any kind.

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 GIRANG—STORY OF ITS WARDEN, BHOWANEE 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.

CHAPTER XIV.

As this is the last chapter of this volume, and there will be no seeing or hearing in the next for smoke and artillery, I shall ask my reader, now we are at Dera Futteh Khan, to mount Imagination (best of steeds, that carries more weight than a dray-horse, is fleetier than Eclipse, more gentle-tempered than an Arab, and bears rubs as patiently as a jack-ass), and gallop half a hundred miles with me to take a peep at Dera Ishmael Khan, the capital of the province we have been wandering in so long ; for we shall never be so near it again.

I have never seen it but once myself, when passing through it in 1847. It is well situated for a provincial metropolis, being close to the right bank of the Indus, about fifty miles north of Dera Futteh Khan, forty-six miles south-east of Tâk, and about

seventy due south of Lukkee, in Murwut. Its vicinity to the Gwaleyree Pass, and all the winter pasture-grounds of the Powinduh merchants, has likewise made it the centre of trade between the Punjab and Cabul.

When Mr. Elphinstone visited it in 1808, the town of Dera Ishmael was "situated in a large wood of date-trees, within a hundred yards of the Indus." * In 1837, Sir Alexander Burnes finds it "on a new site, about three miles from the river," the old town having been "washed into the Indus about twelve years before." † This will not appear surprising, when I tell the reader that the river Indus, during the rains, flows in one unbroken stream from Dera to Bhukkur, a distance of about fifteen miles; and boats are often occupied two or three days in the passage from one to the other. At the time I crossed (May), the Indus was running in three channels, a smaller branch on each side of the main stream, with an island, six miles broad, between the eastern and main streams.

Dera Ishmael Khan is a considerable city in size, built of mud, and surrounded with a mud wall. It

* Introduction to "Elphinstone's Caubul," p. 39.

† "Burnes' Caubul," p. 92.

has unusually wide streets for a native town, and many trees interspersed among the houses; but, except during the commercial season, it must always have a desolate look; for it is purposely too large for its own population, to admit of the influx of the Cabul caravans, horse merchants, &c., in the winter. I saw it in the summer, and it looked like a city of the dead.

Before the Punjab customs were remodelled by the British, the customs taken at Dera from the Powinduhs amounted to one hundred and thirty-six thousand rupees a-year.

The deposed Nuwab of Dera (Sher Muhommud Khan) resides in the town, and spends a pension of sixty thousand rupees a-year. In Chapter XII., I introduced him to the reader as a feverish hypochondriac, who is fanned all winter, and sits up to his waist in cold water all summer.

On the eastern side of the city is a large walled garden, containing two *baruhdurrees* (summer residences); one built by the Nuwab, and the other by Prince Nao Nihal Sing. General Cortlandt fitted them up as a house and office for the Civil Governor.

A quarter of a mile from the city, on the north-

west, stands the fort of Ukalgurh, or the Immortal Fortress. It was built by Prince Nao Nihal Sing; is a square and regularly-built fort of burnt bricks, and is surrounded by a *fausse braye*, but no ditch. In peace, it made me a very good gaol; and in irregular warfare it would make a very good rallying point; but it is of no use against regular troops and guns. The Sikh garrison was one hundred and ninety-two men, and their pay sixteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-five rupees a-year.

Dera Ishmael Khan is a very healthy spot, and well suited for a cantonment. The country round it being, like all the Dáman and Dérájât, dependent on rain for cultivation, is either abundantly fruitful or utterly barren, according as the year is one of flood or drought. What little lies along the Indus bank is, of course, an exception; and now the Punjab is under British management, I doubt not that assistance will be given to the zumeendars to extend the irrigation by canals, as at Dera Ghazee Khan. The bed of an old one may still be traced, in a very good line, from near Puharpoor, and a small expense would re-open it, and be a great blessing to the people.

The present land revenue of Dera Ishmael Khan,

one year with another, may perhaps average a lakh of rupees, including the trinnee, or grazing-tax, taken from the merchants.

