The road from *Arghundee* to *Moogheera* is bad till you reach a village on the right of the road about 3 miles from camp; from this village the valley is open.

Camp. Cultivation and the river to the front. To the rear, the hills; from the top of which Cabool is visible. (16)

G. O. "The troops to move to-morrow, Cavalry (left in front). The Artillery with the sappers and miners, on the left flank. The Infy. (right in front)."

"When the ground admits, it will be required to form up the Cavy. on the right of the Arty., and the Infy. on its left; in columns of troops and Cos. ¼ distance. The Artillery will move by the main road."

"Neither followers, nor baggage, to precede the troops. A *gun* at two, *(General.)* At 3 A. M. the Assembly to be sounded. The troops to move up, and to march when H. E. orders." Thermometer 3 P. M. 88°. The elevation here (or at *Quilla Kazee*) is 6,508 feet, or 1,120 feet below the last ground.

5. To 3 *miles W. of Cabool,* 10½ miles. (6th Aug. 1839.)—Thermometer 2 A. M. 68°. Marched at 3 A. M. The troops moved in *one* column; there being no road for more. The road very stony, with many bad ravines. The first part over rocky ground. Half-way, crossed the stony bed of the Cabool river; the bed of the river very extensive, and a bad road leading down to it. After passing the river, the road thence passes through confined ground, with culti-

of an attack on them at *Arghundee;* there was *there* the cover of broken ground near them, and they might have been attacked on both flanks, where there were fewer guns, and only two in the rear of the square in which they were formed; and particularly as there was a deep ravine which led from our right to the left of the position in which the guns stood; and also broken ground in front of it. An attack on the guns *in front,* as at the battle of *Mahidpoor* in 1817, by which Holkar's artillery nearly dismounted the Madras H. A. guns; would not have been attempted! But, the *Affghans* do not work their guns so well or so quickly as the *Mahrattas* did and do: and the carriages of Dost Mahomed's guns, were old and bad.

(16) There is a foot-path over the hills to Cabool, by which much distance is saved; but it is not fit for the march of troops.

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vation and gardens on the right. Hence the road is bounded by low-hills on each side. (17) Crossed canals, much stony ground, till we reached the gardens and the high-road. The road passed over canals, swamps, and stony ground, in constant succession. Our camp was 3 miles W. of Cabool, near *Nannochee*, where, on the left, is a salt-water lake. (18)

Camp. On rocky ground, W. of Cabool. To the N. the village of Nannochee, and the salt-water lake. (19) Thermometer 3 P. M. 92°. There is a slight fall from "*Quilla Kazee*;" the elevation at "*Baber's*" tomb being 6,396 feet or 112 feet less: this place being 1,330 feet lower than *Ghuznee*. Our Artillery fired a Royal salute on H. M. Shah Shoojah's arrival in camp.

G. O. "Officers Comg. Brigades will make suitable arrangements to protect the fields and gardens in the vicinity of their encampments, and will hold Comg. officers of Regts. responsible that no injury be done to fruit trees, or corn-fields, by their soldiers or camp-followers, in the neighbourhood of their lines. To send out patrols and plant *safe-guards*, at their discretion; and will hand over to the Provost Marshal, his deputy, or any of his Assts., individuals found trespassing, or committing any outrage on the inhabitants. They will afford every protection to the villagers who may enter their camps for the purpose of selling provisions, &c."

2. "No soldier, or camp-follower, to enter the town of *Cabool* without a written *pass* from the Comg. officer of the one, or the master of the other; which are to be returned

(17) Our route was to the left of the Cabool road. The artillery went by another road.

(18) The valley of *Nannochee* is of some size. There is a salt-water lake in its centre, and some villages beyond it, surrounded by gardens, orchards, and vineries. The hills between the Camp and Cabool prevented our seeing the city.

(19) The king encamped on a hill to our left. There was a mountain close to our right. The troops were encamped on two sides of the village, and some on the S. and S. E. sides of the mountain.

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to the officer signing, to be destroyed, that no improper use may be made of it, by being handed over to another person; as was done occasionally at *Candahar*." (20)

"Any soldiers entering the town must be properly dressed, and have their side arms on."

3. "A picquet of a squadron of Cavy. will mount this evening at 6, in such position in front of the H. A. and Cavy., as the Brigadier of the day may think fit. Officers Comg. Brigades of Infantry will make their own arrangements."

4. "The Detts. under Major *Cureton* will rejoin their Regts."

6. *The result of the Campaign.*—The "*Army of the Indus*" had, now, arrived at its final destination. After a march of 1,527 miles (21) from *Kurnal*, where the *Bengal* troops first assembled to join the army, they had accomplished, all the objects of the expedition, by fully restoring H. M. *Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk* to his throne; by obtaining the possession of *Candahar;* by taking the fortress of *Ghuznee* by *storm;* and by reseating the king after a lapse of 30 years, at the *Capital* of the kingdom of *Affghanistan*.

He entered the city on the afternoon of the 7th August, accompanied by the Envoy and Minister; H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief and the Staff, &c., and attended by an escort of Lancers and Dragoons.

Though the troops had much to contend with, owing to various changes of temperature prejudicial to their health; and were for a long time on half-rations; were deprived of

(20) See pages 102, 104.

(21) In this distance 145 miles were marched by the *Bengal* column to Lower Sindh, and on its return. Some of the Regts. had marched 16 and 1700 miles. The *Bengal* column made 132 marches from *Kurnal* to *Cabool;* being an average of more than 11½ miles a day! This had been effected from the 8th November 1838 to the 6th August 1839, in less than nine months.

The above does not include the distances marched by corps to join at Kurnal. The *Bombay* troops had marched 293 miles less than we had up to Cabool.

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many necessary comforts, owing to the harassing hostility of plunderers; no troops in any warfare, perhaps, ever suffered so much with such soldier-like feeling; and never did any army marching in a foreign country commit so few acts which could prejudice the inhabitants against it; while the people begin to acknowledge the beneficial effects of the change from anarchy to monarchy.

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CHAPTER XI.

OCCURRENCES IN THE ARMY OF THE INDUS WHILE AT CABOOL.

1. *Shah Shoojah's entry into Cabool.* (1) (7th August, 1839.)—At 4 P. M. H. M. *Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk*, accompanied by the *Envoy* and *Minister*, H. E. Lt.-Genl. Sir J. *Keane*, the Major-Genls., Brigadiers, Sir A. *Burnes*, the Staff, and all the officers of the mission and of H. M.'s force, as well as by many other officers, left camp to proceed in state, into the city of Cabool, about 3 miles distant, and to the E. of camp. He was escorted by a troop of Horse Artillery, 1 squadron H. M.'s 4th L. D., and 1 squadron H. M.'s 16th Lancers, who were paraded in review order in front of the lines, and on the road leading to Cabool. A royal salute was fired as H. M. approached the escort, and the squadrons saluted him as he passed; after which, they wheeled up, and followed in procession to the entrance of the town, where they were agained formed; and where another royal salute was fired. The people were very orderly; there were immense crowds, every place in the town was filled with them. As the king advanced, they stood up, and when he passed on they reseated themselves.

This was the only demonstration of joy exhibited on the occasion. (2) His majesty led the way into the palace and

(1) The king did intend to have gone into Cabool, in the morning, but put it off. Many of the principal people in Cabool yesterday, and this morning, came to pay their respects to His Majesty. For the *report* of arrival at *Cabool*, see Appx. No. 5.

(2) Zumbooruks (swivels) firing from the top of the gate-way, &c. alarmed the cavalcade, and occasioned some scenes of inconvenience to those on horseback, and all were so mounted.

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gardens. The former were so much dilapidated after the lapse of nearly 30 years, that the old man (3) wept, while he explained to his grandsons and family, the state of its former splendour. It was difficult to get out of the city again, the whole of the king's baggage passing into it at the time; as the streets do not admit, in many places, of two animals going abreast.

9th August. The Hd. Qrs. Arty., and Cavy. changed ground to-day, and the whole of the Infantry on the following day. (4) The Head Qrs. and all the troops, except the Bengal Infantry Division, were now 6 miles to the W. of Cabool; and moved by the *Quilla Kazee* road, which was good. The Bengal Division of Infy. were half way between us and the city; the Bombay Division were to our right; and all the Cavalry were in our front.

12th August. Owing to instances of irregularities committed by *Europeans* visiting Cabool, officers Comg. Regts., to grant *passes* to enter the city to men only on whose *sobriety* and *steadiness* dependance can be placed; these men to be duly warned, that any abuse of the indulgence will cause the privilege to be withheld from all. This order to be read to each Regt. at three successive parades.

2. *Changed ground.* (13th Aug., 1839.)—The Hd. Qrs. changed ground to within two miles of the city; H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief's camp being close to *Baber's* tomb.

14th August. Lieut.-Col. *Wade's* approach to Cabool, opened the route for the *mails* from India viâ *Peshawer*,

(3) Then about 58 years old.

(4) "Maj.-Genls. Comg. divisions to make their own arrangements for the police, and protection of their encampments. The Brigr. of the day, discontinued. A reduction in all guards ordered. Officers Comg. to hold Qr. Mrs. responsible for the cleanliness of their lines, and officers of the Qr. Mr. Genl.'s Dept. not to fail to bring to the notice of the Genl. officers under whom they are serving, any neglect of the proper precautions, to preserve the purity of their encampment."

Two Infy. picquets of one H. and eight Sepoys, each, were posted on the main-road from Cabool, communicating with the right of 1st division of Infy. These were to protect the road against thieves, &c.

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and the *Punjab;* instead of by the circuitous route viâ Shikarpore, the Bolan Pass, and Candahar, and Ghuznee.

15*th August.* To-day, grain ceased to be issued from the Commissariat stores, as rations, to soldiers, and camp-followers. There was an excellent open, and not dear, market in the city.

18*th August.* The party under Capt. *Outram,* returned this morning after an unsuccessful pursuit of *Dost Mahomed Khan;* no doubt they failed in coming up with the *Ameer* owing to the treachery of *Hajee Khan, Kakur.* There were many reasons to suspect his sincerity. When the army left Candahar, instead of marching with his Affghans, this "*Defender of the state*" (5) made excuses; that he had no money to pay his troops; and when he did march to join the king he kept at a respectable distance; and it was not till the fall of *Ghuznee* convinced him of the "*rising fortunes*" of his master (the *Shah*), that he *hastened* to congratulate him on the *success!* The *intercepted letter* at Candahar, (6) was the *premier-pas* of his line of policy. His object was to serve any chief, whose fortunes would propitiate his own advancement; and this is *Taj Hajee Khan,* chief of the *Kakurs.* Having been, under *Dost Mahomed,* the Govr. of *Bameean, he well knew* the road *he* was going. He knew, too, that if the party failed, his life might be the forfeit; for the "*Dost*" would, most certainly, thus have recompensed his numerous treacheries. Had Capt. *Outram* succeeded; he thought, no doubt, that he would *lose caste* among the Affghans, by any *overt act* against *his old master:* the deserting his (Dost Mahomed's) brothers was, perhaps, he thought a pardonable offence: for the *Dost* had deserted them himself; such is the close tie of brotherhood in Asiatic nations. Whereas, if the *Dost* escaped, and ever regained power, his (the *Hajee's*) star might yet have been in the *ascendant:* at all events he tried

(5) "*Nusseer-ool-Doulah.*" The title given him by the king at Candahar. See, also, pages 87, 107 and the 3rd August, 1839, the day of his departure, on the pursuit.

(6) P. 107.

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the experiment. However right (politically speaking) in his theory, he was wrong in practice: he had to deal with one (Capt. *Outram*) well known for his zeal, promptitude of action, and indomitable perseverance and courage in the field; and here the *Asiatic* over-reached himself: had he calculated on such a contingency, in his cooler moments at Candahar; he would, certainly, have been staunch to the royal cause from motives of self-interest. (7)

(7) The force sent in pursuit of *Dost Mahomed* was not above 800 horsemen; of these 250 were British, including 125 of the Shah's Cavy. under Capt. *Christie*, but there were 13 most excellent British officers.

	Miles.	*Aug.*	*Return Route.*	*Miles.*
On the night of the 3*d Aug.* they marched from Shakhabad to Goda, crossing several ranges of hills,.....	32	12th,	Bameean to a village at foot of Kaloo Pass,.....	12
4th *August*, From Goda to Kadur-i-Suffied, ...	25	13th,	Foot of Hajee-guk Pass,	12
5th ditto, Kadur-i-Suffied to Yoort, ...	16	14th,	To a short distance of Gurdun Dewal, ...	18
6th ditto, Yoort to Kalloo,...	26	15th,	Sir-i-Chusma, ...	17
7th ditto, Kalloo to Topchee,	12	16th,	Kot-i-Ashroo, ...	17
8th ditto, Topchee to Bameean,	12	17th,	Over Ooruj Pass, to Cabool,.....	20
Computed miles.....	123		Computed miles,.....	96

The 1st *day* (3rd Aug.) few of the *Affghans* were up with the party. The 2nd *day* (4th August) barely 50 *Affghans*. Information was obtained that Dost Mahomed was at *Yoort*, 16 miles off.

On the 3rd *day* (5th Aug.) there were about 300 Affghans. Guides *reported* to have deserted. (*Hajee Khan* wanted no guides, *he* knew the road.)

On the 4th day (6th Aug.) reached *Yoort* at daybreak. Dost Mahomed, 16 miles off, at *Hurzar*; few Affghans forthcoming: nothing could induce them to advance. Capt. O. says, he had no authority to act without them; but to second them: adds "Dost Mahomed's escort being unquestionably too strong for *our* small party, (100; i. e. 50 of 2nd Lt. Cavy. and 50 Local horse; being old soldiers.) By all accounts Dost Mahomed Khan had 2,000 followers, of which 500 were of superior Cavy.; the rest matchlock-men and Juzzailchees; whose progress was retarded by the sickness of his son Akbar."

On the 5th day (7th Aug.) on reaching *Hurzar*, found traces of the Amcer's encampment yesterday. A mile further on met by deser-

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The *Hajee* threw every obstacle in the way to prevent Capt. *Outram's* party overtaking Dost Mahomed. Capt. O. told him he would attack the Dost without him. The *Hajee* hinted that whilst many of our *own* Affghans were traitors, on whom no dependence could be placed; the *Ameer's* followers were men whose fortunes were desperate; and bound in honor to sacrifice their lives in defence of their families by whom they were accompanied. If such were

ters from the camp of Dost Mahomed Khan, who had left him early this morning at *Kulloo*, and no signs of his being about to depart. Hajee Khan, Kakur, said he had closed the roads beyond *Bameean*, where, if we were but prudent, he must assuredly fall into our hands. At 3 P. M. reached *Kulloo*. Hajee Khan, Kakur, with the Affghans had remained at *Hurzar*. And as the "*Dost*" must have surmounted the Kalloo Pass, the highest of the Hindoo Koosh, it was useless to proceed. We had crossed the Hajee-guk Pass, 12,000 feet above the ocean.

On the 6th day (8th Aug.) Capt. O. was joined by Capts. *Tayler* and *Trevor*, with 30 troopers, and about 300 Affghans, whose appearance appeared to have inspirited Hajee Khan, Kakur, to come up also; (on the last ground he had predicted a night attack, of which he had entertained great alarm; while we knew the sole object of Dost Mahomed to be, to escape.)

"Again the '*Hajee*' urged us to wait for reinforcements; that Dost Mahomed would make a determined stand at *Bameean*; beyond which there was no prospect of escape; all the roads having been closed, by his (Hajee's) arrangements with the *Huzarahs* and other tribes."

The *Hajee* then (finding Capt. O. determined to go on) had recourse to entreaties and menaces of force, and withholds the guides. The party then went on, and surmounted the *Shutur-i-Gurdun* (the *camel's neck*) Pass.

"Two officers were sent on to reconnoitre *Bameean*. A *council of war* was held in which it was resolved, that on the Ameer's turning to oppose us, the 13 *British* officers, who are present with this force, shall charge in the centre of the little band, every one directing his individual efforts against the person of *Dost Mahomed Khan*; whose fall must, thus, be rendered next to certain. It being evident that the Affghans, on both sides, will turn against us, unless we are immediately successful. This plan of attack appears to afford the only chance of escape to those who may survive; and it is of paramount importance to effect the destruction of the *Ameer* rather than to permit his escape."

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his sentiments, why did he not decline to go in the first instance. Had he truly represented the real amount of the *Ameer's* force, more *British* troops would have been sent, and success must have been certain. He now says, "I am a prisoner, and can have no object in speaking a falsehood. Had Capt. *Outram* pushed on with his then force, the whole would have been sacrificed, and the *Ameer* would have escaped. I saved the party." There can be but one opinion; which is, that the *Hajee* ran no risk himself; for, if the *Affghans* would have turned against Capt. O.'s party he (the *Hajee)* would easily have escaped; knowing as he did all the *bye roads and passes.* But he preferred dishonor and a prison.

3. *Return of Hajee Khan, Kakur*, (19th Aug. 1839.)—The celebrated Hajee Khan, Kakur, came into Cabool this morning after the unsuccessful pursuit of *Dost Mahomed.* In consequence of Capt. *Outram's* report of his misconduct, and treachery, the *king* would not see him. The Envoy and Minister saw him, and on a report to the king of the whole of his conduct, Hajee Khan was placed in close confinement in the *Bala Hissar*, with a guard of a Company of Native Infy. over him, and the officer Comg. it received orders, that, in case of a rescue being attempted, the guard were to fire into the room were he was confined, and to destroy him. (8)

20*th August.* Brigr. *Arnold* died to-day. An officer much respected; he had seen a great deal of service. (9) He was buried next day in the *Armenian* burying ground, S. W. of Cabool, and about 1½ miles from it. (10)

(8) Some supposed his confinement would prevent many influential *Affghans* coming in; but, his character is too well known: and the real facts of the case would be soon known.

(9) He commanded the Bengal Cavy. Brigade. He was formerly in the Infy. and was wounded in the Peninsula, and severely wounded at *Waterloo.*

(10) H. M.'s 16th Lancers, and two guns H. A., attended as the funeral party. The funeral was attended by most of the officers in camp.

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22nd August. The Hd. Qrs., H. A. and Cavy. changed ground to the E. of Cabool, distant about 2 miles. The two Divisions of Infy. changed ground, the next day, and encamped half way between the Hd. Qrs. campand Cabool, on the low ground to the right of the road.

25th August. Dr. *Lord* came in to-day, in advance of Lt.-Col. *Wade's* party.

27th August. An order was issued for the disposition of the troops to remain in Affghanistan; which was subsequently changed.

30th August. "H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, having intimated his intention, should Her Britannic Majesty be graciously pleased to permit them to be worn, to confer "*Medals*" on the troops employed in the operations before *Ghuznee,* as a mark of the high estimation in which he holds their gallanty and discipline, H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief is pleased to direct a nominal roll of all *officers* European and Native, and a numerical return of all N. C. O. and privates who were actually present with their corps, or Detts., on the *21st and 23rd of July last,* to be prepared and forwarded, in triplicate, to the D. A. G. of the army of the Presidency to which they belong."

2nd Sept. The Bengal and Bombay Horse Artillery were reviewed before the king this morning, when he was delighted at the rapidity of their movements, and firing.

4. *Arrival of the Shahzada Tymoor and Lt.-Col. Wade's force,* (3rd Sept. 1839.)—Shahzada Tymoor, (the king's eldest son,) with the troops under Lt.-Col. *Wade* marched into Cabool this morning. Maj.-Genl. *Sir W. Cotton,* the principal Staff officers and *Sir A. Burnes,* went to meet the Shahzada, and marched in with him. A guard of honor consisting of a troop of H. A., a squadron H. M.'s 4th L. D., and one of H. M.'s 16th Lancers, and H. M.'s 17th foot, was formed near the camp of the Infantry, facing the high-road, the 17th foot on the left. On the approach of H. H. Prince Tymoor, a royal salute was fired by the Artillery, and the rest of the guard paid him the usual honors. All standard and Qr. guards of Regts. saluted the Prince as he passed.

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After he had passed in front of the guard of honor, the squadrons wheeled up, and followed H. H. to the city-gate, and thence returned to their lines: a troop being sent to escort H. H. to the palace of H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk in the *Bala Hissar.* (11)

H. M.'s 16th Lancers were reviewed this morning.

5th Sept. This day was buried poor Lt.-Col. *J. Herring,* C. B. Comg. the 37th Bengal N. I. He was marching in charge of a treasure convoy from *Candahar.* On his arrival at *Hyder Khel,* (12) he went up to the hills, near camp, with two other officers of the corps. (Lts. *Rind* and *Carlyon*), a Havildar and one or two Sepoys. He passed a party of Affghans as he was going out of camp. When he got to the top of the hills, a party, concealed, fired at them, and killed the Lt.-Colonel. His body was brought on to Cabool by bearers sent out from our camp, and was buried this afternoon, in the *Armenian* burying ground. (13)

Capt. *Fothergill,* H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infy. was also buried this evening.

(11) The king did not go, at first, to reside in it as it was said he did not like to live in it while Dost Mahomed was at large: but, he overcame his dislike.

(12) Four marches from Cabool, and between it and Ghuznee.

(13) The other two officers escaped with difficulty, and the Havildar was severely wounded. The death of no officer was more regretted. He was highly respected and esteemed in private society. He was an excellent officer. He distinguished himself at the storm of *Bhurtpoor,* (18 Jan. 1826,) in command of the Lt. Coy. of his Regt., for which service he obtained the *Brevet* majority; and subsequently was made a C. B. The day of his death a letter to his address was received in his camp, offering him the command of H. M. Shah Shoojah's Contingent, consisting of 6,000 men and guns. The officers of his Regt. have erected a monument over the remains of their brother-officer, who had been attached to the Regt. for 34 years. They permitted the old friends of the deceased to testify their respect, by becoming subscribers; and on the tablet are inscribed the Brigade and Regtl. orders notifying the melancholy event, and testifying the moral worth, and high professional character of Lt.-Col. Herring.

The native officers and men of the Regt. solicited to be allowed to contribute their mite; for he was beloved by the officers and men of the Regt. His murderers were traced, see note (32.)

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Review of the Horse Arty. (6th Sept.)—To-day the Comr.-in-Chief, reviewed the Bengal and Bombay Horse Arty. The object was to test the working of both, and though not an Artillerist, I must say that the detachment system appears to me to be the best. (14)

5. *Camel-battery,* (7th Sept.)—G. O. "No. 6, Lt. Fd. Battery to be prepared for *Horse Draft,* the whole of the camels attached to the battery, and the harness and gear, to be handed over to Major *Pew,* to be taken back to Hindoostan." (15) This was in consequence of the number of

(14) The "*Detachment system*" is in use (as in the Royal Arty.) in the Bombay Arty. Shafts are, also, used instead of poles. It was acknowledged by the Bengal Arty. officers, that this system is the best, and no doubt it will be introduced into the *Bengal* Arty. They adopt it at Madras. The Detachment system by giving more horses, renders the H. A. more efficient; gives a protecting party in case there should be no Cavy. at hand; gives more horses for reliefs. The men do not, as in Bengal, ride *all* the horses, but only the *near* horses; they change them, riding, alternately, the *near* and off horses; so that there is less labor, and in case of sore backs the *near* (ridden) can be used as *off* horses. The *shaft* likewise keeps up the horses in descending steep roads; there is less pressure on the wheel horses; and in going down a declivity, the wheels cannot throw down the *wheelers* by the run of the gun on them, which is likely to happen (as I have seen) where the hollow between the descent and ascent is not equal to the length of the four wheels; since, unless the horses, on the *fore* wheels coming to the bottom of the slope, are instantly, pushed up the ascent, must be the result; when riders and horses will be injured. Besides this, there is a pole attached to the shaft, which, being let down, gives ease to the horses. Horse Artillery horses (as well as the Cavy.) should have a light chain with an iron-pin, by which to secure them when their riders are dismounted; this is the *Affghan* arrangement.

(15) "Until grass-cutters can be procured, the Comsst. to furnish forage, each *Yaboo* (pony) to have a ration of *half* that allowed for a horse." (I should doubt if less than 3-4ths would suffice, if in work.)

"The reserve ammunition at present carried in the park, to be conveyed on camels. *Yaboos* (38 required) for the transport of ammunition not being procurable, at the present time, the D. C. G. will comply with the indents of the officer commanding the battery for camels."

"52 camels with drivers; 20 camels for troop stores; 15 strong grain ags; 20 suleetahs, and 52 strong ropes."

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Baugree (16) camels required to complete the complement, not being procurable. The camel-battery worked well during the campaign. The camels were in better condition, than the horses, in going through the Bolan Pass. They had marched 1,600 miles in 10 months. It is only in wet and slippery ground that they ever fail.

Grand Review.—This afternoon there was a grand review of the following troops, *viz.*; 2 troops H. A., H. M.'s 4th L. D., 16th Lancers, 1st Bombay Cavalry, and H. M. 2nd and 17th foot, under the command of Maj.-Genl. *Willshire,* before H. M. Shah Shoojah, and H. E. Lt.-Genl. Sir J. *Keane.* The king was received by a Royal salute on coming to and leaving the ground; the colors being dropped on presenting arms. Several good movements were performed. There was one which had a pretty effect. Guns having been thrown out, were supposed to be attacked by the enemy; the artillery-men retired into the squares of Infy.; and the enemy being driven off, the gunners returned to serve the guns, and play on the retiring enemy.

Capt. *Outram,* (Bombay) and Lt. *P. Nicolson* (Bengal), with a party of Capt. *Christie's* horse and 300 Affghan

(16) A particular kind of camel used for *draught.* Major (now Lt.-Col.) *Pew* has since been directed to form another camel-battery at *Nusseerabad.* (No. 1, B. Lt. *Fd. battery.* G. O. C. C. 3rd March, 1840.) This officer is the original projector of the use of camels for drawing guns. Capt. *A. Abbott,* Bengal Arty. who commanded the camel-battery, is a most zealous, excellent officer; there is no officer more likely to improve the manner of working with them. He suggests that it would be an advantage to carry the ammunition *on camels,* instead of *in* the *tumbrils;* by which arrangement the draught of the four camels would be less; and that the complement of camels should be six to each gun with its limber, to be used when four might not be enough; and that there should be more *spare* camels.

Lt.-Col. *Pew* made the experiment before the campaign took place, and of course experience has suggested improvements. The camels get three seers (6 lbs.) of grain a day. The late Comr.-in-Chief (Genl. Sir *H. Fane*) with his usual foresight, directed this battery to be supplied also with *harness,* &c. for horse draught; we saw the value of his providence; and there was enough to supply some (spare) harness for the Bombay H. Arty.

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horse, marched this morning towards *Hyder Khel* the place where the late Lt.-Col. *Herring* was murdered, with orders "to surround the village and mud-fort, and to let no one out, until the murderers, who seemed to be known, were secured; and if they be not given up, by the chiefs, the place to be stormed, and every *male* put to death." To-day, also, arrived the 37th Bengal N. I. under the command of Capt. *Barstow* with treasure from Candahar. A Committee was appointed for the examination of the treasure.

Cabool Races, (9th Aug.)—The races at Cabool commenced this morning.

Dost Mahomed was reported to have made his appearance near *Bameean.* A Dett. consisting of the 4th T. 3rd. B. H. A. (native) under Lieut. *Murray Mackenzie* (Bengal) Arty., the Shah's Goorkhah Bn., and 200 of the Shah's irregular horse were ordered to be sent to *Bameean* (17).

Recovered Prize property sold to-day.

12*th Sept.* A Committee (18) ordered to inspect the camels furnished by the Bengal Comsst. for the Bombay column, under orders to march back viâ *Khelat.* The 48th Bengal N. I., Lt.-Col. *Wheeler,* and three guns, No. 6, Lt. Fd. battery (recently horsed) marched this morning for Ghuznee, to escort to Cabool Hyder Khan, and the other prisoners from the above place; and to escort back the wounded officers and convalescent men. (19)

This evening died Capt. *Timings,* Comg. 4 T. 3 B. (Bengal) H. A. He was a most excellent officer; and was completely worn out by the wear and tear of a long campaign.

6. *Occurrences,* (13th Sept. 1839.)—To-day a drunken European soldier struck an *Affghan* in the city and knocked him down, and is said to have defiled the dinner he was

(17) They have been there ever since.

(18) President, Lt.-Col. *Croker,* H. M. 17th foot. Members, Lt. Threshy (Bombay), and Lt. Simpson (Bengal) Comsst. Dept. 3,000 camels were furnished.

(19) 54 of the sick and wounded left at Ghuznee, died there.

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cooking. The Affghan rose and went to seek for Sir *A. Burnes;* not finding him at home he returned, and clasping the European round the body so as to confine his arms, threw him down, and sitting on his body, beat out his brains with a stone. (20)

14*th Sept.* This *evening* (21) ended the Cabool races, being for a sword given by the king. The king went to see this race. His Majesty was saluted on coming and going away, by his own Artillery.

16*th Sept.* The Bombay column marched this morning to the W. side of the city of Cabool. (22) The 4th Local Horse occupied the ground left by the Infantry of the Bombay column.

7. *Durbar at the Palace,* (17th Sept.)—A *Memo.* in the G. O. yesterday informed us that H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, would hold a *Durbar* to-day, at the palace at the "*Bala Hissar.*" Accordingly at 5 o'clock this evening all officers off duty were invited to attend. The object of this Durbar was to confer the order of the *Dooranee* (23) *Empire* on certain officers. His Majesty invested H. E. Lt.-Genl. Sir *John Keane,* Mr. (now Sir W. H.) *Macnaghten,* and Maj.-Genl. Sir W. *Cotton* with the 1st class of the order; and informed the other officers present, on whom the order was to be conferred, that a sufficient number of stars of the order had not yet been prepared, to enable him to invest, on the spot, all the Civil and Mily. officers, on whom he was anxious

(20) On the 26th August an European sentry in front of the Infy. camp was shot dead by an Affghan, whose brother had been killed at *Ghuznee,* and as he concluded by the Europeans. The man was seized, and said he was content to die, having killed an European. A 2nd sentry was wounded in the hand.

(21) The last heat between Maj. *Daly's* Arab and another horse was run at 7 or near 8 o'clock.

(22) A soldier of one of H. M. Regt. found dead on the ground they left; supposed to have been killed by his comrades in a drunken quarrel.

(23) "Ahmed Shah took the title of *Door dowran,*" or pearl of the age; which being corrupted into "*Dooranee,*" gave one of their names to himself and his Abdallees."

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to confer the honor of knighthood; but that the order should be speedily sent to them. The names of the officers selected for this honor, were then read over, and each, on being named, went up and made his bow to the king. Sir J. Keane made a speech to the king, declaring that if his sovereign would permit him, he should be proud to wear the order. This was translated to His Majesty in Persian by Capt. *Powell*, the Persian interpreter.

1st Class of the Order.

The Earl of Auckland, G. C. B. Gov. Genl. of India.

Lt.-Genl. Sir John (now Lord) Keane, G. C. B. and K. C. H. Comr.-in-Chief.

Maj.-Genl. Sir W. Cotton, G. C. B. and K. C. H. *(Queen's)* Comg. Bengal Infy. Division.

Mr. (now Sir W. H.) Macnaghten, Envoy and Minister.

Lt.-Col. Sir A. Burnes, Knt. (Bombay.)

Lt.-Col. (now Sir C. M.) Wade, Knt. and C. B. (Bengal.)

2nd Class.

Maj.-Genl. (now Sir T.) Willshire, *(Queen's,)* Comg. Bombay Infy. Division.

Maj.-Genl. (now Sir Jos.) Thackwell, *(Queen's,)* Comg. the Cavy.

Maj.-Genl. C. H. Simpson, (Bengal,) Comg. Shah's Contingent.

Brigr. (now Major-Genl. Sir R. H.) Sale, *(Queen's.)*

Brigr. A. Roberts, (Bengal.)

Brigr. (late) R. Arnold, (Queen's.)

Brigr. Beaumgardt, (Ditto.)

Brigr. Scott, (Ditto.)

Brigr. Stevenson, (Bombay.)

Lt.-Col. Macdonald, C. B. (Queen's), Mily. Secy. D. A. G. H. M. F. (Bombay.)

Major Keith, D. A. G. Bombay.

Major Parsons, D. C. G. Bengal.

Major A. Campbell, Offg. Q. Mr. Genl. Bombay.

Major Garden, D. Q. Mr. Genl. Bengal.

Major Craigie, D. A. G. [Bengal.

Major Todd, Arty. (Mily. Secy. to the E. and M.)

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Capt. (now Maj.) G. Thomson, Bengal Engineers, C. B.
Capt. (now Major) Peat, Bombay Engineers.
Capt. *Outram,* (24) Bombay, A. D. C. to Sir J. Keane, &c.

3rd Class.

Lt.-Col. *Dennie,* C. B. (Queen's,) H. M. 13th Lt. Infy. (25)
Lt.-Col. Orchard, C. B. 1st Bengal European Regt.
Lt.-Col. (late) Herring, C. B. Bengal 37th N. I.
Lt.-Col. Monteath, Bengal 35th N. I.

(24) To Captain Outram, &c. &c. &c.

"Sir,—I am desired by H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, to convey to you his acknowledgment of the zeal, gallantry, and judgment displayed by you in several instances during the past year, whilst employed in H. M.'s service."

"H. M. desires me to specify three instances, on which your merits and exertions were particularly conspicuous."

"*First,* On the occasion of your gallantry in placing yourself at the head of H. M.'s troops engaged in dispersing a large body of rebels who had taken up a threatening position above H. M.'s encampment on the day previous to the storm of *Ghuznee.*"

"*Secondly,*" On the occasion of your commanding the party sent in pursuit of *Dost Mahomed Khan,* when your zealous exertions would in all probability have been crowned with success, but for the treachery of your Affghan associates."

"And *Thirdly,* For the series of able and successful operations, conducted under your superintendence, which ended in the subjection or dispersion of certain rebel Ghiljee and other tribes, and which have had the effect of tranquillizing the whole line of country between *Cabul* and *Candahar,* where plunder and anarchy had before prevailed."

"For these signal and important services H. M. has commanded me to signify to you that he has been pleased to confer on you the *second class* of the order of the "*Douranee Empire,*" as a mark of his royal approbation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Envoy and Minister.

Jellalabad, 7th Jan. 1840.

(25) Lt.-Col. *Dennie,* C. B. had commanded a Brigade at one period of the campaign. He entered the army on 28th October, 1801. As Ma-

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Lt.-Col. Wheeler, Bengal 48th N. I.

Lt.-Col. Persse, (Queen's) 16th Lancers.

Lt.-Col. Croker, (Queen's) 17th foot.

Lt.-Col. Smyth, Bengal 3rd Cavy.

Lt.-Col. Sandwith, Bombay 1st Cavy

Lt.-Col. Stalker, Bombay 19th N. I [Cavy.

Major Salter, Bengal 2nd

Major (now Lt.-Col.) Warren, 1st Bengal Eurn. Regt.

Major Thomson, Ditto.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) Carruthers, (Queen's) 2nd foot.

Maj. (now Lt.-Col.) Tronson, (Queen's) 13th foot.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) Pew, Bengal Arty.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) Cureton, (Queen's) 16th Lancers.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) McDowell, (Queen's) 16th Lancers.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) Daly, (Queen's) 4th L. D.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) McLaren, Bengal 16th N. I.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) Pennycuick, (Queen's) 17th foot.

Major Deshon, (Queen's) 17th foot.

Major Thomas, 48th Bengal N. I.

Major Handcock, Bombay 19th N. I.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) C. J. Cunningham, Bombay 1st Cavy.

Major Leech, Bombay Engineers, Pol. Asst.

Capt. (late) J. Hay, Bengal 35th N. I.

Capt. Davidson, 17th Bombay N. I. A. Comy. Genl.

Capt. Alexander, 5th Bengal Cavy., Comg. 4th Local Horse.

Capt. Sanders, Bengal Engineers.

Capt. McSherry, 30th Bengal N. I., M. B. Shah's Contingent.

Capt. Johnson, 26th Bengal N. I. Pay Mr. &c. Shah's Contingent.

Lt. G. H. Macgregor, Bengal Arty., Asst. to the E. and M.

Lt. F. Mackeson, 14th Bengal N. I., A. P. A.

P. B. Lord, Esq. M. D. Bombay, Pol. Asst. (26)

jor, he was wounded on the 15th Dec. 1824, in one of the many attacks on the stockades, during the Burmese war. This officer led the "*Advance*" at the storm of Ghuznee, 23rd July, 1839. He *declined* the 3rd class of the order (being already a C. B.) Except four, Lt.-Col. D. had been much longer in the army than those honored with the 2nd class of the order.

(26) The officers (except Lt.-Col. *Dennie*) in this class, are not ar-

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I omitted to mention that Sir R. H. *Sale* was, as Captain, in the 12th foot, engaged with the party which attacked the *French* guns, on the landing of the *British* troops, at the *Mauritius*, 1810.

8. *March of Bombay column*, (18th Sept. 1839.)—The Bombay column marched this morning en route for Quetta and *Khelat*. They took the route by Ghuznee and *Toba*, the direct line on Quetta, leaving Candahar to their right; by which the distance was 85 miles less. (27)

G. O. "The *Transport Train*—bullocks and hackeries now with the Park are to be made over to the D. C. G. to be employed in Comsst. purposes. (28) The whole of the *Park*, except such as is to be left at Cabool, to return to the provinces, under the orders of Capt. *Day*, Commissary of Ordnance.

2. *Warm clothing*.—"The D. C. G. to make arrangements to supply every soldier remaining in *Affghanistan*, with two pairs of worsted stockings, and one pair of gloves; those at *Jellahabad*, and *Ghuznee*, and *Cabool*, each with a *Pooshteen*." (29)

"*Order of Merit*.—A Court was assembled (30) to

ranged according to seniority. This order was intended to represent the three classes of the Bath. (G. C. B., K. C. B., and C. B.) Selections were made as follows. Those for the political officers and officers of the *Shah's* force by Sir W. H. Macnaghten; those for the *British* officers by Lord Keane.

(27) See Chapter XVIII.

(28) A Committee was held to determine whether they should be left at Cabool, or not. It was resolved to bring them on. The argument was that they had been brought from the provinces, and should be taken back, as they never contemplated being kept in *Affghanistan*. They certainly carried the soldiers' beddings, &c.; but it would have been better to have bought the hackeries, and have left them at Cabool, and to have used the *draught*, as *carriage*-bullocks to carry loads, for we found the hackeries a great nuisance on our march back, in bad roads; and it is a wonder that they ever got safe back.

(29) Jackets made of sheep-skins dressed, and the wool worn inside, with arms to them.

(30) Under G. O. G. G. in C. No. 99 of 1st May, 1837; consisting of a F. O. and four members (two Capts. and two Subadars.) The D. J. A. G. conducted the proceedings, and recorded the evidence of the chief and other Engineer officers.

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record the claims, of certain Native officers and soldiers of the Bengal *sappers* and *miners*, to obtain the *Order of Merit* for distinguished conduct at Ghuznee." The chief Engineer and Lts. Durand and Macleod, and the claimants, attended the court.

23rd Sept.—Officers Comg. corps remaining in Affghanistan, to send reports to the D. Q. M. G. shewing what tents are required to complete their corps to the prescribed complement. This afternoon H. M. Shah Shoojah reviewed the *Sikh* troops arrived with Lt.-Col. *Wade's* mission, under the command of Col. *Shaik Bussawun*; when they performed a series of movements in good style, keeping up a good fire from two field-pieces and musketry.

27th Sept.—The 3rd Cavy. marched towards Jellalabad to reinforce a convoy of treasure in progress to Hd. Qrs.; taking ten days' supplies.

29th Sept.—G. O. "The result of an attack on a horde of Banditti by a Dett. under Major *MacLaren*, Comg. 16th N. I., is published in orders."

"That officer with a promptitude highly creditable to him, at the requisition of the Political Agent, Capt. *Outram*, moved with a wing of his Regt. from the fortress of *Ghuznee*, and after a march of 50 miles in little more than 24 hours, joined Capt. O. at *Killoogoo*, on the morning of the 18th inst., and assumed command of the troops; having heard that the *Kujuck* tribe of plunderers had descended from the mountains, he marched at midnight on the 21st to attack them, with the details in the margin." (31)

"The Dett. came in sight of the robbers at day-light on the 22nd, when Major *MacLaren*, made such admirable disposition of his force, as completely to hem them in."

"The robbers are described to have defended themselves with bravery, but were speedily overpowered by the gallan-

(31) A wing 16th N. I., 50 Skinner's horse, under Lt. J. S. *Broadfoot*, Bengal Engineers; 150 Christie's horse, under Lt. *P. Nicolson*; and 150 Affghans, under *Mahomed Osmar Khan*.

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try of the troops; and the whole band has been either killed or taken prisoners." (32)

9. *Troops to remain in Affghanistan.* G. O. 2nd Oct. 1839.—1. "The whole of the 1st (Bengal) Division of Infantry, the 2nd (Bengal) Lt. Cavy., and No. 6 Lt. Fd. battery, will continue in Affghanistan, and a Dett. of 30 sappers under an Engineer officer." (33)

2. "Maj.-Genl. *Sir W. Cotton* will command the troops in Affghanistan, and all reports to be made to him after the 10th inst."

3. "Capt. J. D. *Douglas* A. A. G. will perform the duties of the Adjt.-Genl.'s Dept. Capt. *J. Paton*, A. Q. M. G. will have charge of the duties of the Qr. Mr. Genl.'s Dept. Capt. *Watt*, A. C. G. will be the senior officer of that Dept. Supg. Surgeon *Atkinson* will remain. Orders hereafter will be issued for cantoning the troops."

4. "The 2nd T. 2nd B. H. A., H. M.'s 16th Lancers, and 3rd Lt. Cavy., 4th Local Horse, (34) the remainder of the sappers and miners, a Coy. of 20th N. I., with Capt. *Farmer's* Cos. 21st N. I., and the Dett. now in progress to Hd. Qrs. under Capt. Hopkins, 27th N. I., will move towards *Hindostan*, on such day and order, as will be hereafter issued."

5. "Indents for *Pooshteens*, gloves, and socks for the corps and Detts. to remain in Affghanistan, to be supplied without delay."

6. "The Fd. Hospital will be broken up, such portion

(32) "Major M. reports that amongst the captors, are some of the murderers of the late Lt.-Col. *Herring*, and that articles have been discovered in their possession which prove that from this horde of Banditti, issued the parties which, by plundering our cattle, and murdering our defenceless followers, occasioned annoyance to the troops on their advance upon Cabool."

"H. E. returns his thanks for the patient endurance of fatigue and for the gallant bearing of the troops in the skirmish, which he will not fail to report to the Govr. Genl." (See note 24.)

(33) Lt. J. L. D. Sturt.

(34) The 4th Local horse by G. O. 4th Oct. 1839.

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of the Estbts. not necessary, will be sent to *Feroxpoor*, and there be discharged."

7. "The medical stores remaining in Affghanistan, to be under charge of such officer to be selected by the Suptg. Surgeon, and hold with it that of the corps."

8. "Assts. Baggage-Master abolished from this date."

9. "Capt. *F. Wheeler*, 2nd Cavy., to be D. J. A. G. to the troops in Affghanistan, from 10th inst." (35)

10. "The Dy. Provost Marshal, and Provost Serjt. *Harman*, will remain under the orders of Capt. *Douglas* A. A. G."

11. "Maj.-Genl. *Sir W. Cotton*, will be pleased to nominate an officer to act as Post-master to the troops under his command."

12. "Capt. *Bygrave* will continue as Pay-master; subject to the pleasure of the Govr. Genl."

13. "A special Committee, (36) to assemble on the 5th inst., for the purpose of reporting on men of H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infy. and of the European Regt., who are deemed unfit for further service. No man to be presented, who is likely to recover his health by a residence in *Affghanistan*." (37)

(35) Majors *Hough*, D. J. A. G. and *Sage*, Post-master, permitted to rejoin their staff situations in Hindostan, and to act in those situations with the troops proceeding with Hd. Qrs. The Rev. *A. Hammond* was permitted to return to India. The Fd. Surgeon and Medl. store-keeper to rejoin their corps.

Asst. Baggage Mr. *Hicks* to proceed under the orders of the D. Q. M. G. Provost Serjts. *J. Farnham* and *J. Harris* to rejoin.

The Provost Marshal, and Provost Serjt., to accompany Hd. Qrs. The tents of the Fd. Hospital to be made over to the D. Q. M. G. to complete corps remaining.

(36) President, Supg. Surgeon, and one Surgeon, and three Asst. Surgeons, members.

(37) Proceedings in the case of H. M.'s service to be guided by the rules prescribed for invaliding in H. M. S. For company's troops by those laid down in G. O. 6th March, 1835.

On the 6th inst., as to natives, under the rules laid down in G. O. 1st June, 1835.

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14. "Officers Comg. corps in the 1st and 4th Brigades to furnish the drafts for the 9th Cos. with arms and accoutrements, to march to the provinces."

15. "The annual Committee on arms, (38) will now be assembled; and indents to be made on the Delhi Mag^ne." (39)

10. *4th October*, 1839.—G. O. "The D. C. G. is directed to comply with the Indents of the officer Comg. the 2nd Cavy., for an extra blanket, for every horse."

"The Maj. Genl. Comg. the Cavy. will order a casting Committee on the horses of the 2nd Cavy."

5th Oct.—Lt.-Col. *Wade* marched from Cabool on his return to Loodianah.

8th Oct.—Treasure amounting to 13 Lakhs Rs. (£130,000) arrived to-day at Hd. Qrs., under convoy of 2 Cos. 27th N. I. commanded by Capt. *Hopkins*, together with some troops from Jellalabad. This convoy came through the Khyber Pass with 2 Cos. The 3rd Lt. Cavy. came in with the convoy having met it at *Jugduluk*, six marches from Cabool.

A special Committee (40) was held at the Comsst. Fd. Depôt, to inquire into and report on the cause of the loss of carriage and supplies, sustained by a late convoy.

Passes.—"To guard against irregularities, officers Comg. corps will withhold, for the present, (41) *passes* to enter the town. Men desirous of making purchases, to signify their wish to the orderly Serjts. of troops or companies, at evening parade, and those deserving of the indulgence are to be marched down to the city, under N. C. O., to be held responsible for conducting the whole of the men back to Camp."

(38) Usual in December.

(39) The indents to be forwarded through Genls. of divisions to D. A. G.; with copies of survey reports.

(40) One F. O. and two Capts. On the convoy just arrived.

(41) Pay about to be issued.

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"The Provost Marshal, with his Deputy, and Assts., supported each by a small guard, will patrol in the town, at intervals throughout the day; with instructions to arrest disorderly persons."

11. *Disposition of troops in Affghanistan, Cabool,* (9th Oct. 1839.)—G. O. "H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infy., three guns of No. 6 Lt. Fd. battery, and the 35th Native Infy. to remain at Cabool, and to be accommodated in the *Bala Hissar.*" (42)

The Hd. Qrs. of the Shah's 1st Cavy. were also left, and some of his Artillery. (43)

Lt.-Col. (now Brigr.) *Dennie,* C. B. was left in command at Cabool.

"The public cattle, as well as the Rewarree camels, to be sent for grazing to Jellalabad; and the Envoy and Minister will be solicited to place a body of *Affghan* horse to keep up the communication between Cabool and that place."

Jellalabad. "The 48th N. I., the 4th Brigade, and Dett. of sappers and miners, and 2nd Cavy., with a Ressalah of Skinner's horse, to be cantoned at Jellalabad."

Three guns of No. 6 Lt. Fd. battery to be stationed at Jellalabad. (44)

Ghuznee. "Ghuznee to be garrisoned by the 16th N. I., a Ressalah of Skinner's Horse; and such details of H. M. Shah Shoojah's available, the whole to be under the command of Major *MacLaren.*" (45)

"The Kajawahs now in use to be retained with corps."

Candahar. "Candahar will have for its garrison the 42nd, 43rd N. I., 4th Co. 2nd Bn. Arty., a Ressalah of 4th Local Horse, and such details of H. M. Shah Shoojah's troops

(42) Lt. *Sturt,* Engineers, built the barracks.

(43) The doolies (except 1 per Coy. H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infy., Golundaz, and 35th N. I.) to be sent to Jellalabad for the winter; but the full proportion of *Kajawahs,* to be retained at Cabool.

(44) The party furnished for duty in the *Khyber* Pass, to be relieved periodically, at the pleasure of the Maj. Genl. Comg.

(45) "Two doolies to remain there, and such public, and Rewaree camels, as cannot be provided at Ghuznee."

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as may be available. Major-Genl. *Nott*, will command. Orders will be sent through the D. Q. M. G. to Lt.-Col. *Stacy*, senior officer, to put the troops under cover. (46)

12. *Troops returning to India*, (11th Oct. 1839.)—"The troops to return to the provinces will move in the following order." (47)

"1*st Column*. Hd. Qrs., H. M.'s 16th Lancers, Capt. *Farmer's* Coy. 21st N. I., and a Ressalah of 4th Local Horse," (completed to 100 suwars.)

"2*nd Column*. 2nd T. 2nd B. H. A., 3rd Lt. Cavy.; 4th Local Horse; Capt. Hopkins's Dett., 27th N. I. and Detts. under Majors *Squires*, (48) *Warren*, (49) and Capt. *Prole*, (50); under the command of Maj.-Genl. *Thackwell*."

13*th Oct*. "Officers Comg. corps in Affghanistan, to transmit to the Commissary of Ordnance, Delhi Mag^ne., statements, countersigned by Brigadiers, (51) for articles urgently required." (In anticipation of the annual indents.)

(46) A Bn. of the Shah's Infy. some horse, and his two troops of Horse Arty. were at Candahar.

"On the operations in *Shawl* and its vicinity being over, the 31st N. I. and two Ressalahs of 4th Local horse, now at *Quetta*, to move to *Dadur*, where they will receive F. O."

"The Coy. of Bombay Arty. with the battery of 9-prs. will join Maj.-Genl. *Willshire's* column, and move towards the Bombay presidency."

"The Mily. stores at Quetta to be made over to Capt. *Bean*, Pol. Agent, (receipts in duplicate.)"

(47) It was necessary to march in two columns, as the road viâ Peshawer was known to be incapable of affording forage for all the cattle. We had on leaving Cabool, 3,100 public and Rewaree camels, and Govt. lost 1,300 of these between Cabool and Peshawer, a distance of 193 miles; besides a great many belonging to officers and private individuals!!!

(48) Invalids H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infy.

(49) 82 Drafts for the 2nd European Regt.

(50) Drafts for the 9th Cos. of native Infy. Regts. then at Cabool.

(51) "Those of the 1st and 4th Brigades (G. O. 11th Oct.) were directed, according to the Regulations, to inspect the men of their Brigades recommended for the invalid Estbts; and to strike out of the rolls such as they considered fit for further field service; communicating the names to the D. A. G."

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Capt. *John Hay*, 35th N. I. and M. B. 4th Brigade, died, and was buried this afternoon in the *Armenian* burying ground. This officer was *Persian Interpreter* to the late Sir H. *Fane*. He joined his Regt. on this expedition and commanded the *false attack* at *Ghuznee*. He was a good officer; and much esteemed.

14th Oct.—G. O. "The Ressalah 4th Local Horse to be attached to the 1st Column, half as a rear guard, and the remainder to be in rear of H. M.'s 16th Lancers, followed by Capt. *Farmer's* 2 Cos. 21st N. I."

"The *1st Column* to march to-morrow."

"The *2nd Column* to march on the 16th inst." (52)

Lieut. *Palmer* Intr. and Qr. Mr. 48th N. I. was appointed Post-Master to the force remaining in Affghanistan. Major *Sage* continued as Post-Master with the troops returning to India.

Mahomed Hyder Khan, Dost Mahomed's son, the late Govr. of Ghuznee, and Hajee Khan, Kakur, returned with the 2nd Column, under charge of Capt. (now Major) *McSherry* to India.

(52) The native details over H. M.'s 16th Lancer's Comsst. store, to be furnished from the 3rd Lt. Cavy.

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CHAPTER XII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY OF CABOOL.

1. *Nature of the country.*—The province of Cabool lies between the 32½ and 35½ degrees of N. Latitude; and between the 62¼ and 71½ degrees of E. Longitude.

The city of Cabool is in 34° 30′ 30″ Lat. N. and 68°, 31′ Long. E. It has to the N. the Hindoo Koosh; to the S. the Sufed Koh; to the E. Peshawer, and to the N. W. and W. Bameean, and the Hazara mountains. *Cabool* is one of the gates to Hindostan; and *Candahar* is the other. *Baber* (1) describes the country of Cabool as situated in the 4th Climate, (2) in the midst of the inhabited part of the world. (3) It is a narrow country, but stretching to a considerable extent. Its length is in the direction of E. and W. It is surrounded by hills on all sides.

(1) Memoirs, p. 136. The names of places, &c. are spelt according to Sir W. *Jones's* plan, except I have used C for K in *Kabul* and *Kandahar*.

(2) Ghuznee is in the third climate, or division. *Asiatics* say there are seven. The Uqulem are reckoned from China W., extending, more or less, to the N. and S. (Moofurruh-ool-Qooloob.)

(3) "He confines the term *Affghanistan* to the countries inhabited by *Affghan* tribes. These were chiefly the hill tracks to the S. of the road from Cabûl and Ghazni; the low country of Lamghan, and in general all the places and low grounds, with the towns, were inhabited by Tajuks, men of a different race." An Armenian told me that Cabool and Ghuznee were considered in Hindostan, and Mukoor, six marches from Ghuznee on the road to Candahar, was in *Khorasan*. Baber says, that the people of Hindostan call every country beyond their own Khorasan. Forster, p. 121, says, (according to Sir W. Jones,) "*Khor*, in ancient Persian, signifies the *last*." On entering the *Bolan* Pass, you are in Khorasan.

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"The country of Cabûl (4) is very strong, and difficult of access, whether to foreigners or enemies. Between Balkh, Kundooz, and Badakhshan, on the one side, and Cabûl on the other, is interposed the mountain of Hindû Kûsh, the Passes over which are seven in number."

"During the summer, when the waters are out, you can go by the Pass of *Shibertu*, only by taking the route of *Bamian* and *Seighan;* but in the winter season they travel by the way of *Abdereh*. In winter all the roads are shut up for four or five months, except this alone; such as then proceed to Shibertu through this Pass, travel by way of Abdereh. In the season of spring when the waters are in flood, it is as difficult to pass these roads as in winter; for it is impossible to cross the water-courses,on account of the flooding of the torrents, so that the road by the water-courses is not passable; and as for passing along the mountains, the mountain track is so difficult, that it is only for three or four months in autumn, when the snow and the waters decrease, that it is practicable." (5)

"The road from Khorasan leads by the way of Candahar. It is a straight level road, and does not go through any hill Passes."

"From Hindustan there are four roads which lead up to Cabûl. One of these is by the way of Lamghanât (the great road from Cabûl to Peshawer) and comes by the hill of *Kheiber*, in which there is one short hill Pass. In all the rest of the roads there are Passes of more or less difficulty." (6)

(4) P. 139.

(5) Zuman Shah (brother of Shah Shoojah) crossed over the Hazâra mountains on his march from Herat with a body of horse, and reached Cabool in twelve days; but heavy guns cannot come by this route. Caravans travel this route in summer; but the ascents of innumerable hills are such, that it is said to be very fatiguing to the cattle. Major *Pottinger* crossed over these mountains from Herat to Cabool in October, 1839.

(6) See, Chapters XIII. and XIV. for the route between Cabool and Peshawer.

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"In the country of Cabûl there are many various tribes. Its valleys, and plains are inhabited by Tûrks, Aimâks, and Arabs. In the city and the greater part of the villages, the population consists of Tâjiks. Many others of the villages and districts are occupied by Pashâis, Parâchis, Tâjiks, Barekes, and Afghans. In the hill country, to the W. reside the Hazâras (7) and Nukderis. Among the Hazâra and Nukderi tribes, there are some who speak the Moghol languages. There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken in Cabûl; Arabic, Persian, Tûrki, Mogholi, Hindi, Afghani, Pushtoo, Pashâi, Parâchi, Geberi, Bereki, and Lamghani. It is dubious whether so many distinct races, and different languages, could be found in any other country."

2. *Divisions of the country.*—"The country of Cabûl is divided into fourteen Tumâns (districts.) On the E. lies the Lamghanât, which comprehends five Tumâns and two Balûks *(Talooks.)* The largest of the Tumâns of Lamghan is Nangenhâr. (8) It lies to the E. of Cabûl, 13 farsangs (more than 50 miles) of very difficult road. In three or four places there are some very short Kotuls, or steep hill Passes, and in two or three places there are narrows or straits. The Gurmsîl (or region of warm temperature) is divided from the Surdsîl (or region of cold temperature) only by the steep Pass of Badam-cheshmeh, (i. e. Almond-spring.) The Pass of Badam-cheshmeh lies S. of the Cabûl river, between little Cabûl and Barik-âb. Snow falls on the Cabûl side of this Pass, but not on the Kuruk-saî and Lamghanât side. The moment you descend this hill Pass, you see quite another world. Its timber is different, its grains are of another sort, its animals of a different species, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants are of a different kind. Nan-

(7) They inhabit the hill-country between Cabool and Herat. Those on the Cabool side are Sheeahs; those on the Herat side, Soonees.

(8) "Lies along the Cabûl river on the S. It is the Nunnehaura of Mr. Elphinstone's map."

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genhâr has nine streams. (9) Its rice and wheat are excellent. Oranges, citrons, and pomegranates, are very abundant and of good quality." (10)

"There are a number of other districts belonging to Cabûl. (11) On the N. W. of Cabûl is Kohi-Baba. (The Helmund and the river of Cabûl both rise there. The river of Balkh rises in the N. W. of the same mountain. The river of Eibak, and the Surkhrûd, which descends by Kundoz, rise at no great distance.) It is a high snowy mountain, on which the snow of one year generally falls on the snow of another." (12)

"The different districts of Cabûl lie amid mountains which extend like so many mounds; with vales and level plains expanding between them. The greater part of the villages and population is found on these intermediate spaces."

3. *Eastern and Northern Mountains.*—"The mountainous country (13) on the E. frontier of Cabûl is broken and of two kinds, and the mountainous country on the W. of Cabûl is also of two sorts, in which it differs from the hilly country

(9) "Whence said to derive its name; which in Affghani means nine streams."

(10) Baber says, "after conquering Lahore, and Debâlpûr (a town in the province of Mooltan, 80 miles S. by W., from Lahore Lat. 30° 43′ N. Long. 73° 41′ E.) A. D. 1524, I brought plantains and planted them here; they grew and thrived. The year before I planted the sugar-cane in it, which throve remarkably well. I sent some of them to Badakhshân and Bokhara. It is on an elevated site, enjoys running water and the climate in the winter season is temperate." (Consult the *map* beyond Hindoo Koosh.)

(11) P. 146.

(12) "It happens very rarely that the old snow has disappeared before the new falls. When the *Ice-houses* of Cabûl are exhausted, they fetch ice from this mountain to cool their water. It is three farsangs (12 miles) from Cabûl. This hill and that of Bamian are both exceedingly lofty. The Helmund, the Sind, the Daghabeh of Kundoz, and the river of Balkh, all take their rise in this mountain, and it is said, that in the same day a person may drink from the streams of all these five rivers."

(13) P. 151.

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in the direction of Anderab, Khost, and the Badakhshanat, which are all covered with the Archeh, or mountain pine, well watered with springs, and abounding with soft and smooth heights; the vegetation on these last, whether on the hills, the gentle heights or eminences, or the valleys, is all of one sort, and is of good quality. It abounds with grass named Kah-but-keh, which is excellent for horses." (14)

"Nijrow, (15) and the hilly country of Lamghanât, Bajour, and Sewad, are of another kind, having many forests of pine, fir, oak, olive, and mastick, but the grass is by no means equal to that of the hill-country just mentioned. (16) Though these mountains are not nearly so elevated as those that compose the other hill country, and appear diminutive in comparison, yet they are singularly hard hills; and there are indeed slopes and hillocks which have a smooth, level, surface; yet the hillocks and hills are equally hard, are covered with rocks, and inaccessible to horses."

Western Mountains.—"The mountainous country which lies to the W. is composed of the hills which form the valley of Zindan, the vale of Suf, with Gurzewan, and Gharjestan, which hills are all of the same description. Their grazing grounds are all in the valleys; the hills, or hillocks, have not a single handful of grass such as is to be found on the mountains to the N., nor do they even abound with the Archeh pine. The grass in the grazing ground is very fit for both horses and sheep. Above these hills, the whole country is good riding ground, and level, and there all the cultivated ground lies. The courses of the streams are generally profound glens, often quite perpendicular, and incapable of being descended. (17) The hill countries of

(14) "Said to be so called because it grows in *buteh*, knots, or patches."

(15) "Ferghana and Moghulistan."

(16) "It is abundant enough and likewise tall enough, but good for nothing, and not kindly either for horses or sheep."

(17) "It is a singular circumstance, that, while in all other mountainous tracks, the strengths, and steep and rugged places, are at the *top* of the hills, in these mountains the strong places are all towards the *bottom*."

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Ghûr, Karbû, (18) and Hazâra, are all of the kind that has been described. Their pasture grass is in the valleys and plains. They have few trees, and even the *Archeh* pine does not grow in them. The grass is nutritive to horses and sheep. The deer are numerous; and the rugged, and precipitous places, and strengths of these hills, are also near the bottom."

Southern Hills.—"This hill country, however, bears no resemblance to the hills of Khwajeh Ismael, Desht, Daman, Duki, (19) and Affghanistan, which have all an uniformity of aspect, being very low, having little grass, bad water, and not a tree; and which are an ugly and worthless country. There are, perhaps, scarcely in the whole world such dismal looking hill countries as these."

4. *Trade, Fruits and Climate.*—"On the road between Hindustan and Khorasan, there are two great marts; the one Cabûl, and the other Candahar. (20) Caravans, from Ferghana, Tûrkestan, Samarkand, Balkh, Bokhara, Hissar, and Badakhshan, all resorted to Cabûl; while those from Khorasan repaired to Candahar. The productions of Khorasan, Rûm, (Turkey), Irâk (Persia), and Chin (all China), may be found in Cabûl, which is the very emporium of Hindustan."

Fruits.—"In the districts dependent on Cabûl there is a great abundance of the fruits both of the hot and cold climates, and they are found in its immediate vicinity. The fruits of the cold districts in Cabûl are grapes, (21) pome-

(18) "Some times called Gaznee, some times Karnûd."

(19) "Duki is the Hindi for a hill. *Baber* always uses it for the S. E. hills of Affghanistan."

(20) Baber's Memoirs, p. 137.

(21) Said to be 36 kinds and even more, they each come in at different times during the season. They are in season from about the middle of July till the end of October. "There is a species of grape they call the *water*-grape, that is very delicious; its wines are strong and intoxicating; that produced on the skirt of the mountain of Khwajeh Khan Saaid is celebrated for its potency." *Baber* adds, "*The drinker knows the flavor of the wine; how should the sober know*

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granates, (22) apricots, peaches, (23) pears, apples, quinces, jujubes, damsins, almonds, and walnuts; all of which are found in great abundance. The cherry (24) is also here. The fruits it possesses peculiar to a warm climate, are the orange, citron, (25) the amlûk, the sugar-cane, which are brought from the Lamghanât. (26) They bring the Jelghûzek (27) from Nijrow. They have numbers of bee-hives; but honey is brought only from the hill country on the W. The Rawash (Rhubarb) of Cabûl is of excellent quality; (28) its quinces and damask plums are excellent, as well as its badrengs." (29)

The *potato* was introduced by *Sir A. Burnes,* at Cabûl, in 1837. He found some in 1839, in the garden of the Nuwab Jubbar Khan; and it is his intention to send some to Ghuznee, Candahar, and Jellallabad.

Grain.—"Cabûl is not fertile in grain; (30) a return of four or five to one is reckoned favorable. (31) The *melons* too are not good, but those raised from seed brought from *Khorasan* are tolerable." (32)

it?" He was in his younger days fond of wine. The grapes of *Ghuznee* are superior to those of *Cabool;* though the former is 1330 feet more elevated than Cabool.

(22) Some we saw weighed 36 Co.'s Rs. (40 Co.'s Rs. are about a lb.) nearly *one* lb.

(23) Some weighed 22 Rs., more than half a lb.

(24) *Baber* says, "I caused the sour-cherry tree (*Aloo-baloo*) to be brought here and planted; it produced excellent fruit, and continues thriving." It is acid, not sour.

(25) And a berry like the Karinda (*Kurounda*) used in tarts in India.

(26) The country E. of Cabool. *Baber* caused the sugar-cane to be brought, and planted it there.

(27) "The seed of a kind of pine, the cones of which are as big as a man's two fists."

(28) When sweetened with sugar, it is equal to the best apple-tart.

(29) "A large green fruit."

(30) The city of Cabool is partly supplied with grain from Kohistan.

(31) *Baber* says, that the produce of the crops of Ghuznee exceeds that of Cabool.

(32) The melons of *Bokhara* are said to be so good, that after tast-

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Climate.—"The climate is extremely delightful, and in this respect there is no such place in the known world. In the nights of summer you cannot sleep without a *posteen.* (33) Though the snow falls very deep in the winter, yet the cold is never excessively intense." (34)

"In the spring the N. winds blows incessantly; they call it bade-perwan, the pleasant breeze, (but probably it means the breeze of Pérwan, from the town of that name N. of Cabûl.) From the 6th August to the 14th October, 1839, we had the wind from the N. W., E., N. E., and N. W. The N. W. wind in September and October caused falls of snow in the mountains."

Valleys—Plains—Meadows.—"In the neighbourhood of Cabûl (35) there are four fine Aulengs, or meadows. (36)

ing them, no person would eat one of Cabool; but the Cabool melons, both the musk and water melons, are good.

(33) "A sheep, or lamb-skin cloak." We arrived at Cabool on the 6th August, the hottest time of the year; and a blanket at night was acceptable.

(34) The Thermometer at Cabool this last winter 1839-40, was often 4° and 6° below *zero!* Though *Ghuznee* is 1330 feet above Cabool, the last winter *there* has been mild. The first fall of snow *we* saw on the mountains was on the 3rd Sept. 1839. *Baber* says that "Though the cold is intense, and much snow falls in winter, yet there is plenty of firewood, and near at hand. They can go, and fetch it in one day. The fuel consists chiefly of mastick, oak, bitter-almond, and the kerkend. The best of these is the mastick, which burns with a bright light, and has also a sweet perfume; it retains its heat long, and burns even when green. The oak (belût is a kind of oak, and bears acorns, but has prickly leaves, from which circumstance it is probably here confounded with the holly) too, is an excellent firewood, and though it burns with a duller light it affords much heat and light; its embers last a long time, and it yields a pleasant smell in burning. It has one singular property; if its green branches and leaves are set fire to, they blaze up and burn from the bottom to the top briskly and with a cracking noise, and catch fire all at once. It is a fine sight to see this tree burn. The bitter almond is the most abundant and common of all; but it does not last. The kerkend is a low, prickly, thorn, that burns alike whether green or dry.

(35) Baber, p. 138.

(36) Aulung, or ulung, a plain, or meadow.

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On the N. E. is the Auleng of Sung-Korghan, at the distance of about 2 kos, (4 miles.) It is a fine plain, and the grass agrees well with horses; there are few musquitoes (37) in it. To the N. W. lies the Auleng of Châlak, about one kos (2 miles) from Cabûl. It is extensive; but in summer the musquitoes greatly annoy the horses. (37) On the W. is the Auleng of Deveren, which consists properly of two plains; the one the Auleng of Tibâh, the other that of Kush-Nâdir, which would make the Aulengs of Cabûl 5 in number. (38) The Auleng of Siah-Seng lies on the E. of Cabûl. Between this last Auleng and the currier's gate, stands the tomb of Kutluk Kedem. (39) Adjoining to this last valley is that of Kemri. By this computation it appears that there are six Aulengs about Cabûl, but we hear only of the four Aulengs."

The Cabûl river runs through the plain, and there are numerous springs of water by means of which the valleys can be highly cultivated, to support a larger population, as soon as the country shall become settled, and the distinction between "*meum* and *tuum*" be rightly understood.

About 15 or 20 miles to the S. E. of Cabool there is a very extensive forest which supplies the city with timber, and fire-wood.

6. *The City of Cabool.*—1*st.* The city of Cabool is not as described by *Forster* a walled-town; (40) and is about 3

(37) It is said that they as well as gnats, attack the bellies of the camels and cattle, during the hot weather, and by creating a sore cause their death. Hence it is usual to send camels to graze to a distance of 25 or 30 miles from the city.

(38) "Each of these 2 aulengs is about a farsang (4 miles) from Cabûl. Though but of small extent, they afford excellent pasture for horses, and are not pestered with gnats. There is not in all Cabûl any auleng equal to these."

(39) "This auleng being much infested with musquitoes in the hot weather, is not in such high estimation as the others."

(40) Forster, vol. ii., p. 79. He says, it is 1½ mile in circumference; he wrote in 1783. He could not have included the *Bala Hissar*. *Candahar* is more than 3 miles in circumference.

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miles in circumference. It is situated on the E. and between two ranges of hills, which protect it from the N. and S. winds, owing to which circumstance its site appears to have been been selected. From the Candahar side, you enter by the W., passing through a winding range of hills till you meet the entrance, between the hills on each side of it; they rise up nearly perpendicular and are fortified, in the Asiatic style, by double-walls with small bastions, the walls being loop-holed. (41) On the S. W. of the city there is a small hill, which is called Baber Badshah. (42) Baber's tomb is just below this hill. It is not large, nor in a good style of architecture. From the above hill a clear crystal stream issues. The ground on which the tomb stands is higher than any in the city, and is enclosed by a wall all round. South from the city and to the E. of Baber Badshah, there is a lake nearly 4 miles in circumference. (43) The view from the E. side of the city is the best. (44) From the E. the city of Cabool is seen to advantage; the Bala Hissar being to the S. E., and from the hills to the N. E. you obtain the entire view of both; the whole of the city being seen, with the Bala Hissar to the left of the landscape.

2*nd*. The length of the city is from E. to W.; the N. and S. being contracted by the hills. On the E. and S. E. side is the Bala Hissar, (45) which, now, as formerly under

(41) Said to have been built by Ahmed Shah. These are of no defence to the place; but a fire from them might annoy the inhabitants.

(42) "Called (formerly) Shah Cabûl (where Baber himself is buried) from the circumstance of a king of Cabûl having built a palace on its summit. This hill may be about a farsang (nearly 4 miles) in circumference."

(43) This lake irrigates the lands on the E. side of the city, and by it the country may be flooded.

(44) The west side is not seen on account of the hills closing in, by which there is the appearance, as stated by *Forster*, of the city "describing generally the figure of a semicircle;" the base of which is to the E.: the country to the W. is the most picturesque.

(45) The palace is in the centre of the walled part. There is an entrance from the E. side, and there is a gate-way which leads

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the kings, is the residence of the Governor; and even in the time of Dost Mahomed. The Bala Hissar division is about ½ mile long and ¼ mile broad, the length being from E. to W. (46); and has a stone-wall all round. Just on entering you come to the spot where the barracks are built, beyond which on the left is a large square for stables. There has been a small gate built to the E. entrance into the square, on passing into which, a road leads down to the left to the palace in which the Envoy and Minister lives. The king's palace is on the right side of the great square; the S. and N. sides of which to the rear, are occupied by the palaces and gardens. The large square is about 200 yards square. Beyond this square there is another in which the *Shah's* troops were encamped. Then you come into the street containing the bazar. The Bala Hissar (or upper fort) is to the S. of the side where the Envoy and Minister lives; it is on a high commanding hill, overlooking the city. (47)

from it to the W., from which the road turns to the right, runs along the river, and passes over a bridge into the city. The "*Bala Hissar*" itself is to the S. on a hill which overlooks the city, and would contain a corps of 800 or 1,000 men. The Bala Hissar division contains a bazar and two or three palaces. The barracks for our troops were built not far from the king's palace.

(46) On entering from the E. side after proceeding about 200 yards, the road turns off to the right leading to the Bala Hissar. The road straight on, leads into the city.

(47) In the time of Timoor Shah, his brothers and other state prisoners were confined here. Timoor Shah lived at Candahar usually. From the following Persian lines of the poet Moolla Mahomed Taleb Meeamaee, it would seem, that the kings lived actually in the citadel, or upper fort. "Drink wine in the *citadel* of Cabûl, and send round the cup without stopping. For *it* is at once a *mountain* and a sea, a town, and a desert."

Baber says, "In the N. part of the citadel there are houses with windows, which enjoy a delightful atmosphere." The palace in the *Bala Hissar*, where Shah Shoojah lives, cannot be the *citadel* referred to in the above lines; for a "*mountain*" must apply to the *hill* on which the upper part, or citadel, stands. The present palace therefore, is in the Bala Hissar *Division*.

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The *Kuzzulbashes* have a division of the city to themselves on the W. side. After entering the city from the W., and proceeding about ½ a mile to the E., there is a road which turns to the left, (N.) and leads into the *Seistan* road, running to the N., and the first turn to the right takes you to the E. passing a village, bringing you out of Cabool; the city then being to your right, and gives a front view of the king's palace. There is an entrance into the city, from the S. W. side leading from *Baber's* tomb, which, on your reaching the outskirts, turns to the left to get to the W. entrance. The road to the right leads to the S. side of the city.

3rd. There are no gates to the entrances to the city. That to the Bala Hissar division could easily be protected. The other entrance on the E. side, is called the Lahore entrance. The entrance by the N. is by the *Seistan* road. There is none directly from the S. There are four spacious bazars in the centre of the city, (48) where articles and goods of all kinds, English, Russian, Indian, and from almost every part of the world, are to be sold. The entrance on the Lahore side (E.) leads into the most crowded bazar I ever saw. The streets are narrow, and in some parts do not admit of two horsemen passing abreast. The streets are paved with large stones, but are much out of order; particularly in that part leading from the Bala Hissar entrance into the city, and the road outside the gate-way towards the river, and after passing through the first bazar in the direct line from the bridge; in many places there are deep hollows in the centre of the road. The houses have two, some three stories; and at the top of the houses a wattled framework is erected to render them more private; here the people sleep in the warm weather. Many of the houses of the princi-

(48) Said to have been built by Ali Murdan Khan, a celebrated nobleman in the reign of Jehangeer, who reigned from A. D. 1605 to 1628. These bazars have covered passages, so that the sun does not shine on them. There were fountains in these bazars, in the days of the ancient kings.

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pal people have gardens attached to them. The shops are on the ground-floor, and the traveller procures an excellent dinner for about *one penny*. Fruit of all kinds are to be had. The grapes and other fruits are to be seen piled up in tiers in the front of the shops. Fruit and cook-shops are to be met with in, or near all the bazars; but iron, &c. wares, clothes, &c. are in particular quarters. Ice and sherbet and all the luxuries of an *Affyhan* dinner may be had for about three halfpence.

4th. The Citadel, Suburbs, &c.—Dost Mahomed had commenced to build a *Fausse braye* to the *Bala Hissar*. He commenced it from the S. side, (49) and this is the *only* part of Cabool which *could* be defended. There is a wet-ditch round it, deepest on the S. side; to the E. it may be 3 or 4 feet deep. To the S. W. distant about 1½ mile, is the *Armenian* (50) burying ground which is surrounded by a wall, and where all our officers were buried. A Cemetery should be, and no doubt will be built at Cabool.

In the *Mahomedan* burying ground near and to the S. E. of the city, there is a tomb-stone with this inscription, "*Here lyeth the body of John Hicks, son of Thomas and Edith Hicks, who departed this life, the Eleventh of October* 1666." (51) Near the hills to the N. E. of the city are some mosques close under the hills. To the S. E., on the

(49) It was said he would have completed it in 5 months more; had we delayed the expedition, he would have been so far the better prepared.

(50) Dost Mahomed was the cause of a great number of the Armenians leaving Cabool. They were the manufacturers of spirits. The Cabool-spirit, which is very strong, is made from grapes. When from fresh grapes, it is not unlike whiskey, and its color is white; when prepared from the dried grapes, owing to the bruising of the seeds, it has an unpleasant flavor; it is dear, being about 4 or 5 shillings a quart bottle. It is not a bad drink with warm water and sugar, in the absence of brandy, &c., but it is said to possess deleterious qualities, why I cannot understand, as a pure spirit ought to be the produce; I should apprehend this not to apply to fresh grapes.

(51) The time of Aurunzebe. There is no tradition of who John Hicks was.

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hills distant about 8 or 9 miles from the city, are two lofty pillars, said to have been built by *Alexander the Great:* the inscriptions on them have not yet, I believe, been decyphered. To the N. E. of Cabool about 5 miles there is a beautiful plain where the *races* were held and the troops reviewed. To the W. and N. W. of the city distant about 2 and 4 miles, there are several summer houses, enclosed with walls and gardens; and there are villages in various directions. The view, therefore, from the Bala Hissar, and from the hills which enclose the city, is very extensive and grand.

5th. Revenue, Population, Army.—The Revenue of Cabool, (52) Bootkhak and Koh Damun is said to be about 5 Lakhs Rs. (£50,000.) The last year of Dost Mahomed's rule, the whole revenue of the *Province* of Cabool was 26 Lakhs Rs. (£260,000) including Ghuznee, Jellalabad, &c. The *district* of Cabool on his accession yielded 50 or £60,000. Out of this revenue he had to pay his army 21 Lakhs Rs. (£210,000) so that he had little left for other purposes. The *population* has been variously stated at 60,000 and 100,000, and *Sir A. Burnes* thinks it exceeds 100,000; and that it was never so high as in Dost Mahomed's time. It appeared to me to be greater than that of Candahar; and the houses at Cabool contain more stories. The army was paid partly in money, by grants of lands, and by giving so much grain. (53) Dost Mahomed's regular Army was

(52) Of the city of Cabool was in Baber's time £33,333, but it is said to be more now. The extreme amount of the Revenue of Affghanistan which must have included Cabool, Candahar, and Herat under the *Suddozye* prince was, it is said, 80 or 90 Lakhs Rs. (800, or £900,000.) *Elphinstone*, vol. ii., p. 258 (new edition) states it to have been three crores of rupees, but only two crores available to the crown, of which one crore (one million sterling) went in Jaghires, or grants to the military chiefs. This must have included Balkh, Sindh, Cashmere, Lahore, &c.

Mr. *Elphinstone* must refer to the reign of Ahmed Shah; and Sir *A. Burnes*, to the latter part of that of Timoor Shah.

(53) Sir *A. Burnes* says—"The quantity of grain received in former times by a soldier as his pay, or by a proportion from his lands,

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about 14,000 men, of which 6,000 were Cavalry, with about forty guns, besides those in *Ghuznee*, &c. The fear of invasion by the *Sikhs*, and his proximity to the country of, and disputes with *Moorad Beg*, caused him to maintain an army much beyond his means. (54) The sytem of paying the troops was, that a Sirdar, or Chief, received so many villages, or so much land, and a portion of money, and grain, for the maintenance of his quota of troops. (55)

is (1837) unaltered, but such is the complaint of a want of money, that the value of grain is deteriorated by a *third* and often by one *half*. It was, at one time, unusual and even considered a disgrace, to part with land in Cabool, but it may be now (1837) had at from six to seven years' purchase, and is for sale everywhere. During the *monarchy*, the *Affghans* went, in the course of their service, to *Peshawer*, *Sindh*, *Cashmeer*, and to the other provinces, and brought back with them their savings. No such opportunities now present themselves: the *Koh-Damun*, *Jellalabad* and *Lughman*, are their *Sindh* and *Cashmeer*."

(54) It was reported (Sept. 1838) that the envoy sent by Dost Mahomed to the king of Bokhara to seek his aid and alliance had been intercepted, on his return, by Meer Morad Beg of Kundoz, who after plundering him of his horses, sent back to Bokhara the presents he was bringing to Cabool, and had since seized several villages N. of *Bameean*, which were added by Dost Mahomed to his own possessions about the year 1833; and in consequence Dost Mahomed had sent the greatest part of his disposable troops to that quarter; and ordered the reinforcement which had been despatched towards *Ali Musjid*, to halt at Gundamuk (about 34 miles from Jellalabad, and 97 miles from *Ali Musjid*). Overtures of peace were subsequently made by *Morad Beg:* but, their proximity to each other, rendered it necessary for Dost Mahomed to keep up a large force.

(55) When these troops were serving at other places than near their homes, or stations, there was a difficulty in providing for the men and horses, for in the winter the Cavalry and most of the Juzzailchees were stationed at Jellalabad, which being distant from the Jagheers granted to the chiefs, there were not the means to obtain forage for a large body of Cavy.

On the occasion of the last march to Peshawer (1837) one Regt. was one and a half year in arrears, and only received two Rs. it is said, per man: such a system must have naturally occasioned plundering to be common, to provide for their wants. From this cause it is *well known* that he could not *long* keep an army together. The chiefs would meet for any concerted operations; but if any considerable delay ensued, they dispersed!

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To meet the contingencies of increased demand on his treasury, he, of late years, had recourse to increasing the taxes paid by the merchant and trader; as well as to borrowing money by way of loan: these acts naturally tended to lower his dignity, and would, in time, have placed him in the hands of his chiefs and subjects: there could be no stability in such a Govt. (56)

6th. Provisions, Police, &c.—Provisions are said to have been more plentiful and cheaper under the rule of Dost Mahomed, than under the kings. This may have been caused by the kings granting the most valuable lands to their favorites, and thus a monopoly would result; but, the necessities of the state had brought Dost Mahomed to a low financial ebb; and it does not seem to me how it would have been *practicable* to have supported him in a high and useful position in Affghanistan, without a great pecuniary sacrifice, and without the aid of a subsidiary force, on nearly as expensive a scale as that which will be the cost under a king; who must feel gratitude to the *British* for an asylum and pension for nearly 24 years from our Govt., by whose means he has recovered his throne. (57) The country was

(56) It is, also, said that in many instances two or three years' rent had been taken from the *Ry'yut* (cultivator of the soil) in advance; on the plea of supporting the war against *Runjeet Singh* (Sikh ruler.) *We* heard at Cabool, that before he left it, he had fore-stalled the Revenue for three years! This could scarcely have been done in so poor a country; but that he *did* fore-stall as much as he *dared* to exact is most probable. The chiefs of Candahar (his brothers) did so. It is said that 40,000 people had during his rule left Cabool and its vicinity and emigrated to Bokhara. I should attribute this fact, if true, to the state of the country in a great measure.

(57) The British Government could not have relied on any *half*-measure to have effected the regeneration of *Affghanistan*. Candahar must have been added to Cabool, these being the two *keys* to Hindostan; this would have involved two subsidiary forces and two British Political agents at the two cities, to have rendered the measure complete; while Dost Mahomed would never have had the same motives for remaining staunch to the British Government.

Dost Mahomed wished to have Peshawer; but, I believe, he would have foregone that demand. He pretended that as the English would

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infested with robbers immediately the troops were withdrawn from Jellalabad; and though they were employed about two months in the year to collect the Revenue, still no steps seem to have been taken, to secure the safety of the roads by stationing troops, or by any police arrangements.

Indeed even in the city of Cabool during the summer months, it is said not a night passed without several houses being broken into. This (58) was usually practised by the *Affghans* who brought their flocks into the neighbourhood of Cabool; and by others who repaired there to avoid the heat of the surrounding country. (59)

not aid him, he was compelled to throw himself on Persia. Now the aid he required was clearly to augment his dominions. Had he been sincere in his wish for an alliance with the *British Government*, by which his circumstances would have been improved, he would at once, have given up the demand: the Nuwab Jubbar Khan (his brother) advised him "*to strengthen friendly relations with the British Government;* but, when he decided to adhere to his policy and entertained a Persian alliance, the Nuwab, said, in council, "*the time is now gone by, it is no use to consult me, or any of the Sirdars now,*" that the Ameer might follow the course he considered safest, that there was no other alternative than to fight!

Affghanistan was merely held in military possession by Dost Mahomed, and his brothers at Candahar. Dost Mahomed, no doubt, hoped that the Persian alliance would secure him Peshawer, or some advantage. Under such a ruler there was no security against intrigue. Jubbar Khan, from being attached to the British Government, said *he* was suspected, and at one time received from our Govt., the means to enable him to leave the country. His son Abdool Ghias Khan had been sent to Loodianah for education, so that the Nuwab himself was desirous to retain our friendship.

(58) Declared to have been the case in 1837.

(59) "The usual mode of operation was for 10 or 12 to attack a house, when, if any opposition was shewn, they invariably committed murder; and then effected their escape, which they easily did, owing to their number. Such was the dread they inspired, that the inhabitants of a house, on finding thieves had entered, feigned to be asleep, and allowed them to carry off what they pleased. It is said, that 20 houses have been known to be broken into in a night; and for several nights in the hot weather, the inmates in every house kept watch during the night!"

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Cabool is a healthy place, though it is said that the people do not attain a great age. Here as well as at Candahar the people are subject to fever during the autumn. (60) The elevation of *Cabool* above the level of the sea is (at *Baber's* tomb) 6,396 feet, which is 1,330 feet below *Ghuznee,* and 2,912 feet above *Candahar.* This gives Cabool a temperature of nearly 21½ degrees lower than at the level of the sea, (61) and from 16 to 17 degrees lower temperature than at most of the military stations in India. (62)

The range of the thermometer at Cabool from the 6th to the end of August, at 4 A. M. was from 46° to 74°, and at 3 P. M. was from 72° to 96°.

In the month of September, at 4 A. M. 50° to 64°, and from 3 P. M. 70° to 90°.

From the 1st to 14th October, 1839. At 4 A. M. 30° to 56°, and from 3 P. M. 64° to 92°.

I have myself heard it declared, that Dost Mahomed had no control beyond the city; and while our army was encamped close to it, we had ample evidence of the state of the road between our camp and the city. If any officer dined in the city, he had 3 or 4 horsemen as a guard to protect him on his way back; and our sentries were even shot at on their posts! I impute all this to the absence of all control under the rule of the Ameer, whose schemes of aggrandizement caused him to neglect the "*Home Dept.*"

(60) An Armenian told me it was owing to the too free use of grapes; the Affghans drink a decoction of wild thyme as a cure. The cold of Cabool in the winter causes those complaints which are prevalent in cold countries. This winter (1839-40), the temperature has been 4 and 6 degrees below *zero!* The sepoys have stood the cold well; those who have died have been the weak and sickly; warm-clothing, and fires were used in the barracks and hospitals.

(61) Allowing 300 ft. of altitude to decrease the temperature *one* degree.

(62) See Appx. Table, No. 3.

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CHAPTER XIII.

MARCH OF THE HEAD QUARTERS FROM CABOOL TO THE KHYBER PASS.

1. *Cabool to Boot-khak*, 8½ miles, (15th Oct. 1839.)—H. E. Lt.-Genl. Sir J. Keane, Comr.-in-Chief of the army of the Indus, and Hd. Qrs., with the first Column, consisting of H. M. 16th Lancers, 2 Cos. 21st N. I. and a Ressalah of 4th Local Horse, quitted Cabool this morning under a salute. Thermometer 4 A. M. 44°. Marched at 6 A. M. The road, after descending from the high ground near the E. of Cabool, proceeds by the famous plain to the N. E., and passes through some low ground. At about 3 miles (1) it crosses to the left by bridges over the Loghar and Khoord (small) Cabool rivers; it thence runs through a swamp. The road is raised and covered with stones, rendering it difficult for horses and camels. This compelled us to take the road close to the left of the raised road. The latter part of the road is much better, though so narrow, being confined between ravines and a high bank, that it is bad for guns. The appearance of cultivation was lost after the sixth mile; and the road ran to the right close to the hills, to the S. and was free of stones, but the whole was barren, no vestige of grass, or any sort of vegetation was to be seen. Our camp was a mile beyond the village of Boot-khak, which is a small place. The Khoord Cabool river E. and close to camp. Thermometer at 3 P. M. 64°. Lieut. *F. Mackeson*, Pol. Asst. accompanied our column. The elevation here is 6,247 feet or 153 below Baber's tomb at Cabool.