And now let us get back to our camp at Dera Futteh Khan.

This Dera, which is the central one of the *Dérajât*, is smaller than either Ishmael or Ghazee Khan ; but it is still a considerable town, conveniently situated on the bank of one of the branches of the Indus. It contains thirty Hindoo and sixteen Muhommudan shops. The original town is said to have been of great size, and stood far to the eastward of the present one. It was swept away by the Indus, and a second built more inland. This shared the same fate, and consequently the third and present colony is inferior in size and wealth to either of its predecessors.

The Sikhs did not call the surrounding district after the chief town, but Girâng, after the fort of that name, a few miles to the north of Dera Futteh Khan, and three or four from the bank of the Indus. It is a strong fort for that part of the world ; and Runjeet Sing, who was no bad judge, attached so much importance to it, that he never consigned it to the charge of the Nazim of the province, but kept it quite independent of his authority, in the keeping of a true Sikh, named Bhowanee Sing, and a garrison of

seventy-one men, whose pay amounted to six thousand and ninety rupees a-year.

I call him a true Sikh, not more on account of his incorruptible fidelity to Runjeet and his descendants, than for his predatory instincts. The very type and embodiment of the species Sikh, *genus homo*, is a highwayman in possession of a castle. Take any man of that nation—I care not who—and give him a mud tower as his earthly portion, and next week he will be like Ali Baba, the Captain of Forty Thieves. Let him alone—that is, don't overmatch him with kings and other great policemen—and he will die a great man. It is the history of the Punjab in a nutshell.

Bhowanee Sing, who has led me into this philosophical digression, had all the elements of a great rascal; and I must tell the reader about him, in the next volume. He was small in stature, but his heart was a large and a hard one, and its pulsations were those of a sledge-hammer among the people round him. It was impossible to look at his wild elfin locks, and fiery eye, without clenching your fist—he looked such a villain. Perched upon the battlement of Girāng, he took an admirably just view of his position. He saw beneath him a plain very often fertile, if very

often barren, and in possession of a people who were too great thieves themselves not to submit to plunder as a law of the universe. Beyond them was a plain still wilder, where rich merchants fed their camels. Nothing could be easier than to ride out and take them. The means at his disposal were ample. There was a strong fort to sally out from, and come back to, and lock up plunder ; and there was a garrison of seventy-one soldiers who had no objection, of course, to be seventy-one thieves ; and who, moreover, would cost nothing, but be paid by Government. If the victims complained to the Nazim of the province, what cared he for the Nazim ? Was he not particularly told to keep himself independent ? And if they carried their complaints to Lahore, he had only to send a share of the plunder to Lahore also. In short, Bhowanee Sing saw that there was a fine opening.

Acting upon these views, he soon turned the royal fort of Girâng into a nest of highway robbers ; the very people of the country were in his pay and service ; and he extended his operations like a net over the whole country between the Indus and the Ooshteraunee hills, the boundary of Sungurh and the boundary of Choudwan. Herds and herds of camels he caused the Beloochees to drive away ; and

then sallying out with his horsemen, he pretended to pursue them, fired blank cartridge till all the country echoed, routed his own thieves, brought the rescued camels to Girâng, and then claimed the gratitude of the owners, with a heavy ransom equal to a quarter of the value.

And from all this there was no appeal found in the Punjab ; and Bhowanee Sing went on thus for I believe twenty years, doing evil, and growing rich. At last the British came ; and at this point Bhowanee Sing would have left off, if he had been the really clever fellow that he had hitherto appeared. But this is the way with bad men ; they are certain to break down. Like ill-cast bells, they crack when they are hard rung. "What is the British Resident to me?" said Bhowanee Sing : and he robbed on. Among others, one day his gang pounced upon a herd of camels that belonged to a Meankheyl merchant, whose name (I write from memory) was, I think, Juhan Khan. The Meankheyls encamped hard by took horse and pursued the robbers, who, finding themselves pressed, divided, and took separate paths across the jungle. One party was overtaken, and the furious Meankheyls came down on them sword in hand. Far in front rode one on a foaming mare, and already he was within a few yards of the

spoilers, when the hinder robber turned, stuck the butt of his spear into the ground, and dropping on his right knee behind it, planted his left foot firmly against the butt, while with both hands he depressed the point, and received the charge of the Meankheyl. Vainly the horseman tried to turn it with his sword; the force of his own onset lent it strength, and entering his lungs, it issued at his back, and bore him to the earth. It was Juhan Khan, and he died two days after. The rest of the pursuers stayed to pick up their leader, and the robbers made good their retreat within the gates of the fort of Girâng.

Juhan Khan's surviving brother, Deen Muhommud, swore revenge; and betook himself to Mooltan, where he heard there was a British officer. There he found Lieutenant Nicholson, one of the Resident's Assistants, who read his petition; and writing an English note on the back, told him to take it on to me in Bunnoo, and he would get redress. I sent for Bhowanee Sing, who swore he had seized the camels because Juhan Khan would not pay his trinnee, or tax on grazing. Deen Muhommud produced the Government receipt for the trinnee, and the Governor of the province deposed that, had any trinnee been due, Bhowanee Sing had nothing to do with its collection; so I made Bhowanee Sing deposit one hundred rupees for

every camel, and the case stood over for trial, as the season for the return of the Powinduh caravans was expiring, and Deen Muhommud could stay no longer. Meanwhile Bhowanee Sing was removed from his castle at Girâng, and brought a prisoner to Lahore, where he found for once that bribery was of no use.

It was not till my present visit to the very scene of the murder, that the trial of Bhowanee Sing came on. His noble friends in the Lahore Durbar sent him honourably down, without fetter or handcuff, and an escort more than a guard of cavalry. I put him in irons. Then, for the first time, the people of the country saw that his day was gone. A perfect "cloud of witnesses" rose up against the fallen robber; and when at last, after a most laborious trial Bhowanee Sing was convicted, and in consideration of the lax laws under which he had lived, was sentenced to only twelve years' imprisonment, and forfeiture of the deposit money to Deen Muhommud, the brother of the murdered Meankheyl was not the only one who thought the punishment a too "impotent conclusion" to a long career of rapine.

Reader, Bhowanee Sing was but one out of hundreds of strong-handed oppressors of the Punjab people, whom the British Resident and his Assistants

tore up by the roots and flung into the fire. Our lives were made up of such interferences.

The district of Dera Futteh Khan (*alias* Girâng), in which Bhowânee Sing so long reigned supreme, is bounded on the west by the Ooshteraunee hills, including in that direction Dowlutwalluh and Goor-walluh; on the north, by the jageer of the Nuwab of Dera Ishmael Khan; on the east, by the Indus; and on the south, by the district of Sungurh; its border village in that direction being Mor Jungee.

Its land is of that nature that the people never know whether they are to have a harvest or not. The strip which lies along the Indus bank is of course irrigated by Persian wheels, and a few villages on the Sungurh border obtain partial irrigation from overflowing branches of the Vuhowa Rode, which they take great pains to retain by means of dams. One village, named Sheikh Vudda, on the northern boundary of the district, is occasionally reached by the refuse of the Loonee river from Kolâchee, an indication of the course of that stream which I vainly endeavoured to obtain in the Gundapoor country, which it waters. The rest of the cultivation of Dera Futteh Khan is entirely dependent on rain; and when I was there in 1848, there had been none for several seasons. Under grinding rulers, the condition of the

cultivators of such a district is pitiable enough. Their eyes are never on their fields, but on the sky, looking anxiously for a rain-bearing cloud. Bright is the day to them when heaven is overcast. If rain falls in never so small a quantity, it is caught in a network of traps, which cover the country, and are called "luts;" and the harvest is secure and plentiful. But if there is no rain, there is still revenue to be paid; and the people have only two resources—the highway and the usurer's shop.