To *Khoord Cabool*, 9 miles 1 furlong, (16th Oct. 1839.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 36°. Marched at day-break. The

(1) Or 5 miles from Cabool; our camp was two miles from the city.

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2nd column, under Maj.-Genl. *Thackwell* left Cabool to-day (2) with the state prisoners, *Mahomed Hyder Khan*, and *Hajee Khan, Kakur*, in charge of Capt. *McSherry*. Shortly after leaving camp the road lay close under the hills to the S. From Boot-khak there is a Kafila (caravan) road (the *Luttabund* Pass) which runs about S. E. from camp and passes over the mountains to the left of the entrance to the Pass. (3) At 1½ mile from camp you enter the Pass of "*Kotil Khoord Cabool.*" (4) The Pass is formed by two chains of high mountains between which runs the Khoord Cabool river, confined within a very narrow channel. The cold was intense; the height of the mountains kept the rays of the sun from us. The length of the Pass is about 6 miles, and the width not more than from 100 to 200 yards, the road crossing the river 23 times. The mountains are of the most barren description, of *basalt*, and *iron-stone*, broken into precipices, and crags, and without a particle of vegetation. On leaving the Pass, there is a perceptible ascent. The entrance to the Pass is about S. E. and its termination about E. (5) Having debouched from the Pass the village of Khoord Cabool is about 1½ mile distant, the road taking a turn

(2) It consisted of 2nd T., 2nd B. H. A., 3rd Lt. Cavy., 4th Local Horse, two Cos. 27th N. I. Detts. under Majors Squires and Warren, consisting of the invalids of H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infy. and 82 men for 2nd European Regt. and the Drafts for 9th Cos. (of Native Infy. Regts. left at Cabool) under Capt. *Prole* 37th N. I.

(3) It comes out at the 3rd march from Boot-khak, at the giant's tomb, about 30 miles distant. It is not fit for the passage of an army; nor for heavily loaded camels.

(4) The little Cabool (river) Pass.

(5) I could perceive no place, in the Pass, by which a person could ascend these mountains. The streams were frozen in many places, and as the water splashed up on our cloaks it froze on them. On getting out of the Pass to a spot where the sun's rays shone on it, I saw a trooper of the 1st Bombay Cavy. who was nearly frozen.

In a military point of view this pass is a very formidable obstacle to the march of an army to or from Jellalabad and Peshawer; and the Kafila path is out of the question in military operations: but the passage of either could be easily disputed.

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to the left, and there being a perceptible ascent. The elevation at the village is 7,466 feet, or 1,219 feet above our last ground. Thermometer 3 P. M. 64°. *Camp.* The river to the rear. Hills to the front. The village about a mile to the rear of the left. Many camels lost to-day.

The *Tezeen* 12⅞ miles, (17th Oct.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 30°. Marched at 6 A. M. The road was a moderate ascent to the E. for about 3 miles and good. About half way crossed several slight ascents and descents and some few streamlets. Thence commences the *Huft Kotil,* (6) or so many ranges of hills over which the road runs. It then enters the bed of the Rood (7) Tezeen, running nearly due N., after a winding descent through mountains variously stratified, it opens into the valley of Tezeen. The last descent is about ¾ of a mile and very steep. The first half forms nearly a semicircle to the left, and the last half is nearly direct to the valley, the direction of the march was E. and then N. (8) There is another road to the left which leads into the valley lower down, and beyond our camp, which was opposite to the debouche of the Pass. The Rood-i-Tezeen which runs down the Pass, discharges itself into the Cabool river at Tarobi. (9) The village of Tezeen was about a mile S. from camp.

Further S. the valley is crossed by a range of mountains, wooded from their base to their summit. To the W. of N. and to the E. are other mountains. The valley is not above 1,000 yards broad, and is barren, with the exception

(6) Or seven passes; the descents are long, and the declivities steep, two of the descents are considerable, and six others in succession, so that it should properly be called the "*Husht-kotil,*" or eight Passes. The last is a very stony Pass (like the *Bolan*) with water-courses.

(7) *Rod* or *Rood* river (of the *Tezeen* or *narrow* valley).

(8) An enemy might dreadfully annoy a column moving down this last descent, as they would have a flanking fire on it.

(9) The Gorbund, the Uzbeen, and Rood-i-Tezeen, all join and fall into the Cabool river, near the same place; and the bed of these three rivers form so many Passes to the high ridge, between Cabool and Jellalabad.

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of a few patches of cultivation. (10) Thermometer 3 P. M. 66°. The elevation of the Tezeen *Pass* is 8,173 feet, 707 feet above the last ground; that of the Tezeen *valley* 6,488, or 1,685 feet *below* the Pass; and as the chief descent is in the last 5 miles, it would give a fall of one foot in sixteen; the greatest we had yet met with. (11)

2. The *Giant's* (or Fuqueer's) *Tomb at Ararent on the Tezeen*, 8½ miles, (18th Oct. 1839.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 50°. Marched at day-break. The road descended the bed of the Rood-i-Tezeen due N. generally, or ascended some spurs of the mountains which ran into it. The valley was about 1,000 to 1,200 yards wide, crossing the same streams frequently as on the last march. The whole of the way was covered with round, loose, stones, and more difficult than the *Bolan* Pass, over a continual ascent and descent of loose stones, splitting the bullocks' feet, and rendering them incapable of moving. The valley widened a good deal during the march; but, still, it was a *valley of stones*, and worse than the "*Bolan Pass,*" equally sterile, with *bad,* instead of *good* water: (12) the latter part of the road worse than the first. The only forage were a few stunted bushes, and coarse grass for the camels. (13) About half-way there is a small tower, on the hills to the left. The Tezeen empties itself into the Cabool river, about 15 miles to the N. of Tarobi. The Kafila road (Luttabund Pass) passes down from the hills to the left, by a steep descent about a mile beyond the Giant's tomb. A descent in to-day's march. Thermometer at 3 P. M. 75°.

(10) The Holly, and some few stunted shrubs were observed among the rocks.

(11) Many hackeries came up late at night; some did not come to camp for two days, and were plundered.

(12) There is a spring of water on the other side of the hill on the right, distant about 3 miles. The water of the Rood-i-Tezeen, at our camp, ran over, it is said, a vein of iron.

(13) We lost a great many camels, and many were said to have died from eating some poisonous bushes. Grain was procurable, in small quantities, from the villages in the valley beyond camp (Seroobee, &c. 4 or 5 miles off).

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To *Rood-i-Kutta-Sung*, 4¾ miles, (19th Oct.)—Thermometer at 4 A. M. 48°. Marched at day-break. The road straight in a continuation of the valley of Tezeen. We took the road to the right, nearly due E. For half a mile passed over a stony level road. Then commenced the first ascent. There are four ascents and descents. At the end of the second descent, and between it and the third ascent, is a stony valley, and a small stream, called the "*Bareek-ab.*" (14) There is an old fortification on a hill by the side of the stream. The third ascent is the steepest. The last is the longest and greatest descent. The whole road stony, and must be very difficult going to Cabool. The valley in which the camp was, is called "*Rood-i-Kutta-Sung.*" No village, nor cultivation seen. "Bareek-Ab," (15) is 5,313 feet, or 1,175 feet below the valley of *Tezeen*. Thermometer 3 P. M. 72°.

To *Jugdulluk*, 7½ miles, (20th Oct.)—Thermtr. 5 A. M. 54°. Marched at day-break. The road lay first 3 miles E. over some steep spurs, or hillocks, running down to the Kutta-Sung. Then the valley widens, and you pass a Chokee on the left. At 4 miles enter the gorge of the "*Puree-Duree*" (16) Pass, taking a direction to the S. The Pass is the bed of the Jugdulluk river. It is about 3½ miles in extent. It is very narrow and stony, with an ascent. The Pass winds several times almost at right-angles. The average width is about 40 or 50 yards; but there are three places where it is less than 10 feet, indeed one only 6 feet, so that if any animal fell, the road would be stopped till it should be removed The almost perpendicular cliffs, on both sides, appear as if

(14) "Fine" or "small-stream."

(15) The country around belongs to Aughur Khan, the chief. It is a succession of barren hills, deep ravines, and small rivulets running to the Cabool river, through valleys of stones rarely exhibiting a few patches of cultivation. From the hills which bound the Kutta-Sung, the snowy range is visible in the S. E. and the "*Sufed-koh*" is also seen rising in majestic grandeur above the rest. The scenery is very grand.

(16) Literally, the "*Fairy Valley*" Pass.

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threatening the destruction of the traveller. A small party of armed men would stop the passage of any force which had entered it. The road passes so much over water that, in certain seasons, it would much impede the march of troops. This difficult Pass is, in some respects, not unlike the defile of the "*valley of hell*" between *Neustadt* and *Fribourg*. (17) To the W. of the Pass, a road crosses the mountains, which completely turns the Pass. (18) Lt.-Col. *Wade* moved by the road over the hills, but his *guns* went through the Pass. From the entrance to the Khoord Cabool Pass to Jugdulluk, a distance 42 miles, there is a succession of Passes and defiles, more difficult than any road we had yet seen. They beggar description. (19)

The Jugdulluk country belongs to the Jeebhar Khel tribe, of which Uzzeez Khan, the chief, was, at this time, adverse to the *Shah's* Govt. There is a garden here, to the W. in a grove of mulberry trees. There are the remains of four bastions on the raised mound it occupies. We found some of the 3rd Cavy. here whose horses had been left on the return of the Regt. with the convoy to Cabool; having been knocked up. It was at Jugdulluk that *Sir A. Burnes*, received his last letter from *Dost Mahomed*. Thermometer 3 P. M. 72°. Jugdulluk is 5,375 feet, or 62 feet above

(17) "To traverse the black-mountains, from *Neustadt* to *Fribourg*, you have for two hours to travel along a narrow valley between perpendicular rocks. This valley, or rather this crevice, (at the end of which there is a torrent) is only a few paces wide, and is named the valley of hell. By this terrible defile, the greater part of the *French* army traversed the black-mountains with an enemy in its front, its rear, and on its flanks." (Campaign 1796, between the Archduke Charles and Genl. Moreau.) Moreau's life by Philippart, p. 89 *note*.

(18) The road is parallel to the Pass and leads over the hills to the left as you come from Jellalabad, and ends in the valley by which you enter the pass from Cabool (near the above named Chokee); and is said to be a better road; but not for guns. It is about 4 miles long. The command of the Pass would secure this road from the hills by which the Pass is formed.

(19) The country is more barren than any we had yet seen, and our camels got less to eat. The feet of bullocks were knocked to pieces.

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Bareek-ab. We buried this afternoon Capt. *W. Hackett*, H. M.'s 17th foot, who died last night.

3. To *Soorkh-ab* (20) 13 miles, (21st Oct. 1839.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 40°, when we marched. The road E. for the first 1½ mile was an ascent up the river. Then came a very steep ascent for about 300 yards, very trying for loaded animals. This can be avoided by passing over a small kotil (Pass) to the right, on descending which there is a ruined fort, but it is a circuitous route; some baggage went that way.

On attaining the top of the steep ascent you are on the crest of the ridge of the Kotil-i-Jugdulluk, where the river has its rise: thence there is a rather precipitous descent for about 3 miles. (21) For 7 miles the road crossed a succession of steep ravines, covered, with loose pebbles, and of a most dreary aspect. To the S., the mountains of the "*Sufed-koh*" covered with deep snow, bounded the view. At about 1 mile from the valley of *Hissarah*, there is a very steep descent over ledges of rocks, (22) into the bed of the Soorkh-ab river, which is crossed by a bridge of one arch, through which the river rushes a perfect torrent. Though only 1½ foot deep it was difficult to cross the stream below to the left of the bridge. To the right near the ledge of rocks, are the ruins of an old fort. To the N. E. of camp is a small tower on the hills. To the S. W. is the bridge. The river here runs from W. to E. The direction of our route to-day was E., and last half a little N. The valley still stony, and the width from ½ to ¾ of a mile. The valley particularly to the S. W. and village of Hissarah, has many orchards, vineyards and cornfields on the banks of the river, affording a pleasing

(20) Water of a reddish color.

(21) A stream comes from this side of the Pass, and running parallel to the road for about 2 miles, crosses it, and passes to the N. to the Cabool river.

(22) At this place the hackeries were obliged to stay till late at night, and the people were fired on all night; the Ghiljies being on the watch, came down and plundered them. The baggage did not get into camp till the middle of the night.

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contrast to the country we had hitherto passed through. The camp was supplied with corn, bhoosa, and abundance of the finest grapes, pomegranates, and vegetables. At about half-way from the last ground Lieut. *F. Mackeson,* recovered two of the guns left by Mahomed Akbar Khan, on his retreat from Jullalabad to Cabool. Thermometer 3 P. M. 80°. The elevation at Soorkh-ab is 4,373 or 1,002 feet less than at our last ground.

It was here that *Shah Shooja,* "having marched from Peshawer (23) to attack Cabool, met the army of *Mahmood* (who deposed Shah Zeman) consisting of 3,000 men, at *Eshpaun,* in a narrow plain surrounded with hills and having the brook of *Soorkh-ab* in their front. Shah Shoojah had at least 10,000 men, was at first victorious; but his troops took to plundering, and got into confusion. The Bareekzyes under Futteh Khan (24) defeated him, and Shah Shoojah escaped with difficulty to the Khyber hills, where he remained till a fresh opportunity offered of asserting his claim to the throne." (25)

4. To *Sufed-Sung,* 9¾ miles, (22nd Oct. 1839.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 56°. Marched at day-break. The road ran to the E. through the valley, 800, or 1,000 yards wide, and for about two miles was as stony and difficult with ascents and descents as any we had passed over; and crossed by several rivulets winding their way to the Cabool river. The valley now widened. At about 4 miles a tolerable road, crossing ravines and rivulets running from S. to N.; then a steep ascent, a mile beyond which is *Gundumuk,* on the left of the road. The elevation is 4,616 ft. or 243 ft. above our last ground. Thence the road is good till within 3 miles of Sufed-Sung, when it has most rugged descents crossing the Gundumuk river with a stony bed. There is a bridge with a broken arch at Sufed-Sung. The road to our camp crossed the stream to the left of the bridge, with a steep ascent up to it. *Camp* S. W. ½ mile from the bridge, which except

(23) On 10th Sept. 1801. He was then 20 years old.
(24) The Vizier and Dost Mahomed's father.
(25) Which he did in 1803.

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the arch, is repairable. The walled village of *Gundumuk* is prettily situated. It is surrounded with wheat-fields, cypresses and a considerable forest group, through which the river issues, and with the distant snow-capped *Sufed-koh*, formed a beautiful scene, and a contrast to the bleak hill on which our camp was pitched. Thermometer 3 P. M. 78°.

23*rd October*.—Thermometer 5 A. M. 54°. Halt. No account of the baggage-wagons. The rear column lost one jemadar, one havildar and three sepoys, by the fire of the thieves at the last ground. They halted, to-day, at Gundumuk, the usual stage. Thermometer 3 P. M. 75°.

To Futehabad, 12 miles, (24th Oct. 1839.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 52°, when we marched. The road to-day lay to the N. of E., and leaving the valley of *Neemla* on the right, ascending the heights along which it wound. In the valley of *Neemla*, 2½ miles from the last ground is a celebrated garden. It is a square and contains some magnificent plane and cypress trees. There are four raised planes of masonry for pitching tents upon, surrounded by the largest cypresses, planted at equal distances. *Shah Shoojah* occupied this garden, in 1809, and his army was encamped in the valley where he was defeated about the end of June 1809, shortly after Mr. *Elphinstone's* mission had left Peshawer. (26) The king fled to the mountains, losing his kingdom the *second*, and last time, his jewels, and treasure. The river Neemla runs through the valley of that name, and leaves it crossing the road, and runs into the Cabool river, at its N. extremity.

The road hence has a precipitous descent (the valley along it to the right) over loose round stones, and crossing the Neemla, turns to the S. E. (left) and ascends an opposite hill, the steep of which is difficult for loaded camels, and wheeled carriages. The next 6 miles the roads are ascents and descents; there are three passes or defiles,

(26) The Shah is said to have had 14,000 men and a train of artillery. It is said that *Futteh Khan*, the Vizier of Mahmood had only 2,500 men, only half of which were engaged. The Shah's army was surprised, and it was straggling and mixed with the baggage.

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crossing so many streams, over loose stones of all sizes, until it enters the valley of *Rood-Croad,* (27) covered with grass. *Camp* at Futehabad the elevation of which is 3,098 feet, or 1,518 feet *below* our last ground. A fine view of the "*Sufed-koh*" to the S. W. Thermometer 3 P. M. 80°.

5. To *Sooltanpoor,* 7½ miles, (25th Oct. 1839.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 54°. Marched at day-break. The road just after leaving camp passed over a water-course, then over a low flat, sometimes of loose stones and again crossing a slight sandy soil. To the S. is seen the "*Sufed-koh.*" To the N. flows a rivulet (Soorkh) running to the Cabool river. Along the banks of this stream were villages, and patches of sugar-cane. The last ¾ of a mile is a deep, heavy sand. The *camp* near the village of Sooltanpoor. The elevation, here, is 2,286 feet, or 812 feet lower than our last ground. Sooltanpoor, from the ruins near it, appears to have been a large place. The cultivation extends to the banks of the river, about 3 miles N. Lieut. *F. Mackeson* went into Jellalabad to-day. Thermtr. 3 P. M. 90°. As we were now approaching the *Sikh* frontier the following G. O. was issued. (Adverting to the steady discipline which, during the present campaign, had secured the approbation of Govt.) "While passing through the "*Punjab*" and protected Sikh states, all are required to abstain from killing *pea-fowl,* the *Neelghy,* or the domestic pigeons, or from offending, in any way, the prejudices of the *Sikhs;* and the D. C. G. will prohibit, in the strictest manner, the slaughtering of cattle." (28)

"Major-Genl. *Thackwell,* (29) and Brigr. *Persse* (30) will use every means in their power, in restraining camp-followers from injuring, or trespassing on the cultivation; and parties under the Provost Marshal and his assistants

(27) Beyond the valley the stream is called "*Karsee,*" and comes from the *Viseree* District, in the *Khajeearee* territory.

(28) *Runjeet* wished us not to kill bullocks in Affghanistan.

(29) Comg. the 2nd, or Rear Column.

(30) Comg. 1st column.

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must be early on the new ground, daily, to place safeguards in the villages, and over the corn-fields."

"The Provosts are enjoined to deal strictly with those they may find tresspassing, or committing any act of oppression."

"Officers Comg. must remind their men that the army is passing through the territory of an ally, and that as the soldiers of that prince, from not possessing the same degree of discipline of which the *British* army can boast, may be more ready to enter into quarrels, and to make use of offensive expressions; it will be the duty of all, to keep a guard on their temper, and to be careful not to allow themselves to be forced into collision, with those whom the Government requires that they shall look upon as friends." (31)

To *Jellalabad*, nine miles, (26th Oct.)—Thermtr. 4 A. M. 54°. The road the first part sandy, the next part stony, and the last part sandy. There is a sandy plain E., W. and S. of Jellalabad. This was once a flourishing town. The elevation, here, is 1,964, or 322 feet below our last ground. Thermtr. 3 P. M. 92°.

We here, found some troops which had been left by Lt.-Col. *Wade* and Lieut. *W. R. Hillersdon* (32) the Assist. Pol. Agent.

It was at this place where Dost Mahomed kept his Cavy, and the greatest portion of his Juzzailchees. The town we

(31) "From the date of the arrival of the troops within the Sikh territory, a main picquet, consisting of Cavy. and Infy. according to the strength of each arm, with the different columns, must mount daily on reaching the new ground, and be in readiness to move in any direction, to quell disturbances, or to preserve order."

"No soldier to be allowed to quit camp after passing the Sikh frontier, except on duty; and all camp-followers are to be prohibited entering the towns and villages in the neighbourhood of the camp; guards must, invariably, be planted at the gate-ways of towns and villages, to ensure this order being complied with."

"When it may prove indispensably necessary, in pitching the camp, to encroach on the cultivation, the D. Q. M. G. will take care that the proprietors of the fields are reimbursed to the fullest extent for the property which may be injured."

(32) 53rd Bengal N. I.

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found to be a small dirty place, with mud-walls, round towers, and narrow streets. It stands on the right bank of the Cabool river. The inhabitants are said to be about 2,000. It is bounded by sterile mountains.

27th and 28th October, halted.—(Thermtr. the same as on the 26th.) While we were here the *Khyber Pass* was attacked. (33)

6.—To *Ali Boghan*, 6¾ miles, (29th Oct. 1839.)—Thermtr. 4. A. M. 56°. Marched at day-break. The road ran due E., first part sandy, over a level plain, the greater part of which was under cultivation, for nearly 3 miles. Thence crossed over a bed of stones; the rest of the road good, excepting two not difficult ravines, and two or three water-courses, then a thick jungle of reeds through which there was a path, which terminated in ravines and sandy hills, about the sixth mile. At 42 minutes past 3 P. M. a shock of an earthquake. Thermt. 3 P. M. 92°. The elevation, here, is 1,911 ft. or 53 ft. below the last ground.

(33) On the 25th October, 1839, Capt. *Ferris's* post was attacked and the Khyberees carried off 40 horses. The post was just under the fort, in which there was a party. On the 26th, they made a slight attack, and left four men dead on the ground. On the 28th, they made a grand attack on the Sikh post (the party composed of Mahomedans), at some *Sungahs* near the tower of *Jaghir*, about one and a half mile from Ali Musjid and Capt. F.'s post. The Khyberees stationed a party on the hill between the post and Ali Musjid to prevent any troops being sent to their aid; they thus commanded the road.

The Khyberees appear to have been, principally, swordsmen; but few armed with matchlocks. They made seven attacks on the Sikhs, and were repulsed six times by musketry. At last, they attacked sword in hand. It is said that, on the Sikhs leaving the Sungah to attack them, the Khyberees attacked the weak point where the sick were; and then cut up those that remained. There were said to be 60 of the Sikh Bn. killed in the Sungah and 150 below it; and many were cut up on the road; and that out of about 800, only 250 reached Peshawer. The Dett. is said to have been in a sickly state. Had they kept to the *Sungah*, they might have beaten off the Khyberees, whose attack was said to have originated in a desire to get plunder; the Sikhs having their money (their pay recently received) in the stockade: but, it is highly probably that the *real* cause was, the settled *antipathy* of the Khyberees to the Sikhs.

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To *Char Deh*, 14 miles, (30th Oct.)—Thermtr. 4 A. M. 56°, when we marched. The road lay almost due E. and for the first 3 miles was good and level, but on ascending a small hill, we entered a wide, barren valley or stony desert, called the "*Soorkh-Denkor*," (surrounded with low hills,) where in the months of April and May, the deadly *simoom* prevails. This track was marched over for 9 miles, and there seemed to be desolation all around. About 1½ mile from camp was the small dilapidated village of *Bareek-ab*; water-courses near it. The road then was sandy and brought us to the banks of the *Rood-Buttur-kot* and cultivation; and crossing this stream, we reach the village of that name, and in the valley was our *camp*. The Cabool river running to the N., the desert to the W., the "*Sufed-koh*" to the S., and to the E. the *Khyber* range. The elevation at *Bareek-ab* is 1822 ft. or 89 below our last ground. Thermtr. 3 P. M. 88°.

To *Huzarnow*, 11¾ miles, (31st Oct.)—Thermtr. 4 A. M. 54°. There were two roads leading out of camp. (34)

The first part sandy. At about 3 miles crossed the dry bed of a nullah, and crossed between this and Huzarnow, two dry stony beds of hill streams. The middle part of the march, the road stony for 2 or 3 miles. The road generally pretty good, but sandy and stony, and crossing several small water-courses. Direction the last half E. The road passing over the *Dusht* (plain) led to Huzarnow, a cluster of villages, some of which have mud-walls and towers; and a good deal of cultivation around the villages. (35)

The village of *Basool* is at an elevation of 1,509 feet or 313 feet below Bareek-ab.

(34) The nearest had a direction nearly E., but was found to be intersected by numerous ditches full of water. The other took a S. E. direction, round some low hills until it entered the "*Dusht*" (plain) about 3 miles off, over a good, even, country, when it turned to due E.: the two roads meet at Basool, a village to the left about half-way.

(35) On the mountain to the N. there is a black stratum (of slate) regarding which the natives have a tradition of the annual exit of a snake for food, and his return to the mountain.

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To the N. of Huzarnow, distant 2 or 3 miles is the village of Chuhkouree. Thermometer 3 P. M. 88°. Good grass, and grazing for the cattle. Bhoosa procured.

To *Dakka*, 9 miles, (1st Nov.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 56°. Marched at day-break. The road skirted the hills for some distance avoiding a swamp, when it turned to the E. along a level, gentle rise, over a good country for about 4 miles; then crossed several very small rivulets, and some arable lands, and at 6 miles ascended the Pass, or narrow defile, of *Kum* or *Khoord Khyber*, or *little Khyber*. (36) On quitting the defile, the road lies through the valley, and at two miles you come to *Dakka*, where are two walled villages, to the left of the road and distant about a mile; the Cabool (37) river runs by them from W. to E. (38) The ground at *Dakka* is covered with an efflorescence of Soda for some distance from the river, and the ground is in consequence very damp; the surrounding land is covered with stones and hard sand. We found supplies here and a party of troops recently raised by Mr. *Mackeson*. The elevation, at Lalpoora is 1,404 feet, or 105 feet lower than Basool. It was N. W. and Dakka, E.

(36) The defile is very narrow, in some places not admitting of two horsemen going abreast. It is about three quarters of a mile long. It is more like a deep narrow ravine, with high banks in some parts. We found the road through it good, and the descent in it not difficult. But if the heights were occupied by troops, it would stop the advance of any force, till the enemy were dislodged.

(37) Here called the *Lunda*, or *Lundee*.

(38) At the back of the mountains through which the road runs, are numerous small forts, and the whole of the country is a succession of hills.

At *Lalpoorah* N. W. on the other side of the river, distant one and half mile, is the fort of Saadut Khan, the most powerful of all the petty chiefs in the country; but he has no authority over the country between Peshawer and Dakka, called the Ab-khana. He receives Budrika (money for passports or Purwanahs) from all travellers, which is divided among the Ooloos, or clan. *Dakka* has about 200 families, and the place can furnish supplies for a considerable body.

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of our camp. Thermtr. 3 P. M. 87°. The Khyberees on the side of the Pass towards Peshawer, were hostile to the Shah, and it was only on the 28th October, that they had ceased from their attacks on the Sikh Dett.; hence the "Post" had been delayed for some days: and we were to move through the Pass with caution.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE MARCH OF THE HEAD QUARTERS AND TROOPS THROUGH THE KHYBER PASS TO PESHAWER.

1. To *Lundee-Khana,* 9 miles, (2nd Nov. 1839.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 48°. Marched at day-break. The entrance to the Pass was a mile distant from camp. The road was to the S. of E., over beds of loose stones, and up a gradual ascent. The mountains on the N. and S. gradually contracting the Pass, which turned at several points, being the bed of a mountain torrent. At about half-way in the Pass, the road was good, and less stony. The width of the Pass varies from 100 to 200 yards in the centre. In the last half there is a sensible rise. The Pass narrows the latter part. The hills are generally precipitous, covered with stunted bushes. Our direction the last part of the march was E. The hills are not very high; on the highest to the S. near camp, there is an old fort. (1) The village of Lundee-Khana is S. E. of camp, close under the hills on rising ground, distant about a mile, near which there is some cultivation; our camp was on high broken ground to the N. The Pass near camp about ¼ mile wide. Water close to camp. (2) The elevation, here, is 2,488 feet, or 1,084 feet above Lalpoora. Thermometer 3 P. M. 78°. As the Pass is no where above 200 yards wide, it is clear that it can be commanded by the native rifle from either side. (3)

(1) Called by some Alexander's fort.

(2) On our arrival we found the sappers, who had been ordered on in advance, and had been halted here.

(3) The native mountain rifle fired with a rest will kill at 800 yards. From the entrance to Lundee-Khana, is about 7½ miles, and in the centre, in the widest part, there is on the left rising ground at

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To *Ali Musjid*, 13¾ miles, (3rd Nov.)—Thermometer 69°. Marched before day-break. There are two roads from Lundee-Khana, which, after the ascent of the Pass, unite at the bottom of the descent. The lower is in the bed of the river, and is the most precipitous. The commencement of the steepest ascent was close to camp, and very abrupt for about 150 yards, (4) after which the rise is moderate, excepting two rather steep parts of no great extent. The road is about 12 feet wide, and to the right there is a precipice towards the valley. After an ascent of about 2 miles you reach the top of the Pass, at an elevation of 3,373 feet, or 885 feet above Lundee-Khana, or, a rise of about *one in fifteen feet* the greatest we had yet met with. The direction from the ascent was about E., and the road described a portion of a circle to the S. E., where there is a Police Chokee stationed. (5) The descent from the hill is for about three miles, and the road and country more open. At the bottom of the descent you enter the valley of Lalbeg, or, Lalbeg-gurhee. (6)

After entering the valley there is an old fort on the hills to the right, which if in repair would annoy any troops moving towards Lundee-Khana. (7) The valley of Lalbeg-gurhee

Huft-chah on which *Sungahs*, or stockades, could be erected; so that parties, by crowning the hills, on both sides, would inflict great havock among troops advancing, for there is no *cover*.

(4) Difficult to walk up.

(5) When we reached the top we could see the camp we had left. The road is formed very much like those at Simla. The top of the hill, (as observed by Major *Leech*) is an admirable position for a fort, which could enfilade with the most destructive effect, both the road from *Dakka*, and that from *Lalbeg* (coming from Ali Musjid). From the top of the hill, a fire could be thrown on the winding road coming up to it; while it commands, more directly, the road going down from it.

(6) The road up the ascent was good, and that of the descent had been repaired lately by Mr. *Mackeson*, and was good; there are some ascents, also, in this road. The rock of "*Aornus*" is supposed to be the summit of the Pass at Lundee-Khana.

(7) There is a plain of the Shanwarees running to the N. of this plain, in which is the village of Luadgai, distant about 2 miles, whence

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is about 6 miles long and 1½ broad and is cultivated. (8) There are small villages on each side of the road, and you cross two dry stony beds in the valley. At the end of the valley towards Ali Musjid there are towers (9) on either side of the road. On the left on the top of an isolated hill is a Tope (or Barrow) somewhat resembling that at *Munikiala*, but is disfigured by a tower, said to have been built by Aurungzebe, on the top of it. Just before you leave the valley and to the W., is Lohwargee, which it is said would answer for a cantonment; hence 1½ mile to Ali Musjid.

The valley was soon lost, and the bed of the stream was confined by rugged hills, until the road narrowed to about 70 feet, and did not widen much near Ali Musjid. We passed several springs, one of large volume issuing from the rocks, which formed a considerable stream, down which lay the road to Ali Musjid. The Pass, here, very much contracts, and in one place is not above 40 or 50 feet wide, (10) crossing almost entirely the rocky stream, till you arrive at Ali Musjid, which is situated on a hill to the right. We encamped about a mile to the E. of it. Thermometer 3 P. M. 82°. (11)

a cross road leads to the *Tatara* Pass, but it is not a gun road. This is the left road; the right goes to Dakka. Luadgai is N. W. from Tatara, and 9 miles in a direct line.

The *Kadapa* is another Pass and is a gun road—and goes by Moosa Jod to Goshta; the left, which is not a gun road, goes to Lalpoor, a distance of 7 kos; this road is not so difficult as the Tatara one.

The 3rd or Ab-khana Pass (water route) is a Kafila road, but difficult for the last two stages, obliging horsemen to dismount sometimes.

But, these Passes are connected with the main Pass, and could be secured very easily by Sungahs, &c.

(8) There are few springs in this valley, and two tanks to collect water in, one was dry, and the other did not contain much water; they have wells in the villages.

(9) These belong to the Malaks of the Khyber tribes.

(10) Within pistol shot.

(11) The baggage was coming up all night and next day!

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Halt 4th Nov. 1839. We halted to-day in consequence of the non-arrival of our baggage, and it being thought advisable to take steps to protect the line of march between this and the *debouché* of the Pass, (12) in consequence of which the second column under Major-Genl. *Thackwell*, moved close to us, and encamped to-day, between us and Ali Musjid.

2. *Ali Musjid.*—The fort of Ali Musjid is situated on a hill to the right coming from Jellalabad. The elevation above the level of the sea is 2,433, or 940 feet below the summit of the Pass at Lundee Khana. The fort is about 150 feet long and 60 feet wide, but the whole of the enclosed place is about 300 by 200 feet. There are three hills within from 200 to 300 yards of the fort, on which there were posts. The width of the Pass here is about 150 yards. On the opposite side, the hills are not high. In the centre of the Pass below is a *Sungah*. There were likewise Sungahs on the hills opposite to the fort. From the fort to where our camp was (the road taking a turn to the left) is the most important section of the Pass. Our camp had to its front, S. W., some heights on which there was table-land. This table-land leads to the fort to the W., and to the Khyberee cantonments. (13) To the rear of camp N. E. was a detached hill on which there was a Sungah; beyond this is a valley and a high range of hills, a road leading over it to the left rear. The width of the Pass here is about 150 yards. To the E. of camp is the foot-path leading over the hills to Jumrood. To the S. E. is a tower *(Jaghir)* and a Sungah which commands the main Pass, which led from the left of our camp in that direction. (14) In the fort of *Ali*

(12) Genl. *Avitabile*, Govr. of Peshawer was written to, and he sent some Sikh troops to move up the Pass.

(13) Teerah distant about 7 marches to the S., and at an elevation of about 7,000 feet Choorah about 4 miles in a direct line S. Bazar 8 or 9 miles in a direct line S.

(14) In this section of the Pass, about 1½ mile in extent, was the principal opposition given to Lieut.-Col. *Wade's* force in July, and where the Khyberees attacked the Sikhs in October, and opposed our parties in November, 1839.

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Musjid there is no water, but there is a covered passage leading down to a well. Thermometer 3 P. M. 82°.

To *Kuddum* beyond the Pass, 10 miles, (5th Nov.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 60°. Marched at 5 A. M. The road lay through the bed of the river. After leaving camp our route was to the right, leaving the tower *(Jaghir)* on our left, on which side there is high ground, and two other towers within 3 miles of camp, and close together. The Pass from camp was for 3 miles from 200 to 150 yards wide, sometimes only as many feet. It then narrows to about 60 or 80 yards in some places; widening again at the *debouché*. The hills are higher for the first 3 miles, after which they are lower and rocky, and more perpendicular. The road the first 3 miles over stony ground, crossing the river often; the latter part over shingles with a slight descent to the valley of Peshawer. The Choorah stream, which issues from the Pass, irrigates the country near Kuddum. From our last ground to the *debouché* of the Pass is 7 miles. There is a foot-path which leads over the hills from *Jumrood*, and is three miles shorter than the route by the main-road of the Pass; but, it is not a gun-road. Thermometer 3 P. M. 86°. Capt. *H. P. Burn*, (15) the officer left in Political charge at Peshawer, came to our camp. Our camp was close under some low hills on which there is table-land to the W., *Jumrood* (where the Sikh camp is) is a mile off, and close to the fort of Futehgurh. We met some Sikh Battalions entering the Pass, as we were leaving it.

3. *The Khyber Pass and its Defence.*—The Khyber Pass from the entrance, on the Jellalabad side, to the *debouché* (2 miles short of and from Kuddum), is 28 miles in length, and excepting the valley of *Lalbeg-gurhee*, (16) 6 miles long and 1¼ broad, there are 22 miles of Pass which can be commanded, and in which there are few places where an army advancing could find cover.

(15) First Bengal N. I.

(16) Most probably so called, owing to the *Towers* of the Malaks.

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Suppose a convoy to enter the Pass from Peshawer, by the main road of the Pass to Ali Musjid. At about 2 miles on the left, there is a small road which turns into the left and re-enters the main-road about ¼ mile higher up. From this to where the two first towers are seen on the right of the road, is about 2 miles. When the Khyberees had possession of the road, attacks were made from the *left*, by parties coming from Ali Musjid, or from the neighbouring cantonment. Those from the *right* were made by the troops in possession of the towers and Sungahs. Our possession, therefore, of the towers and Sungahs on the right, while holding Ali Musjid and the hill on the left opposite to the great tower *(Jaghir)*, would prevent them occupying the hills in any numbers between the entrance to the Pass and these points. There might be Sungahs erected on the right and left of the hills to render these more secure.

In that portion of the Pass from the tower *(Jaghir)* to Ali Musjid, Sungahs, on the hill running from the left to the fort, might be erected to secure that line. On the opposite (right) side of the Pass, the detached hill might have a Sungah to command the valley on the other side; the entrance into which by the gorge, should be closed up by another Sungah. The path-way which leads to Jumrood should be protected by a Sungah.

As on entering the Pass from the Jumrood (or Peshawer) side, attacks from the *left* are most likely to be made, *there should be towers, at certain intervals, along the whole line up to the fort; as on that line are the cantonments of the Khyberees.*

In the valley of Lalbeg-gurhee there is open space. The possession of the summit of the Lundee-Khana Pass, with a good work, would secure it. There is a hill beyond it on which there are the ruined walls of an old fort; (17) on which might be erected a small work if necessary.

(17) Said to have been built by Alexander. I would fortify this, as it could, I think, fire on a work on the summit of the Pass.

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The remaining portion of the Pass from Lundee-Khana to the *debouché* near Dakka, might have a tower erected about half-way, on some rising ground at *Huft-chah*. The Tatara, Kadapa, and Ab-khana Passes, being narrow, might be easily secured by Sungahs.

Now that a corps of *Khyberees* has been raised, it would seem that these men would be the best to employ, to garrison the towers and Sungahs proposed to be erected.

As the point to be chiefly guarded is the line on which Ali Musjid stands, the object appears to be, to have a proper garrison for the fort, with some work on the plain leading to *Choorah*, sufficient to hold a body of men equal to repulse an attack.

Owing to the sickness of our troops in the hot months and rainy season after its capture in July, 1839, Lt.-Col. Sir *C. M. Wade* directed Dr. *A. Reid* to report upon the best site for a cantonment, (18) as *our* troops could not live in *Ali Musjid* during the hot, or the rainy season, in fact only in the cold months; *Lohwargee* seems to offer the best

(18) Dr. *Reid*, on the 27th October, 1839, made the following report.

"1st. The village of *Chardeh* (elevation of about 1,800 ft.) 20 miles E. of Jellalabad.

"2nd. The village of *Bussool* (elevation of 1,509 feet) about 26 miles E. of Jellalabad.

"3rd. *Lohwargee* (3,500 feet) about 15 W. of Ali Musjid, and three miles from Lalbeg-gurhee is a valley of considerable extent within the Khyber mountains; it is well supplied with water, both from springs and wells, and is beautifully cultivated, the air pure and salubrious; and the climate is so good that it is resorted to by the sick in search of health, and is nearly 3,500 feet above the level of the sea, and would be a most eligible spot for a cantonment."

"The sickness at *Ali Musjid* is attributable to the water, which is said to be impregnated with antimony; the spring from which the fort is supplied rising from under a rock of the sulphuret of that metal; other water was for some time used by the troops, but it is said that all in the neighbourhood is impregnated with it."

"That the troops ought not to be kept there will, I think, be evident from the number of sick and casualties that have occurred since the place has been occupied by our's and the Maharajah's troops, as shown in the accompanying table.

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place for a cantonment, and is sufficiently near to afford constant relief to the parties in *Ali Musjid*, and at the posts; and the troops would be able to move, at a short notice, to take up any position that might be required to protect any convoy, &c. passing through the Khyber Pass.

4. The Khyberees are divided into two classes, the *Afreedees* and the *Shanwarees*, and are all Mahomedans. In the time of the kings of Affghanistan they are said to have received the following sums, viz.

		Annually.
Abdal Rahman's Ancestors, Kukee Khels, *Afreedee*, ...	Rs.	25,000
Khan Bahadar's, ditto, (Malakdeen Khel,) *Afreedee*, ...	„	25,000
Mahomed Ameer Khan, (Lepa's ancestors,) *Afreedee*, ...	„	25,000
The brothers of Mintaza Khan and Sardalla Khan, Zakee Khel, *Afreedee*,.....	„	25,000
The Malak of the Meerdad Khel, *Shanwarees*, ...	„	10,000
The Malak of the Peroo Khel, *Shanwarees*,	„	10,000
The Malak of the Khuga Khel, *Shanwarees*,	„	10,000
(£13,000)	Rs.	130,000

The body of Khyberees supported themselves by theft, and when called into service, they only received rations.

The Grenr. Co. 20th N. I. of	60	died since 1st Sept.	23
Capt. Ferris's levies, ...	760	ditto ditto, ...	43
Ramgoles, ...	640	ditto ditto, ...	45
Nujeebs,.....	682	ditto ditto, ...	104
Suwars, ...	200	ditto ditto, ...	19
Goolab Sing's Suwars,.....	50	ditto ditto, ...	5
Heera Sing's ditto, ...	50	ditto ditto, ...	4
	2,442		243

which is a loss in 57 days of nearly *one-tenth!*

"The unhealthiness of *Dakka*, which is much less than that of *Ali Musjid*, is to be attributed to its low and damp situation, which can be avoided by crossing the troops to the opposite side of the river to *Lalpoorah*; where the ground is dry, and where there is a good position for the camp.

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Before the engagement with the Sikhs in 1837, the Khyber Pass did not cost *Dost Mahomed*, more than 10,000 Rs. a year; but, after the above affair he paid nearly 20,000 Rs. yearly, *viz.*

	Rs.	No. of Sword and Match-lockmen.
Alladad Khan, and Fyzullah *(Fyztullub)* Zakee Khel, ...	4,000	3,000
Khan Bahadar, Malakdeen Khel, ...	5,000	4,000
Abdul Rahman Khan, (19) and Jangeer Khan, Kukee Khels,.....	3,000	3,000
Salem Khan, Lepa, Sadulla Khan, Gango, and Anar Khan, *Shanwarees*, ...	1,500	6,000
Noor Mahomed, Kambar Khel, ...	750	1,500
Samandar Khan, and Bakar Khan, Aka Khel,.....	750	1,500
Alif Khan, Kambar Khel, ...	1,500	3,000
	Rs. 19,500	26,000

However, subsequently, he paid, it is said, 28 or 32,000 Rs.

It would seem that under the kings the Khyberees did not collect the tax, or toll, levied on the passage of animals laden or unladen, and on passengers; but under Dost Mahomed this was permitted. (20)

Lt. Dowson's corps, of 359	died since 6th Aug.	7	143 present sick.
Maharajah's troops, 1,500	ditto ditto, ...	28	200 ditto.
1,859		35	343

A loss in 83 days of 1 in 53. (27th October, 1839.")

(19) He was not sincere in the first negociations. Occupies the Pass between Ali Musjid and Jumrood. Alladad Khan and Fyztullub Khan came in after the fall of Ali Musjid.

(20) A camel laden with cloth, or khajahwah, ... Rs. 5
Grocery, ... 3
A Horseman, ... 3
A load of leather, ... 2
A Hindoo foot passenger, 1½
A Moosulman ditto, ... 1½
A load of salt, ... 1

This was for the whole extent of the Pass; but, as it has been known that the toll paid at one end of the Pass, did not secure the merchant or traveller from a demand at the other end, there was dissatisfaction to the party paying, and of course delay; besides which it must have diminished the number of animals and passengers passing through, as well as the annual amount collected.

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I believe the Shah has agreed to pay Rs. 120,000 (£12,000) annually, but insists on collecting the tax, or toll. Without this arrangement there could be no certainty of the use of the Pass for the transit of commerce; and in a military point of view, the Shah's Govt. would have been liable, on any change of policy at the court of *Lahore*, to an unsettled state of the Pass. The Sikhs paid a certain sum of money, annually, for a supply of water from the Pass; this, under the treaty with Shah Shoojah, was to be adjusted with his Govt. In viewing the conduct of the Khyberees, regard must be had to the sum offered them in the first instance, which was less than has since been allowed them; and which is about that which they received under the kings; then, to the depriving the chiefs of the collection of the tax, or toll, to which they had been accustomed for 30 years; and in fact to an alteration of their mode of existence. (21) *Nadir Shah*, in 1739, paid £100,000 for the passage of his army through this Pass!

(21) The Duke of *Wellington* in a letter to the Secy. to Govt., Bombay, 5th Nov. 1803, writes, "Col. *Murray* with great truth, says, 'It is not to be expected the *Bheels*,' (a hill-tribe) 'and Chieftains will remain attached to us without some prospect of advantage.'"

His Grace adds, "The question is whether it is an object to obtain such *Military advantage as the possession of the defiles* in the countries of the *Bheels*, and the assistance of these people, even at the expense of the remission of the tribute which they paid to Dowlut Rao Scindiah, before we obtained possession of the country?" and "Experience teaches that tribute of this description, cannot be collected from the inhabitants of the hilly and jungly tracts of India, without frequent appeals to arms."

"I have but little doubt the company would have been richer, and I am convinced that the military reputation of the British nation would have stood higher, and that the power of Government would have been greater, if all tribute payable by hill polygars and rajahs, had been originally remitted." (Despatches—Gurwood, Vol. I. p. 486.)

The question with respect to the *Khyberees* seems to be this, whether in the best times the sum of money they received, together with the collection of the tax, or toll, was or was not more than they now receive? If the military possession of the Pass, thereby increasing its use in a commercial point of view, and the collection of the tax, or toll, realise, to the Shah's government, a greater annual sum than is

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5. To *Koulsir*, 7 miles, (6th Nov. 1839.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 58°. Marched at 6 A. M. The road lay E. over a level plain; shortly after leaving *Kuddum*, the country is more open, the hills are more distant, and run into a low and distant range to the right. On the left about one mile is *Jumrood*, where the Sikh force is encamped, and beyond it is the fort of Futehgurh, about 2 miles from Kuddum, and reaching which a salute (22) of 17 guns was fired in honor of H. E. *Sir J. Keane's* passing it. The fort has a double wall, and a white pukka citadel in the centre, and has two or three guns in it. The road was over a sandy level, and then stony plain, on which were seen many *Tumuli*. The road towards Koulsir was sandy with small stones; there is cultivation near where our camp was, and a round circular breast-work erected by Lt. *F. Mackeson* on the Shahzada's troops marching from Peshawer. There was a descent in this day's march. *Jumrood* is 1,670, or 763 feet below *Ali Musjid*. Thermometer 3 P. M. 86°.

The second column under Maj.-Genl. Thackwell moved, to-day, out of the Pass to our last ground (Kuddum); some of the Sikh troops were sent to the Pass to protect its bag-

paid to the *Chiefs* (besides paying the ordinary military expenses for its defence), the question is whether it will not be better to satisfy them rather than to seek, by force, to carry the point as to a *minimum* payment, when the doing so must occasion an additional expense, and when such a measure may raise a spirit of opposition to the Shah's government.

It cannot be expected that a few months will obtain all the objects contemplated; it must require time to induce these people to give up their lawless pursuits. Offers were made by the late Lt.-Col. *Tod*, in 1818, to induce some *Bheel* tribes to cultivate the soil by paying each so much a month for a certain period, (gratuitously,) for this purpose; their reply was, "Our ancestors did as we do: we have never been accustomed to toil, but to live on plunder." They have been reclaimed, and the new generation has adapted habits of industry.

(22) Jumrood was taken by the Sikhs, under *Hurree Singh*, early in January, 1837, before the battle in 1837, in which *he* was killed in the action with the Affghans. As it was commanded, Futehgurh (the fort of Victory) was built.

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gage. Some 50 or 60 Khyberees showed themselves on the hills, but made no attack.

To *Peshawer,* 8¾ miles, (7th Nov.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 62°. Marched at day-break. The road was due E., crossing two small canals, which were bridged, and which appeared to take a direction to the N. to join the Cabool river. We also crossed some ravines. As we neared Peshawer we saw the Sikh cantonments on our left, where, leaving the main-road, we passed round them, and saw the king's garden to the N. E. of the fort; we passed to the left of the town, keeping the fort on our left. Our camp was to the E. of the city of Peshawer. We breakfasted with Genl. *Avitabile,* the Govr. Thermometer 3 P. M. 92°. The elevation above the sea at Peshawer is 1,068 feet, or 602 feet below Jumrood, which gives a fall of about 1 in 76 feet. Maj.-Genl. *Sir W. Cotton,* the Hd. Qr. Staff, and the officers with the 1st Column, dined in the evening with Genl. *Avitabile,* who illuminated his house, and exhibited fire-works before dinner; after which he gave the party a *nautch* and produced all the best vocalists of Peshawer.

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CHAPTER XV.

PESHAWER—MARCH FROM IT TO ATTOCK.

Peshawer, (8th Nov. 1839.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 52°. The 2nd Column, under Maj.-Genl. *Thackwell* marched in this morning. Our camp was to the E., and that of the 2nd column beyond our's to the S. E.

The following Genl. Order, (1) was issued regarding the conduct of the troops marching through the Sikh territories. "The leading column having entered the *Sikh* territory, H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief calls the attention of Comg. officers to the injunction laid down in G. O. 25th ult." (2)

"All officers are specially enjoined to lend their utmost aid to preserve order among the followers, and to bring to punishment any one found plundering the fields, or committing acts of oppression."

"H. E. is requested by the Govr. Genl. to give publicity to the following despatch (3) and to require strict obedience to the instructions it conveys on the part of the troops."

1. "The Govr. Genl. has noticed in the *Lahore Akbars* the circumstance of British officers who happen to pass through that capital, and visit the *Durbar*, receiving *Khilluts*

(1) Dated 5th Nov. 1839, before reaching Peshawer.

(2) Prohibiting the going into the towns, and villages. To be published daily by beat of tom-tom, till F. O. G. O. 8th Nov. 1839. "One N. C. O. per troop, or company, permitted to visit the town, to make purchases, but Comg. officers to take care, that they are accompanied by some of the Sikh horsemen; on application to Capt. Mackeson."

(3) "Addressed in the *Secret Dept.* on the 21st ultimo, by his Lordship's desire to the Offg. Pol. Agent at Loodianah (G. R. Clerk, Esq.) by T. H. Maddock, Esq. Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Govr. General."

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(4) from the Maharajah, and that sums of money, as *Zeaful*, (5) are, also, sent to their tents, or the places where they reside during their stay at Lahore."

2. "The practice being contrary to the established Regulations of the British Govt., applicable to all its servants, and highly objectionable, on many accounts, and being likely, if permitted to continue, to entail a heavy expense on the Lahore Govt., his Lordship requests that you will take prompt and effective measures to ensure its total discontinuance, and explaining to the Durbar that the custom is prohibited in the case of the servants of this Govt., at all Native Courts; and that it is the particular wish of the Govr. Genl. that the Lahore Durbar should conform to the general practice, when British officers visit that place."

"His Lordship would acknowledge with all courtesy, and gratitude, the spirit of kindness in which the practice has originated; but, would hope that the Maharajah will readily consent to prohibit its repetition; particularly on your explaining that this prohibition is not meant to extend to those occasions of interviews between the Heads of the two Govts., or the reception of special notifications of officers of high rank; or of missions from one Govt. to the other, on which such observances have been already established, and will remain in force as heretofore; and in which there is a due observance of reciprocity." (6)

2. *The city of Peshawer.*—The city of Peshawer is in Lat. 34° 6′ N. Long. 71° 45′ E.; it was founded by the Emperor *Akbar*, (7) who encouraged the inhabitants of the Punjab to resort to this new settlement, as the Affghans

(4) Honorary Dresses.

(5) *Ziyafut*, means a feast; also hospitality.

(6) "A copy of this letter will be forwarded to Mr. Macnaghten, and to the Comr.-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, in order that the attention of officers may be specially drawn to his Lordship's direction on this occasion, as well as to the orders of Govt. prohibitory of the practice of Govt. servants accepting presents from Natives of any description." Simla, 21st Nov. 1839.

(7) About A. D. 1590; he died in 1605.

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were averse to commerce. From the convenience of its position, it unites Persia and Affghanistan, by a commercial intercourse, with India. The markets are abundantly supplied with provisions. The city is said to be about 5 miles in circumference, and consequently more extensive than Candahar and Cabool. The principal streets are much like those of Cabool, but are not so clean, and have narrow gullies leading into the enclosures, with gates and walls; and the town is much larger and more compact than Cabool, not being increased by orchards, gardens, canals, and water-mills. There is a mosque outside to the N. wall, which is the chief place of worship; and two others, with only a single dome, to distinguish them from the other buildings of the city.

The Govr. (Genl. *Avitabile*) states that there are 10,000 houses inhabited by Mahomedans and 1,400 by Hindoos, and that there are 100,000 inhabitants. (8)

Since the time of Mr. *Elphinstone* a great change has taken place. When Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk fitted out his last expedition to recover his throne (1833-34) he promised Peshawer to Maharajah Runjeet Singh. In 1834 when the Shah was defeated at Candahar, he fled towards *Khelat*. The Sikhs having taken possession of Peshawer, Sultan Mahomed Khan, (the Govr.) (9) retreated to Cabool, where Dost Mahomed collected a force of Ghazees, (crusaders,) and accompanied Sultan Mahomed Khan to Peshawer, and the Sikh and Affghan armies remained opposite to each other for fifteen days; when Runjeet Singh intrigued with Sultan Mahomed Khan, to get Dost Mahomed to retire, which he did; himself remaining more dependant than before on Runjeet Singh: and Peshawer is now a province of the Punjab.

(8) The Hon. Mr. *Elphinstone*, whose mission was there from 25th Feb. to the 14th June, 1809, states the amount at about 100,000. New Edition, Vol. II. p. 46.

This would give more than eight souls to each house.

(9) And brother of Dost Mahomed.

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The present Govr. (Genl. *Avitabile*) has built a fort on the site of the *Bala Hissar*, or former palace of the king, which is to the N. of the city. The whole of the W. E., and N. faces are covered with low swampy ground. The only gate it has is to the N. The lower part of the fort is commanded by the citadel. The ditch was not finished. (10) The south face seems to afford the only assailable point; this would first render necessary the occupation of the city, on the N. side, as owing to its nearness to the fort, it would take the breaching batteries in reverse. A salute was fired from the fort on our arrival on the morning of the 7th inst.

3. The city is to the S. of the fort and is walled all round, and Genl. *Avitabile* is constructing a *second* wall, about 100 yards outside the inner one. The Govr. lives, in a large square, or Caravanseraee, in which he has built a large three-storied house, the walls of which, as well as of the large square, are loop-holed; and the bastions of the square have guns in them. The Govr.'s house overlooks the whole city. The houses of the city are built of brick, and about three stories high. The streets are narrow, and have a gutter in the centre, but are not paved. Part of the town is said to be flooded during the spring rains, which makes it then an unwholesome residence. The shops display for sale, dried fruits, nuts, bread, meat, boots, shoes, saddlery, bales of cloth, hardware, ready-made clothes, books, sheep-skin cloaks, &c. The general keeps the inhabitants in good order. (11) The revenue of Peshawer has been

(10) It will require a good deal of time and expense to complete it, as from the nature of the soil, and the mound on which the fort is built being artificial, both the scarp and counterscarp, would require to be faced with masonry.

(11) We found a great many men hanging on gibbets. He shews no partiality to any class, whether Mahomedan or Hindoo, and on some occasions hangs eight or ten at a time; by which *discipline*, life and property are safe at Peshawer!

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variously estimated. *Forster* (12) says, "seven lakhs were remitted to the capital.' At present the province may yield about 15 lakhs Rs. (£150,000;) though it is said to be capable of yielding £250,000 yearly. The Affghans had a force of 3 or 4,000 men, and several guns; but the Sikh force kept up is said to be more than 12,000: (13) sufficient to absorb the whole Revenue.

The soil of the plain is a black mould, and abundantly supplied with water. The orchards scattered over the country produce a profusion of plum, peach, pear, quince, and pomegranate trees, and the greatest part of the plain is in a high state of cultivation, being irrigated by many watercourses. Thirty-two villages have been counted within a circuit of 4 miles. These are generally remarkably neat, adorned with mulberry and other fruit-trees; and over the streams are bridges of masonry, having two small towers at each end.

The wheat and barley crops are off the ground by the month of April.

During the summer the heat is very great, and in the height of the solstice the atmosphere is almost insupportable, although in the immediate vicinity of everlasting snow: but the simoom, does not, I believe, prevail at Peshawer. (14) From the plain of Peshawer four ranges of mountains are distinctly seen to the N. Towards the end of February the snow disappears from the lowest, the tops of

(12) A. D. 1783, Vol. II. p. 51. Sir A. *Burnes* in 1832, states it at less than nine lakhs Rs. Vol. II. p. 319. Genl. *Avitabile* has very much raised the amount.

(13) They keep 3 or 4000 men at the Camp at "Jumrood; the rest at Peshawer;" but the numbers vary according to circumstances.

(14) Shahzada Tymoor's force with Lt.-Col. Sir *C. M. Wade* was encamped at Peshawer from the 20th March to the 20th July, 1839, when the heat was so great that most of the officers were laid up with fever; the Lt.-Col. used a *kus-kus* tent presented to him by Maharajah Runjeet Singh, which diminished the temperature. The heat, unlike that of India, is suffocating, being unaccompanied by any strength of wind. In June, 1809, when Mr. *Elphinstone* was there, the Thermtr. stood at 113°!

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the second continue covered, and the third half-way down. The height of one of these peaks was estimated by Lieut. *Macartney* at 20,493 feet, and in June, 1809, was covered with snow.

4. *9th Nov.* 1839. Thermometer 5 A. M. 52°.—The Column to halt till F. O. Thermometer 3 P. M. 82°.

10th Nov. Thermometer 5 A. M. 60°.—This morning a Dett. consisting of two guns 2nd T. 2nd B. H. A., a squadron of the 3rd Cavy., two Cos. of sappers and miners, and every available soldier of the Cos. of the 20th and 21st N. I. marched as an escort to provisions intended for the garrison of *Ali Musjid.* It was not intended that the Artillery and Cavalry should enter the Pass, unless circumstances should render the measure absolutely necessary. (15) Six days' supplies were taken with the Dett. (16) While we remained at Peshawer the issue of grain from the Comsst. stores, was suspended. Officers wishing to visit the city were instructed to apply to Capt. *Burn's* servant at the gate-way leading to Genl. *Avitabile's* house, for persons acquainted with the town, to attend them. Thermometer 3 P. M. 68°.

11th Nov. Thermometer 5 A. M. 50°.—Accounts came in that the convoy had arrived at Ali Musjid, and the grain had been thrown into the fort yesterday afternoon; but that on the return, the *Khyberees* had attacked the party and carried off 4 or 500 camels. Lt. *F. Mackeson,* the Pol. Asst. who accompanied that party lost all his property. There was a Regt. of Sikhs with this party, who, immediately the Khyberees made the attack, ran off and never stopt till they got out of the Pass; this misconduct of the Sikhs threw the whole into confusion. The loss of the camels was serious, as we could not supply others, and much crippled our means of transport; having lost, before,

(15) They did not enter, but were kept near the mouth of the Pass, ready to advance if required.

(16) The infantry were directed to take 30 rounds of Ammn. in pouch, and 70 rounds in reserve.

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1,300 out of 3,100 camels since we left Cabool. Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

14*th Nov.* Thermometer 5 A. M. 52°.—This morning marched a Dett. consisting of the drafts proceeding to join the 2nd European Regt., one Coy of sappers and miners, (17) Capt. *Farmer's* two Cos. 21st N. I., the two Cos. of the 20th N. I. and Capt, *Prole's* Dett. of drafts for the 9th Cos. of Regts., to reinforce the garrison of *Ali Musjid*, and to hold it till the arrival of the 37th and 48th Regt. N. I. under Lieut.-Col. Wheeler, from Jellalabad. The Infantry to take 200 *rounds* per man (40 in pouch), and eight days' provisions.

Memo. "The Govr. of Peshawer has requested it might be intimated to the troops, that he cannot be responsible for the safety of officers going out of camp to shoot, unless they apply to him for a guard." (18) Thermometer 3 P. M. 85°. Dr. *A. C. Gordon*, Pol. Asst., joined the Hd. Qrs. for the purpose of accompanying the troops through the *Punjab*. The party sent the second time, took a quantity of ammunition for the troops at Ali Musjid. They succeeded in this object, but on their return were attacked, two officers were wounded and several men killed and wounded. Lieut. *N. Macleod*, Engineers, made a gallant charge up a hill and drove off the Khyberees. (19) The Dett. of Europeans (63 men) alone fired 3,000 rounds.

5. 29*th Nov.* 1839. Thermometer 5 A. M. 54°.—The Hd. Qrs. changed ground to the E. of Peshawer, camp, dis-

(17) Sent on both occasions, as we had so little infantry with the two columns; two guns were sent on in the afternoon to join the above Dett.

(18) "Officers Comg. Regts. directed to communicate with Capt. *Burn*, and obtain from him parties of Sikh horsemen, when they, or their officers are desirous of going from camp."

We never suffered any inconvenience from the people on any occasion.

(19) Capt. *W. S. Prole*, 37th N. I. was shot in the arm, and Lt. *F. S. MacMullen*, 1st European Regt. was shot in the thigh. Two Europeans and several sepoys were killed, and several were wounded. The sappers and miners suffered the most.

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tant from the city 2¾ miles. Crossed a stream about a mile from Peshawer, also some water-courses, and two bridges; the bridge to the left of the road destroyed, the arches entire. The river to the S. To-day Lt.-Col. *Wheeler's* Dett., two guns, and 37th and 48th N. I. arrived at Ali Musjid. The Lieut.-Col. had been directed to march on the *Khyberee* cantonment of *Choorah,* instead of coming direct; but his march was countermanded. (20) Thermometer 3 P. M. 79°.

21*st Nov.* Thermometer 5 A. M. 44°.—Lieut. *Mackeson* reported that he expected the *Khyber* chiefs to come in as negociations were being entered into. Terms were agreed on late in the evening. (21) Thermometer 3 P. M. 75°.

22*nd Nov.* Thermometer 5 A. M. 42°.—The Khyberees broke the treaty they had entered into. Lt.-Col. *Wheeler's* Dett. was to have marched to *Choorah;* but owing to pending negociations, was directed to move on *Ali Musjid.* On the 19th November, it entered the Pass and marched to Lundee Khana. An advance party of 43 men (37th and 48th N. I.) with the Qr. Mr. Serjts. of both corps, was attacked, on clearing a Pass, at day-break, by at least 500 men. The enemy was most gallantly repulsed, and thrice charged with the bayonet, and ultimately driven off, without the loss of any thing. The cool and daring courage of Qr. Mr. Serjt. *Wallace,* 48th N. I., was most conspicuous. The 37th N. I. had three sepoys killed, two naicks and two sepoys wounded. The 48th N. I. one sepoy wounded. Two Cos. 37th N. I. were sent round the hills to try to cut off their retreat, and 50 men were pushed up a hill under Lieut. *H. Palmer,* 48th N. I.; and the enemy were driven off.

On the 23rd Nov. the Lieut.-Col. marched for *Ali Musjid,* with the Fd. Comsst. treasure, and about 3,000 camels. On his arrival there, he assumed command of all the troops.

(20) As Lt. *Mackeson* was negociating with the chiefs. But, it was found, also, that the cross-road from Jellalabad was not a gun-road. One of the carriages of the guns (the Shah's) broke down.

(21) They promised, I believe, to restore the property stolen.

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Negociations were being carried on, but the tops of the hills close outside camp were covered with large bodies of the enemy. The troops halted on the 21st; negociations still going on; late at night it was intimated by Capt. *Mackeson*, that the chiefs (of Choora and other chiefs, between Ali Musjid and the Jumrood side) had acceded to the terms; but that they were not to be trusted. The cattle had been without forage for two days, and it was resolved to march for Jumrood next morning.

22nd Nov.—The Dett. marched at 7 A. M. The hills were, on every height, covered with people. The chiefs had promised to assemble with the more influential of their followers, to prevent any infraction of the treaty. They were waving flags demonstrative of amity. The Dett. had marched about 4 miles, when it was halted to close up the baggage. Two parties of 20 men each from the two corps, were placed at a point which covered a broad ravine in which and its neighbourhood, a great many had assembled; but still preserving every appearance of being friendly, telling the people to move on without fear; that no one would hurt them. The Dett. had scarcely moved, when a most treacherous attack was made on the baggage. (22) The Lt.

(22) The camels were taken up the ravine already mentioned, and another leading towards Choora. The camels were mostly hamstrung; most of those that were not, were recovered. The baggage on the disabled camels fell into the enemy's hands ultimately, as, though secured at the time, there was no means of removing it. Several officers and men lost every thing. Of the 91 camels lost, there were 14 Govt., Rewaree (hired) 38, and 39 private. Some young sepoys of the 37th N. I. used their bayonets, and killed several of the Khyberees. The 2 Europeans were killed while pursuing the Khyberees to recover some baggage; but they were not engaged on the above occasion. Lieut. *Collinson* was afterwards killed at *Pooshoot* on the 18th Jan. 1840, and was a most gallant officer. When Capt. *Mackeson's* baggage was carried off some days before during one of the attacks, he had, as Asst. Pol. Agent, a *Toshuk-khanu* (or *Toshu-khanu*) or wardrobe (in which honorary dresses, &c. are kept for presents); the women who were on the heights are supposed to have urged the men to plunder the loaded camels; hoping to get some more. The Khyberees, however, were

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Coy. 48th N. I. was thrown up the height, took the enemy in flank, and drove them off. The sepoys at the ravine, though hotly opposed, pursued, recovered and brought off most of the camels.

Having full confidence in the Native troops, the Lieut.-Colonel determined not to employ the European Dett., unless as a last resource.

The Lieut.-Colonel reported that the rear guard under (late) Lt. *Collinson,* 37th N. I., and the Lt. Coy of that Regt. under Lt. *Steer,* Lt. *H. Palmer,* (48th N. I.) Dett. Staff, Lt. *Hasell,* (Adjt.) and Lt. Thomas, 48th N. I., who commanded parties, behaved with great gallantry. Lieut. *N. Macleod,* with a Dett. of sappers and miners, without orders, followed the Lt. Coy. 48th N. I. and gave great assistance. The whole of the troops behaved exceedingly well. The Lieut.-Colonel also highly praised the conduct of Capt. *J. Paton,* (58th N. I.) A. Qr. Mr. Genl.

The European Dett. had one Serjt. and one private killed. The 37th N. I. had three killed, one naick and four sepoys wounded. The 48th N. I. one Havr. one naick, and sixteen sepoys wounded. Total five killed, and 23 wounded. Of the enemy eighteen killed were counted in one spot. 91 camels were lost. Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

6. *To Pubbee,* 12 miles, (23rd November, 1839.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 46°. Marched at 6 A. M. We had moved 3 miles from Peshawer on the 20th inst. The road from Peshawer had been laid under water to prepare the fields for the plough. (23) The crops of Indian corn on the ground were most luxuriant, and the villages had a few scattered trees near them. The road from last camp was due E. over a country covered with cultivation in most parts. The soil was of the finest garden mould. The

severely handled; and have been more cautious ever since: and I doubt much, if they could be, as some say, rooted out: 26,000 armed men in their own hills, are not to be so easily put down; and *where are the troops to come from?*

(23) Very little rain falls in this country, and several crops are raised during the year by irrigation.

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country is well watered, as we crossed a river about half-way, being the third, since leaving Peshawer. (24) Some camels carried off at this ground, but recovered. The Cabool river 4 or 5 miles N. W. of camp. Thermometer 3 P. M. 66°.

A *Memo.* in G. O. "The sword of the Govr. of Ghuznee, is now in the hands of the Prize Agents, and will be sold for the benefit of the Captors, by auction, on the arrival of the Hd. Qrs. at Ferozpoor, which will probably be about the 7th Jan. next." (25)

To Noushera, 9¾ miles, (24th Nov.)—Marched at day-break, the road first part rather sandy for 2 or 3 miles. The middle part good, the last part a little stony. At about 4½ miles on the left is a circular loop-holed building. At about 7 miles there is another. (26) About half a mile before reaching Noushera, on the left, are the ruins of an old cantonment. Marched through the bazar to camp S. E. distant ¼ mile, on the right bank of the river which runs N. W. to S. E., and has a bend lower down to N. E. A low range of hills N. W. to S. E., on which there is table-land. (27) The fort, here, to the right of the village of Noushera, was built by Genl. *Avitabile.* It has four bastions, and double rows of loop-holes. (28)

(24) To the left of the road, 3 miles from the last camp, there are distinct remains of a canal, near a walled village, parallel to the road for some miles. At about 4 miles crossed the dry bed of a nullah. There were several villages and clumps of trees, on both sides of the road. The Persian wheel is used at the wells.

(25) The sword was *claimed* by Sir *J. Keane* as a *right,* which was disputed, it was made over to the Envoy and Minister pending a reference, the answer to which caused the *Memo.* The delay in the sale was to give the *Bombay* column, and the officers at Cabool, &c. time to write to get some one to bid for them.

(26) These have been built by the Governor of Peshawer as police stations.

(27) These hills ran from Peshawer to our right all the way, and are infested by *(khuttuk)* robbers.

(28) Single in the walls.

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On the other side of the river is the town of Noushera, the field of battle between Runjeet Singh and the Eusufzyes in 1823, in which the Sikhs gained the victory. There is a low range of hills beyond the town of Noushera, where there are graves which mark the scene of action. Sir A. *Burnes* states, (29) "He *(Runjeet Singh)* here encountered the Affghans for the last time; but their chief, *Azeem Khan*, was separated from the greater part of his army by the river of Cabool. The Sikhs defeated the divisions on the opposite side" (left bank) "mainly through the personal courage of Runjeet Singh, who carried a hillock with his guards," *(Akalees)* "from which his other troops had three times retreated. Azeem Khan, of Cabool, fled without encoun-

(29) Burnes, Vol. II. p. 73, 2nd edition. In January 1823, Runjeet Singh having desired Mahomed Azeem Khan to resign all claims to Cashmeer, he (Dost Mahomed's eldest brother and Governor of Cabool) had advanced from Peshawer to Noushera, while Muhomed Zeman Khan with 4,000 Ghazees (crusaders) was posted on the opposite or left bank of the river. Maharajah Runjeet Singh, who had about 24,000 Sikhs, attacked the Ghazees with a large portion of them; Mahomed Azeem Khan and Mahomed Zeman Khan being separated by the river, the former could not cross the river to assist the latter. Numbers of Mahomedans were slain; and Mahomed Zeman Khan fled and joined Mahomed Azeem Khan with a few survivors. The principal *Akalee* (Sikh) general was killed. Runjeet Singh urged the Akalees to make a last attack, and finish the battle, as night was coming on.

Encouraged by their defeat, Konwar Sher Singh attacked the Sirdar (Mahomed Azeem Khan), and a general battle ensued, but night soon coming on, both parties retired from the field.

Mahomed Azeem Khan proposed to Dost Mahomed Khan and Yar Mahomed Khan, to attack the right flank of the enemy, while at the same time Habeeboollah Khan, Vale Meer Akbar, and Futeh Mahomed Khan, should charge the left; but *Dost Mahomed Khan* and Yar Mahomed Khan, did not approve of the proposal: Mahomed Azeem Khan, finding himself helpless, committed his artillery to the care of *Dost Mahomed Khan* and Yar Mahomed Khan. *They* retired in the darkness of the night, and sent all their troops to Peshawer. The Sirdar (Mahomed Azeem Khan) then assembled his artillery and fled to Peshawer. The enemy hung on and annoyed his rear till he entered the city. He proceeded to Cabool, where he shortly afterwards died.

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tering the successful army, which had partly crossed the river to oppose him."

The 2nd Column marched from Peshawer this morning; joined by the two Cos. 20th N. I. Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

To Akorah, 12 miles, (25th Nov.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 50°. The road rough and stony, intersected by numerous dry nullahs and deep ravines, cut by the rains, and draining the water from the country into the Cabool river. Though the road ran close by the river for some distance, there was little cultivation to be seen, till we came near the village of Akorah, where there is a table-land of the finest mould, which was under irrigation. (30) The village, built of white stone with mud cement, is of a good size. It has a stone square, the walls of which are closely pierced with loop-holes. The camp was 2½ miles E. of Akorah. Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

To Attok, 10¾ miles, (26th Nov.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 46°. The first part of the road tolerably good. At 5 miles crossed the bed of a hill stream. Then entered a narrow road running through low hills. At 6 miles entered the *Geedur Gullee* (31) defile, of about two miles in length. From

(30) Several Persian wheels were at work, and there were numerous vegetables of the freshest green. The crops were just rising out of the ground, which prevented the camp being near the village.

(31) Literally the "*Jackal's Pass,*" i. e. figuratively, so narrow as only to admit of a jackal: *gulee* meaning, a pass, or way; we were obliged to pass singly. It was about 7 miles from the last ground.

The G. O. directed the Asst. Baggage Mr. to proceed and post his party at an early hour, at the entrance to the defile, to prevent any wheeled-carriages entering it, till the troops had moved through it. Camels were to be allowed to file through it singly.

It is very narrow, ten or twelve feet in some places, with rather high and broken hills. There are two ascents and descents in it. At the end of it, on a hill to the right, is a small fort overlooked by the higher hills; here the road turns to the left; but there is another straight on passing under the fort.

The officer Comg. the advance guard, was directed to leave a detail of Lancers at the entrance to the bridge across the river, to prevent

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the hills on the left, is a commanding view of the *Cabool* river, running into the *Indus*. A mile from the bridge on the left side of the road is a large Baolee. (32) The bridge over the *Indus* at the Attok. (33) The bridge was an excellent one and was constructed with 24 boats. (34)

The fort of Attok is on the left bank; there is another on the right bank at Khyrabad, opposite to the former; both are commanded by the neighbouring heights. H. M.'s 16th Lancers crossed the bridge mounted. The town is contained in the fort of Attok, which is not a strong place. From the bridge the road to our camp passed under the fort over the deep sandy bed of the river; at the end of the range on which the fort stands, the road to camp turned to the right. Thermometer 3 P. M. 74. Some officers, on the application of Dr. *Gordon*, the Asst. Pol. Agent,

any crowding among the cattle, and to see that they followed each other with regularity across the bridge. (See the note on the passage of the bridge of boats over the Indus to *Sukkur* on the 15th Feb. 1839. Chapter II.) The plan is always to keep an open space between the bridge, and the cattle.

(32) A well with a flight of steps going down to it; some have 100 steps to them.

(33) Or "*Utuk.*" Prevention, or obstacle. The name of a river. In former times, *Hindoos* were said to be prohibited by their religion from crossing the Indus at the *Utuk*, the direct road from Hindostan; this, I believe, was a *Mahomedan* plan of policy invented by some political bramins, to keep the Hindoos from leaving their country.

(34) In 1837, there were only 17 boats used; the number depends upon the season. The Sikh Govt. build it annually, after the rainy season, about the 20th of October. The river is very rapid where the bridge is formed. The road-way of the bridge was covered with mud and straw over the planks. The anchors to the boats are made of wooden frame-work, and filled with stones, weighing 25 cwt. each. The junction of the Cabool river with the Indus was a grand sight. The Indus runs in several streams until it is joined by the Cabool river, when it rushes past the fort like a torrent. The river contracts in the cold season. There are nine fords, all except two *said* to be available every year, but only to bodies of men; only three are properly fordable as *five feet* is too deep a ford. The Indus has been forded by *Shah Zeman*, and by Runjeet Singh; but the latter is said to have lost 7,000 men in effecting the passage; but it was 5 miles higher up the river.

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to the Govr., went in the afternoon to see the fort; and found the people very civil. There are plunderers near Attok called Khuttuks.

27th Nov. Halt. Thermometer 5 A. M. 46°.—The 2nd Column, under Major-Genl. *Thackwell* marched in this morning. Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

Shah Shoojah lost his throne after the battle of Neemla, (1809); during his subsequent flight, Maharajah Runjeet Singh offered him Attok as a place of refuge. This was an act of gratitude rendered, no doubt, to Zeman Shah (the brother) who had left Peshawer with the females of the royal family, on Shah Shoojah's marching from it, and had entered the *Punjab:* Zeman Shah had, when king of Affghanistan and in possession of the *Punjab*, made Runjeet Singh his viceroy at Lahore. Runjeet obtained possession of Attok, after the battle of *Chuch* in 1811.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE MARCH OF HEAD-QUARTERS FROM ATTOK TO FEROZPOOR.

1. *Attok to Shumsabad*, 9¾ miles, (28th Nov. 1839.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 40°. The first part rather sandy for 2 or 3 miles, crossing two dry water-courses. Passed two small villages within 4 miles. Passed over much fine arable land. Camp E. of the village; there is another village N. E. of Shumsabad, and of the same size (300 houses); both built on mounds. The Himalayas are seen to the N. E., and the Cashmeer range below them. Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

To *Boorhan*, 13 miles, (29th Nov.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 34°. The road lay a little to the S. of E. The road first part good; at 2nd to 3rd mile rather sandy. At 3rd mile a small village. At 5 miles cross the sandy bed of a stream, beyond which, on the right, is a Fuqueer's house. Cultivation here and there near the road, and villages in the distance. At 7 miles the road runs through some ravines, for a mile. At 8 miles cross the *Harroo* river, a small, clear stream, (1) 3 feet deep, which has considerable velocity; 1½ mile further cross a water-course: 2 miles further on is a nullah of some depth with steep banks. Camp E. of Boorhan. Thermometer 3 P. M. 78°. There was no grass here.

To *Vah*, 8 miles, (30th Nov.)—Thermometer 4 A. M. 33°. The road lay principally through a jungle of Byr, (2) and thorny shrubs, full of gullies, and ravines, and many turns to the S. and N. of E. for about 3 miles, when the *Chumlah* river is crossed, about 60 yards wide and 3 feet

(1) Sixty yards wide, but at some seasons must be deep and wide.
(2) Ber, or Byr, a wild plum.

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deep. (3) The road thence lay E. for a mile through ravines. At 6 miles Hussun Abdool a small village; ½ mile beyond cross the *Dhoomrah,* a small stream near camp to the E. of Vah. (4) We were now in a well cultivated valley, surrounded by considerable hills, (5) over which the snowy peaks of the Himalaya are seen. Thermometer 3 P. M. 74°.

To *Janee-ka-Sung,* 14 miles, (1st Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 36 . The road (6) marched over to-day was the roughest we had yet travelled. The ascent considerable over bare rocks, dangerous for man or beast, if they missed their footing. Thence the country more open; direction E. At half-way is the *Kalee-ka-Seraee,* before reaching which on the left is a large *Baolee* with 100 steps. Here the road turns to the right or S. of E., with broken ground. Hence through a low, thin, *Byr* jungle. At 8 miles is a stone bridge (7) over the *Kalee* river, a deep stream, thence broken ground on each side, and low jungle. At 10 miles there is a stone causeway (8) of some extent, beyond this many ravines, so deep and narrow, that only one camel could pass. (8) The road thence through a rather

(3) Some places deep on each side of the two fords—the second ford ¼ mile to the left of that by the road.

(4) Much cultivation between Husun Abdool, and Vah. On the right of the road near Vah is Fuqueer's house in the raised village, where there is a stone with the mark of the hand of *Nanuk,* (name of a Fuqueer, founder of the sect of *Sikhs.*) It is said that a large rock fell from heaven, and that he put up the *back* of his hand, and thus by the weight of the stone was the mark on the stone caused! An Indian would exclaim, *wah! wah!* (wonderful). The ignorant believe in these stories.

(5) All round, except to the N. W. In the N. and S. they are about a mile between. In the hills to the N. there is a white pukka building.

(6) There are two roads, the left, or lower, for hackeries. The right road above, 12 to 18 feet wide; both roads are narrow, and bad for 200 yards. A hill to the right, and to the left low ground.

(7) An old bridge, the road-way in very bad order, only in part passable.

(8) Called "*Margullee.*" It is paved with large stones and has parapets, to the sides. It is about 250 yards long, and in the centre has a turn to the left.

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thick jungle, and very stony. Camp S. E. of Janee-ka-Sung, after crossing the *Baboodra* river. Thermometer 3 P. M. 72°.

G. O. "The practice of breaking down hedges and removing thorns from them for burning is prohibited, and the Provost Serjt. and Asst. Baggage Mr., will inflict summary punishment on the spot, on any camp-follower infringing this order, to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom in the different bazars."

To *Rawul Pindee*, 13¾ miles, (2nd Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 34°. The jungle and ravines rendered it difficult to get out of camp into the road, the first 6 miles of which are full of ravines, narrow and difficult, obliging the camels and cattle to pass through singly. The country to the left is low with distant villages. At 7 miles cross the stony ghat of the *Seel* (or, *Chehul Jungee*) river. It is partially dry. The ghat bad for hackeries; not far hence on the right is a dry tank, on the left ½ mile beyond it is another tank filled with water. (9) To the right the country low, and distant villages. Crossed the *Leh* river, and encamped N. of the town of *Rawul Pindee*. It is a large town surrounded with walls with bastions, and has an old castle from which a *salute of four guns* (10) was fired. It is a celebrated place for old coins. (11) There is a house here, built, Sir A. *Burnes*

We met Mrs. (now Lady) *Macnaghten* en route to join Sir W. H. M. at Jellalabad, with Lieut. *Conolly* and Dr. *Berwick*. They had a great convoy of camels, and as they were marching one way and we another, there was great confusion, and delay in the arrival of our baggage.

(9) These tanks are 80 to 100 yards square, and the sides are faced with round stones.

(10) The Sikhs have curious rules for firing salutes; they fire three guns for a Colonel. Elsewhere Sir J. Keane had the compliment of 17 guns; but there is no regular force here; and the poor Govr. knew no better.

(11) Though no antiquarian and unlearned in coins, I would advise caution in buying these coins, as they are often *made for the market*. A friend of mine got a Greek coin, the head on which was tolerably perfect. The gold and silver coins are of the most doubtful character; and I believe the copper coins had most claim to antiquity.

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states, (12) by the ex-king of Cabool. Thermometer 3 P. M. 75°.

G. O. "A Duffadar's party of the Local Horse will proceed to-morrow morning, under the orders of Naeb Russaldar Hussein Beg, towards the *Jheelum* river. The Naeb Russaldar will receive his orders from the D. Qr. M. G."

3rd Dec. Halt, and the 2nd Column closed up, and encamped on the other side of the river. Thermometer 5. A. M. 40°; 3 P. M. 64°.

2. To *Hoormuk*, 9 miles, (4th Dec. 1839.)—Thermtr. 5 A. M. 48°. The road passed over much broken and raviny ground. About half-way, to the left, the country is very low; we were on high table-land. At about 5 miles the ravines were so deep and narrow that only one camel could ascend and descend at a time. To the river the descent was so difficult, that a single horseman was alone able to pass through the *defile*. To the plains below, is a descent ½ mile long, close to the end of which we crossed the river *Sawun*, a stony-bed, not broad, and one foot of water. Our camp was near the village of Hoormuk. (13) Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

To *Muneekyala*, 10 miles, (5th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 36°. Shortly after leaving camp, the road passed through ravines for 2 or 3 miles. (14) The country was under cultivation, the divisions of the lands are marked

(12) 2nd Edn. vol. ii. p. 59. "We alighted at the house which the ex-king of Cabool built in his exile. It was a miserable hovel." Mr. Elphinstone states, (vol. i., Introduction, p. 126, 2nd Edn.) "While at Rawul Pindee, the haram overtook us, and with it came *Shah Zeman*." The ex-king was Shah Shoojah, but I believe he never lived in it, but *Shah Zeman* only. This was the place of asylum offered by Runjeet Singh to *Shah Shoojah*, when he lost his throne in 1809.

(13) Hoormuk was about a mile off; we obtained water from a spring between it and our camp.

(14) The road was very narrow and stony, and the crowd of camels and men rendered it difficult to pass through.

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by hedges of thorns. (15) The ravines and deep chasms caused by the periodical rains made the march a tedious one. At 6 miles, on the left of the road, is a very large *Seraee*, now quite in ruins, called "*Rabat-ke-Seraee.*" There is also a temple to the N. of considerable size. From the Seraee we saw the *Tope* of *Muneekyala*. The country became more open as we approached the *Tope*. Our camp was S. of and close to it, and N. of the village. There is another and larger village of the same name N. of the *Tope*. The *Tope* is a circular building; it is about 60 or 70 feet high from the top of the mound to the top of the building, whose circumference is 375 feet. It is arched over, the outer coating is of plain hewn large stones; the inside is of rough stone and mud: there is a well in the centre. The stones are all polished. (16) It is erected on a mound about 20 or 25 feet high; a flight of steps lead you to the top of the building. Thermometer 3 P. M. 74°.

(15) They make no embankments, consequently the thorny bushes are of value in a country producing little wood. The Sikhs allow all trees to be cut except the *Seeso (Dalbergia Sissoo, Roxb.)* usually pronounced *Sissoo;* which Runjeet always preserved for gun-carriages and other Military purposes; the destruction of which he severely punished.

(16) The difficulty in the execution of this work consists in the great size of the stones, which it would be difficult to remove from a quarry; but the raising them in the operation of building must have required a superior description of machinery than the *natives* themselves possessed more than 2,000 years ago. Mr. *Elphinstone* (vol. i., Introduction, p. 131, 2nd Edn.) says, "There is nothing at all of a *Hindoo* character in the appearance of the building; most of the party thought it decidedly *Grecian*. It was, indeed, as like Grecian Architecture as any building which Europeans, in a remote part of the country, could now construct by the hands of unpractised native builders. The *natives* called it the Tope of Maunicyala, and said it was built by the *gods*." They have no tradition of the building assigning it to a *native* Architect. There is a temple built of stone at Oodeepoor (Lat. 24° 28′ N., Long. 74° 5′ E.) in the time of *Vicramaditya*, who reigned before the time of the Christian Era, and as observed by Mill, "the name by which chiefly

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To *Seraee Pukkee*, 12¾ miles, (6th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 48°. The road over a fine broad plain for about 4½ miles, whence there is a considerable descent through a ravine into the bed of a dry nullah, beyond which there is a small village to the right. Near this the ravines were of great size and depth and very tortuous. Near camp came through a deep, narrow, ravine, about a mile in length. Thence the road went up the bed of the Kasee river, only a few inches deep, (17) crossing which the road turned up to the left, and the camp was at a place called Mull, E. of Seraee Pukkee. Thermometer 3 P. M. 82°.

To *Tameehak*, 14¾ miles, (7th Dec.)—Thermtr. 5 A. M. 38°. Crossed the river Kasee near camp by descending into the bed of the river. The direction to the E. At 1¼ mile ascended a difficult, and in places, dangerous ravine. (18) This obstacle surmounted, the road was tolerable, the

the idea of the universal sovereignty of India, and of the glory of art and science is combined." (Mill's British India, vol. i. p. 429.) Of this building they have a tradition as to the period, and I presume such would have been the case had Muneekyala been built by a native; and that it was not may be inferred from there being no similar buildings of native structure.

Sir A. *Burnes* (2nd Edn. vol. ii. p. 58) says, "It stands on a spacious plain, and the 'Tope' is to be distinguished at a distance of 16 miles. Various surmises have been thrown out regarding this site, but I do not hesitate to fix upon it as '*Taxilla*,' since '*Arrian*' expressly tells us that 'that was the most populous city *between* the Indus and Hydaspes;' which is the exact position of Manikyala." Dr. *Vincent*, (Voyage of Nearchus,) p. 10, says, the *Attok* is *Taxilla*. See, note 41.