This is one main reason why this district is full of thieves (although its being on the border of Mooltan province, no doubt gave facility to plunder); and a judicious magistrate would here sensibly diminish crime by dealing tenderly with the revenue. I do not mean to forego it; for if properly estimated at the settlement, there should be no reason to do that; but give the people time. They are too poor to bear a money settlement, if they have to pay the yearly average in advance for two or three years before they get a crop and a remuneration; a circumstance which may happen to almost every country of the *Dérâjât*: and therefore I would recommend, that, in the peculiar case of these countries, the revenue account be kept floating for three years, if required by the seasons; in which case, the aggregate revenue of the three

years would, I feel assured, be easily and cheerfully paid in money. The people, of course, call out for revenue in kind; but a money settlement, on the indulgent principle I have mentioned, would soon be found far better.

The returns of five years showed, in 1848, an average revenue of twenty-two thousand two hundred and fifty-one rupees, exclusive of that of Goorwalluh, occupied by the Ooshteraunees, which was quite nominal. From this my settlement struck off about two thousand rupees, and returned five per cent. of the remainder to heads of villages for trouble of collection.

There were ninety-nine thousand six hundred and fifty-seven ghoomâos of land under cultivation, including Dowlutwalluh and Goorwalluh; of which ninety-one thousand six hundred and fifty-nine were entirely dependent on rain, three thousand nine hundred and thirty irrigated by the river, and four thousand and sixty-eight by wells.

Within the boundaries of the district there remained unoccupied forty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-one ghoomâos capable of cultivation, and forty-two thousand one hundred and ninety-seven waste.

There were one hundred and ninety-one wells, and one thousand one hundred and forty-seven ploughs, ex-

clusive of the lands of Dowlutwalluh and Goorwalluh, from neither of which was any return obtained: The former had ten thousand, and the latter twenty thousand ghoomâos under cultivation; so that the one thousand one hundred and forty-seven ploughs worked sixty-nine thousand six hundred and fifty-seven ghoomâos, or each plough sixty-one on an average; and each well watered twenty-one ghoomâos. There were two hundred and one shops, as follows:

Hindoo grain-dealers	92
Washermen	17
Weavers	42
Oilmen	3
Butchers	6
Dyers	1
Shoemakers and other workers in leather	30
Potters	4
Carpenters	5
Ironsmiths	1
<hr/>	
Total	201

History of the people, and how they became possessed of the Dera Futteh Khan country, I have none to tell; for scarcely had I concluded the above revenue settlement, and trial of Bhowânee Sing, when the Mooltan war broke out; and, instead of asking heads of villages how many grandfathers they

had, I began to inquire how many sons and grandsons they could bring into the field.

But I do not much regret it; as, had I had abundant leisure to inquire, it is doubtful whether much satisfactory history could have been elicited; for this reason, that the people are not all of one tribe, like the Murwutees of Murwut, the Esaukheyles of Esaukheyl, the Dowlutkheyls of Tâk, the Gundapoors of Koláchee, the Meankheyls of Drábund, and the Bâbhurs of Choudwan—all of whom have their distinct family history; but the occupants of Dera Futteh Khan have no common denomination or descent. There are settlers of the tribes of Koláchee, Nootkânee, Dustees, Luskânees, Kusranees, Kethráns, Goormânees, Mirrânees, Mullânuhs, Chunnurs, Murrells, Bhuttees, Khirs, Sohruhs—all of whom, I believe, have only this in common, that they are of the Belooch nation; and besides these, there are the Ooshteraunees and Boozdârs from the Mountains of Solomon; Juts from the Punjab; Moondeyruhs, a class of fakeers, of Jut origin; and Sheikhs and Syuds from all quarters.

And the same remark holds good with reference to Dera Ishmael Khan, the zumeendars of which district are mixed races, though I have not their names.