It is supposed to have been built by *Alexander* to commemorate his exploits in this part of India. The Tope was entered from the top by *M. Ventura*, a general in the service of the Sikh Govt., some time ago, and in the well, a gold box, containing a bottle of some dark fluid was found, and also a great number of *Greek* coins, and other curiosities. A piece of plate like a salver, on which "in relief" was the triumph of Bacchus, drawn in his chariot by tigers, and the wheels urged on by Cupids, &c. *M. Ventura* first tried to enter from below; but failed owing to the great solidity of the structure.

(17) The river must be extensive in the rains.

(18) The proper road was to the left, but some hackeries having got to the gorge of the road, could proceed no further, and the whole

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country falling to the E., in a succession of regular levels, here and there with deep ravines, and rocks protruding above the surface. At 11 miles descending into the bed of the *Kasee* (19) river a few inches deep, then ascended another ravine, and crossing two or three smaller, reached camp. The village of Dhumuk was on the rising ground N. W. of our camp; water procured from a spring near the village of Boorj a mile S. of camp. There were towers to both villages. (20) Thermometer 3 P. M. 74°.

To *Bakerala*, 9⅜ miles, (8th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 42°. With much difficulty a road, or path-way, was found down a steep, stony, ghat which led to the river, the road into the bed of which was very narrow and precipitous; (21) the Lancers were obliged to dismount and moved by twos leading their horses. On the left was a fearful precipice into the bed of the *Kasee* river. The banks of the river, were cliffs of perpendicular red and grey sand, and its bed was narrow and winding. (22) The rest of the road was through the bed of the river to camp, on high ground. The village

ravine soon became crowded by camels, bullocks, yaboos, asses, mules, &c. none of which could move on, till the hackeries were passed through. The staff went up by a natural causeway with fearful precipices on each side, the Lancers followed. The width of the road-way only admitted of one horseman passing at a time, being in some places about 2 feet wide; if any horse had made a false step both horse and rider would have been seriously injured, if not killed. One horse of the Lancers in getting up a ravine fell, and died in consequence of the fall.

(19) By some called *Bowlee;* it is the river we crossed before.

(20) This was the largest and worst march from Cabool. When you got on table-land you looked back on the most frightful ravines ever seen, those about the *Chumbul* river are as nothing in the comparison. In such a country, small parties could cut up the baggage cattle of an army in detail.

(21) It only allowed of one camel passing at a time, and was soon choaked, while the entrance to the descent, for nearly half a mile, was crowded with camels, asses, bullocks, mules, &c. It was difficult to pass them; and there was a precipice to the left.

(22) A small body of troops might defend this spot, against a large force.

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W. of camp, a mile distant. (23) Low hills on each side of the river half a mile distant. Thermometer 3 P. M. 75°. Rather confined ground for a camp.

To Udhurana, 8¾ miles, (9th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 48°. The road lay almost due S. along the bed of the river, which was sandy and heavy in many places, but open for the baggage cattle. (24) At 6 miles the Dhamoyl river falls into the Kasee, and in the rains must form a considerable stream. The camp close to the bed of the river. The village close and N. W. Confined ground for a camp. (25) The bed of the river ran about N. W. to E. round camp. Crossed the river near camp. Thermometer 3 P. M. 80°. No village, or cultivation here. The hills were covered with stunted trees and bushes; and some fine Oleanders were to be seen.

3. To *Rhotas*, 8⅝ miles, (10th Dec. 1839.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 38°. The road lay through the bed of the river, occasionally crossing some spurs of hills and ravines. Rhotas was built by *Shere Shah*, the Affghan, the same who took the fortress of Rhotas in the province of Behar, in A. D. 1542 by stratagem. It is a walled town nearly half a mile long, running N. E. to S. W. The walls are of great thickness. It was in former times, a frontier post. It is a place of no strength against European science. Its site is on a hill of gentle declivity and overlooks the

(23) No water in the bed of the river except small shallow pools. We dug many wells in the bed of the river; water close to the surface. Near the village is a well containing the best water in the *Punjab*. Runjeet Singh always used the water from this well. The Kasee river, here changed its name to Bukeralee *Khoord*, or *Kahun*, (or *small* Bukeralee.)

(24) There is a road a mile shorter by moving straight from camp, on the high bank, through the jungle of Dhak and grass; but 3 or 4 places of heavy sand, between the patches of jungle.

There is a ravine half-way; the road crosses into the bed of the river 2 or 3 times.

(25) The two columns could not have encamped in many of our halting-places. The ground, here, was jungly. There are some *Sissoo* trees in the neighbourhood, (see note 15.)

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river Kasee, (26) the bed of which is a Pass into the strong country between the Jheelum and the Attok.

The camp was on the left bank, N. W. of Rhotas, and N. W. of camp was a garden ¼ mile distant, and a *durgah* (27) is just beyond it. Lower down the river, on the right bank on which Rhotas stands, is a large white mosque. Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

G. O. "The Asst. Baggage-Master, with a suitable party, will take post at the *ferry* (28) early to-morrow morning; and will prevent the people crowding into the boats."

"The Provost Serjt. will be posted at the *Ford*, with his Dett. and will see that the camels are sent across the river in the order they come up to its bank; and that no crowding is allowed."

To *Jheelum*, 12 miles, (11th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 40°. The road lay through the bed of the river Kasee, for about 6 miles, when the route turned to the N. E. and crossed a well-cultivated country, extending to the bank of the Jheelum. The river Jheelum runs close past the town, from E. to W. The ford lies about ¾ mile higher up the river, (E.) There is a village ½ mile from the town, between it and the ford. From the point a little above the village, the ford takes a diagonal direction to the left down the river to the centre, and then takes another diagonal direction up to the left; so that the ford describes two sides of a triangle, which, where the two sides meet, points down the stream: the fords at each side of the river being opposite to each other on the N. and S. side of the river. The ferry is close to the town, where there were 20 large and six small boats. H. M.'s 16th Lancers arrived near the town of Jheelum at about ½ past 8 A. M. From the report of the Duffadar who had been sent on some days before, the depth of water was reported to be up to the middle of a man, and was not considered too deep for cavalry to ford. Stakes had been driven in to mark the direction of the ford. From the

(26) And Dhamoyl.
(27) Mosque, or place of Mahomedan worship.
(28) Of the *Jheelum*.

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information obtained also from Lt. *Conolly*, (29) whose party had crossed about 23rd Nov. it was concluded that the ford was practicable. The Adjt. of the Lancers had ridden across, and came back announcing it to be practicable. The Regt. entered the ford by *threes*, and passed to the centre of the river without any accident; but on arriving at the centre, there being a number of camels crossing at the time by which a sight of the stakes was lost, the leading portion of the Regt. tried to pass them by going beyond them to the right, going *lower down the stream*; they immediately got into deep water, and the strength of the stream. So deep was the river, here, that the horses began to swim. From the opposite (Jheelum) side, the scene was most awful and distressing, to witness the struggle of the animals on getting suddenly into deep water; we could observe horse after horse and rider disappear, and suddenly rise again; the impression was that a troop at least would be lost. The remainder of the Regt. averted the danger by taking the ford to the *left*. Boats were despatched to the ford, but could not arrive in time to save many. On mustering the Regt. it was found, that Capt. *Hilton*, a corporal and nine privates and their horses were drowned. The bodies of Capt. H. and of two or three men were brought on shore, and every medical aid tried in vain to restore them to life; but failed, except in the case of one or two privates. Lt.-Col. *Cureton* was nearly drowned by his horse being frightened at some camels, and falling back in the water, thus compelling him to swim hampered with his sword and cap fastened under his chin; and he with difficulty reached the bank. Lt. *Pattle* had a very narrow escape, and was saved by private *Dobbin*. (30) *Sir J. Keane* came to the spot and remained for some time; evidently affected by the distressing scene. The river was about 300 yards wide opposite the town, but more at the ford; and by the

(29) Who with Dr. *Berwick* accompanied Mrs. Macnaghten.

(30) He was Chaplain's clerk, and had crossed before the Regt. The Rev. Mr. *Hammond* solicited the Colonel to promote him to Serjt. which I hope has been done.

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circuitous direction the ford extended over a line of about 500 yards, and had more than 3 feet of water, and a strong current near the S. bank; and what made it worse was, the water was very cold, and the crossing being made after a long march. This sad event cast a gloom over the whole camp; nor were its results confined to the past. (31) Thermometer 3 P. M. 72°.

(31) Several men died from catching cold. It is to be observed that since the Duffadar had crossed the river (some days before) the river had risen, for it fell 18 inches during the night, as next morning a sandbank covered with water the day before, was distinctly visible: and at this season such a fall could only be occasioned by a previous sudden (unaccountable) rise; since in the cold season rivers do not usually fall suddenly. It fell six inches more the day after. The Lancers had their caps fastened under their chins (by which Col. *Cureton* was nearly drowned) which impeded the men swimming, and having their swords and accoutrements on, if they fell they could not recover themselves, they were weighed down. The horses with all their trappings, and martingals, and bridled up, were fettered; and the least check threw the horse over. Fording a broad river after a long march, when the horses were tired and heated, moving through (as on that morning) very cold water, both horse and man were chilled and benumbed!

Where a ford is in a direct line, it is most easy, by staking the ford and planting two flags on each side, to give a perfect direction. In a case like that at the *Jheelum*, it would require to give the two cross directions. Thus, the banks of the river being N. and S. the directions would be from N. E. to S. W. and from N. W. to S. E. Capt. *Macauly*, Royal Engrs. p. 247 (Mily. Reconnoissance, &c.) observes, "Fords should not be deeper than three feet for infantry, four feet for Cavy. and two and half feet for Arty. and Ammn. wagons. If a ford be situated where the current is rapid, its depth should be diminished in proportion, from *half* to *one* foot for cavalry, and from nine inches to one and half feet for infantry. Having reconnoitred a ford, it will be prudent to plant upright pickets in the stream, notched to show the variation of the depth at different times. In mountainous countries these variations will be considerable in winter; large stones are also frequently found in fords among hills, rendering the passage difficult for cavalry; insurmountable for carriages. In sandy countries, and where alluvial deposits are frequent, fords may be found for infantry in small numbers, but impracticable for cavalry, more so for carriages, sometimes appearing to have a firm and solid bed, but proving, on critical

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4. Left bank of the *Jheelum*, (12th Dec. 1839.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 38°. Halt. The 2nd Column, under Maj.-Genl. *Thackwell*, arrived on the opposite bank this morning; encamped on the right bank, close to the town of Jheelum. Thermometer 3 P. M. 64°.

G. O. "It is with much sorrow that H. E. the Comr. in-Chief notifies to the troops, that, in fording the Jheelum river, yesterday morning, Capt. *Hilton*, H. M.'s 16th Lancers, one corporal and nine privates of the same Regt. unfortunately lost their lives. H. E. deeply deplores the circumstance, and sympathizes with the afflicted friends, and comrades of the deceased."

examination, soft and shifting. The best have a gravelly bottom. Great care must be taken in the examination of fords, across streams or rivers threading a morass, or boggy district. A brown rushy bottom may generally be trusted; but bright green spots are more delusive."

"A row of pickets planted on either side of the ford, and retained by cordage, will be found useful, as well in the crossing as for the indication of its direction. When a river offers a ford of sufficient width, and the stream is rapid, it is sometimes expedient to use the cavalry to cut the current of the water obliquely, and make the infantry cross lower down." p. 248.

Burnes says, (vol. ii. p. 42,) "Arrian speaks of the Hydaspes as a muddy and rapid river with a current of 3 or 4 miles an hour, which is correct." Burnes crossed it about the end of February, we on the 11th December. He crossed it lower down and says, "It had rained the day preceding our arrival; the stream was discolored, and the water bubbled in eddies at various places." But where a ford has picquets laid down, the rule is not to pass *below* but *above* the picquets, as below is the deepest water; by passing *below* the stakes, the Lancers got into deep water. The ford was over a sand-bank, and by getting off it, in any direction, the horses got into deep water and floundered. When the English entered France in March, 1814, the river *Adour* was fordable, owing to a strong wind blowing against the stream and raising up the sand; but on a change of wind, the stream caused the full flow of the river and the sand to fall with it, and deepened it so much as to render the river not fordable: nor was it forded. The *Jheelum*, I believe, has quicksands, and from its direction, the most difficult ford I ever saw. *Lances* driven into the river would always, with the white and red flags, be better than stakes.

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"Brig. *Persse* will be pleased to give such orders for the interment of the bodies, this afternoon at ½ past 4 o'clock, as may be proper."

"All officers off duty belonging to the troops are requested to attend."

The funeral took place accordingly, and the bodies of the late Capt. *Hilton* and four men (the rest have never been found) were interred close to our camp, opposite to the town of Jheelum: his body being placed in the centre grave. Steps have since been taken by the Regt. to build a tomb on the spot. This was indeed a melancholy event at the close of our campaign; it cannot fail to be remembered, as a lesson of dear-bought experience: and as *Napoleon* said, "Les passages des rivière de cette importance sont les opérations les plus critiques." (32)

Left bank of the *Jheelum*, (13th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 30°. (33) The 3rd Cavalry crossed over this afternoon at 3 P. M. to prevent the horses suffering from the cold water in the morning, particularly after a long march. The officers were ordered by *Sir J. Keane*, to come over in boats, as well as all of the troopers who could not swim. The horses were ordered to come over in *watering order*, (the saddles, &c. being sent over in the boats.) The horses of each troop came over singly, with a horse's length between each; each troop being led by a guide (Mullah) procured from the town. There was no accident. The Asst. Qr. Mr. Genl. (Lt. *Becher*) was sent with boats to station them in a position on each side of the centre-point of the river near the ford, to prevent any horses or camels, &c. passing below the line of demarcation: and the river had been fresh staked. We went to the ford to witness the passage; the horses did, at times, get into deep water. At the time of crossing, two or three elephants belonging

(32) Napoleon's Mem. par Montholon, Tome 3, p. 165.

(33) In the open air 22°, and at 8½ A. M. 36°. The water of the river was scarcely warmed at the surface by the sun; it was a very cold day.

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to *Lenah Singh*, (34) were driven straight across the river, at the imminent risk of frightening the horses: luckily such an event did not occur. We saw the advantage of the horses crossing *singly*.

There were many camels lost, owing to their becoming benumbed with cold; they were seen to stand with their loads, or without them, incapable of moving: they sat down in the river, rolled on their sides, and were carried down the stream, floating for a time, and then sinking. Thermometer 3 P. M. 68°.

The town of *Jheelum* (35) is on the N. bank of the river, and extends about ½ a mile on the right bank, running from E. to W. In the centre, between the town and river, is a

(34) Sikh Mehmandar.

(35) By some written Jhylum *(Vahuda)*. "It is the most W. of the Punjab streams, and is by Abal Fazel, named the Behut, or Bedusta: in ancient Hindoo mythological poems the Indrani, and is the famous Hydaspes of Alexander."

Sir A. Burnes, vol. ii. p. 58, 2nd Edn. says, (alluding to *Maneekyala,)* "M. Ventura decides on *it* as *Bucephalia*, from a derivation that interprets Manikyala to mean the city of the *horse;* but this is not founded on history, as *Bucephalia* stood on the banks of the *Hydaspes*."

But at page 50 he says, again, "about 15 miles *below* Jelum," (i. e. the town and right bank,) "and about 1000 yards from the Hydaspes (the river Jelum) near the modern village of *Darapoor*, we hit upon some extensive ruins called *Oodeenuggur*, which seem to have been a city that extended for 3 or 4 miles. The traditions of the people are vague and unsatisfactory, for they referred us to the *deluge*, and the time of the prophet *Noah*." And "on the opposite side of the Hydaspes," to *Darapoor*, (i. e. on the *left* bank) "stands a mound said to be coeval with Oodeenuggur, where the village of Moong is built." And "I do not conceive it impossible that *Oodeenuggur may* represent the site of *Nicœa*, and that the mounds and ruins on the W. bank" (clearly not *at* the town of *Jheelum*) "mark the position of *Bucephalia*." So that we cannot assign the town of Jheelum, as the ancient site of either Nicœa or Bucephalia. according to the above reasoning; so that learned antiquarians must decide.

The river takes its name from the town. In India, usually, a river changes its name as often as it passes through a new district; the Ganges and Jumna form exceptions. (Vide Note 41.)

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large mosque. To the W. is a garden and temple for Hindoo worship. There is a village to the E., distant ½ a mile. Some of the houses are of pukka brick, and of considerable height. The *Punjab* here commences; the country between the Attok and Jheelum, contains no Sikhs, the population being all Mahomedan; though under Sikh rule.

Lieut. (now Major) *Pottinger*, from Herat, came into camp to-day, en route to Calcutta.

5. To *Khoar*, 12¼ miles, (14th Dec. 1839.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 32°. The direction of the road varied often. The country a low flat, intersected by seven or eight heavy dry, sandy, beds, which are so many streams in the rains. At 3 miles a village on the left. Half-way, ascend and descend a ridge of hills. At 7 miles a village on the left with a small mud fort. Half a mile beyond another village, near which is a pukka well. No cultivation seen except near the villages, which are small. Crossed several ravines, and a low grass jungle on the road. We saw *byr*, *sissoo*, and *neem* (36) trees, around the villages. It was a heavy march. *Camp* ¼ mile N. of Khoar. The troops had to file through and round the village, by a narrow road. There is a small mud fort here. Fine young crops of wheat and barley near the town. Thermometer 3 P. M 73°.

To *Dheengee*, 14¼ miles, (15th Dec. 1839.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 42°. The road more to the E. but at no great distance from the Jheelum, for 5 or 6 miles, crossing the dry sandy beds of several water-courses, in some parts deep sand. The road then passed through Dhak and grass jungle, and then over a low ridge of hills, when it ran due E., and after crossing it, we entered on a very extensive plain. (37) Four miles from this we came to Noor Jheelum; the country tolerably well-cultivated. From the ridge of hills is seen the *Ascesines* (Chenab) winding along in the distance. Passed four villages on the road; they are raised on mounds, with walls and mud towers. The town of

(36) The *Neem*, (Melia azadirachta.)

(37) Where the largest armies might manœuvre.

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Dheengee said to contain 2,000 houses, some built of brick and high. A small pukka-walled garden, near it. *Camp* S. of it ¼ mile: plenty of hogs and hares at this place. Thermometer 3 P. M. 68°.

To *Pareewallah*, 11½ miles, (16th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 40°. The road good, ran nearly E. and for the first 5 miles through a Dhak and grass jungle, some places thick. Passed four villages, on mounds. Other villages seen in the distance. Passed the village of Lalah with a square mud fort; beyond it, one mile, is Pareewallah, a large village of a similar description. The late Maharajah Runjeet Singh kept his stud here, the water and grass being esteemed excellent. The famous horse *Lylee* (38) was here. Camp N. of Pareewallah. *Thermometer* 3 P. M. 72°.

An order was issued to-day against igniting patches of grass on the road. (39) Any camp-follower found lighting a fire by the road-side, and in a situation where flames were likely to spread, was severely punished. (40)

G. O. "The Head Qrs. and sappers to move across the Chenab and encamp at Ramnuggur; no baggage of the 16th Lancers to go across till the whole of that of Hd. Qrs. and the sappers has passed over."

To *Ramnuggur* on the left bank of the Chenab 10 miles, (17th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 40°. The road lay over the same extensive plain, bare of trees. Passed three or four villages; 7¾ miles to the ghat (right bank.) The ford is lower down to the right, a round of 2½ miles, with three streams; and 3 feet of water in the middle one. The ghat

(38) Runjeet fought a pitched battle with Sultan Mahomed of Peshawer for this famous horse "whose speed was like the wind." The Sultan lost it and secured peace by surrendering the horse. This is, I believe, the first battle fought for a *horse* ever known. The fact is worthy of record: but Runjeet was so fond of horses, that he would have given £10,000 for a horse of high character.

(39) This grass (or rather reed) is valuable, being used in making hedges to the fields. They lighted these fires to warm themselves; but were warmed in another way if they disobeyed the order.

(40) The same order in both columns.

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is good, and has not high banks. Cross over heavy sand for 1¼ mile, at the end of which cross four beds which would be 3 or 4 feet deep with water on the rise of the river.

Our camp was about 2 miles from the left bank, and about 2 miles N. W. of the town of Ramnuggur, and ½ mile S. of a large clump of trees. There were 12 or 14 large and some smaller boats at the ghat. The *Chenab* must be more than a mile broad in the rains, and have a depth of from 14 to 16 feet of water; and is said to be free of rocks, so it is well suited for the passage of boats of a large size in the rainy season, and for good-sized boats at other periods. Ramnuggur is a large walled town. (41) Some

(41) Ramnuggur has been thought to be the site of the ancient town of *Bucephalia*. Sir A. Burnes, vol. ii. p. 50, says, that there is a *mound* where the village of Moong is built, and some *extensive ruins* beyond Moong, near Huria Badshapoor, and adds, "I do not conceive it improbable that Oodeenuggur may represent Nicæa, and that the *mound* and ruins on the W. bank of the Hydaspes *(Jheelum)* mark the position of Bucephalia." But Ramnuggur is on the *Chenab!*

Dr. *Wm. Vincent*, 1797, (Voyage of Nearchus down the Hydaspes or Chelum to the north of the Indus,) p. 94, says, "the discovery (of *Nicæa*) is not difficult; for though the present road from Attok to Lahore crosses the Chelum at Rotas," "we are directed by *Arrian* with so much precision to another point, that we can hardly be mistaken. On a *bend* of the Hydaspes, he says, there is an island *(Jamad)* surrounded by the river, with a second branch, or artificial canal, on the E. side." "Below the S. point of the island, and the re-union of the river, *Porus* had drawn up his forces on the E. side. *Alexander* leaving Craterus with a considerable body of forces opposed to Porus, marched in the night to effect a passage under cover of this island, to the opposite shore. He embarked himself in a galley, and conveyed his troops in boats brought overland from the Indus. He had scarcely disembarked them, when he found himself encircled by another channel which, being swelled by the solstitial rains, he forded with great difficulty: then turning to his right, he followed the course of the stream, and, after defeating the *son* of Porus, advanced to the spot where the *king himself* had drawn up his forces opposite to *Craterus*. Here the battle was fought, and *here must be the site of Nicæa*." (Major *Rennell*, in his Memoir, p. 93,) "concludes that Alexander passed the *Chelum* at *Rotas*;" (i. e. by the direct road, 12 miles distant;) "but in the accompanying map places *Nicæa* lower down 28 miles." Again, p. 95, "The

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natives here remarked to us that we had *surrounded* (42) *the country* (Punjab), *taken Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool, and said "how can Lahore and Umritsir escape?"* Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

To-day was published the G. O. of the Govr. Genl. of India, (in the Secret Dept.) dated 18th Nov. 1839, expressive of the sense entertained by His Lordship of the soldier-like spirit and conduct, of the Army of the Indus, throughout the late campaign: and granting a donation of six months' full, or Field Batta, to every officer, European and native, and to the N. C. O. and privates of the native troops.

G. O. "H. M.'s 16th Lancers to send forward their baggage, in the course of the afternoon, and to cross the river, to-morrow morning; the men, with their saddles, &c.

distance from his camp on the W. side of the river to the head of the island is given by *Arrian*, and may be estimated at 9 miles. If, therefore, we can find an island in modern geography which will correspond with this of Arrian, we have a precise point given and have only to fix *Nicæa* at the requisite distance below. Such an island *(Jamad)* is found, and situated on the bend of the Chelum or Hydaspes, *about 28 miles below Rotas,"* (while Rotas from the present town of Jheelum *is only 12 miles!)* "and in a more direct line between *Attok* and Lahore than *Rotas itself*. The road probably passed at this place in earlier times, and has diverted to Rotas only because the island afforded a strong post which in India is always a source of exaction. This *island* is called *Jamad* by *de la Rochette*, and by Major *Rennell* in his second map." Dr. V. says, p. 99, that the Longitude of *Jamad*, by Maj. *Rennell* is 71° 50′ E.; and that *Bucephalia* is supposed to have been on the *opposite* side of the river; and p. 110, "The distance from the lower point of *Jamad* to the confluence (with the *Acesines*) is from 60 to 70 miles." He (p. 100) fixes the time of departure of the fleet under *Nearchus* on the 23rd October, A. C. 327.

At p. 10 he assigns *Taxilla* as the ancient site of the modern *Attok*, "being in the kingdom of the *Taxiles*."

(42) The British dominions, Affghanistan, and the Himalaya mountains surround the Punjab, see p. 3, note 7.

At Rawul Pindee a Mahomedan asked some of our principal staff officers, to give him a certificate that his village was his property, for he said "*I know this country will be yours, and I wish to have a paper to show, in such an event, that I may not be deprived of it!*"

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are to be sent by the ferry; the horses by the ford in charge of the syces." (43)

"The Artillery and Cavalry horses (of the 2nd Column) to be sent by the ford in charge of the syces; and the men, guns, harness and saddles by the ferry."

Burning of grass.—"The corporal's party of Lancers with the Provost Serjt., for the purpose of preventing this practice, to be increased, and the men composing it to be furnished with whips, to use them on all followers they may find standing over burning grass, by the road-side, even although they may not be the individuals who set it on fire." (44) 18th Dec. Halt. Lenah Singh waited on Sir J. Keane to sound him as to his intention of visiting Lahore. Sir John replied that he had received no invitation. Dr. *Gordon* was sick; he was, strictly speaking, the channel of communication.

6. To *Naeewalla*, 12⅝ miles, (19th Dec. 1839.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 38°. Shortly after leaving camp crossed a small dry nullah, which must be rather deep in the rains; thence the road sandy for a mile. Then over a flat plain with villages, on mounds, at intervals, in the distance. The soil rich and highly cultivated around the villages. About half-way on the right, is the large town of *Akaligurh*; (45) having passed it we saw four or five white Hindoo temples close under the walls. There were several villages passed on the same side of the road. Camp ½ mile S. of Naeewala, which was surrounded by fine crops of wheat,

(43) Grooms.

(44) "Proclamation of the penalty to be made, daily, in the different bazars." It was next to impossible to find out of a crowd, who did set fire to the grass.

(45) It is a walled town with gates, and the inhabitants are *Akalees* who are a very independent and brave people. The Akalees rendered Runjeet Singh important services in several of his battles, in which they often led the troops into action. (See the battle of *Noushera* in Chapter 15.) They are considered sacred by the Sikhs, and have been known to threaten even the life of Runjeet. At this place it is said, they pay no revenue. The Sikhs are in great fear of these fanatics, whom it is dangerous to affront; they are regardless of their own lives.

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&c. There is a very extensive plain, here, and on our route to-day. Thermometer 3 P. M. 78°.

To *Thabool*, 10¾ miles, (20th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 38°. The direction of the route S. and S. E. and then E. Passed two villages on the road, which was good, and the country very open; but little cultivation. Camp ½ mile S. W. from the village. About ¼ mile N. W. of it is a Hindoo temple, and some trees. We lost our road to-day. (46)

Memo. "It is to be proclaimed by tom-tom, in the different bazars, that the cutting down of Peepul (47) trees, for feeding elephants, or camels, is prohibited; and any follower detected in destroying such trees will be severely punished."

The people, here, said that the Sikh troops rob them of all they have, when they are marched across the country. I believe the Sikh people are not averse to the British; the Sikh soldiers are: they have every thing to lose; the former every thing to gain! Thermometer 3 P. M. 72°. About this time we heard of the capture of *Khelat* by the troops under Maj.-Genl. *Willshire;* and all were glad that the gallant general, had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the Affghanistan campaign.

To near *Mutta*, 8¼ miles, (21st Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 38°. The route over the same extensive plain, road excellent. About 7 miles from *Thabool* are two large villages, called Nyshara, (48) between which the road passes;

(46) The road properly lay in a nearly direct line to the left, instead of which we marched straight on to a village to the N. W. of Thabool, and had to turn to our left to reach camp S. W. of it.

(47) (Ficus Religiosa), a species of fig-tree (wild). It is a tree held sacred by Hindoos.

(48) We passed two other villages on the road. Low jungle on parts of the road. Cultivation near the villages. There were two villages in front and S. E. of camp. There are some Bramins and a temple near this place, and a rather thick grass jungle, in which the Rev. Mr. *Hammond* nearly lost his way.

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two miles further was camp N. W., about a mile short of Mutta. Thermometer 3 P. M. 72°.

To *Mullyan*, 15 miles, (22nd Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 38°. The road lay over the same extensive plain. Passed two villages. A village about 2 miles short of Mullyan, passing which we had some ravines to cross; from which we passed through some low jungle, after which there was an extensive plain. Camp S. W. of Mullyan. At this place an invitation came to *Sir John Keane* to pay a visit to Lahore, which was accepted. Thermometer 3 P. M. 70°.

23rd Dec. *Halt.* Thermometer 5 A. M. 36°. G. O. "The 2nd Brigade H. A., H. M.'s 16th Lancers, a Ressalah of the 4th Local Horse, will accompany H. E. as an Escort to Lahore; the remainder of the troops will move towards Ferozpoor, under Maj.-Genl. *Thackwell.* In addition to H. E.'s personal staff, the following officers of the General staff, are directed to move with Hd. Qrs. to Lahore, *viz.* The D. A. G., D. Q. M. G., D. C. G., D. A. Q. M. G., the Offg. A. A. G. and S. A. C. G."

"Such officers of the staff, and those not belonging to the troops forming H. E.'s Escort, as may be desirous of visiting Lahore, are requested to communicate the same to the D. A. G., through the Maj.-Genl. Comg. the Column, and if their services can be dispensed with, they will have permission to accompany Hd. Qrs." (49) Thermometer 3 P. M. 76°.

7. To *Dhingee*, 13⅞ miles, (24th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 36°. H. E. Sir J. Keane, and his Escort marched this morning, taking the direct road to *Lahore;* (50) we took the

(49) "No bullocks, tattoos, or cattle of any description to precede the troops on the march. Syces, &c. to remain in the rear."

(50) Rajah Lenah Singh, who came with the invitation from Lahore, wished Sir J. Keane to proceed by a different route, declaring that boats had been prepared at another ghat; however, it was determined to take the shorter route. When permission for the return of the troops through the Punjab had been granted, it was stipulated that they should not pass within 25 miles of Lahore; but this was by their own

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route to Ferozpoor. Our route, the direction varying, was over arable land for about 5 miles, passing several villages. At about 6 miles passed round a village, then over some broken ground, and thence, by a path-way, through much cultivation: the last 3 or 4 miles, the road lay through jungle grass. Crossed near camp a nullah, with a few inches of water. Camp N. E. of the village. (51) Thermometer 3 P. M. 68°.

To *Surrukpoor*, 10 miles, (25th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 44°. The road lay over a grass jungle for 2 miles, then over arable land. About the middle of the march, cultivation and two villages were passed. Then we arrived at the village of Surrukpoor. There being symptoms of rain, the order to cross the Ravee (Hydraotes) was issued after breakfast, to move at 12 o'clock. The ghat on the right bank was 2½ miles distant. At 1½ mile crossed a nullah, with rather steep banks. (52) The Ferry-ghat is a mile from it. The river about 250 yards wide. The ford was a good one, the river there, wider. After crossing the river to the left bank, passed over a bed of sand for ½ mile to camp, pitched in some Jow jungle. On

invitation. The Govr. Genl., I believe, wished Sir John to accept the invitation if asked: I do not think the latter had any personal wish to go there (he was sick); but his staff wished to go there.

(51) The villages on this march more numerous, and the cultivation more forward and extensive. Some of the Mahomedan inhabitants of the villages of Cawnpoor, Aktah, &c. asked when we were going to *take the country*. The Sikhs will not allow the Mahomedans to call those of their faith to prayers, publicly, (usually by a crier from the top of a mosque, who may be heard a mile off;) but they will receive them as proselytes.

(52) It was a bad ghat and deep mud with the water. Some found a better crossing 100 yards to the left, the banks being lower, and little water. Thence the road to the Ferry ghat is to the right (those going to which should have kept the direct road from Surrukpoor); the ford to the left, higher up the river. The ford was marked off with reeds and grass in two rows, and was about two and half or three feet deep, but broad and firm bottom. Camels and Yaboos went over loaded. The 3rd Cavy. forded over. The hackeries went in the boats.

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this march there was, half-way, a cross-road to Lahore. The wind (N. E.) threatened to blow down our tents.

There was a rumour to-day that the Sikhs intended to attempt the rescue of our prisoners, Mahomed Hyder Khan, and Hajee Khan, Kakur; but no such attempt was made. (53) Thermometer 3 P. M. 64°. We spent our Christmas dinner, in the mess-tent of the sappers and miners; and with the aid of a little good wine (which had been a scarce article) passed a pleasant evening; and went to bed without any fears of our slumbers being disturbed, unless the wind should blow down our tents.

26th Dec. *Halt.* Thermometer 5 A. M. 36°. No fresh alarms. Thermometer 3 P. M. 70°.

To *Gunjatee*, 11½ miles, (27th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 40. The first part of the road was through low jungle. (54) Crossed the first mile, two dry beds of nullahs. The road then ran E. At 4 miles there is a village; thence the road turns to the left, or N. of E. About half-way we found a great expanse of plain, or desert, and some low jungle. To the right, distant 5 miles is a village, with high

(53) There were some Sikh sepoys in most of the villages, probably their homes, and no doubt they spread the report as a good joke. However Hajee Khan, Kakur, thought it none. He begged to have a sword to defend himself, as he knew the Sikhs detested him cordially. However, the guards over the *Hajee* were loaded as a measure of precaution. An officer wrote from Ferozpoor, that it was said 25,000 men and 100 guns, were to attack us, to release the prisoners; and to seize the Comr.-in-Chief, so that some thought, we had only come "to the end of our beginning," and a war in the Punjab was foretold; the force required was laid down at from 15 to 20,000 men. New regiments to be raised as a matter of course. The Punjab was to be annexed to the British dominions in the cold season 1839-40. The expedition to China was at a discount; and a war with Nepal, or the Burmese, was deferred till a future period.

(54) We lost our road, or rather could see none. The trumpets and bugles were sounded from the advance, "*we have lost our road*," (for five or six minutes) to give intimation to the troops, and camp-followers. We at length succeeded in finding our way, about day-break.

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houses. *Camp* E. ¼ mile from the village. (55) Thermometer 3 P. M. 70°.

To *Sulleeanee*, 13⅞ miles, (28th Dec.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 44°. The direction varied little from E. The road the first half over an open country, with low jungle. No regular road. About half-way the village of Ahphur. (56) At 10 miles the village of Nuddeepoor (both small villages.) From the last village the jungle is thicker. *Camp* ¼ mile W. of the village. Thermometer 3 P. M. 75°.

8. To *Kussoor*, 10 miles, (29th Dec. 1839.)—Thermtr. 5 A. M. 40°. The road first half over a jungly country, a village on the right half-way; hence the road is free from jungle, and a well cultivated country is entered. *Camp* to the E. close under the walls of Kussoor. It is as ancient as Lahore; there are, or rather were, 12 divisions, and the inhabitants are all Mahomedans. (57) It is of great extent. An army might make a good stand here; as not only are there heights here, but each division of the town might be turned into a fortified position. Thermtr. 3 P. M. 75°.

30*th Dec.* To the right bank of the Sutluj, (9⅝ miles.)—Thermometer 5 A. M. 44°. The road to the E., and first part over the ruins of Kussoor, about one mile in extent; the road then descends into a low, flat, tract, taking a direction to the S. E. Passed by much cultivation, and a village on the road. Breakfasted on the right bank, which is not very high; encamping ground sandy. After breakfast crossed over, and encamped on the left bank. There were 60 or 70 boats of sizes. The stream was of no strength, and the bed is shelving, to the left bank. It was about

(55) Half-way on this march, there is a cross-road to Lahore.

(56) Hence a cross-road to Lahore.

(57) The city was founded by a Nuwab who gave each of his 12 sons, a fort, or walled place, to reside in. It is said to have been conquered from the Moghul Emperors 70 years ago. The divisions (such as remain) are surrounded by pukka brick walls, with bastions. There are several mosques, and palaces. The surrounding country is covered with ruins; and garden-houses are scattered over a great extent.

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400 yards wide. After crossing to the left bank, at about ¼ mile, crossed some water, in some places 2½ to 3 feet deep. *Camp* on the left bank, on sandy ground with low jungle, distant from the Ferozpoor-ghat, about 1½ mile (deep sand between); and about 5 miles from the cantonment. Thermometer 3 P. M. 75°.

Left bank near Ferozpoor, (31st Dec.)—The 3rd Cavalry crossed over this morning, by boats. Halted for the arrival of *Sir J. Keane,* from Lahore. We did not cross the *Beah,* (or Hyphasis) which you do in the regular route from Lahore to Loodianah.

1st Jan., 1840. H. E. Sir J. Keane reached the *right* bank of the *Sutluj* (Hysudrus) and crossed over next morning to the *left* bank, and encamped between us and the ghat. We now learnt the result of the visit to Lahore.

Sir John Keane, being unwell, he sent a deputation, consisting of Brigr. *Persse* and ten or twelve other officers, to wait on the *Maharajah, Kurruk Singh,* (58) and the visit was returned; the deputation also waited on *Konwar Nao Nihal Singh,* the son. The party before leaving Lahore, were shewn a large portion of the Sikh army; consisting of 32 Battns. of *Infantry* each of eight Cos. of 100 men each, 6,000 *Cavalry*; 96 Horse Artillery, and 64 Foot Artillery guns; and a large body of Irregular troops. This gives a regular force of 31,600 men and 160 guns. The real amount of the Sikh regular army is about 50,000, of whom one-fifth are Mahomedans, the rest Sikhs. (59) The regular

(58) The invitation was in the name of the Maharajah (son of the late Runjeet Singh), but his son (Konwar Nao Nihal Singh) has the supreme control of all affairs. In October last, the Maharajah left Lahore, on his road to Loodianah; he made one march, and was brought back. *Rajah Dhian Singh,* who was the minister, about January last left the court, and went to his estate in the hills. I believe *Rajah Goolab Singh,* has adopted the same mode of retirement.

(59) "The Sikh troops can undergo great fatigue and make long marches. *Forster* says, p. 289, "A body of their cavalry has been known to make marches of 40 and 50 miles, and to continue them for many successive days." I was told by Col. *Courtlandt* that two or three

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Sikh force was drawn up in line, the Artillery on one flank, and the Cavalry on the other: the Irregular troops were drawn up at right angles with them. The Maharajah sent a present of 26,000 Rs. (£2,600) to be distributed among the British troops. The British Govt. gave 11,000 Rs. (£1000.) A G. O. was issued on the 2nd Jan. 1840, by H. E. Lt.-Genl. Sir J. *Keane*, breaking up the "*Army of the Indus*;" the Bengal portion of which had marched 2,070 miles, (60) between the 8th Nov. 1838, to the 31st

years ago, a considerable body of *infantry* marched from *Lahore* to *Peshawar* in seven days, a distance of about 250 miles. They are free from prejudice, they will carry seven or eight days' provisions on their back; and, as *Runjeet* said, "dig a well, or build a fort, if required."

They used to have *messes* of ten men each, but Runjeet, of late years, discontinued the system as being too expensive; as he granted an extra allowance, on this account: he had now no more conquests to make; and might, like *Alexander*, have cried because he had no more kingdoms to conquer.

The *Sikhs* are disciplined after the French manner, but they have no knowledge of European tactics on the grand scale. A Sikh officer of high rank, thought that the strength of a position consisted in drawing up a force in order of battle with many guns, in *one line*, superior to their opponents; assuming that the enemy would attack them in line (as at the battle of Mahidpoor!) and asked Genl. *Ventura* if such would not be the case. This was begging the question, but the General adroitly answered: "In *European* armies, it is a battle of position," leaving the *Sikh* to guess at the mode of executing the movement!

They use the French words of command, move at quick time, marching to the beat of drum, fife and cymbals. I saw the Sikh troops at *Roopur*, on the Sutluj, at the interview between (late) Lord *W. Bentinck* and (late) *Runjeet Singh*, in October, 1831; and it was observed on the occasion of their review before Lord *Auckland* and (late) Sir *H. Fane* at Ferozpoor, in Dec. 1838, that their movements were quicker and manœuvring better: but, competent judges were of opinion that they were (1838) inferior to the troops of Scindiah's regular battalions.

When we consider that Peshawer, and the country between it and the Jheelum, Mooltan, Dera Ghazee Khan, and Dera Ismael Khan, &c. (a very considerable portion of the country) are inhabited by *Mahomedans* who detest the Sikhs, we reduce the strength of the Sikh power by more than one-half: for the Mahomedans must desire to free themselves from the Sikh yoke.

(60) Including 145 miles marched in Lower Sindh.

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Dec. 1839; the longest distance ever marched by an Indian army.

On the 7th Jan. Sir J. *Keane* embarked on boats at Ferozpoor for Bombay; (61) on which and on the following day, the troops, &c. marched to their respective destinations: and thus terminated the "*March and Operations of the Army of the Indus.*"

I shall, in the following Chapter, endeavour to exhibit the state of affairs, Political and Military, in *Affghanistan*, since Mr. *Elphinstone* left *Shah Shoojah* at his court at *Peshawer* in June, 1809, to the time of his full restoration at *Cabool* in August, 1839; which will prove, that owing to the distracted state of that country for 30 years, it was impossible without the aid of the expedition, to have regenerated that kingdom.

(61) Taking with him Mahomed Hyder Khan, late Govr. of Ghuznee. I must not omit to mention that the famous "Ghuznee Sword" was sold by auction at Ferozpoor for 4,250 Rs. (£425); and purchased by Sir John (now Lord) Keane. Subsequently I hear it was purchased by the Bombay Column for 6,000 Rs. and presented to H. Excy.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE HISTORY OF THE DOORANEE DYNASTY.

1747.—1. Ahmed Shah, Abdalee, (1) was the founder of the Dooranee empire. He fought his way through the greater part of Khorasan, and passing the fortified places without attacking them, repaired to Candahar, where he arrived with 2 or 3,000 horse. He there found and seized a treasure coming from India to *Nadir Shah*. In October 1747, he was crowned at Candahar, (2) and was said to have been only 23 years old. He spent the winter at Candahar, settling the country, and preparing his army for future expeditions: he had to found a monarchy over a warlike, and independent people, not attached to the kingly form of government; such as prevailed in Persia. (3)

(1) The history of the Dooranee Empire, during the reigns of Ahmed Shah (the founder), Timoor Shah, Zeman Shah, Mahmood Shah, and of Shah Shoojah, till he lost his throne in 1809, is an abstract taken from Elphinstone's Cabool, vol. ii. App. A. p. 337, &c. The continuation from 1809, to 1839, is by Moollah Jaffer (who was Shah Shoojah's Moonshee Bashee, or head Moonshee) and from other sources.

(2) Dooranee, Kuzzlebash, Belochee, and Hazara chiefs assisting at the coronation.

(3) Which he is said to have taken as a model. They had never been united under a Native king, and from the love of equality conspicuous in their character, were likely to view the exaltation of one of their nation, with even more jealousy, than the tyranny of a foreign master. His object was to secure the affections of his own tribe; he confirmed all the Dooranees in the possession of their lands; only requiring the attendance of their contingent of troops as fixed by Nadir. He distributed all the great offices among the leading Dooranees, and established them in particular families, and fixed the crown on his own. He left the hereditary chiefs in possession of their privileges, and

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1748.—He marched from Candahar in the spring of 1748 with 12,000 men, composed of Dooranees, Belochees, and others. He reduced the Ghiljies, and appointed Dooranee Governors over them, and proceeded to Cabool. His army increased by the Affghans of Peshawar, he proceeded to the invasion of Hindostan, advanced rapidly through the Punjab; defeated the Indian troops, and entered Lahore in triumph, and prepared to advance upon Delhi. He crossed the Sutluj, and defeated, at Sirhind, the army of Mahomed Shah. Affairs in the Punjab being arranged, he marched back to Candahar; settling on his way the Governments of Dera Ghazee Khan, Dera Ismael Khan, Shikarpoor, and Mooltan. (4)

1749.—In the spring of this year he assembled an army of 25,000 men, from the western part of his dominions. He first marched against *Herat*, which surrendered. He then advanced to Meshed; reducing all the places on his route.

seldom interfered with the government of their clans, except it was necessary to keep up his army, which he effectually maintained. He took pains to improve the advantages he derived from the respect of the Dooranees for the Suddozyes, of which he was the head. With the other tribes (except the Ghiljies) he endeavoured to form a spirit of attachment to their native king, which he hoped to accomplish by delivering them from foreign dominion, and by a moderate and gradual introduction of his power.

He felt, or pretended to feel, a strong attachment to his nation. His popular manners, courage, activity, vigilance, and other military virtues, impressed all ranks with respect; and strongly attached his soldiers to his person.

The Dooranees had acquired experience and discipline by their long and active warfare with the *Persians*, and afterwards under *Nadir*, and the preference shewn towards them, had raised their spirit and confidence; so that, with reason, they considered themselves the best troops in *Asia*. Their enemies, the Ghiljies, had been broken and dispirited by a long course of defeat and disaster. The remaining *Affghans* had learned, by past events, to despise the *Indians*, and to hate the *Persians*, and were, therefore, more likely than formerly, to favor a king of their own nation.

(4) It is probable that, at this time, the south of Affghanistan acknowledged him as king. He reached Candahar about the end of winter.

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From Meshed he marched against Neeshapoor; and detached a force against Muzeenaun and Subzewaur; he failed in his attacks against those places, and was compelled to retreat to Meshed, and retire to Herat.

1750.—In the spring of this year he marched against and took Neeshapoor (5) and returned to Herat.

1751.—In the winter, (1750) or early in the spring of this year, he was recalled to, and crushed a rebellion at Meshed. At this time, also, he made an attempt on Asterabad, which was repelled by the Kudjirs.

1752.—In the summer of this year, Ahmed Shah marched into the Punjab, and reduced a revolt; conquered *Cashmeer*, and obtained, by cession, the country as far E. as Sirhind, from the great Mogul: he returned to Candahar; and appears to have spent the years 1753-4-5 in tranquillity, except quelling an attempted insurrection of the Ghiljies.

1756.—The Emperor of Delhi sent a large force into the Punjab, and annexed it to the Mogul empire. Ahmed Shah left Candahar, crossed the Indus, recovered the Punjab; marched to and entered Delhi. He sent a sirdar who took Bullumgur, and Muttra; but was repulsed at Agra by the Jauts. Ahmed Shah returned to his own dominions at the end of the year. On the marriage of his son Timoor (at Delhi) with a princess of the royal family, the Emperor was compelled to bestow the Punjab and Sindh on Timoor Shah; who was left to command the provinces on the E. of the Indus. The king wintered at Candahar.

1757.—2. The Mahrattahs took Sirhind; and drove Timoor Shah from the Punjab, in the middle of 1758, and obtained possession of the whole of it to the E. of the Jheelum.

1758.—Ahmed Shah marched in person into Belochistan, and took Kelat, after a siege of 40 days; during which the Dooranee Cavy. suffered severely from the scarcity of forage.

1759.—Ahmed Shah, during the winter, entered the Punjab; and crossed the Jumna, near Seharunpoor. He next

(5) It is believed that the Dooranee Empire never extended much beyond Neeshapoor on the W.

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took Delhi. He pursued the conquest of the Dooab, and marched as far as Anoopshuhr. The Mahrattahs besieged Delhi which was surrendered after a spirited defence, by a small party of Dooranees.

1761.—On the 7th January, Ahmed Shah fought the celebrated battle of *Paniput*, which was fatal to the Mahrattah power; and many years elapsed before they resumed their enterprise under *Madhojee Scindia*; (6) whose troops were disciplined in the European manner. After this battle the whole of Hindostan appeared to be at Ahmed Shah's mercy. He contented himself with the portion formerly ceded to him, and bestowed the rest of the country on such of its Native chiefs who had assisted him; and in the spring of 1761, returned to Cabool. From its remoteness, he could with difficulty retain the Punjab, where the Sikhs had become very powerful; and their successes compelled him to return to India in the beginning of 1762.

1762.—He now completely expelled the Sikhs from the plain country, but in 1763 he was obliged to quit the Punjab, and in the course of a few years the country was in greater confusion than ever.

1763.—This year he was obliged to return to Candahar where there was an insurrection. (7)

1767.—The Sikhs had become masters of all the open country as far W. as the Jheelum.

1771.—He went in person against them, and drove them again into the mountains; but this expedition, the last he made in India, was attended by no permanent benefit: as

(6) Sevajee, the first Mahrattah commander, died in 1680.

(7) He was at Sirhind when he heard of the insurrection, and though at the height of summer, he marched by the route between the left bank of the Sutluj and the desert, to Mooltan, and thence to Ghuznee. His army, composed of Affghans, Uzbeks, Belochees, and natives of cold climates, suffered great hardships during the first part of this march; and he lost an incredible number of men from *heat*, before arriving at Mooltan: the winter set in before he reached the mountains of Affghanistan, and many of his troops perished from the cold and snow.

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soon as the Shah quitted the country, the Sikhs appeared in greater force than ever, and before the end of the year they crossed the Jheelum, and took the famous fortress of Rhotas from the Dooranees. (8)

1773.—In the spring of this year, he left Candahar for the hills of Toba, in the Atchukzye country. (9) Here his malady (a cancer in his face) increased, and in the beginning of June, 1773, he died at Murgá, in the 50th year of his age.

His military courage and activity are spoken of with admiration, by his subjects and by those of other nations with whom he was engaged in wars or alliances. The memory of no eastern prince, is stained with fewer acts of cruelty and injustice.

With the Dooranees, he kept up the same equal and popular demeanour, which was usual with their Khans, before they assumed the title of king.

His policy was to conciliate the Affghans and Belochees. *He applied himself to the whole people of Affghans, and only to the chiefs in the other.*

At his death (after a reign of 26 years) his dominions extended, from the W. of Khorassan to Sirhind, and from the Oxus to the sea.

1773.—3. *Timoor Shah.*—Timoor Shah, the son and successor of Ahmed Shah, was born at Meshed in Dec. 1746. He was educated at his father's court, and accompanied him on many of his expeditions. He came to the throne at the age of 27 years. It was owing to his system of policy, that the power of the Dooranees first became stationary, and has since declined. Timoor Shah removed the seat of

(8) A rebellion in Khorassan prevented his proceeding to recover Rhotas. The Shah defeated the Persian army near Meshed, (the valour of Nusseer Khan, the chief of the Belochees restored the battle when its issue was doubtful;) it being impious to fire on Meshed, he therefore reduced it after a blockade of several months. Tubbas also was taken. He returned to Candahar.

(9) Where the summer is cooler than at Candahar.

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government from Candahar, in the midst of the Doorance country, to Cabool, which is inhabited by Taujeks, the most quiet and submissive of all the subjects of the Affghan monarchy.

1774-5.—He defeated a rebellion of his relation Abdool Khaulik Khan, which probably happened in 1774-5, who was defeated and blinded ; and the tranquillity of the Dooranee country was soon restored.

1779.—In 1779, there was an insurrection for the purpose of murdering Timoor Shah, and placing his brother, Prince Secunder, on the throne; from this till 1781, there were insurrections of various extent and consequence in Balkh, Khorassan, Seistan, and Cashmeer.

1781.—In 1781 Timoor Shah went in person to recover Mooltan, which had been betrayed by the governor into the hands of the Sikhs. The city was taken after a siege of a few days.

About this time broke out the rebellion of the Talpoorees, which ended in the expulsion of the Governor of Sindh. (10) The Talpoorees again recovered the whole of Sindh.

1786.—It was probably as late as 1786, before Timoor Shah sent another army into Sindh. On the Talpoorees again agreeing to pay the former revenue to the king, (11) Meer Futeh Ali was appointed Governor. The reduction of Azaud Khan's rebellion in Cashmeer, took place during the interval between the expeditions to Sindh, and that against Bahawul Khan, in the beginning of 1788.

(10) The Talpoorees expelled the Calorees in 1783.

(11) 12 lakhs Rs. (£120,000) regularly paid till his death in 1793, when it was reduced to seven lakhs Rs., and subsequently during the internal dissensions of his successors withheld altogether. The revenues of Sindh, during the Caloree government, were estimated at 80 lakhs (£800,000) ; but since reduced to 42 lakhs Rs. Regarding Sindh consult Sir A. Burnes, 2nd Edition, vol. i. p. 223. The Narrative of Dr. Jas. Burnes, K. H. &c. visit to Sindh, and Col. (now Sir H.) Pottinger.

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1788.—Nothing of general importance to the kingdom occurred till the summer of this year, when a war broke out with the Uzbek Tartars. (12)

1789.—In the spring of this year, Timoor Shah marched from Cabool with an army which his subjects reckoned at 100,000 men, against Shah Morad; who sued for peace which was granted; Shah Morad retaining all his possessions. Timoor Shah failed in every object of this expedition, except securing his remaining possessions. (13) He allowed to be put to death Arsilla Khan, chief of the Upper Memunds, who had rebelled against him.

1793.—In the spring of 1793, Timoor Shah was taken ill on a journey from Peshawer, and died at Cabool, on the 20th May, 1793, aged 47; and after a reign of 20 years.

4. *Character of Timoor Shah.*—His finances were well regulated, and he observed the strictest economy; by which means he rendered himself independent of military expeditions for the ordinary expenses of his government; and was able to lay up a treasure against any unexpected emergency. He retained the Dooranee chiefs about his court; but as he had no troops of their tribe at the capital, they were entirely in his power, and had no means of disturbing his government. The only troops he kept at all times embodied, were his own guards, the *Gholam-i-Shauhs;* which were strong enough to keep the country in order, and being mostly *Persians* and *Taujeks,* were unconnected with the *Affghan* chiefs or people, and entirely devoted to the king. These troops were well paid, and received much countenance from

(12) Shah Morad Beg, king of Bokhara, had long been encroaching on the Dooranee dominions, and, during the king's expeditions to Bahawulpoor, he carried his aggressions so far, as to oblige Timoor Shah to take decisive measures for the defence of his Northern provinces.

(13) The winter was so far advanced before he marched on his return, that he was forced to leave his artillery in Balkh; and many of his troops perished from the cold and snow in crossing the *Indian Caucasus.*

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the king; and were invested with some privileges, of a nature which tended to separate them from the rest of the people.

This policy succeeded moderately well in maintaining *internal* tranquillity; the provinces immediately under the king remained quiet, and though there were some conspiracies during this reign, and two rebellions of pretenders to the throne, they were either discovered by the king's vigilance, or defeated by his full treasury and his well-appointed guards; but the *remote* provinces gradually withdrew from the control of the court: the government lost its reputation and influence abroad; and the states which had been obliged to preserve their own territories by submission to *Ahmed Shah*, now began to meditate schemes for aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the *Dooranees*.

The decay was not severely felt in Timoor Shah's time, but its commencement was even then observable; and it has advanced by rapid strides, under the reigns of his successors.

He had named no heir to the throne, and at the time of his death the succession was not settled. The eldest and most conspicuous of his sons (14) was absent, and Governor of Candahar. Mahmood (15) held the same office at Herat. Prince Abbas (16) was Governor of Peshawer, but had joined his father, on hearing of his illness. The other princes (17) were all at Cabool, except Feeroz, the full brother of Mahomed (18) who was with that prince at Herat.

1793.—5. *Shah Zeman.*—Timoor Shah was no sooner dead, than an intrigue was set on foot to secure the crown to *Shah Zeman*. It was carried on by Timoor Shah's favorite queen, who prevailed on Sirafrauz Khan, the head of the Barukzyes, to join in her scheme; and by his means

(14) Humayoon.
(15) Third son, but only half-brother.
(16) Fifth son.
(17) i. e. Zeman and Shoojah.
(18) Mahmood and Feeroz were both only half-brothers. Feeroz governed sometime at Herat, and became a Hajee or pilgrim.

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secured the interest of most of the Dooranee Khans. (19) He was immediately proclaimed king, a largess was issued to the guards, the princes were sent into confinement in the upper fort of Cabool; and from that moment *Shah Zeman* entered quietly on the administration of the government. Means were taken for assembling an army to establish the authority of the new king, and to subdue the rebellions that might be expected from his brothers. Shah Zeman could not have been above 28 or 29 years of age at this time. (20)

Shah Zeman took possession of Candahar, and soon after received the submission of prince Mahmood, (21) and then set off for Cabool.

As soon as Shah Zeman had secured himself from his competitors for the throne, he appears to have determined on an invasion of India. (22)

(19) The princes of the royal family made an attempt to raise Abbas to the throne, but, though they behaved with much spirit, they shewed little skill: their persons were secured by a stratagem: the gates of the Balla Hissar, or Citadel of Cabool, were seized by *Zeman's* partizans; and that prince was declared king in a hasty meeting of the Dooranee chiefs.

(20) His greatest apprehension was from *Humayoon*, who was certainly entitled to the throne, if primogeniture gave a claim; and he commanded at Candahar, in the heart of the Dooranee country. He was, however, unpopular; he was deserted by some of his adherents, was defeated by a small force commanded by prince *Shoojah* (who succeeded Shah Zeman as king); and was compelled to take refuge in Belochistan.

(21) Governor of Herat; and his younger and half-brother.

(22) To which he was stimulated by *Meerza Ahsun Buksh*, a prince of the royal family of Delhi, who had fled to Cabool in Timoor's reign; as well as by ambassadors who had arrived, about this time, from *Tippoo Sultan*, and who made great pecuniary offers to the king, on condition that he should attack the British. Mr. *Elphinstone* in his Introduction, p. 68, says, "The king of Cabool had always been the resource of all the disaffected in India. To him Tippoo Sultan, Vizier Ally, and all other Mahomedans, who had a quarrel either with us or the Mahrattahs, had long been in the habit of addressing their complaints."

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In December, 1793, Zeman Shah marched to Peshawer with the intention of immediately invading India; but he was convinced his own dominions were not sufficiently settled to admit of foreign expeditions. (23)

Shah Morad (24) invaded Balkh immediately on Timoor Shah's death. The extensive and ruinous city of Balkh was abandoned; but the fort held out for three or four months, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the enemy. (25) Shah Zeman, after his success in Khorassan, arrived at Cabool.

1794.—The rest of 1793, and part of 1794, was occupied in reducing *Cashmeer*, which had rebelled on Timoor's death; and in settling the S. provinces, whither the king went in person: on that occasion he compelled the Ameers of Sindh, to pay 2,400,000 Rs. (£240,000), on account of the tribute due from them; after which he returned to Cabool.

6. Mahmood (his brother) again rebelled. The king marched against him with 15,000 men. They met at the Helmund (26) and Shah Zeman (narrowly escaping a defeat) obtained a complete victory: Mahmood fled, and reached Herat in safety. The king sent a force to take possession of Furrah, returned to Candahar, (27) proceeded to Peshawer, and again began to collect an army for the invasion of India; but his designs were again frustrated by fresh disturbances

(23) The most serious danger on the side of Toorkistan, had passed over by this time.

(24) King of Bokhara.

(25) There is no fort now. It is an open town. The inhabitants are, even now, *Affghans*. Shah Morad offered to give up his claim to Balkh, on condition of Zeman's observance of the treaty concluded with Timoor Shah, to which he consented, and peace ensued.

(26) A river between Candahar and Herat.

(27) Before leaving it he sent Sheer Mahomed Khan to settle the government of Belochistan, who put Mahomed in possession of all the strong places, and left the Belochee government apparently restored: but it had received a shock it never recovered. The tribes in the S. W. had been lately conquered, and were never perfectly subdued.

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excited by his brother *Humayoon*; who captured Candahar: but Zeman, returning to the West, Humayoon's troops deserted him, and he escaped to the hills. (28) Zeman returned to Peshawer. His claim to the throne was now undisputed, and his authority was established over all the country left by Timoor Shah.

1795.—Shah Zeman's first invasion of the *Punjab*, was commenced at the close of the year 1795. He crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats at Attok, got possession of Rhotas: but the invasion of the W. of Khorassan, by Agha Mahomed Khan, Kujjur, king of Persia, recalled him to the defence of his own dominions. (29)

1796.—He returned to Peshawer on the 3rd January, 1796. He proceeded to Cabool and prepared for war against the Persians, but Agha Mahomed's return induced him to change his mind. No sooner had the king of Persia withdrawn, than Zeman set out for Peshawer, and prepared to return to the Punjab. He assembled 30,000 men, (one half Dooranees,) and in the end of November, began his march for India. This alarmed all India. (30)

(28) He made another attempt, fled, was seized at Leia, on the E. of the Indus, blinded, and passed the rest of his life in confinement.

(29) The Persian invasion was to capture Meshed. Agha Mahomed entered it, dug up Nadir Shah's bones, and sent them to Teheran.

(30) It alarmed the Mahrattahs, the whole of whose forces were drawn to the S. of India by their own dissensions. The government of Oude was feeble, and most of its subjects were disposed to insurrection and revolt. The Mahomedans looked to the restoration of the house of Timoor; the emperor Shah Alum being in the hands of the Mahrattahs. Zeman's march on Delhi would have thrown the whole country into a state of disorder and anarchy. The Mahrattahs, struck with dismay, solicited the assistance of their neighbours. The *British* Government adopted vigorous measures. An army was assembled at Anoopshuhr, (70 miles S. E. from Delhi,) to defend the frontier of Oude, no less than its own dominions. The present Bengal 4th Light Cavalry and the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th Regts. N. I. were raised on this occasion.

The partisans of Shah Zeman set on foot intrigues in many parts of Hindostan. The Rohillahs assembled in arms. Every Mussulman from Delhi to the Deccan, anxiously looked for the Champion of Islam. Zeman's expedition failed, but the impression of his advance was paramount.

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1797.—He advanced unopposed to Lahore, which he entered on the 3rd Jan. 1797; but news of a rebellion in his own dominions caused his retreat. Prince Mahmood, still Govr. of Herat, had 20,000 men, and but for Zeman's speedy return would probably have attacked Candahar. On the 8th September, 1797, Zeman marched from Candahar, and by the treachery of Mahmood's adherents, he became master of Herat; and Mahmood fled to Toorshish with his son Kamran.

1798.—7. Shah Zeman, a 3rd time, turned his attention to the Punjab. He left Peshawer on the 25th October, 1798, and advanced without molestation to Lahore; (31) and Runjeet Singh (late king of the Sikhs) did him homage in person. About the end of 1798, the Shah received news of the invasion of Khorassan by Futeh Ali Shah, (the new) king of Persia, and set out on his return to Peshawer; before which, however, he wrote to the Emperor of Delhi to state that, at present, circumstances prevented his marching to Delhi; but, that he would embrace the earliest occasion of returning, to replace him on his throne, (32) and cause the Mahomedan to be the paramount power in India.

1799.—Zeman reached Peshawer on the 30th January, 1799. His guns were lost in the Jheelum, on his return, by a sudden rising of the river; but they were dug out and restored by Runjeet Singh and Sahib Singh. About this period, it would seem, Zeman appointed Runjeet Singh, his viceroy at Lahore.

After a short stay at Peshawer, Zeman repaired to Herat. Futeh Ali Shah, failed in his attempts in Khorassan, and retreated. Zeman withdrew to Candahar during the winter

(31) This caused increased alarm in India, and the present Bengal 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th and 35th Regts. N. I. were raised.

(32) Shah Alum was under British protection till 1771, when he ascended the throne of Delhi. He was blinded by Gholam Kadir in 1788. Delhi was subject to Madhojee Scindia from about 1770 till 1803, when on the 11th Sept. Lord Lake's battle, placed the emperor again on his throne.

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of 1799. An unsuccessful attempt was made on Herat by Shah Mahmood, with 10,000 men: Prince Kyser (33) was then Govr. of Herat; Shah Mahmood fled.

During this time six of the principal Dooranee and Kuzzlebash lords, disgusted with the power and insolence of *Wuffadar Khan,* (34) conspired to assassinate that minister, to depose Zeman, and to place his brother Shoojah on the throne. Sirafrauz Khan, (35) and other conspirators were beheaded. These sanguinary measures increased the danger of the king and his minister; from this time the spirit of rebellion, which occasioned Zeman's downfall, took its rise. (36)

1800.—In the spring of 1800, Futeh Ali Shah a second time invaded Khorassan, (37) accompanied by Mahmood, whom he promised to place on the throne of Cabool. Zeman marched to Herat, remained there during the summer, and in early autumn set off with all expedition for Cabool. (38) Mahmood with Futteh Khan repaired to Candahar and with a large army besieged it 42 days. He obtained posses-

(33) Son of Shah Zeman.

(34) Minister, and brother to Shah Shoojah's favorite queen (Wuffadar Begum.)

(35) The Barukzye chief who caused Zeman to be placed on the throne.

(36) Sirafrauz Khan, was the Head of the Barukzyes.

(37) Mehdee Ali Khan, at Bombay, well known at the king of Persia's court, was deputed by the British Govt. to induce the king to make this invasion. It had before in the end of 1798, caused Zeman's return to Peshawer.

(38) Sending his army by the usual route; he went himself, with 2 or 3,000 choice troops, through the *Eimauk* country, and the almost inaccessible mountains of the Hazaurehs, (lying between Herat and Cabool.) He reached Cabool in fourteen days. When Zeman left Herat, Futeh Ali Shah retired from Subzwar. Shah Mahmood retired to Tubbus in despair of Persian assistance. The arrival of Futeh Khan, Barukzye, from his castle of Girishk, gave a new direction to his councils. Shah Mahmood left Tubbus, and with 50 horsemen, crossed the desert into Seistan, and advanced to Jellalabad, the capital of that province.

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sion of it by a stratagem of Futeh Khan, and the treachery of the Govr. Zeman heard of this event at Peshawer, which caused him to lay aside a fourth and last attempt to invade Hindostan, and he returned to Cabool.

8. At this time Zeman seized and tortured Abdoollah Khan, Alekhozye, Govr. of Cashmeer, on which his brother Sydaul Khan, who was at Candahar, went over to Mahmood with his whole clan. Instead of employing his army to quell the rebellion of Mahmood, Zeman detached 15,000 men to Cashmeer. He left a considerable force at Peshawer, under his brother Shoojah-ool-Moolk (present king of Cabool), and went to Cabool; where security was succeeded by the utmost disquiet and alarm.

The king marched against the rebels with 30,000 men. He kept a march or two in rear of his army. Ahmed Khan who commanded the vanguard, deserted; the king gave up all for lost and fled towards Cabool. Mahmood sent 2,000 men under Futeh Khan to Cabool, and soon after marched there himself. Shah Zeman pursued his flight till he reached the Shainwarree *(Khyber)* country, worn out with hunger and fatigue. He attained an asylum at *Moollah Ashik's* castle; who took measures to prevent his escape, and sent intelligence to Mahmood at Cabool, who sent a surgeon to put out his brother's (Zeman's) eyes. (39) Zeman was taken to Cabool and confined in the Bala Hissar, during all Mahmood's reign, after a reign of about 7½ years.

Character of Shah Zeman.—Notwithstanding some defects in his character, and some erroneous maxims in his policy, Shah Zeman would probably have succeeded, if he had resolved to govern for himself; but committing the whole powers and duties of Govt. to an unworthy favorite (Wuffadar Khan), he involved the ruin of his own fortunes, and of the prosperity of his nation. Instead of obtaining the support of his own tribe, the original plan

(39) Assud Khan, a brother of Futeh Khan, was sent. It will be recollected that Shah Zeman owed his rise to Sirafraz Khan, whom he beheaded for rebellion. (See paras. 5 and 7.)

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adopted by Ahmed Shah, and thereby securing the internal quiet of his country; he widened the breach between the Dooranees and the court. In his foreign policy he should have defended Khorassan against Persian encroachment, in place of weakening his resources in vain attempts to invade *India*. (40) The more desirable object of reducing the *Punjab* was not to be accomplished by a hasty incursion. (41)

The source of all his errors was his choice of *Wuffadar Khan* for the office of Vizier, and the implicit confidence he reposed in him. He was a Suddozye (42) who had gained the king's confidence, and had used his ascendancy to overturn the power of Sirafrauz Khan (43) and all the great officers of the army and state. Shah Zeman, though proud and imperious, was easily led by flatteries; and with all his fondness for activity and enterprise, he had not patience or application to manage the details of state affairs. (44) Nor had he any share of the order and economy which distinguished his predecessor. (45) He caused his elder

(40) Which was much altered since the time of his grandfather (Ahmed Shah), and nothing to be gained there, but by long and uninterrupted operations. Even Ahmed Shah contented himself with what had been ceded to him.

(41) The plan opposed by the Sikhs to Ahmed Shah, was by evacuating their country on his approach, and returning when his army was withdrawn, which could only be baffled by keeping a force in the country sufficient to retain possession; and that measure could only be accomplished, when the *Western* frontier of Affghanistan was secure.

(42) The tribe to which Shah Zeman and Shah Shoojah belong.

(43) Head of the Barukzyes, and to whom Shah Zeman greatly owed his crown.

(44) Wuffadar Khan was timid when exposed to personal danger; and this was the distinctive difference between him and Akram Khan, who was the minister of Shah Shoojah. The governments of Provinces and other offices were sold openly, for his own profit; and his embezzlements caused a decline of the revenue.

(45) Had he invaded India, he would probably have had to contend with the Mahrattahs, as well as the English; for in any reverse of fortune, the former would have been glad to have taken revenge for their defeat by Ahmed Shah, in 1761, at Paneeput.

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brother, Humayoon, to be blinded for his rebellion. The execution of Sirafrauz Khan, was the punishment due for his attempt to dethrone him. [*This I apprehend caused the original feud between the Suddozyes, and the Barukzyes.*] Shah Zeman took the life not only of Gool Mahomed Khan but of eight others the principal officers of his court. (46)

1800.—9. On the flight of Shah Zeman, Mahmood Shah sent Futeh Khan, with 2,000 men to Cabool, whither he himself followed. Mahmood's accession was at first joyfully welcomed by all ranks of men. The Govt. was left entirely to Akram Khan, Alizye, (47) and Futeh Khan, Barukzye. Mahmood's Govt. was now fully established in the capital; but the provinces were as yet by no means under his authority. The utmost licentiousness prevailed among the soldiery, on whom the court relied; and his reign more resembled the temporary success of a military adventurer, than the establishment of a regular government.

Herat was given to his brother *Feeroz*, who acknowledged his authority, but governed as if he were an independent prince. The N. E. tribes still held out for Zeman: the other provinces declared for neither party.

The principal opponent to Mahmood who now remained, was prince Shoojah-ool-Moolk, (48) who was about 20 years of age, and had been left at Peshawer with a small party of guards. (49)

After the first panic that followed his brother's defeat, Shoojah-ool-Moolk proclaimed himself king, and prepared for a regular contest with the usurper. He distributed large sums among the tribes round Peshawer; and soon

(46) See article *Vizarat*. Shah Zeman had been blinded by order of his brother Shah Mahmood; but when Shah Shoojah succeeded Zeman as king, and entered Cabool in triumph in 1803, Mahmood being then in his power, Shoojah spared his brother's eyes: and Zeman even requested him to do so.

(47) Not Akram Khan, Populzye, and Shah Shoojah's minister.

(48) The full brother of Zeman.

(49) In charge of Zeman's family, the jewels and property of the crown.

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saw the greater part of the *Berdooranees* (50) flock to his standard.

This caused alarm to Mahmood who had already become unpopular, from the general relaxation of all Govt., which left the bulk of the inhabitants of the country at the mercy of the courtiers, and the soldiery. The arrest of Mookhtar Oodowlah, who had formed a plot in favor of Shoojah, put an end to present danger.

1801.—On the 10th September, 1801, Shooja-ool-Moolk, marched from Peshawer to attack Cabool. About half-way he found Mahmood's force consisting of 3,000 men, commanded by Futeh Khan, at Eshpaun. Shoojah who had at least 10,000 men, was at first victorious, but he lost the battle, and the royal treasures; and escaped with difficulty to the Khyber hills. (51)

An insurrection at this time broke about among the *Ghiljies.* They offered Abdooreheem (52) the crown, who accepted the proposal with reluctance. Their operations extended to Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool. Mahmood's army left Cabool on the 12th November, it met the Ghiljie army (20,000 men) (53) at Sejawurd. The Dooranees drew up in line in three Divisions, with their camel-swivels in front. The Ghiljies rushed on in a confused mass, regardless of the fire kept up, (54) seized the guns and

(50) The tribes who inhabit the N. E. quarter, between the Hindoo Koosh and the Indus, the salt range and the Soliman range: they are mostly agriculturists.

(51) See the battle described, (Soorkh-ab, 21st Oct. 1839, Chapter XIII.)

(52) The representative of their royal family, who had a pension from Zeman, besides his paternal estates; but had lately been injured by the government.

(53) Almost entirely of Infantry, ill-armed and some with only clubs.

(54) In the action on the 15th May, 1840, Capt. *Wm. Anderson,* Bengal H. A. in command of a Dett. of about 1,200 men and guns (of which the Horse under Capt. Tayler and Lieut. Walker were ahead

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made a furious charge on the line: the victory seemed in favor of the Ghiljies, till the unbroken Dooranees wheeled in on the flanks of the enemy. Though broken, the Ghiljies retreated in a body to Killaee Zirreen, a fort of their own in the hills, 6 miles from the field of battle, (55) the winter setting in, prevented further hostilities.

1802.—10. In the spring of 1802, the Ghiljies rose as suddenly as before, and with more arrangement. (56) Their force is said to have amounted to 50,000 men. They were defeated by the Dooranees in three actions, in the month of March. (57) On the 11th May, part of Mahmood's force defeated 10,000 Ghiljies at Moollah Shaudee; the last stand that tribe made.

The severities of the Govt. ceased with the campaign; when tranquillity was restored, the Ghiljies were treated as before their rebellion.

Shah Shoojah who had advanced against Peshawer, sustained a great defeat in March of this year, at the head of

and not then engaged) defeated about 2,500 Ghiljies, near Tazee, 25 miles N. E. of Kalat-i-Ghiljie. Though exposed to a well-directed, and destructive fire of shrapnel and grape, the Ghiljies came down twice, in a body of 200, riding up to the centre of Lieut. Spence's company, and died on the men's, bayonets. They had 200 killed, and 40 or 50 were cut up by the Cavalry afterwards. Capt. A.'s loss was a Jemadar and 8 men killed, and 50 wounded; some mortally, and many severely. Except a few of the 4th Local horse, the Dett. was entirely composed of the *Shah's* contingent raised in August, 1838!

(55) They subsequently, re-inforced, marched to Killaee Shahee, within a few miles of Cabool, the next evening; but, broke out into rapine and violence, which Abdooreheem could not restrain. They attacked the Dooranees without orders and lost 3,000 men; the Dooranees returned to Cabool, where they erected a pyramid of the heads of the Ghiljies killed in the battle.

(56) Almost the whole of the clans were now engaged. Abdooreheem was to attack Cabool from the S.; Futeh Khan, Babukurzye, with an equal body, from the E.; while 10,000 should keep the Dooranees employed within their own boundaries. To each of these, a Dooranee army was opposed.

(57) It is said that these three separate battles, the defeat of the Khyberees under Shah Shoojah, and a victory over the Uzbeks in Balkh, took place on the same day.

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2,000 Khyberees, by the regular troops of the city; they suffered great slaughter, and vast numbers perished from heat and thirst, before they reached their mountains. Shoojah with difficulty, escaped to his former retreat (Khyber hills).

Shah Shoojah remained at Choora, (58) in the Afreedee country, till the arrival of Futeh Khan at Peshawer rendered it unsafe; when he retired further S. and took refuge in the mountains of the Kakurs. (59)

1802.—He was in this condition in the depth of the winter of 1802, near the town of Shawl, or Quetta, (60) in Belochistan. In this extremity he was advised to plunder a Caravan just arrived; his troops surrounded it, the merchants gave up their property, and received notes, in his name, promising to pay the value at a future time. (61) He raised troops and made an attack on Candahar, which failed, and he retired, (a third time,) into the Khyber hills, where his army soon after dispersed. Quiet was restored to the kingdom; but the government was deplorably weak; few of the provinces had been reduced; the Khan (62) of the Belochees, and many of the Affghan tribes, refused to acknowledge so unsettled a government, and an empty treasury left Mahmood destitute of the means to restore his authority.

The Persians in one campaign, almost completed the con-

(58) About 8 miles S. of Ali Musjid. See Chapter XIV. for the Khyber Pass, &c.

(59) Wandering about, subsisting himself and followers on the sale of his jewels and casual hospitality.

(60) Properly Koth; which is the name for a fort.

(61) He paid many of them after his accession; most probably he could not find out the other claimants.

The Caravan was worth 3 lakhs Rs. (£30,000); it relieved his present wants, and enabled him to assemble troops for an attack on Candahar.

(62) Mahmood Khan, son of Nusseer Khan, whom Nadir Shah rewarded for some important services by the donation of several adjacent provinces. See Chapter IV. Note on *Shawl.*

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quest of Persian Khorassan. (63) The last place they took was Meshed.

Though the court was freed from all immediate danger from without, dissensions arose among the ruling party, particularly between the two great leaders, *Akram Khan*, *Alizye*, and *Futeh Khan*. (64)

1803.—11. In the meantime *Mahmood's* government was hastening to decay. Frequent complaints were made of the conduct of the Gholam-i-Shahs (king's Kuzzlebash guards), but were disregarded by Mahmood.

On the 4th and 5th June a serious tumult and battle took place between the *Soonees* and Kuzzlebashes (65) at Cabool.

On the 8th July, Mookhtar-Oodowlah, (66) who was in favor of Shoojah, (67) fled from Cabool. When Mookhtar-Oodowlah (Akram Khan) returned with Shoojah-ool-Moolk, on the 12th July, he found *Shah Mahmood* besieged in the Bala Hissar, which was closely invested by the populace. *Shoojah* encamped outside the city, engaged in collecting troops to oppose *Futeh Khan* who drew near with 8 or 10,000 men. An action took place soon after; Futeh Khan was at first successful; he routed the part of the enemy immediately opposed to him, and was advancing to the city when the desertion of a great lord to *Shoojah*, threw the whole into confusion; his own party then fell off by degrees till he found himself almost alone; and was obliged to fly.

(63) The whole lost at this period; except Toorshish, reduced in 1810.

(64) The latter was sent to settle the S. E. of the kingdom. He went to Peshawer, and then to the S. through Cohaut, Bunnoo, and Damaun, levying revenue; he spent a long time in endeavouring to reduce the *Vizierees*; and, after plundering their lands, he marched, settling the country, to Candahar, where he arrived in the summer of 1803.

(65) Who are Sheeahs, the opponents of the Soonees.

(66) Vizier Akram Khan, Alizye.

(67) Having instructed Meer Waez to renew the tumults in the city. I have before said that he was called to the throne "by the voice of the people." See Chapter XI.

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Next morning (13th July) Shah Shoojah entered Cabool in triumph. (68)

The gates of the Bala Hissar were thrown open on the king's approach; and Mahmood, deserted by all his adherents, suffered himself to be quietly conducted to the upper fort, where the princes of the blood were confined. His eyes were spared by Shah Shoojah, (69) and even poor blind Zeman made a personal request to preserve the eyes of a brother by whom he had himself been deprived of sight.

The character of Shah Mahmood.—The character of Shah Mahmood was calculated to disappoint the expectations of all ranks; unprincipled, indolent, and timid, he shared as little in the cares of government, as in the toils and dangers of war; and while his own care and safety were secure, he was indifferent to the conduct of his ministers and to the welfare of his people. Shah Zeman had deprived of sight his elder brother, *Humayoon*, who had rebelled against him when his king; but *Mahmood* dethroned his king, and elder brother, and also deprived him of sight. These are the only two instances in the Dooranee dynasty. Shah Mahmood reigned about two years.

12.—*Shah Shoojah* had been for two years a fugitive in his own dominions, during which period he had made several attempts to expel his rival. He had consequently incurred great obligations to the *Dooranees* and other chiefs. These were rendered of the more importance by his own disposition, which was susceptible of gratitude and permanent attachment.

All the honors and appointments in the gift of the crown, were insufficient to reward the king's adherents, and he gave away a large portion of his permanent revenue, in grants to such as remained unprovided for: thus almost the

(68) The second time on 7th August, 1839.

(69) Mr. *Elphinstone* says, p. 393, "but Shooja has unfortunately, had sufficient reason to regret this clemency; of which he probably, afforded the first example in his country." According to *Mahomedan* Law, a blind sovereign is not a legal king.

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whole of the revenue of *Peshawer* was settled on the *Khyberees* as the reward of their attachment; (70) and much of the royal dues were alienated in other places in favor of Dooranee chiefs. What remained of the revenue passed through the hands of the Vizier (Mookhtar Oodowlah, *Akram Khan)* who, as soon as his interests were separated from those of the king, applied a large portion of the public money to his own use. (71) The first act of his reign was to release his brother Shah Zeman; and soon after *Moollah Ashik* who had betrayed Zeman, was apprehended, and suffered the punishment of his perfidy and ingratitude. This was the only execution that followed the change of government. All the other measures of the Vizier's internal administration, were calculated to conciliate, and to efface the memory of the civil dissensions which had so long prevailed. He applied himself with great vigor and success to reduce the rebellious provinces; and to bring the empire into its ancient state.

(70) The Chiefs in 1839 did not evince much attachment to the Shah.

(71) Had the king given his confidence entirely to the vizier, many of the inconveniences which were afterwards felt, might have been avoided. It would have been the interest of that minister to raise the king's power; and his success in the beginning of Shoojah's reign, showed that he had talents and influence requisite for such an undertaking. This plan was not tried. The king (then about 22 years of age,) was not disposed to resign his own power to his minister; and his old adherents, who were anxious to succeed to their share of power, early inspired him with jealousy of the vizier; and induced him to adopt a system of counteraction to his measures; the absence of harmony between the king and his minister, prevented the adoption of measures of vigor against their common enemy; and each lavished the resources of the state to secure partizans to himself.

The slightest provocation from the court drove a nobleman into rebellion: the least offence from one of the rebels, sent him back to the court; or led him to form a new party.

The jealousies between the king and the vizier did not, however, shew themselves till some time after Shoojah's accession (the second time); and the commencement of his reign was quiet and prosperous. [It must, too, be recollected that he owed his throne to this minister.]

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The first expedition was sent to *Candahar*, still held by prince *Kamran* (72) and Futeh Khan; it was taken without difficulty, and Futeh Khan submitted to the king, but retired from the court in disgust. (73)

1804.—13. His defection was early and severely felt. In January, 1804, the king assembled 30,000 men, at Peshawer, and was about to complete the settlement of his dominions, by intimidating the chiefs of Cashmeer and Sindh, when he heard of a rebellion at Candahar, which obliged him to relinquish his design. (74)

The whole of the *West* being now settled, the king marched from Candahar in the end of September to Sindh, compelled the chiefs to acknowledge him, and to pay 17 lakhs Rs. (£170,000); after which he moved up his *Eastern* frontier, and settled all the provinces in his route.

(72) Son of Mahmood, and Shah Shoojah's nephew.

(73) An opportunity now offered to secure the attachment of this powerful and active chief; but it was allowed to escape, and hence arose the misfortunes which disturbed the rest of Shah Shoojah's reign; and which drove him, at length, from his throne. Futeh Khan's demands were the offices held by his father *(Poyndar Khan)*; but those were withheld; and Futeh Khan, after a short residence at court, quitted it in disgust, and retired to his castle of Girishk. Wuffadar Khan, was Zeman's Minister: Sirafrauz Khan (Barukzye) was beheaded for heading a conspiracy to depose Zeman. It is most probable that Akram Khan, jealous of the talents of Futeh Khan, prevented the king giving him office.

(74) The government of Candahar was now held by Prince *Kyser*, (son of Shah Zeman) under the guidance of Ahmed Khan, Noorzye. Futeh Khan persuaded the young prince to imprison Ahmed Khan. Ahmed Khan's son gave up Candahar to Kamran, (son of Mahmood Shah,) whom he invited from Furrah; but *Kyser* and Futeh Khan recovered Candahar, and again assembled troops. Shoojah returned towards Candahar, which was evacuated on his approach, and Kyser soon after threw himself on the king's mercy, was affectionately received, and reinstated in his government. Futeh Khan, finding his schemes at Candahar defeated, went to Herat, and persuaded Prince Feeroz (Shoojah's youngest brother) to assert his claim to the throne of Cabool. Feeroz appeared in arms, Shoojah sent Kyser to oppose him, offering terms which Feeroz accepted: while Futeh Khan left him in indignation, and again retired to Girishk.

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1805.—He reached Peshawer in April, 1805, and soon after received an ambassador from the king of *Bokhara* who came to propose a renewal of the alliance concluded by *Zeman*, (75) and to negociate the marriage of *Shoojah* to the daughter of the king of Bokhara, which was agreed to.

Kyser continued to serve the king with zeal and fidelity in the government of Candahar. He seized Futeh Khan, and had nearly been persuaded to gratify the revenge of his father (Shah Zeman), by putting him to death; (76) but Kyser set him free.

Futeh Khan repaired to Girishk, where he made preparations for placing Kyser on the throne; but on his return to Candahar, he found Kyser had been dissuaded from the design of rebelling.

Futeh Khan now engaged to deliver up Candahar to Kamran (Mahmood's son), whom he invited to occupy it. Kamran advanced with troops to the Eedgah, a few miles from Candahar. Kyser was about to quit the city, when Futeh Khan *changed to his side*, and recapitulated his designs *in favor of Kyser*. (77) Futeh Khan's plan of placing Kyser on the throne, was now resumed; apparently with the prince's full concurrence; but its execution was artfully delayed by Khojeh Mahomed.

Shoojah had prepared an expedition at Peshawer for the reduction of Cashmeer, the only province in rebellion.

Akram Khan, the Vizier, marched with 10,000 men. He encountered the first opposition at Mozufferabad, where he

(75) This embraced the marriage of the king of Bokhara to a princess of Cabool, but (it is said) it is contrary to custom to give a princess to foreigners.

(76) For sending his brother Assud Khan to seize him, after which he was deprived of sight. Zeman had beheaded Sirafrauz Khan, head of the Barukzyes, for a rebellion.

(77) Next morning Kyser and Futeh Khan moved out to oppose Kamran. Futeh Khan, charged him sword in hand; Kamran's troops were broke, and he with difficulty effected his escape to Furrah.

This caused I think, chiefly, Kamran's enmity to Futeh Khan, and his pursuading his father (Mahmood) to put him to death in 1818.

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found the high and rocky bank of a rapid branch of the Jheelum occupied by the Cashmerian army: he effected his passage in four divisions; and drove the enemy from their position. One of his sons was wounded in this battle. The rest of the road to Cashmeer was through steep and barren mountains, and often along the face of precipices. The vizier's advance was consequently slow, and his provisions began to fail long before he reached the valley. (78)

He, therefore, began to treat with *Abdoolah Khan.* (79) The armies were still separated by the Jheelum. At length Abdoolah Khan threw a bridge over the river in the night, and crossed it without delay. The Cashmeer army was routed, and driven back on the river. (80) Great part of the army, and Abdoolah Khan, were forced to swim, and many were cut to pieces by the victors, or drowned in the river.

Abdoolah Khan took refuge in his fort, and prepared for a long siege; the king's troops were prevented by the season and by the fatigues they had suffered, from attempting any operations during the rest of the winter.

1806.—14. Early in the spring (1806) the fort was attacked, and had held out for two months, when Abdoolah Khan died. It held out now, for two months, but surrendered on condition (81). Cashmeer was then reduced under the king's authority.

The reconciliation between Futeh Khan and Kyser was of no long duration; Futeh Khan retired to Girishk; and once more renewed his intrigues with Kamran; who joined Futeh Khan, and they advanced towards Candahar: Kyser fled into Belochistan. The king, then at Peshawer, sent to

(78) So great was the distress of his troops, that when he came to a defile beyond which the enemy's army was encamped, he was not able to hold out till he tried the chance of a battle.

(79) The Governor of Cashmeer.