It is probable, therefore, that countries in which fragments of so many tribes have been able to establish themselves have never had any powerful indigenous people, and never been the scene of those national struggles, aggressions, and conquests, which are the broad facts and landmarks of history. The simple fact of the two Deras (Ishmael and Futteh Khan) having been founded towards the close of the fifteenth century, by a Belooch settler of the tribe Dódáee, named Mullick Sohráb, along with his sons, Ishmael and Futteh, who came from the distant land of Mukrán, on the shores of the Indian Ocean, has already been narrated to the reader in the opening of the first chapter, and is perhaps the most interesting record of their whole history which the most diligent research could bring to light.

Reader, our journey through the Upper Dérajât, or the province of Dera Ishmael Khan, is accomplished. The messenger of ill-news, with his blood-red letter-bag,* is even now being ferried over the

* It is the custom in India to affix a small piece of red cloth to an express despatch, as a symbol of its import to life and death. In the Punjab, the entire letter-bag used to be made of red materials, and, as in the present instance, conveyed but too frequently a just summary of its contents.

Indus; and soon our ears, so dull to coming evil, must catch the heavy fall of his weary, dust-muffled foot, as he tries to finish with a run. The timid dove of Peace, which only now had ventured to alight upon this land of revolution, is startled once again, unfolds her trembling wings, and spreads them for a long, long flight upon the storm of War.



APPENDIX.

CHAPTER II.

A Vizeeree chief once gave me the following list of all the tribes he could remember belonging to the two great branches of the Vizeeree nation ; and though uninteresting to the general reader, I append them here as useful to any political officer whose duty may carry him across the Indus.

VIZEEREES.

AHMUDZYES.

*Spirkye.
*Hááthee Kheyl.
*Beezund Kheyl.
*Oomurzye.
Zilly Kheyl.
Toozy Kheyl.
Khoojul Kheyl.
Gungee Kheyl.
Khoonee Kheyl.

OTMANZYES.

*Bukka Kheyl.
*Jánee Kheyl.
*Mullick Sháhee.
Seypulye.
Populye.
Necááhmye.
Sudgye.
Eusogye.
Battye.

VIZEEREES.

AHMUDZYES.

Payinduh Kheyl.
 *Sirkee Kheyl.
 Shoojuh Kheyl.
 Sir-Shoojuh Kheyl.
 Bádin Kheyl.

OTMANZYES.

Khosallye.
 Sháh Meerye.
 Bobálye.
 Meer Alye.
 Dátá Kheyl.
 Mudda Kheyl.
 Bálla Kheyl.
 Máhmood Kheyl.
 Michee Kheyl.
 Toowul Kheyl.
 Moot Kheyl.

Those marked * were the tribes which intruded themselves into Bunnoo; and as I afterwards had full opportunity of becoming acquainted with their ramifications, I append them also for the benefit of others.

DETAIL OF THE VIZEEREE SETTLERS IN BUNNOO.

DIVISION.	TRIBE.	FAMILY.	THEIR CHIEFS.
Ahmudzye.	Spirkye.	1. MUMUND KHEYL. Grunnee Kheyl. Lolyuh Kheyl. Mirza Kheyl. KhojeeKheyl. Qwiredda Kheyl. Fátma Kheyl. Khilá t Kheyl.	Moorail Khan Nuwab. Kácem Sháh. Ulmurr. Muzdoor. Soudá. Lubb.
		2. SOODDAN KHEYL. Alee Kheyl.	{ Summud, and Ahmad Sháh.

DETAIL OF THE VIZEEREE SETTLERS IN BUNNOO.

DIVISION.	TRIBE.	FAMILY.	THEIR CHIEFS.
Ahmudzye.	Spirkye.	2. SOODDAN KHEYL.	
		Ubdul Kheyl.	Koortána.
		Zurgur Kheyl.	Ján Báz.
		Bittán Kheyl.	Báhdah.
		Gullee Kheyl.	Akhoond Ibraheem.
		Bukhol Kheyl.	{ Dowlután.
			{ Mámool.
			{ Sallush.
		Suddee Kheyl.	{ Shirbut.
			{ Moosh.
"	Hathee Kheyl.	Buggon Kheyl.	{ Swahn Khan.
		Dodee Kheyl.	{ Azeem.
		Poorbuh Kheyl.	{ Sullor.
		Puttol Kheyl.	{ Zumturrh.
		Zuddul Kheyl.	{ Ibbut and
		Moosuh Kheyl.	{ Shumádee.
		Oolleegee.	{ Not known.
		Esau Kheyl.	{ Sheikh Peyáb.
		Burkhon Kheyl.	{ Sullátt.
		Bozuh Kheyl.	{ Doorannaie.
"	Oomurzye.	Pirgá Kheyl.	{ Munjh.
		Zummee Kheyl.	{ Mundutt.
		Looddunaie.	{ Koeem.
		Poeeh Kheyl.	{ Peyzwand.
		Syud Kheyl.	{ Peyyovee.
			{ Meera Khan.
			{ Shumrode.
		Toluh Kheyl.	{ Shahbaz.
		Boluh Kheyl.	{ Nooraiee.
			{ Láll Meer.
Otmanzye.	Sirkee Kheyl.		{ Murwutt.
		Surdee Kheyl.	{ Ghásim and
			{ Neeahzee.
		Nurmee Kheyl.	{ Abbás Khan and
			{ Ghuznee.
		TUKHTEE KHEYL.	
		1. Moreeb Kheyl, or	{ Ján Buhádoor.
		Ishmael Kheyl.	{ Adil Sháh.
		2. Khan Kheyl.	{ Annutt Sháh.
		Diyah Kheyl.	{ Muzzye.
"	Jánee Kheyl.	Mullick Sháhee.	{ Sháhbás Khan.
		Indee Kheyl.	{ Zureef.
		Bucchakhye.	

NOTE.—As the Vizeerees have no written language, talk very coarse Pushtoo, and have very peculiar names, the preceding Table may contain some mistakes in pronunciation, but is, I know, generally correct.

CHAPTER VI.

The coins sent home by Major Reynell Taylor, procured from the ruins of Akra, in Bunnoo, were as follow :

1. Silver coin of Strato, a Bactrian King, which has been described by Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, of the British Museum, in a Paper read before the Numismatic Society, December 20th, 1849, to the following effect :

OBVERSE : — ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Bust of the King to the right, draped on the shoulders, and head laureate.

REVERSE :—(In Bactrian Pali) Máhúrájáśá, Tejamasa, Tádatasa, Státasa—(The Great King, illustrious, the Saviour — Strato.)

Minerva Promachus standing to the right ; in her right hand a thunderbolt, in her left a shield, and over her left arm the Ægis. In front the monogram **R**.

This coin was unknown to Numismatists at the time of the publication of Professor Wilson's learned "Ariana Antiqua ;" and as yet there is only one similar, which had been previously purchased of Mr. Thomas, of the Bengal Civil

Service, by the British Museum, in the autumn of 1849. No age or place has, therefore, been yet assigned it, with any certainty, among Bactrian coins; but it is supposed, by Mr. Vaux, to be of the first century, and probably between A.D. 80 and 90.

2. A silver coin of Hermæus, a Greek Prince of Bactria, who reigned, according to Professor Wilson, B.C. 98. The coins of this King are common, and a full description of their varieties, with plates, will be found in Professor Wilson's "*Ariana Antiqua*," p. 292.

3. A small silver coin of Demetrius, King of Bactria, B.C. 190; of sufficient rarity to claim a separate description. Mr. Vaux says: "It is an obole, and similar to that which has been published by Professor Wilson, in his "*Ariana*," p. 233, and engraved in Plate II, No. 4.