(80) The bridge was choaked by the crowds of fugitives.

(81) That Abdoolah Khan's family and the chiefs in the fort, should be allowed to reside, unmolested, at Cabool, or Peshawer. These terms were strictly observed.

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recall his vizier from Cashmeer; but, was obliged to command in person against the rebels. Before he reached Candahar, his troops had been again defeated by Kamran, who was reinforced by 6,000 men from Herat, under the son of Prince Feeroz. (82)

The Persians threatened an attack on Herat. The success of the Persians at first excited a strong sensation among the Dooranees; and the king at one time, intended to have moved to Herat in person, but the internal state of the kingdom did not admit of foreign enterprises. (83)

The king now heard that the vizier had proclaimed Prince *Kyser*, king at Cabool; and not long after learnt that Peshawer had fallen into the hands of the rebels.

1807.—The king succeeded in recovering Peshawer by the end of February, 1807. About this time the vizier and Kyser arrived in its neighbourhood with 12,000 men.

1808.—After a fruitless negociation, the parties engaged on the 3rd March, 1808. The royal troops were broken on the first onset, and the king himself was about to quit the field, when the vizier imprudently charged him at the head of a few men. The Khans about the king made a desperate resistance, and the vizier was shot in the struggle. The king's troops rallied on this event, and the battle was soon turned in their favor; and the king entered Peshawer in triumph. (84) This victory entirely restored the king's affairs in Peshawer; but Cashmeer still held out, for the

(82) Cassim was his son, but must have been a boy; his father was about 23 years old.

(83) There was an open rapture between the king and the vizier, who became disaffected; and it has been suspected that he was the author of an attempt to raise *Abbas* (the next brother to Shoojah), one of the confined princes, to the throne. The plan failed; but Mahmood (deposed in 1803) effected his escape during the confusion it occasioned. He proceeded to Sindh, and entered into an arrangement with the governors, which so much offended Futeh Khan, that he quitted the army, with 3,000 troops under his command.

(84) The vizier's head borne behind him on a spear.

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vizier's party, under his son Atta Mahomed Khan; but more urgent difficulties at Cabool and Candahar, prevented any operations against that province.

15. Meer Waez, who had remained at Cabool, no sooner heard of the defeat and death of his friend (vizier), than he set all the imprisoned princes at liberty; and prepared the capital for a vigorous defence. He was obliged to desert the city on the king's approach; but he retired with Kyser into the strong country of Kohistan, where he continued, for some time, to resist the troops sent against him. At length Kyser came in, and was freely pardoned, and the king marched against Mahmood, who had been joined by Futeh Khan, and had taken Candahar. The rival kings met on the E. side of the city, Mahmood was defeated, and Candahar fell into the hands of the victor.

The king was, now, about to move towards Sindh, but was anticipated by a payment from that province.

1809.—He left Candahar, and reached Peshawer on the 10th January, 1809.

From Peshawer he immediately despatched Akram Khan with all the force he could collect, against Cashmeer. On the 23rd April, he received intelligence of the entire defeat and destruction of Akram Khan's army. (85) Akram

(85) Mr. *Elphinstone's* mission was there; it arrived on the 25th Feb. 1809. Akram Khan reposed confidence in Motawullee, the hill chief of Mozufferabad, and had depended on him for supplies and guides. His ungovernable pride and avarice led him to offend this very man, and he was betrayed. Motawullee undertook to show him a Pass by which he might turn the flank of the enemy's work. Akram moved up the valley, securing the mountains on each side, by parties of Khyberee and Ghiljie Infantry. His march was soon discovered, and his Infantry out-numbered and driven in; besides which, it was ascertained, or rumoured, that the upper part of the valley was choaked with impassable snow. Akram, now, lost all confidence; he remained for a day in the valley without supplies and exposed to the fire of the enemy's infantry, which, though too distant to be effective, disheartened his troops, and caused many desertions: this completed the vizier's alarm. Akram Khan, knowing his unpopularity in the army feared being seized and delivered to the chief of Cashmeer, whose

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Khan after his flight from Cashmeer, crossed the Indus, and reached Akorah, (86) where he received those who went to meet him, without the smallest abatement of his former pride. Of the whole army, not above 2,000 men arrived at Peshawer, dismounted, disarmed, and almost naked.

At the same time authentic intelligence arrived of the advance of *Shah Mahmood*, (the deposed king,) of the capture of *Cabool*; and of the immediate advance of the enemy towards Peshawer. (87) The enemy were found to have remained at Cabool, and it was now certain that they were disputing among themselves. Akram Khan had returned to Peshawer, and began to assemble the wreck of the Cashmeer army, together with such troops as had been left at Peshawer, or could now be raised. The king's situation, however, was still far from promising. Every thing depended on money with which he was very ill provided. Many of the chiefs could have, at once, remedied this evil, but few were zealous at this crisis; and even *Akram Khan*, the vizier, who had occasioned most of the king's misfortunes, and who knew he must stand or fall with his master, was so blinded by his avarice, that he refused to give or lend any part of the

father's death he had occasioned. He resolved to fly, and in the course of the night, all the chiefs abandoned the army, and each endeavoured to effect his escape through the Passes of the mountains. Most were plundered by Motawullee's mountaineers before they passed Mozufferabad; and Akram is said to have been surrounded, and to have escaped by scattering pieces of gold among the plunderers, and flying during the scramble.

(86) Three marches from Peshawer.

(87) Some of the neighbouring tribes who were in favor of *Mahmood*, were said to be armed, and ready to start up at a moment's warning. The troops were represented to be on the eve of a *mutiny*, and it was rumoured that the king had sent off his most valuable jewels, and was about to fly from the city. The Mehmandar to the mission, frankly avowed to them, that in the event of any general confusion, they would be attacked by the Khyberees and other plunderers. The people talked openly of the state of affairs; but nobody acted as if a revolution were at hand. This panic at length subsided.

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large treasures which he had inherited from his father, and had amassed himself. (88) During this time the king was exerting himself to get together an army. The army, indeed, was generally disaffected.

16. It was at length (June, 1809) determined by *Shah Shoojah*, to march to Cabool, and taking leave of the king, the mission marched from Peshawer towards India on the 14th June, 1809. (89) The king's affairs were now in a highly prosperous condition. He had equipped a tolerable army, and was ready to move against the enemy, whose dissensions had come to such a pitch, that *Futeh Khan* had seized his rival (90) in the midst of the court, and had thus occasioned the defection of two of the great Dooranee clans. Accordingly all parties seemed to look forward, with certainty, to the success of *Shah Shoojah's* cause; an event which was called for by the prayers of the people, to whom the Shah's moderation and justice had greatly endeared him.

The king marched from Peshawer, with an army of about 14,000 men, and a train of Artillery. The army was attacked by a small force under *Futeh Khan*, as it was straggling on, mixed with the baggage, after a very long march through the mountains. The king and Akram Khan (vizier) were

(88) The character of this minister was the great cause of the king's weakness. Though so deficient in political courage, even his enemies allowed that he was endowed with the greatest personal bravery, and that he was sincere in his attachments, true to his word, a strict observer of justice, and perfectly direct and open in his dealings; but on the other hand, he was extremely avaricious, and of a haughty, sullen and suspicious temper; arrogant and irritable to those around him; difficult of access; and tenacious of respect.

Mr. *Elphinstone* says, "In my own intercourse with him, however, I found him to possess all the good qualities ascribed to him; without any one of the bad." He was killed, at the battle of Neemla, in about two months afterwards.

(89) It not being the policy of the British Government to take any share in the civil war, the Govr. Genl. (Lord *Minto*) recalled the mission.

(90) Mahmood Shah.

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in the rear; but the latter who had on his armour, rode straight to the scene of action. He had not above one or two hundred men when he set off, and most of these were left behind as he advanced. The day was decided before he arrived; but he, nevertheless, pushed on, and had penetrated to the place where *Futeh Khan* was, when he was overpowered and slain, after a very brave resistance. (91) The king fled and returned to Peshawer, hence he hastened to Candahar, which he at once recovered, without a battle. Shah Mahmood, having settled his authority at Peshawer and Cabool, proceeded to Candahar, where, in the battle between him and Shoojah, the latter was again defeated, and took refuge at Rawul Pindee. (92) The battle at Candahar was fought four months after that at Neemla.

1810.—This year Toorshish (N. of Tubbus) the last place belonging to the Affghans in Khorassan, was taken by the Persians.

17. Ata Mahomed Khan (1) who was still at Cashmeer, (2) fearing his independance, and to strengthen his position, deputed his brother Jandad Khan, to Shah Shoo-

(91) Futeh Khan had only 2,500 men, not more than 1,300 of whom were engaged. See an account of the battle of *Neemla* at Chapter XIII.—Futehabad. The loss of this battle is most unaccountable, for he had six times a larger force than the enemy. Shah Shoojah wrote a letter himself in which he says that "His troops had behaved with fidelity; but that he was defeated;" so that he lost the action owing to the absence of the ordinary military precautions. Akram Khan, by being in the rear, could not arrange his troops in time. This occurred in the end of June. Mr. *Elphinstone* says, "all the king's partizans were depressed, while some adversaries of his started up where they were little expected;" no doubt in consequence of the loss of this action. The loss of this battle was even less to have been expected than that of Eshpaun in 1801.

(92) This closes the abstract from Mr. *Elphinstone's* history, and here commences a continuation extracted from the works of Sir A. *Burnes*, Dr. *Burnes;* and Moollah Jaffer, head Moonshee of Shah Shoojah, who accompanied the Shah to Loodianah.

(1) Son of late Akram Khan, (vizier.)

(2) Finding Shah Mahmood had recovered Peshawer, Cabool, and Candahar; Herat being in his possession.

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jah at Attok, and offered, if the Shah would resign that place (3) to his brother, they would replace him on the throne. Jandad Khan obtained the fort of Attok, took the ex-king to Peshawer, of which he possessed himself; but proposed such degrading terms of allegiance to Shah Shoojah, that he would not consent to them. Ata Mahomed Khan, being informed of Shah Shoojah's resistance to their will, laid a plot, seized and carried Shoojah, captive, to Cashmeer.

1811.—*Futeh Khan* was appointed by Shah Mahmood to the *Vizarat* of his kingdom; while Azeem Khan, the vizier's next brother, was sent to recover Peshawer from Jandad Khan, who retired to Attok. Shah Mahmood and Futeh Khan now came to Peshawer, and designed the invasion of Cashmeer. They opened a negociation with Runjeet Singh, who gave them an auxiliary force. (4)

The Sikhs and Affghans both advanced in force to Cashmeer. Ata Mahomed was seized; and Shah Shoojah set at liberty, by both parties. On the release of Shah Shoojah, Futeh Khan entreated him not to trust himself to the Sikhs but to accompany him to Affghanistan, where he would provide for him; but the Shah was afraid of treachery; (5) and preferring the offer of the Sikhs, accompanied their commander, Dewan Mokun Chund, to Lahore. (6)

About this time (7) the Governor of Cashmeer, after being blockaded in the citadel for a few days, surrendered himself and was treated with distinction. The eldest brother of the

(3) Which was yet in his possesion.

(4) *Burnes*, vol. iii. p. 237, states, that 10,000 Sikhs marched, and that nine lakhs of Rs. of revenue were to be set aside; the Affghans subdued the valley before the Sikhs arrived; and did not fulfil their promise to the Sikhs, who left the country in disgust.

(5) He had refused Futeh Khan office in 1803; still so earnest was the Khan, that he attended the Shah, on foot, and holding his stirrup for a considerable distance after his departure from the city, he urged him to return with him.

(6) Shah Zeman had also taken refuge in the Punjab.

(7) *Burnes*, vol. iii. p. 238.

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vizier, Mahomed Azeem Khan, was now appointed Governor of Cashmeer. At this time, the Ruler of the Punjab received secret overtures from the commandant of *Attok*, for the cession of that fortress. It was held by (8) a brother of the ex-governor of Cashmeer, and the offer was at once accepted. Runjeet Singh acquired this valuable possession at the small sacrifice of a lakh Rs. (£10,000), and prepared to defend his new acquisition. Futeh Khan quitted Cashmeer and marched on Attok. He found the Sikh army encamped on the plains of *Chuch*, about two miles from the fort. (9) The vizier had a contempt for his opponents. Dost Mahomed Khan, who headed a body of 2,000 Affghans, commenced the conflict by an advance on, and the capture of the whole of the Sikh artillery. He had dismounted two of their guns, and was proceeding to improve his victory, when he found himself without support, and that the whole of his brother's army had fled. (10) It only remained for him to retreat, which he effected with honor, and crossed the Indus. Since this disaster, the power of the Affghans has ceased on the eastern side of the Indus, and that country has been ever since annexed to the dominions of the Sikhs.

1814.—18. About this time the king of Persia demanded a tribute from Herat. The government was held by a brother of Mahmood (Hajee Feeroz) who was requested to treat the demand with scorn; and the vizier (Futeh Khan) marched there to oppose the Persians. On reaching Herat, Futeh Khan made himself master of the person of the Governor, though a brother of his sovereign, and not only extracted the whole of his wealth from him, but violated his harem in searching for it. He then seized Herat, and

(8) Jandad Khan.

(9) The heat of the season was oppressive, and the Sikhs had both the advantage of position and water.

(10) On the attack of Dost Mahomed Khan, some evil-disposed persons brought a report to the vizier, that he had been made prisoner, with the whole of his division; and an equally treacherous intimation was conveyed to Dost Mahomed Khan, that his brother had fallen.

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prepared to meet the Persians. A battle ensued, which was not decisive. The Persians fled, but the Affghans also left the field, and their victory, with the greatest precipitation. (11) The vizier reaped the full harvest of the campaign, since he refused the tribute and beat off the army sent to enforce it. He strengthened the western frontier of the kingdom, by seizing the Governor of Herat, who, though he professed allegiance to his brother Mahmood, was at best a dubious friend. By this war, however, the garrison of Cashmeer was much weakened; since he drew levies from it, which in the end proved most injurious to the interests of Mahmood in that part of the kingdom.

1815.—Shah Shoojah had, since his defeat at Neemla (1809), being wandering as a fugitive in various corners of his dominions. (12) He was as before stated, released at Cashmeer, (13) and permitted to join his family at Lahore. His queen, *Wuffadar Begum*, (14) the most influential lady of his harem, had used every persuasion to prevent his placing himself in the power of Runjeet Singh; but he disregarded her advice, which he had ample reason to regret having neglected. She was of the most bold and determined character; and her counsel had often proved valuable to her husband, in the days of his power and adversity.

While at Lahore, and absent from the Shah, she preserved her own and his honor in an heroic manner. Runjeet pressed her to surrender "*the Diamond,*" and evinced intentions of

(11) The vizier was struck by a spent ball in the face, and fell on his horse's neck, on which the troops became disheartened.

(12) After his defeat at Candahar, he was seized by Ata Mahomed Khan (son of his former vizier), and subjected to much indignity. He was for sometime confined in the fortress of Attok. The lancet was frequently held over his eyes; and his keeper once took him into the middle of the Indus, with his arms bound, threatening him with instant death. The object was to extract from him the celebrated diamond, called "Koh-i-Noor," or *mountain of light.*

(13) By Futeh Khan.

(14) Whose brother (Wuffadar Khan) had been vizier to Shah Zeman.

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forcing it from her. He also desired to transfer the daughters of the unfortunate king to his own harem. (15) She succeeded in the end in escaping from Lahore, disguised as a *Hindoo*, and planned the deliverance of her husband, which shortly followed. This was only effected at the expense of the great diamond. (16) Imprisonment of the closest nature, insult, and even hunger, fell to the lot of this unfortunate monarch.

(15) The disgrace in this case would have been double; for they were *Mahomedan* ladies, and *Runjeet* was a *Hindoo*. She seized the person who brought the message, and had him soundly chastised; and intimated to the Maharajah, that, if he continued his dishonorable demand, she would pound the diamond in a mortar, administer it to her daughters, and those under her protection, and then swallow it herself; adding, "May the blood of all of us be on your head!" Sir A. *Burnes*, vol. ii. p. 138. (1st. Edn.) says, that "the late King of Persia (Futeh Ali Shah) used the essence of pearls and precious stones as a tonic, to support declining strength; in which the oriental faculty have great faith." Runjeet used pounded pearls in the spirits he drank; it was very costly and potent.

(16) It has been valued at 3½ millions sterling. I saw it in 1831. Runjeet at the evening durbar shewed it to the Governor General and lady *W. Bentinck;* but he kept his (one) keen eye watching to see into whose hands it went. It was as big as a pigeon's egg. It weighed 3½ rupees (40 rupees being one lb.); and one weighing 2 carats is said to be worth £128.

It is not irrelevant here to state that, on Runjeet's death (27th June, 1839,) he desired to give this diamond to the brahmins (priests). Natives are impressed with a belief that the deity may be propitiated by such means! Rajah Dhian Singh, his minister, dissuaded him from this measure. Runjeet had joined the treaty and furnished his quota of troops in aid of Shah Shoojah's restoration; getting, however, £150,000, (part of the tribute due from Sindh) for his aid. Runjeet, when only one of many chiefs, in the Punjab, had been made viceroy at Lahore by Shah Zeman the brother of Shah Shoojah. As Runjeet was disposed to part with the diamond, Dhian Singh would have done honor to himself and to his master, had he advised its restoration, and thus put to him on his death-bed, he would probably have complied with the advice. I blame *Dhian Singh*, for not recommending such an act of generosity, when he found the Maharajah willing to part with it, and when he might have impressed on his mind, that an act of *justice*, though ren-

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The queen had established herself at Loodianah. She caused horses to be placed on the road; and Shoojah and his people, made every exertion in Lahore. They hired all the houses adjoining those in which they lodged; and opened a passage into the street by cutting through seven walls. A few hours after the household had retired to rest, the king descended by the aperture, and issued into the street in the dress of a native of the *Punjab*. The city wall had yet to be passed, and the gates were shut. Shoojah crept through the common sewer of the city, and fled, with two or three servants, towards the hill country of Kistwar. Here he once more raised the standard of a monarch, and planned an attack on *Cashmeer*, in which he was assisted by the Rajah of Kistwar. The expedition would have been successful, for the Governor of Cashmeer had evacuated his frontier position, but an untimely season blocked the roads with snow, interrupted the arrival of supplies; and once more frustrated the hopes of Shah Shoojah. Wandering by a cheerless and ungenial country, the Shah at length reached the British station of *Sabathoo* (17) in the outer Himalaya, from which he repaired to Loodianah, in Nov. 1815, where his family had found an asylum.

1816.—19. The reign of Mahmood was thus far successful beyond the most sanguine expectations of his partisans; he held *Cashmeer*, the revenues of which afforded the means of

dered after a lapse of 24 years, was more likely to propitiate the deity, than giving to others what he had obtaind by *fraud and almost violence!*

The Sikh ruler gave away a million sterling to the brahmins, and six or seven ladies burnt themselves on his death! The English reader must recollect, that, *the Punjab not being in the East India Company's possessions, the British Government cannot there abolish Suttees;* I mention this as an E. I. proprietor once exclaimed against the Honorable Court for not interfering. The *Suttee* (or person burning) is *not* directed in *any* Hindoo Law Book; all that *Munnoo* says is, that "it is better for the widow not to marry again." The suttee was instituted by brahmins to prevent wives destroying their husbands: it was a political and domestic rule; but never was a religious rite.

(17) Twenty-four miles from Simla.

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protection to his other provinces. He exacted the usual tribute from *Sindh*, and warded off an attack from *Persia*, the only quarter from which he apprehended danger. The king himself, rioting in debauchery, owed his successes to his vizier, who managed the whole affairs of the kingdom. Futeh Khan distributed the different governments of Cabool among his numerous brothers. He evinced no want of respect or allegiance to his sovereign; and *Mahmood* seemed satisfied, but his son, *Prince Kamran*, was discontented at the vizier's proceedings, and resolved to rid himself of a person so formidable, opposed as he was to some ambitious designs which he himself entertained. The prince at last worked upon his father, and persuaded him that he might govern his country, now that it was consolidated, without the aid of his vizier. He, therefore, determined on ridding himself of that powerful chief, his friend and benefactor. Kamran availed himself of an early opportunity, seized Futeh Khan at Herat, and gave an immediate order for his eyes being put out. (18)

1818.—When Shazada Kamran confined Futeh Khan at Herat, and deprived him of sight, his brother Peer-dil Khan of Candahar, seized and imprisoned Mahomed Rahm Khan, the Amir-ool-Moolk, while Sher-dil Khan, another brother (19) of Futeh Khan, fled to Girishk, where he took shelter in the fort of Now Ali, one of the possessions of his family.

Kamran, meanwhile, negociated peace with Futeh Ali Shah (late) king of Persia, on which he placed his own (second) son, Syf-ool-Moolk and Yar Mahomed Khan, in charge of Herat; and went to Candahar. (20)

This year (1818) Mahmood Shah, claimed for himself the sovereignty of *Cutch*, and required the renunciation of all interference with that country, as a component part of the Affghan dominions. The vizier, *Futeh Khan*, wrote

(18) Moollah Jaffer's History.

(19) Of Candahar and since dead.

(20) Futeh Khan, Peer-dil Khan (another brother) and Mahomed Khan (the Amir-ool-Moolk) were also conveyed there.

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a letter more explicit to Capt. *McMurdo,* the Political Agent. This demand did not alarm the mind of the Govr. Genl. (Marquis of *Hastings*), who wrote a reply, treating it as a forgery; at the same time, in express terms, informing the king that the British Government, while it did not "misuse its strength by wantonly trespassing on its neighbours, it has never been attacked without destroying those who unjustly assailed it." (21)

20. Shah Mahmood, nominal king, sent for the vizier (Futeh Khan) and observed that having lost his sight, it was advisable for him to send for his brothers. Futeh Khan advised him to send for Peer-dil Khan, who was made vizier, but fled to his brother Sher-dil Khan at Girishk. It was then conferred on Ata Mahomed Khan (son of Mokhtar Oodowlah.)

Shah Mahmood despatched Shazada Jehangeer (22) and Dost Mahomed Khan, son of Bedil Khan, Populzye, and Bagar Khan, Karota, with the Kuzzlebash chiefs in attendance, to Cabool. Nuwab Samad Khan, Governor of Cabool, no sooner heard this news, than he left the city and repaired to Peshawer, while Jehangeer advanced and entered Cabool.

When Mahomed Azeem Khan, the next brother to the vizier (Futeh Khan) heard of his brother's imprisonment, and Nuwab Samad Khan's flight, he appointed his brother,

(21) "The messenger overtook the vizier at Peshawer ready to take the field against the Sikhs, who were threatening the frontier at Attok. Futeh Khan fired a salute on its reception, and proclaimed aloud through his Camp, that despatches had been received from the Governor General of India, the friend of the Cabool Government! Futeh Khan replied to Capt. *McMurdo,* that he did not expect an enemy in the English; but looked for their support; that in due time he meant to bring *Sindh* to its former state of dependence on Cabool; and if the *British* had any views towards that country, he would afford assistance. Professed ignorance of the letter written, as if some one had procured, by bribery, and affixed his seal." Dr. *James Burnes,* K. H. History of Cutch, 1839, p. 45.

(22) His grandson and eldest son of Kamran.

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the *present Dost Mahomed Khan* (23) to the government of Peshawer, and proclaiming *Shahzada Sooltan Ali* as his sovereign ; Azeem Khan proceeded with him to Cabool.

Ata Mahomed Khan, the new vizier, meanwhile, wrote to *Dost Mahomed Khan,* that if he, also, would advance with his troops towards Cabool, he would betray the Shahzada into his hands. Dost Mohomed Khan, with his brothers, left Peshawer, and by hasty marches arrived at Bootkhak ; (24) where he had a secret interview with Ata Mahomed Khan.

Shahzada Jehangeer, hearing of his arrival, retired within the palace of the Bala Hissar, while *Dost Mahomed Khan* and Ata Mahomed Khan occupied the city. Hearing this, Shah Mahmood hastened with (25) a considerable army towards Cabool. (26) He did not advance beyond *Ghuznee,* where the Shahzada and his immediate adherents rejoined him.

Shah Mahmood, accompanied by Shahzada Kamran, left Ghuznee, at the head of his collected troops, and on arriving at Sydabad (27) put *vizier Futeh Khan,* with every studied cruelty to death. (28)

(23) Who now appears for the first time to take an active part in the troubles and revolutions of his country.

(24) Nine miles E. of Cabool.

(25) Two days after this Dost Mahomed Khan heard that Ata Mahomed Khan intended to invite him to a feast, and make him a prisoner. Dost Mahomed Khan seized Ata Mahomed Khan, and ordered him to be blinded ; and then laid siege to the Bala Hissar.

(26) The inclemency of the season, and probably want of confidence of success, delayed his arrival.

(27) Forty-eight miles from Cabool.

(28) Sir A. *Burnes,* vol iii. p. 241, says, " After a lapse of five or six months," (i. e. after he was deprived of sight) " Kamran put the vizier to death, between Cabool and Candahar, with the full consent of the king. This rash act was perpetrated in the year 1818, and drove the whole of Futeh Khan's brothers into rebellion." At p. 271, he says, alluding to there being 60,000 (more properly 6,000) families of Barukzyes, " *Hajee Jumal,* the most powerful of its chiefs, willingly bowed to the authority of Ahmed Shah ; and contributed to fix him

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21. From hence the Shah proceeded viâ Obaguk to the fort of Door Bannu.

Dost Mahomed taking his newly-acknowledged sovereign with him, moved from Cabool to oppose Shah Mahmood. While both parties were engaged watching each other's motions, Dilwas Khan, Nawaz Khan, and Akbar Khan, joined Dost Mahomed. Shah Mahmood lost all confidence and returned towards Ghuznee, while Dost Mahomed Khan returned to Cabool in triumph. Mahomed Azeem Khan quitted Cashmeer, returned to Peshawer, and left Cashmeer in charge of his brother Nuwab Jubbar Khan. (29) On his

on his throne. The successors of that monarch rewarded his services, by the murder of his son *Poynda Khan;* and we have related the atrocious assassination of his grandson the vizier," (Futeh Khan.)

" The tragedy which terminated the life of *Futeh Khan,* Barukzye, is, perhaps, without parallel in modern times. Blind and bound he was led into the Court of Mahmood, where he had so lately ruled with absolute power. The king taunted him for his *crimes,* and desired him to use his influeuce with his brothers, then in rebellion. He replied without fear, and with great fortitude, that he was now but a poor, blind man, and had no concern with affairs of state. Mahmood irritated at his obstinacy, gave the last orders for his death, and this unfortunate man was deliberately cut to pieces by the nobles of the court; joint was separated from joint, limb from limb, his nose and his ears were lopped off; nor had the vital spark fled, till the head was separated from the mangled trunk. Futeh Khan bore these cruel tortures without a sigh; he stretched out his different limbs to those who thirsted for his blood, and exhibited the same cool indifference, the same reckless contempt for his own life, which he had so often shown for that of others. The bloody remains of this unfortunate person, were gathered in a cloth and sent to Ghuznee, where they were interred."

I have heard from one well qualified to know the fact from having resided at *Herat,* that *Futeh Khan* was engaged in a plot to depose Shah Mahmood, which if true (though every one must deprecate the cruelty of the vizier's death) taking his life would have been according to the custom of the country.

It will be recollected that he seized Mahmood's brother (Feeroz) at Herat, and if he *did* depose *one* brother, there is fair reason to believe that he would try to displace *another;* and we have examples among his brothers of such acts.

(29) Dost Mahomed's elder brother.

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way, Mahomed Azeem Khan had an interview with *Shah Ayoob,* (30) and sent his brother Peer-dil Khan and Madad Khan to conduct *Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk,* (31) from Dera Ghazee Khan (where he had arrived on his first expedition) to Peshawer. Shortly after the Shah's arrival, Azeem Khan demanded the dispersion of the Shah's troops, and delivery of his artillery. The Shah refused, and leaving Peshawer he stationed himself at *Takal* where he was attacked; one of his magazines of gunpowder exploded; and many persons lost their lives, and a defeat was the result. The Shah then, once more, escaped to the *Khyber hills.* Mahomed Azeem Khan and Shahi engaged to declare *Shah Ayoob,* viceroy of Peshawer, to which they retired.

When Mahomed Azeem Khan, eldest survivor of the family, returned from Cashmeer, he resolved to dethrone the *murderer* of his brother; *Mahmood,* afraid to encounter the rebels, fled to Herat, which involved a virtual resignation of his power; he retained *Herat* and the title of king; but sunk into a vassal of Persia.

Azeem Khan, says Sir *A. Burnes,* "now took the extraordinary step of recalling Shoojah-ool-Moolk from his exile. He offered him the crown of Cabool, and sent a *Koran* to the ex-monarch, under his *seal,* according to the custom of the country, as proof of his sincerity. Shoojah repaired with every despatch to Peshawer." (32)

Dost Mahomed Khan hearing of these events, wrote requesting his brother Mahomed Azeem Khan, if he had any regard for him, to depose *Shah Ayoob;* as he (the Dost) had declared *Sooltan Ali,* the king at Cabool.

(30) Brother of Shah Mahmood.

(31) He had left Loodianah on the 13th October, 1818, on his first expedition to try and recover his throne. He returned to Loodianah in 1821, when his pension of £4,800 a year was again paid to him. The Government gave no support or public sanction to the enterprise, which failed. In 1819, also, *Shah Zeman* came to reside at Loodianah.

(32) Vol. iii. p. 243; but he adds p. 246—"Shoojah after all his misfortunes, might have now re-ascended the throne of his ancestors; but

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Mahomed Azeem Khan wrote that, if he, Dost Mahomed Khan, had any intention to aspire to the chief authority, he would retire to Peshawer: Dost Mahomed, finding he could not gain the ascendancy, abandoned the cause of Sooltan Ali; and owned the supremacy of Mahomed Azeem Khan. Mahomed Azeem Khan, then, accompanied by Shah Ayoob, entered Cabool; and soon after his arrival, he advised Shah Ayoob to *sanction* the murder of Sultan Ali. (33)

1819.—22. On leaving Cashmeer, Mahomed Azeem Khan, entrusted the government of it to *Nuwab Jubbar Khan*, (34) and about this period Runjeet Singh contemplated the reduction of Cashmeer. When news of the approach of the Sikh troops reached Cashmeer, Nuwab Jubbar Khan marched out of the city at the head of his forces, and after various operations, being reinforced, the Nuwab boldly attacked, and struck terror into the ranks of the enemy. Next day he made a night attack (35) in which he failed, was wounded, and fled with 1,000 suwars: he reached Peshawer, and afterwards moved to Cabool.

The murder of *Sooltan Ali*, gave great offence to Dost Mahomed Khan; (36) but he concealed his anger, (though

before Azeem Khan had reached Peshawer, he (Shoojah) prematurely displayed his notions of royal authority, by insulting some friend of his benefactor, whom he considered to be encroaching on his dignity, *by using a palankeen*. The whole Barukzye family took offence at such ill-timed pride; and Azeem Khan determined to place a more compliant master on the throne." "A favorable opportunity presented itself in the person of *Ayoob* (or Job), a brother of Shoojah. He entered the camp of Azeem Khan, and sued for the throne as the most abject of slaves. 'Make me but king,' he said, 'permit money to be coined in my name, and the whole power and resources of the kingdom may rest with yourself; my ambition will be satisfied with bread, and the title of king.' This was just the the person the Barukzyes wanted, and his conditions were accepted."

(33) His brother.

(34) The brother next in succession to himself.

(35) Chupao, and for which the Affghans were famed.

(36) He wished to raise him to the throne; and govern as vizier.

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he tried to raise troops to oppose him;) and at length acknowledged the supremacy of his brother (Mahomed Azeem Khan), and became reconciled. (37)

Dost Mahomed Khan proceeded from Cabool towards Candahar. On his arrival at Ghuznee, he *disguised* himself in the habit of a *khidmutgar*, and entered the fort (under the pretence of buying provisions) with a few followers. Abdoorrehman Khan, the Governor of Mahomed Azeem Khan, went up to Dost Mahomed Khan, in order to ascertain who he was. No sooner were they confronted, than Dost Mahomed Khan *shot his visitor dead on the spot, and made himself master of the place.* (38) Mahomed Azeem Khan proceeded with his troops to Ghuznee. Dost Mahomed Khan fortified himself within the fort, and prepared for a vigorous siege.

For some days an irregular cannonade was kept up on both sides. At length Dost Mahomed wrote to Nuwab Samad Khan his determination never to resign the place; adding that he came there with the view to take away the Governor's life, and would omit no opportunity to take his *(the Nuwab's)* unless he were allowed to keep possession. The Nuwab conciliated Mahomed Azeem Khan, and Dost Mahomed Khan, who, leaving Ghuznee under Ameer Mahomed Khan, went to Cabool.

23. When Mahomed Azeem Khan received (39) intelligence of the arrival of *Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk* at Shikarpoor, he proceeded to Candahar accompanied by Dost Mahomed Khan, Nuwab Jubbar Khan, and his other brothers. He despatched half his army under his brother Sher-dil

(37) Mahomed Azeem Khan retraced his steps to Cabool; and Dost Mahomed Khan, leaving his partizans at his brother's mercy, fled to Peshawer. Dost Mahomed afterwards came to Cabool; but Mahomed Azeem Khan ordered him to leave it; as he was of *no service to him;* and to go where he pleased.

(38) This is one of the most prominent acts of this man's life to rise to power.

(39) Said to have been six months after the above events. This would bring the transaction to the end of 1819.

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Khan. At Dadur, Sher-dil Khan was overtaken by Mahomed Azeem Khan, with the rear of his army ; and here the Sirdar was visited by Mehrab Khan, the Beloochee chief, who came to do him homage. (40)

1822.—About the end of this year a deputation was sent by Maharajah Runjeet Singh to Sirdar Mahomed Azeem Khan, desiring him to resign all claim to *Cashmeer.* (41)

(40) Which he refused to Shah Shoojah in March, 1839, and on 13th Nov. 1839, he was killed at the storming of his fort (Khelat). A letter was addressed to the Sindhians enjoining them to expel Shah Shoojah from their country. They compelled him to leave Sindh, and the king returned to Loodianah, viâ Jesselmere and Jypore, in the year 1821.

(41) It is a curious historical fact, that about this period, the Governor of Cashmeer sent a message to the resident at Delhi, offering to deliver up that fertile valley to the British Government. But, it was found that, by an article of the treaty (1809) the acceptance of the offer would have involved its infraction ("not to occupy any territory to the N. of the Punjab," and Cashmeer is N. E.) Whether the treaty was so worded advisedly, or without looking at remote contingencies, I do not know. Mr. (now Sir C.) *Metcalfe* stood too high as a politician not to have foreseen the probability of its falling into the hands of the Sikhs. I will venture at a solution of the problem.

In the beginning of the years 1810 and 1811, the Govt. sent expeditions to the *Isle of France* and to *Java ;* and, we had too much on our hands to force a treaty. Major-Genl. *St. Leger's* force (accompanied by Sir D. *Ochterlony* and Mr. *Metcalfe)* had reached the Sutluj, and returned in April, 1809. Runjeet declined the article, usual in our treaties with all native powers, requiring the giving up all European deserters.

It is to be regretted that so valuable a valley, said to be, in reality, as beautiful as ascribed by *Moore,* should have fallen into such hands. Sher Singh (Runjeet's adopted son) the Govr. it was supposed, would, on the Maharajah's death, declare his independence; it is not an improbable event; and the difficult nature of that country, as already mentioned in *Akram Khan's* retreat, renders the measure of easy accomplishment. When the offer was made to our Govt., the Govr. was prepared to lead our troops by a road through the hills, avoiding the route by the Punjab. In our possession, in a commercial point of view, no less than on the score of humanity, we might soon have regenerated a country, called by the natives, with truth, the " *Paradise of the East.*"

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1823.—Sirdar Mahomed Azeem Khan proceeded to *Noushera*, in January, 1823, where was fought the action already described (42) in which the Affghans were defeated, and on which occasion Dost Mahomed Khan did not support the character which might have been expected from his conduct at the battle of Chuch, in 1811.

Runjeet Singh wrote to Mahomed Azeem Khan that, if he would send a deputation to him, he would restore Peshawer; he did so, and Runjeet fulfilled his promise. Mahomed Azeem Khan then proceeded towards Cabool, and was taken ill on the road; Dost Mahomed Khan repaired to Cabool, and Sirdar Mahomed Khan died shortly afterwards, to the great sorrow of the people. (43).

On the fourth day after this event, Dost Mahomed Khan and Yar Mahomed Khan, conferred on the son (Habeeb Oollah Khan) the robe of Sardaree; and declared him the Ruler of Cabool, in the place of his father. Owing to the intrigues carried on by the above Khans, Habeeb Oollah Khan sent a message to them to inform them that they were of no service to him, in consequence of which Dost Mahomed Khan and Yar Mahomed Khan, quitted Cabool, and joined *Shah Ayoob;* between whom and Habeeb Oollah Khan, they began to sow the seeds of ill-will; and seduced the simple Ayoob into their view, and plans. He (Ayoob) conferred the office of vizier on Yar Mahomed Khan, and that of Sirdar on Dost Mahomed Khan, which were duly proclaimed.

Habeeb Oollah Khan ordered his troops to lay siege to the Bala Hissar. When Shah Ayoob heard of this, Dost Mahomed Khan began to raise commotions, but failing in his object, he fled to Ghuznee, still in his possession; and Yar Mahomed returned to Peshawer.

24. Four months after this insurrection Dost Mahomed Khan set out on his return to Cabool, with the view of creating fresh disturbances, but on his approach to the fort

(42) See Noushera (24th Nov. 1839) at Chapter XV.

(43) He and Jubbar Khan appear to have been the most moderate of the whole of the brothers.

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of Hashif, his progress was checked by Habeeb Oollah Khan's troops; peace was restored between the combatants; and Dost Mahomed Khan and Habeeb Oollah Khan returned together to Cabool; where the former went to reside in the Muhalla of Jawan Sher.

A few days afterwards, Habeeb Oollah wrote to (his uncle) Peer-dil Khan of Candahar, and entreated him to come to his aid with troops; he marched immediately, and on reaching Ghuznee left his party there, and hastened on with only a few followers (suwars). He confirmed the reconciliation between the contending parties. The mountain tracts were conferred, in Jaghier, on Dost Mahomed Khan, on which he retired to Chareekar. Peer-dil Khan next went with 400 suwars to the Bala Hissar, and on the pretence of a *visit* to Shah Ayoob, he seized him (Ayoob); put one of his sons to death, and secured the whole of his property. (44)

Shah Ayoob was then released. He went to Peshawer, and afterwards to the court of Runjeet Singh, who gave him a stipend, which he enjoyed till the day of his death some time last year. (45)

Peace and order being established at Cabool, Peer-dil Khan returned to Candahar. (46)

Habeeb Oollah Khan, as soon as his suspicions were raised by Dost Mahomed's proceedings, desired the latter to appear before him; but, he, fearing he would be seized and imprisoned, made his escape, and went towards Mydan; (47) and induced a majority of the Ghiljie tribe to adopt his cause.

(44) His father (Azeem Khan) left three crores of rupees (three millions sterling).

(45) In 1837, at Lahore.

(46) Forty days after his departure, news arrived of the march of Mehr-dil Khan towards Cabool, which once more excited the restless spirit of Dost Mahomed Khan. Peer-dil Khan, and Mehr-dil Khan were his brothers; the latter left Candahar as we (1839) approached the city.

(47) Two marches from Cabool.

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Habeeb Oollah, hearing of this, proceeded, at once, with his army to Mydan, and besieged Dost Mahomed Khan (in his fort) who made a good defence. Ameer Mahomed Khan shortly after arrived from Ghuznee to the relief of his brother. An action took place which ended in the total defeat of Ameer Mahomed Khan; and Dost Mahomed Khan surrendered the fort to the enemy; and went to Ghuznee. Mehr-dil Khan at the same time, left Candahar, and joined Habeeb Oollah. Six months after this defeat, Dost Mahomed Khan was joined by Hafiz Jee at Ghuznee. Dost Mahomed Khan and Ameer Oollah Khan proceeded to the fort of Khairandesh, where Habeeb Oollah Khan soon made his appearance; and an action took place. Meanwhile Habeeb Oollah received intelligence that Cabool had been attacked and occupied by Hafiz Jee. He resolved however, to risk a battle; was defeated, and fled to Cabool.

25. Mehr-dil Khan, who had joined Habeeb Oollah Khan wrote to Sher-dil Khan (48) and Peer-dil Khan to come to Cabool. Sher-dil Khan came with a few attendants. He reproved Dost Mahomed for his past conduct, and soon reconciled him with Habeeb Oollah Khan. Dost Mahomed Khan was to keep Chareekar and the mountain tracts; and the rest of the country (49) was to be held by Habeeb Oollah Khan; Sher-dil Khan to be appointed Naeb (50) to Habeeb Oollah Khan, who was to reside in the Bala Hissar; and Sher-dil Khan to reside in the house of Habeeb Oollah Khan inside the city. (51)

(48) Another of the numerous brothers of Dost Mahomed. He died on an expedition to Khelat.

(49) Of Cabool.

(50) Deputy.

(51) Scarcely had three months elapsed before *Sher-dil Khan* proposed to Dost Mahomed Khan to seize Habeeb Oollah Khan, and divide his territory and property between them. *Dost Mahomed readily agreed to the proposal.* This is the conduct of two uncles to an unfortunate nephew; son of their respected brother!

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Some time after this iniquitous transaction, Sher-dil Khan invited both Dost Mahomed Khan (52) and Habeeb Oollah Khan, to his house, and *treacherously* put them in confinement. Having thus secured the person of Habeeb Oollah Khan, he liberated Dost Mahomed Khan; and then laid siege to the Bala Hissar, which was captured the fourth day. (53)

No sooner had he settled himself in the Bala Hissar, than Dost Mahomed Khan (54) asked him to fulfil their agreement. In consequence of which Sher-dil Khan sent him some valuables and a sum of ready money, altogether equal to about one lakh Rs. (£10,000), as well as *one of the wives of Mahomed Azeem Khan.*

At the same time Dost Mahomed Khan was desired by his brother (Sher-dil Khan) to meet him in the Bala Hissar, when, in concert with each other, they would consider and settle the matter. (55)

(52) Then at Chareekar.

(53) Sher-dil Khan entered the palace and seized and imprisoned Imam Virdi, and also Akram Khan, the brother of Habeeb Oollah Khan, who had just arrived from Candahar.

The next object of Sher-dil Khan, to secure his newly acquired possession, was to remove the prisoners from Cabool, where their presence might occasion disorder, (Shah Mahmood, p. 390 Note (83) had once escaped from the Bala Hissar)—and to confine them very strictly in the fort of Mawa, in the valley of Khiwat. The family of the late Mahomed Azeem Khan was driven out of the Bala Hissar in *a very ignominious manner*, and lodged in the house of Habeeb Oollah, inside the city. Having thus secured himself from every danger from his enemies, Sher-dil Khan took up his residence in the Bala Hissar; and *made himself master of all the wealth* which had been accumulated by (his brother) Mahomed Azeem Khan, during his long and prosperous rule. This is the conduct of an uncle. The usurper, notwithstanding his strict precautions, could not long remain without a rival.

(54) With whom he had entered into engagements to divide the property of Mahomed Azeem Khan.

(55) The division of the property. Dost Mahomed Khan replied that it was not fair to send him only *one* lakh rupees out of *three crores* (three millions sterling); the reported wealth which Mahomed Azeem Khan left at his death. However, he added, "should you be inclined

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This affair not being adjusted to his satisfaction, Dost Mahomed Khan commenced hostilities, by raising commotions in the house of Ameer Oollah, where an action ensued between him, on the one side, and Mehr-dil Khan (another brother), Ameer Oollah Khan, and Abdoolah Khan, on the other; but the contest was of very short duration, because the latter soon feeling their inability to overcome Dost Mahomed Khan, fled to the Bala Hissar, setting the house of Ameer Oollah Khan on fire. This success induced the citizens, the mountaineers (Kohistanees) and the people of the Ghiljie and Kuzzlebash tribes (except Ameer Oollah Khan and Hafiz Jee, who still continued attached to Sher-dil Khan) to embrace and support the cause of Dost Mahomed Khan, who, encouraged by the general rise in his favor, (56) proceeded to lay siege to the Bala Hissar.