"OBVERSE:—Bust of the King turned to the right, with the neck bare, and wearing a helmet in the shape of an elephant's head.*

"REVERSE:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Type: a naked figure of Hercules standing in the field of the coin, with his right hand raised above his head, and his left supporting the club and the lion's skin. To the left of the figure is the monogram ."†

4. A silver coin of Mahmood of Ghuznee; one of the

* The eleph ant-helmet is an interesting circumstance as connected with this coin having been found at Akra, in Bunnoo; for it is supposed to allude to Demetrius' conquests "in India, that is, on the south of the Hindu Kush."—*Professor Wilson's Ariana*, 228, 9.

† Paper read by Mr. Vaux before the Numismatic Society, December 20th, 1849.

greatest of conquerors, whose empire, in the eleventh century, extended "from the Tigris to the Ganges, and from the Jaxartes to the Persian Gulf."* Consequently, it included Bunnoo.

The four coins above-mentioned were all presented by Major-General Taylor, Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, to the British Museum; besides which, the Major-General kindly informs me, his son sent him from Akra, one small gold coin (not named, and probably defaced), and one very perfect little silver coin, with a loop of silver affixed, procured from an Afghan soldier, who wore it round his neck, of Nicephorus Antimachus, a Bactrian King, who lived 150 B.C. Not only the legend, but the Victory on one side, and a horse on the other, are beautifully executed, and quite perfect.†

There is one copper coin, of an uncertain King of Bactria; but the inscription is "Great King of Kings, the Preserver."‡

* "Elphinstone," p. 141.

† This is probably the Hemidrachm, described by Professor Wilson at page 274 of his "Ariana:" "King, with Macedonian cap and fillet, on a galloping horse, to the right." Wilson dates him 140 B.C., and Lassen, 165.

‡ Who this King was is not known, "as his coins," says Wilson, p. 332, "Ariana," "offer the characteristic peculiarity of being without a name. It is also characteristic of the same coins, with a very few and doubtful exceptions, to have a Greek legend only." They are found, says the same authority, at Beghram, in Afghanistan, in many of the topes in the Punjab, and even in Central India, as at Benares, and in Malwa; and the Professor comes to the conclusion, that "he must have reigned chiefly if not altogether, in India, at least in the Punjab, by the abundance of his coins in the west of Hindoostan. The same consideration, as well as

Menander. Name in Greek, and Bactrian Pali on alternate sides. Minerva. Monogram  *

Apollodotus. Names in Greek, and Bactrian Pali. Bull.†

Thus, from these ruins of Akra, in Bunnoo, we have in this one collection alone, coins ranging over twelve hundred years, the oldest of which is two thousand and forty years old.‡ The evidence they afford entitles us to conclude that for two hundred years before, and one hundred years after the Christian Era, Bunnoo was under the sovereignty of Kings of

the freshness of the coins, and the style of the inscription, combine to place him subsequent to the Christian Era, although possibly within the first century."

* "According to Strabo," says Wilson, "Menander was one of those Bactrian Kings by whose victories the boundaries of the kingdom were chiefly extended towards the east." He crossed the Sutlej, and passed eastwards as far as the Jumna, according to the same writer; but Professor Wilson comes to the conclusion "that he never was King of Bactria, but that he reigned (B.C. 126) over an extensive tract from the foot of the Paropamisian Mountains to the sea," and was "a conqueror of the neighbouring provinces."—*Ariana*, pp. 280—2.

† The date assigned by Wilson to Apollodotus is 110 B.C., and "the humped Indian ox" is supposed to "evidence the Indian dominion of Apollodotus." See "*Ariana*," p. 288.

‡ Demetrius	B.C.	190.
Antimachus	B.C.	150.
Menander	B.C.	126.
Apollodotus	B.C.	110.
Hermæus	B.C.	98.
Strato	A.D.	80.
Great King of Kings, the Preserver	A.D.	1st century.
Mahmood of Ghuznee	A.D.	11th century.

Grecian origin. For the interval which follows between Strato and the Ghuznee conqueror, we must resort to the general history of the classic Paropamisus, which records the re-establishment of Hindoo rule about the third century, and the existence of Hindoo Rajahs in the eighth century, in Sindh and Cabul.*

* See on this subject Wilson's "Ariana," pp. 439—41.



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