26. Sher-dil Khan, finding himself unable to resist Dost Mahomed Khan, sent a message to his brothers at Candahar, desiring them to send him a re-inforcement. (57)

to preserve the union and good understanding which subsist between us, either come to me yourself; or send the remainder of the money that is due as my share, without delay."

Sher-dil Khan returned answer that the money which he had already remitted to him, was sent entirely out of *personal regard*, and not upon any other consideration—for what pretension could he (the Dost) have to property acquired by another person's sword? This message enraged Dost Mahomed Khan, and soon after collecting the mountaineers (Kohistanees) and the Kuzzlebashes, he prepared to make war on *Sher-dil Khan*.

This was indeed, taking the *lion's* share. (*Sher-dil Khan*, means the Khan with a *Lion's heart*).

(56) Probably owing to his brother's avarious conduct.

(57) Dost Mahomed Khan proposed to Yar Mahomed Khan, (Barukzye) and Sooltan Mahomed Khan, who were at Peshawer, to come immediately to his aid; and if successful, he would share his acquisitions with them: (contrast this with Sher-dil Khan's avaricious conduct.) They proceeded to Cabool, where they arrived within the course of a month; while Peer-dil Khan and Mehr-dil Khan (brothers of Sher-dil Khan and of the Dost), were forty days in reaching it.

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For more than three months, civil war raged in Cabool, which now became a scene of general anarchy and confusion. Numerous lives were lost on either side, and still there was no end to their disputes. At last the people, reflecting that neither of the rival parties was subdued, while thousands of their followers fell victims in their quarrel, came to the resolution of putting, first Dost Mahomed Khan, and then Sher-dil Khan, to death ; but if the former would go, alone, to the camp of the latter, and kill him with his own hand, his life would be spared.

When intelligence of this design reached Dost Mahomed Khan, he sent word to Sher-dil Khan, urging him to an interview on the following day, and threatened, with an oath, that he would take his life, if he refused to come.

Early next morning, when both parties were drawn up in sight of each other, Sher-dil Khan, with two attendants, went to the tent of Nuwab Samad Khan, where a meeting was held. (58)

A treaty was concluded between the parties, by which Dost Mahomed Khan was to hold the reins of government, and Habeeb Oollah, to do him homage.

The whole property belonging to Mahomed Azeem Khan was to be retained by Sher-dil Khan and Peer-dil Khan ; for the purpose of meeting the expenses of foreign wars. (59)

Sher-dil Khan and Peer-dil Khan, returned to Candahar with the property which they had plundered, and sent Habeeb Oollah Khan, Akram Khan, and Imam Verdi,

(58) Afterwards Dost Mahomed Khan and Sher-dil Khan, in company with Nuwab Samad Khan, Yar Mahomed Khan, and Sooltan Mahomed Khan, went to visit the mother of Habeeb Oollah Khan. They affected to condole with her, and promised to restore her son to liberty, and to place him in the hands of Dost Mahomed Khan. They had frightened the poor mother into compliance, by threatening to blow her son from a gun.

(59) By means of this wealth (gained through this fraternal robbery), they were enabled to become possessed of nine-tenths of the lands and revenues of Candahar.

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under charge of Moollah Peer Mahomed, the Qazee of Jawan Sher, and Dost Mahomed of Jawan Sher, to Sirdar Dost Mahomed Khan. (60)

1824.—27. The whole of the country of Cabool was, now, divided into five unequal portions, and possessed by each brother, according to his means and pretensions, *viz.*

1st. The territory of the Ghiljies was held by Jubbar Khan.

2nd. The Kohistan and Koh-i-Damun, together with one half of Cabool, by Dost Mahomed Khan.

3rd. Sukar, Loghur, and the other half of Cabool by Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and Yar Mahomed Khan.

4th. Jellalabad, by Mahomed Zeman Khan.

5th. Ghuznee, by Ameer Mahomed Khan. For two years this arrangement lasted.

1826.—At this time Dost Mahomed Khan, combining with Habeeb Oollah Khan, compelled Sooltan Mahomed Khan to retire from Cabool; and made himself sole master of that place.

He also deprived his brother, *Jubbar Khan,* of the Ghiljie country, and Mahomed Zeman Khan of Jellalabad.

At the request of Habeeb Oollah Khan, Dost Mahomed conferred *Sukar* on him; he held it only for six months, was deprived of it, and turned out of Cabool.

Habeeb Oollah Khan proceeded to Peshawer, where Yar Mahomed Khan settled on him an annual allowance of 50,000 Rs. (£5,000), which he held till the death of Yar Mahomed Khan. (61) Habeeb Oollah Khan quitted Peshawer, and went to Mahomed Zeman Khan, the Ruler of Jellalabad; where he incited the *Bujor* tribe to espouse his cause; and prepared to take vengeance upon Sooltan Maho-

(60) Yar Mahomed Khan despatched all his troops commanded by his younger brother, Peer Mahomed Khan, to Peshawer; while he himself and Sooltan Mahomed Khan, remained at Cabool.

(61) Slain in the action with Syud Ahmed (the fanatic) with the Sikhs in 1831; when Sooltan Mahomed Khan ceased to pay the allowance.

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med Khan. (62) Being deserted on all sides, on account of his crimes, Habeeb Oollah went towards Candahar to join, it is said, Shah Shoojah; on his arrival at Dera Ismael Khan, Habeeb Oollah became insane and murdered some of his slave girls.

1829.—28. This year Shah Mahmood died at Herat (63) and was succeeded by his son, Shah Kamran, who now reigns there.

1830.—This year Syud Ahmed, the fanatic made his appearance in Cabool, and was treated by Dost Mahomed with the respect he thought his avocations (64) ought to secure for him. He retired to Peshawer where he was joined by Sultan Mahomed Khan, (65) Yar Mahomed Khan also joined him, and several engagements took place with the Sikhs.

1831.—This year Syud Ahmed was killed in an action with the Sikhs; and thus terminated the religious warfare.

1832.—This year Sir A. Burnes went to Cabool (in the progress of his travels into Bokhara) and for the first time became acquainted with Dost Mahomed Khan, and his brother Jubbar Khan.

1833.—On the 17th Feb. 1833, Shah Shoojah left Loodianah on his second expedition to endeavour to recover his throne. In the month of May he obtained possession of Shikarpoor, with the consent of the Ameers of Sindh.

1834.—Shah Shoojah (66) fought a very severe action

(62) In the mean time, Habeeb Oollah fell in love with his brother's wife. In order to become possessed of the object of his heart, he took the life of his brother, by poison; which atrocious crime roused the indignation of the people who had joined his party; and they refused supporting his cause any longer.

(63) I thought he had been blinded; but it is said that he never lost his sight.

(64) A religious war against the Sikhs as infidels. He had proclaimed a religious war before in India.

(65) Who had been ejected from Cabool by Dost Mahomed.

(66) Having been refused money (he had already sold many of his jewels) by the Ameers, he threatened to plunder Shikarpoor and Larkhana.

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with the Sindhians, on the 9th January, 1834, seven kos from Rohree. The Sindhians lost 1,370 horse and foot soldiers. On the Shah's side a considerable number were killed and wounded. The army of the Talpoorians fairly fled from the field of battle, and the Shah got possession of Shikarpoor. (67)

The Shah, then, marched to Candahar, where he was defeated on the 2nd July, by Dost Mahomed Khan, (68) and was obliged to fly, and take refuge at Khelat.

About the end of this year (69) Dost Mahomed Khan assumed the title of "*Ameer Shah Ghazee,*" and offered the viziership to Nuwab Jubbar Khan. (70)

1835.—The Shah was expected to go to Bombay, and that Government was authorized, in such case, to give a *Zeafut* of 100 Rs. a day. (71)

(67) They consented to a pecuniary aid of five or seven lakhs rupees in preference to hazarding another battle; and to farm Shikarpoor from the Shah. See *Shikarpoor*, Chapter II. Before going to Sindh it is said that Shah Shoojah threatened the Ameers (privately, through Meer Ismael Khan) that if they did not immediately accede to his request (demand of Shikarpoor) it was his intention to *transfer his undoubted sovereignty over Sindh to his faithful allies the British!* Dr. *Burnes's* visit to Sindh, p. 151. Sindh paid to Cabool a tribute of fifteen lakhs Rupees (£150,000).

(68) Who came from Cabool to the assistance of his brothers. Had not Mr. *Campbell*, the Commander of the Shah's Hindostanee troops been wounded, the king would have won the battle: but this event threw all into confusion. The Shah lost all hope, and fled, and the army dispersed. The Dost said that the Shah lost 4,000, and that the Affghans lost 7 or 800 men only; but, that had the Shah remained on field he (the Dost) must have lost the battle. See the account in Chapter V.

(69) Reported on the 17th January, 1835.

(70) Which I believe he declined. See the account of his arrival at Ghuznee in July, 1839. Chapter IX.

(71) Equal to three-fourths of the allowance he received at Loodianah. The Govt. of India reported to the Court of Directors the failure of the expedition as quite unexpected; "As the army of the *Shah* was known to be superior, both in numbers and in discipline, to the *Barukzye* troops, the most confident expectations were entertained of his success."

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This year Dost Mahomed Khan sent a mission to Persia, the object of which has since been made manifest. Had it been to seek protection, he had, in 1837, an opportunity of seeking it from the British, instead of from the Persian Government. This year, also, Abdool Ghias Khan, son of Nuwab Jubbar Khan came to Loodianah, under the sanction of the Government of India; and the Home authorities approved of his hospitable reception. (72) Such a measure was a proof of the desire of the British Government to cultivate terms of friendship with the ruler of Affghanistan; free from all distrust arising from the residence of his nephew at our frontier post. (73)

1837.—29. This year Sir *A. Burnes* was sent on a mission of a purely commercial nature to Cabool, (74) but affairs took a political turn, the result of which proved that Dost Mahomed Khan was determined to adhere to his Persian alliance; and which caused the mission to leave his court.

1838.—Lt. *Leech* had in 1837 been sent to Canhadar on a commercial mission which, like that to Cabool and from the same cause, was converted into one of a Political cast. In 1838, he was sent to Khelat.

This year the Persian army was before Herat, but owing to the remonstrances of the British Govt., the king withdrew from the siege of that fortress on the 9th Sept., though the event was not known to the Govt. of India till the 22nd of October. On the 1st of October the Govr. Genl. of India published his Proclamation, declaratory of the object of the expedition into Affghanistan.

When Dost Mahomed Khan heard of the retreat of the Persians, he was absorbed in thought and speculation; always engaged in holding consultations. He was engaged with the chief Koondooz. At one time he stopped the march of his troops to Jellalabad; and then he recalled his son and party from Balkh.

(72) A village was, I believe, assigned for his support.

(73) Whence he, or his instructor, might have conveyed intelligence, which the jealousy of many Govts. desires to conceal.

(74) Major *Leech* and Dr. *Lord* accompanied him.

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On the 10th Dec. 1838, the "*Army of the Indus*" marched from Ferozpoor.

1839.—On the 26th of April, 1839, Shah Shoojah arrived at Candahar. On the 8th of May he was installed in that city. On the 23rd July the fortress of Ghuznee was carried by assault; on the 6th he arrived at Cabool, which he entered in triumph, on the 7th of August, 1839. (75)

Thus, after having been the ruler of Cabool for 13 years, Dost Mahomed Khan's ambition lost him the power, to attain which had occupied as many years; and which he might have retained, had he possessed the prudence of his brother Nuwab Jubbar Khan, who advised him "*to cultivate friendly relations with the British Govt.*" (76)

Affghanistan was governed by the kings for about 62 out of the 92 years since the foundation of the empire by Ahmed Shah in 1747; (77) so that there have been 30 years of anarchy; a longer period than falls to the fate of other empires. It is now but the shadow of its former greatness. But time and good Govt. will, I hope, restore it to tranquillity and prosperity.

30. *Character of Dost Mahomed Khan.*—Dost Mahomed Khan came to power in troubled times, when each man's hand was raised up against his neighbour. He tried to propitiate the soldier more than the citizen,—a course which can never last beyond a time of warfare. Though liberal in his commercial policy, his exigencies made him

(75) The first time on the 13th July, 1803.

(76) Azeez Khan (brother-in-law of the Dost) a Ghiljie chief, wrote in October, 1838, that Dost Mahomed repented of having dismissed Capt. Burnes. He preferred the policy of Capt. *Vikovitch*. I am very incredulous as to this gentleman having committed suicide, because his acts were renounced by his Govt. My belief is that his was only a *civil and diplomatic* death; and that he enjoys a pension under some other cognomen. I am no politician; but the *corps diplomatique* is anti-suicidal; and one of its members can enjoy a pension under a *change of name.*

(77) Ahmed Shah 1747 to 1773. Timoor Shah 1773 to 1793. Shah Zeman from 1793 to 1801. 1801 to 1803, disputed succession. Shah Shoojah 1803 to 1809. 1809 to 1839 anarchy, rebellion and confusion.

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exact more from the merchants than was consistent with good policy, or was beneficial to trade. His revenue did not admit of his keeping up an army equal to the accomplishment of his views of external policy, and conquest. History should have instructed him to view a Persian alliance, as that kingdom was then situated, as the forerunner of his ultimate subjugation. He presided in the court of justice, and added its emoluments to his own treasury. When in want, he borrowed money from the wealthy, which he often neglected to repay, though from time to time called upon to redeem his pledge, and bond. His failing to keep his promise, had at times, caused a rebuke from the lowest Affghan: when he would renew his promise, which was not confided in. He is about 45 years of age, 5 ft. 9 inches in height, with a fair complexion and intelligent countenance. When intent upon any scheme, he would observe his company by furtive glances, as if desirous of penetrating into their characters, unknown to themselves. When relating his past deeds of arms (which he delighted to make known) his large black eyes would first dilate to an unusual size, the sockets reddened; the eye-balls revolved, exhibiting but a small portion of the eyes, with a glare most piercing, but as unpleasant as extraordinary. The frankness of Dost Mahomed was, probably, natural; but he was too familiar for the dignity of his situation; or to command the respect of his inferiors.

He owed much to the chiefs of his own tribe (Barukzyes); but he had no control over them. His mother was, by birth, a Persian; so that he might have secured the attachment of the Kuzzlebashes. He is connected, by marriage, with Shah Shoojah; both having married sisters.

The *Barukzyes* were not more numerous than the *Suddozyes;* therefore, there was no pretence to pre-eminence, in virtue of the importance of his tribe. He placed but little confidence in his eldest son, who is said to possess most talent. He placed two of his sons in the Govts. of Ghuznee and Jellalabad, of whose fidelity he was secure; but he effected his object by the unseasonable removal of others, and

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thereby lost the confidence of those, whose merits gave them claim to retain appointments, which had been the rewards of their services.

His Military character partook more of the partizan than of a skilful general. The battle of *Chuch* (1811) proved his bravery; but he should not have left the field on the report of Futeh Khan's defeat. At the battle of Noushera (1823) he evinced no desire to renew the action next day: but he never liked to act under the command of another.

He might have retired with honor, had he accepted a liberal provision, instead of being, now, a prisoner at Bokhara; and he should have learnt from the Emperor *Baber*, the dignity of submission when resistance was hopeless.

"If you are fettered by your situation, submit to circumstances. If you are independent, follow your own fancy." (78)

31. *Shah Shoojah's claim to the throne, and character.*— As to the claim of Shah Shoojah to the throne, it is sufficient to state that he was its last legal possessor. He succeeded Shah Zeman who was declared king, his father (Timoor) not having nominated a successor. The usurpation of Shah Mahmood (the half-brother who stood between Zeman and Shoojah) must be set aside. Shoojah, therefore, was the next brother, (79) and I have the best authority for saying that, Shah *Zeman* declared him to have *the best right to the throne.*

The character of Shah Shoojah has been already given by the *Hon. Mr. M. Elphinstone*, so that it were almost presumption to add to what he has pronounced in such favorable terms. When he came to the throne in 1803, he was about 23 years of age, (80) so that much allowance was to

(78) Erskine's translation of Baber's Memoirs, p. 391.

(79) Shah Zeman being blind could not, according to Mahomedan Law, reign. His son Kyser attempted to displace Shah Shoojah; so did Kamran (Mahmood's son) but he is the son of an usurper.

(80) When Mr. Elphinstone says about 20 years old, I understand him to refer to 1800, when he proclaimed himself king. He entered Cabool in triumph, in 1803.

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be made for his inexperience in the art of Govt., and for his placing too much confidence in his minister (Akram Khan). Even at that time, during the absence of Akram Khan, he took the field in person; and his two several attempts to recover his throne, evince much energy of character.

I have endeavoured to continue the state of affairs since 1809, to explain the state of anarchy and misrule in Affghanistan for the 30 years preceding the Shah's restoration. I have only given, in an abstract form, as much of the Dooranee dynasty of the former period, as was necessary to give a connected series of events for 92 years, the whole period of its duration; for *Barukzyes* being Dooranees as well as the *Suddozyes*, the rule of the former, though an usurpation, is embraced in the history of its dynasty. I trust that, with the rising generation, the Shah's kingdom will continue to prosper; it must be the work of time; the old leaven of faction must die away, and "*good measures and men*," must take the places of misrule, ambition and habits of plunder.

The chief defect in Shah Shoojah's character, is the exhibition of a certain hauteur, which is no element of greatness of mind, or even a symbol of royalty. Let him but reward his true friends, and requite the services of all, whether *Suddozye* or *Barukzye*, who by their allegiance, or by the performance of any service to the state in any civil or military office; have claims to his consideration, without partiality, or favor. (81)

(81) *Baber* said, Memoir, p. 155, referring to his capture of Cabool in 1504: "I always regarded and provided for those Begs and soldiers who were strangers and guests, in the first place; and in a superior manner, to the *Baberians*, and those who were of Andejan." By strangers and guests, he means to designate the Caboolees, or people of the country. They were strangers to him.

At present there are about 50 British officers employed in his service. It has been a necessary measure; though it is said to be viewed with jealousy. Those who serve a Govt. well have claims to preferment, which is a return due from the state as an act of gratitude to a

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The Shah is about 60 years of age. His personal appearance is commanding. His demeanor is that of a nobleman of high birth, accompanied with much dignity, and his manners are affable. Of all the kings of the Suddozye race he is the most humane. (82)

From having found an asylum under the British Govt. for 24 years, gratitude is, I believe, his predominant feeling. The residence of a British Envoy and Minister at his court, is well calculated to give a superior tone to his Govt., and to guard His Majesty from any act, which might be likely to weaken the moral effect of the change. His restoration may be viewed both in the light of justice and policy. Those who are admirers of a *democracy*, may exclaim with *Baber* (83) in favor of *Dost Mahomed Khan.*

"Ambition admits not of inaction;
The world is his who exerts himself."

Those who are in favor of *kingly* power; will hope, as I do, that *Shah Shoojah* may never experience the Emperor's picture of a king.

"In wisdom's eye, every condition may find repose;
But royalty alone." (84)

deserving subject: and is never esteemed as a personal favor conferred: it is a reward to stimulate others to exertion, and not to please the solicitations of private individuals.

(82) Some Ghiljie chiefs are said to have been executed lately, after their surrender; if true, the Shah is not, I am convinced, to blame. As *Baber* said, "You cannot shut the mouth of an enemy."

(83) Memoirs, p. 391.

(84) I must not omit to mention his literary acquirements. During his residence at Loodianah, *Sir C. M. Wade* (the Pol. Agent, through whom he corresponded) induced the Shah to write his own "*Life and Adventures,*" in Persian. A translation was made by Lieut. *Ellis,* 23rd N. I. I hope to see the publication of this work, which is said to be written in elegant Persian. The life and adventures of the King, of which I have given a faint out-line, are interesting. We ought to take such an interest in the cause of legitimacy, as to free us from the imputation of a mere selfish policy. Our object should be to increase the prosperity and happiness of all nations, from motives of good-will to all men, and a desire to enlighten them, without doing violence to their prejudices.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

TABLES OF ROUTES.

Reference to the Tables of Routes, marched by the " Army of the Indus," *from 8th Nov.* 1838, *to* 31*st Dec.* 1839.

Tables.	M.	F.	Y.
No. 1. From Kurnal to Loodianah,	124	6	0
No. 2. „ Loodianah to Ferozpoor	81	0	0
No. 3. „ Ferozpoor to Bhawulpoor,	229	6	40
No. 4. „ Bhawulpoor to Rohree (Bukkur)	224	6	20
No. 5. „ Rohree to Lower Sindh and back to Sukkur,	145	6	0
No. 6. „ Sukkur to Candahar,	404	6	150
No. 7. „ Candahar to Cabool,	318	0	0
No. 8. „ Cabool to Peshawer,	193	4	30
No. 9. „ Peshawer to Ferozpoor,	347	1	40
Total number of miles marched by Bengal column, nearly 11¼ miles per march,	2,069		60
Digression to Lower Sindh,	145		0
In the direct Route,	1,923	6	60
No. 10. „ Route of Bombay Army from Bominacote to Dadur,	476	0	0
No. 11. „ Ditto, from Cabool to Khelat,	494	2	0
No. 12. „ Ditto, from Khelat to Kotree (Sindh)	173	5¼	0
Total,	1,103	7¼	0
Add from Dadur to Cabool,	551	0	0
Add from Kotree to the Sea Coast,	402	¾	0
Total march of Bombay column, miles,	2,057	0	0

So that the two columns marched nearly the same distance during the campaign, in a little more than a year.

N. B. The distance of Calcutta from Cabool is viâ Meerut and Kurnal, by the Punjab route (Nos. 8 and 9) ..... 1713 miles.
Ditto by the Bolan Pass, and Candahar, ... 2350 do.
The route from Calcutta to Candahar through the Bolan Pass is, ... 2033 do.
Ditto viâ Ferozpoor, Punjab, and Cabool, ... 2031 do.

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Tables of Routes. (1)

No. 1.—*From Kurnal to Loodianah.*

1838.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Nov.						
8	1	Leelokheree,	11	0	0	Road good—plenty of water.
9	2	Thanesur,	12	4	0	Ditto do. do.
10	3	Shahabad,	14	2	0	Ditto do. Stage bungalow.
11	4	Kotkuchwa,	8	0	0	Cross the river Gumbur on leaving Shahabad.
13	5	Umballa,	9	4	0	A large town—plenty of supplies and water.
14	6	Rajpoor,	13	0	0	3 miles from Umballa, cross the Kuggur river 2½ feet water, bad ford for guns.
15	7	Patarsee,	8	4	0	Road good—plenty of water.
16	8	Sirhind,	9	0	0	Ditto do.
17	9	Kunhaka Seraee,	11	0	0	Ditto do.
19	10	Douraka Seraee,	14	0	0	Ditto do.
20	11	Loodianah,	14	0	0	Ditto do. A large town.
		Total,	124	6	0	

No. 2.—*From Loodianah to Ferozpoor.*

21	12	Ghouspoor,	10	0	0	From this to Bahuk Bodla ke
22	13	Boondree,	7	0	0	Mohun ke—in the Protected Sikh states, except marches 14,15 and 16.
23	14	Tehara,	11	0	0	Sikh territory—Aloowalla.
24	15	Dhurumkote,	10	0	0	Ditto Kurruk Singh.
26	16	Jheerah,	15	0	0	Ditto Sher Singh.
27	17	Maleewalla,	12	0	0	Ditto.
29	18	Ferozpoor,	16	0	0	Marched 3 miles short of it on the 28th Nov.
		Total,	81	0	0	

No. 3.—*Route from Ferozpoor to Bhawulpoor.*

Dec.						
10	19	Mumdote,	14	0	0	Road rather heavy—plenty of water.
11	20	Mohun ke,	12	3	90	Road good—do.
12	21	Bagge ke,	12	4	16	Ditto do.
13	22	Bahuk Bodla ke Mohun ke,	10	6	60	Ditto do.

(1) The road being described in the days' marches in chapters I. to XVI., the reader is referred to them for particulars.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

1838.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Dec.		*Bhawulpoor country.*				
14	23	Lukke ke,	17	0	170	Road good—plenty of water.
15	24	Tawukkul,	11	6	70	Ditto do.
17	25	Ruhmoo ke,	10	2	0	Ten kos W. across the river is Pauk Puttun.
18	26	Chukko ke,	13	0	110	Road good—plenty of water.
19	27	Mamoo ke,	13	4	190	Ditto do.
20	28	Kasim ke,	13	5	30	Ditto do.
21	29	Mahtah Jhedoo,	13	7	130	Ditto do.
22	30	Bhadere,	14	0	120	Camp 1 mile S. of
24	31	Hussilpoor,	11	0	200	Do. $\frac{3}{4}$ mile S.
25	32	Kaem Raees ke got,	10	3	30	Do. $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile S.
26	33	Khyrpoor,	13	3	110	Do. $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile S.
27	34	Gote Noor Mahomed,	12	3	150	Do. 1 mile S. W.
28	35	Bakkeda ke Dera,	11	5	0	Do. E. of it.
29	36	Bhawulpoor,	13	3	180	Do. the W. of the town.
		Total,	229	6	40	

No. 4.—*Route from Bhawulpoor to Rohree on the Indus.*

1839. Jan.						
1	37	Khairpoor,	13	3	16	Camp $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile beyond: 18 wells.
2	38	Husseen ke Bustee,	9	1	0	Do. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile beyond: water abundant.
3	39	Ahmedpoor,	9	7	80	Do. 1 mile S. of the town, do. 40 wells.
5	40	Chuneekhan ke Gote,	15	0	90	21 wells.
6	41	Choudree,	11	4	130	45 do.
7	42	Mamoodee kundee,	12	0	0	16 do.
8	43	Khanpoor,	17	6	140	11 do. A canal near it coming from the Indus. Camp $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the town.
10	44	Sumabada Gote,	14	2	200	24 wells.
11	45	Noushahra kalan,	13	3	0	13 do.
12	46	Kathee ka Bustee,	14	4	0	11 do.
13	47	Sarwaee,	11	4	200	21 do.
		In Sindh.				
14	48	Subzeel ka Kote,	5	3	40	$\frac{2}{3}$rds belong to Ameers of Hyderabad, and $\frac{1}{3}$rd to Khyrpoor. A great improvement in the country on entering Sindh. The river 20 miles of.

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No. 4.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Jan.						
15	49	Oobowrah,	10	1	100	Camp E. of it*.
17	50	Bagoodrah,	14	3	100	12 wells. The river 3 miles off.
18	51	Surhud,	8	3	0	Last half road through low jungle.
19	52	Gothee,	8	0	80	Road through low jungle.
21	53	Malodee,	11	3	80	Ditto do.
22	54	Choonga,	8	7	90	Ditto do., but country more open. A Lake N. of Camp.
23	55	Uzeezpoor,	4	4	30	Heavy sand on this march. The ghat on the Indus 5 miles distant.
24	56	Rohree, (Bukkur,)	11	4	0	On the left bank of the Indus.
		Total,	224	6	20	

No. 5.—*Route from Rohree to Lower Sindh and back to Sukkur, in Upper Sindh.*

30	57	Mahomed Ludanee,	9	0	0	Enclosed country—cross water courses.
31	58	Beeraloo,	7	0	0	Country more open, but jungly.
Feb.						
2	59	Peer Gote,	10	2	0	Do. more open than last march—cross water-courses.
3	60	Bhara khundee,	11	4	0	Road through jungly country. Cross water-courses.
4	61	Nova Gote,	13	4	0	Ditto do. do.
5	62	Dera Mohobut,	12	4	0	1st part close country—then through an open country. Cross water courses.
6	63	Khundearee,	11	0	0	At 7 miles cross a dry nullah : move up its bed for 2 miles.
		Hence returned.				
10	64	Dera Mohobut,	12	0	0	Did not encamp on our old ground, marching back.
11	65	Nova Gote,	12	0	0	To the old ground.
12	66	Leleh ke,	10	5	0	
13	67	Peer ke Gote,	11	7	0	
14	68	Beeraloo,	9	4	0	
15	69	Sukkur,	15	4	0	Crossed the bridge of boats to Sukkur, on the rightbank.
		Total,	145	6	0	

* The Dundah Nuddee distributes the water of the Indus for irrigation.

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No. 6.—*Route from Sukkur to Shikarpoor and Dadur through Bolan Pass to Quetta, and Candahar.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Feb.						
19	70	Kaee,	14	2	0	First part bad road in rainy
20	71	Shikarpoor, 250 feet above level *of the Sea.* *In Sindh.*	12	0	0	weather. Cross a dry nullah 3 miles from it.
23	72	Jagan,	17	6	170	Road through a jungly country.
24	73	Janeedera,	11	7	120	Ditto do.—was deserted.
27	74	Rajhan,	11	1	70	But little water. The country from this to Noushera, a desert for 96 miles.
Mar.						
3	75	Barshore,	26	4	40	Over the desert. In Beloochistan.
4	76	Meerpoor,	14	4	30	In Beloochistan.
5	77	Ustad,	13	6	0	Do.
6	78	Bhag,	9	5	100	Do.
8	79	Myhesur,	16	1	130	Do.
9	80	Noushera,	15	6	0	Do.
10	81	Dadur, 743 feet,	7	4	0	Do. near the entrance to the Pass—but little forage be-
		Total,	171	1	100	tween this and Shikarpoor.
11		*Bolan Pass.*				
16	82	Kohan Delan, 964 feet,	11	0	0	1st march in the Pass, plenty of water.
17	83	Kirta,	10	5	0	Plenty of water.
18	84	Beebee Nanee, 1,695 feet,	9	1	0	Do.
19	85	Abeegoom, 2,540 feet,	8	5	0	Do.
20	86	Sir-i-Bolan, 4,494 feet,	9	5	0	Do.
21	87	Dusht-i-Bedoulut 5,793 feet,	12	6	0	The march out of the Pass, into the valley. Want of water.
22	88	Sir-i-Ab,	15	5	0	Plenty of water (Karezees)
26	89	Quetta, 5,637 ft.,	8	7	0	Properly *Kot*, (in the province
		Total,	86	2	0	of Shawl.) There are 3 roads hence to Candahar.
Apl.						
7	90	Kutchlak,	11	6	0	The Kutchlak Pass 7 miles from Quetta.
8	91	Hyderzye, 5,259 feet,	10	2	0	Bad nullahs to cross.
9	92	Hykulzye, 5,063 feet,	10	7	0	Cross a river.
10	93	Rt. bank of the Lora,	7	6	130	Cross the Lora river—steep [banks.

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No. 6.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Apl.						
11	94	Arumbee,	7	5	0	Road good.
12	95	Quilla Abdoolah Khan,	7	4	0	The fort 4 miles N. of Camp.
14	96	KHOJUK PASS, the summit of 7,457 feet,	11	0	0	The halt in the Khojuk Pass—foot of the main ascent 6,848 feet: see Chapter V. The valley of Candahar at Chumun Chokee 5,677.
18	97	Dundee Goolaee, 4,036 feet,	14	2	110	1st part road stony—an open plain.
21	98	Quilla Futtoollah, 3,918 feet,	10	4	0	Road over undulating stony ground.
22	99	Mahel Mandah,	12	0	0	Through a pass, and thence over very stony and rocky ground.
23	100	Near the Doree river, 3,630 feet,	15	4	0	First 3 miles over undulating ground—then over good road.
24	101	Deh Hajjee,	8	4	0	The road stony, but good.
25	102	Khoosh-ab, 3,484 feet.	12	1	0	Cross dry bed of Kudany river: road good—country open.
26	103	CANDAHAR, 3,484 feet,	7	4	0	The grand total is 1005 miles from Kurnal, but we went 145¾ down to lower Sindh, (see No. 5) out of our direct route.
		Total,	147	3	50	
		Grand Total,	1005	0	210	

No. 7.—*Route from Candahar to Ghuznee and Cabool.*

Jun.						
27	104	Abdool Uzeez,	5	7	210	Country open, and barren.
28	105	Quilla Azeem, 3,945 feet,	9	7	40	The road good—Camp ¾ mile E. of the fort.
29	106	Quillah Akhoond, 4,418 feet,	16	3	160	Road good, rather stony. Camp 1 mile S. E. on right bank of the Turnuk river.
30	107	Shuhur-i-Suffa, 4,618 feet,	11	6	0	At 3 miles a defile. Cross water courses. Camp 1 mile E. of the fort—Turnuk river to the rear.

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No. 7.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
July 1	108	Teerundaz, 4,829 feet,	10	3	10	At 3 miles water-courses to cross—some very steep ascents. The Turnuk S. of camp.
2	109	Tool or Toot,	11	5	210	At 3 miles a defile. At 6 bed of a nullah. The Turnuk S. of camp.
3	110	Assia Hazareh,	10	2	30	Road good. Camp near the river.
4	111	Kelat-i-Ghiljie, 5,773 feet,	12	5	180	Half-way cross a nullah. Camp near the ruins of the fort, and country below it. The river 1½ mile off.
		Total,	78	6	0	
6	112	Sir-i-Usp, 5,973 feet,	10	2	0	At 3 miles a wet nullah, At 6, water-courses. At 8, another wet nullah. Camp near the river.
7	113	Nouruk, 6,136 feet,	9	3	0	Cross a broad water-course, ascents and descents—Camp near the river.
8	114	Ab-i-Tazee, 6,321 feet,	8	7	0	Cross a nullah. At 2 miles road along the brow of a hillock—cross water-courses; ascents and descents. Camp near the river.
10	115	Shuftul, 6,514 feet,	6	4	0	Cross 3 ascents and descents. Camp near to the Turnuk.
11	116	Chusma-i-Shadee, 6,668 feet,	10	4	0	Half-way cross a nullah. Camp near the river.
12	117	Punguk, 6,810 ft.,	7	0	0	At 2⅔ miles a nullah. At 4 miles a water-course. The river near and E. of camp.
13	118	Ghojan, 7,068 feet,	12	0	0	At 5 miles a deep ravine, and several others, bad for guns. At 7 miles a nullah (Jaffirs.) Springs of water. The river 3 or 4 miles off.
		In the Cabool country.				
14	119	Mukoor, 7,091 ft.,	12	3	0	At 10 miles 20 or 30 karezees; cross ravines. Here is the source of the Turnuk. Camp N. of the river.
16	120	Oba, 7,325 feet,	14	2	40	At 6 and 10 miles cross a dry nullah, the first with steep banks. Springs of water.

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No. 7.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
July 17	121	Jumrood, (Karabaugh district,) 7,426 feet.	12	3	160	Cross ravines and dry nullahs 2 or 3 times—road heavy for guns. Half-way karezees, and some near camp.
18	122	Musheekee 7,309 feet,	8	6	120	Road heavy first 5 miles—several water-courses. Camp S. of the heights—springs of water.
19	123	Arghistan, 7,502 feet,	9	4	110	First 5 miles sandy. Water-courses. Heights in front of camp.
20	124	Nannee, 7,420 feet,	7	4	0	Road sandy, heavy and stony. At 6 miles pass between two low ranges of hills.
21	125	Ghuznee, 7,726 feet,	11	0	0	
		Total,	150	6	0	
		From Candahar,	229	4	28	
30	126	Shushgao, 8,699 feet,	13	5	160	Road undulating. At 8 miles a Pass, (9,000 feet.) Camp rear to the hills. A stream of water.
31	127	Huftasaya, 8,420 feet,	8	3	0	At 3 and 5 miles defiles—road much undulating. Camp rear to the hills. Streams of water.
Aug. 1	128	Hyder Khel, 7,637 feet,	10	7	180	Half-way cross a dry nullah—cross water-courses.
2	129	Shakkabad, 7,473 feet,	9	5	0	Road contracted and difficult—particularly last part. Cross the river.
4	130	Mydan, 7,747 feet,	18	3	140	Last half rather heavy, and confined. Cross a defile. The river Cabool to the rear of camp.
5	131	Moorgheera,	12	7	10	The road bad and confined. Camp, cultivation and water to the front; hills to the rear.

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No. 7.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remark.
Aug. 6	132	Cabool, 6,396 feet,	14	0	0	Camp W. of Cabool—first encamped 2½ miles from it at Nannochee.
		From Ghuznee,	88	0	0	
		Do. Candahar,	318	0	0	
		Grand Total,	1530	0	0	
		Deduct for No. 5,	145	0	0	March to lower Sindh.
		From Kurnal to Cabool,	1385	0	0	

No. 8.—*Route from Cabool to Peshawer.*

Oct.						
15	133	Boot Khak, 6,247 feet,	8	7	0	Cross the Laghar and Khoord Cabool rivers.
16	134	Khoord Cabool, 7,466 feet,	9	0	0	Through a pass 6 miles long. Cross the stream 23 times.
17	135	Tezeen, the Pass, 8,173; Valley, 6,488 feet,	12	7	0	The road crosses over 7 Kotils (Passes). Camp in the valley. Water from the river.
18	136	Ararent, or the Giants' tomb,	8	6	0	Road over a valley of stones. Water not good.
19	137	Rood-i-KuttaSung	4	6	0	Ascents and descents, road over stones. Cross the Bareekab 5,313 feet.
20	138	Jugduluk, 5,375 feet,	7	4	120	A contracted Pass for 3½ miles, crossing the stream often.
21	139	Soork-ab, 4,373 feet,	13	0	210	Ascents and descents. Last part very difficult road. Camp near the heights.
22	140	Sufed Sung (Gundumuk, 4,616 ft.)	9	6	0	Ascents and descents. Enter valley of Gundumuk (usual halting place.) Last 3 miles bad road.
24	141	Futehabad, 3,098 feet,	11	7	180	Valley of Neemla to the right. Ascents and descents. Cross the river Neemla. Ascents and descents (defiles.)

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No. 8.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Oct.						
25	142	Sultanpoor, 2,286 feet,	7	4	210	Road over a low flat and stony desert.
26	143	JELLALABAD, 1,964 feet,	8	7	70	Road over a sandy tract. The Cabool river ¼ mile to S. of the town.
29	144	Alee Boghan, 1,911 feet,	6	6	200	First part sandy. Last 3 miles over stony road. A jungle of rushes 3 miles from camp.
30	145	Chardeh, (Bareek-ab, 1,822 feet,)	14	1	100	First part an ascent, thence enter a wide valley, where the *simoom* prevails in the hot season. At 9 miles village of Bareek-ab. Cross the Rood-i-Butter Kot.
31	146	Huzarnow, (Bassool, 1,509 feet,)	11	6	0	There are 2 roads which join at Bassool. The nearest in an E. direction, the other S. E.
Nov.						
1	147	Dakka, (Lalpoora, 1,404 feet,)	9	0	0	At 6 miles the small Khyber Pass, Dakka on right. Lalpoora on the left bank of Cabool river.
2	148	KHYBER PASS, Lundee Khana, 2,488 feet, Summit of Pass 3,373 feet.	8	7	160	At 1 mile from Dakka, enter the Pass.
3	149	Ali Musjid, W. 2,433 feet,	13	6	0	In the Pass, 12 miles, we encamped 1½ beyond it.
5	150	Kuddum, out of the Pass, (Jumrood, 1,670 feet,)	10	1	0	Road through and out of the Pass.
6	151	Koulsir,	7	0	0	Pass on left the fort of Futehgurh. The road sandy and stony.
7	152	PESHAWER, 1,068 feet,	8	5	100	
		From Cabool.	193	4	30	

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No. 9.—*Route from Peshawer to Attok, and through the Punjab to Ferozpoor.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Nov. 23	153	Pubbee,	12	1	30	First part road swampy. Cross 2 bridges. At 4 miles cross a stream. A ruined pukka bridge. The Cabool river 4 or 5 miles N. W. of camp.
24	154	Noushera,	9	7	170	Camp close to the village on right bank of the Cabool river.
25	155	Akorah,	11	7	120	The road rough and stony, runs close to the Cabool river. Camp 2½ miles beyond and E. of Akorah.
26	156	Attok,	10	5	0	At 6 miles the narrow Geedur-Gullee Pass—cross the Indus over a bridge of boats (in the rainy season by ferry-boats). Camp beyond the fort.
28	157	Shumsabad,	9	6	0	First part sandy. Cross 2 beds of streams. Camp E.
29	158	Boorhan,	13	1	0	First part good. Then sandy. At 7 miles a defile. At 8 miles the river Haroo, knee-deep.
30	159	Vah,	8	0	140	At 2½ miles cross the Chumlah river, deep in some places—2 fords (the left ford best). Ravines. At 6 miles the village of Hussunabdal. Cross a wet nullah close to Vah—camp to the E.
Dec. 1	160	Janee ka Sung,	14	0	40	2 roads, the left for hackeries. The road narrow at first. Country then opens, direction E. Half-way is Kallee ka Seraee, hence road to right, through a Byr jungle. At 8 miles a pukka stone bridge. At 10 miles a stone causeway. Last 4 miles thick jungle. *Camp* S. E.
2	161	Rawul Pindee,	13	6	0	Road through jungle and difficult ravines. At 8 miles cross the Seel (or Chehul Jungee) partially dry. Cross the Leh river. Camp N. of the town.
4	162	Hoormuk,	9	0	0	Road good for 5 or 6 miles, thence bad ravines. Cross the river Sawn. Camp near Hoormuk.

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No. 9.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Dec. 5	163	Muneekyala,	10	1	0	Extensive ravines for 2 or 3 miles; thence country open. At 6 miles Robat ke Seraee in ruins. At 8½ miles ravines. Camp S. of the *tope* of Muneekyala.
6	164	Seraee Pukkee,	12	5	0	At 4½ miles a deep ravine. Then a village: 3 or 4 ravines. Camp E. of Seraee Pukkee. The Kasee river close to it.
7	165	Tameehak,	14	9	0	Cross the Kasee river near camp. Road along the bed of it. At 1¼ mile, a dangerous ravine; thence descends into the bed of the river—an ascent. Camp N. W. of Tameehak.
8	166	Bakerala,	9	5	40	Bad road to the river; the road through its bed. Camp E. of the village. The best water in the Punjab from a well here.
9	167	Udhurana,	8	6	0	Road along the bed of the river. Camp close to it and S. E. of the village.
10	168	Rhotas, left bank,	8	5	20	Road along the bed of the river. First 3 miles 2 ravines. Half-way a ravine. Camp N. W. of Rhotas.
11	169	Jheelum, on right bank of the *Jheelum*, *Here commences the Punjab.*	12	0	0	First 3 miles through the bed of the river; thence good road across the county. The river runs from E. to W. The town on the N. and right bank. The *ferry* opposite the town; the *ford* is nearly a mile up the river, and is a dangerous one, and deep. Crossed and Camp on left or S. bank.
14	170	Khoar,	12	2	0	The road crosses 7 or 8 beds of sand, (hill-torrents in the rains.) Half-way ascend and descend a ridge of hills. At 7 miles a large pukka well. Camp ¼ mile N. of Khoar.

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No. 9.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Dec.						
15	171	Dheengee,	14	1	140	For 5 or 6 miles over a sandy road. Pass through a dhak jungle. Camp ¼ mile S.
16	172	Pareewala,	11	4	0	For 5 miles through a dhak jungle. A ravine 1½ mile from camp. Camp N. of some trees.
17	173	Ramnuggur, left bank of the *Chenab* river,	10	0	0	It is 8 miles to the Ghat on the right bank. Crossed and camp 2 miles N. W. of and from the town, and S. ½ mile from a clump of trees. After crossing, 1¼ mile of heavy sand.
19	174	Naeewala,	12	5	0	Road crosses a dry nullah, then sandy. Half-way is the town of Akaleegurh. Camp ½ mile S. of the village. Country open this march.
20	175	Thabool,	10	6	0	The road good and country open. Camp ½ mile S. W.
21	176	Mutta,	8	4	0	Good road over a very extensive plain. Low jungle on parts of the road. Camp N. W. a mile distant.
22	177	Mullyan,	15	1	0	Over a large plain. Camp S. W.
24	178	Dhingee,	13	7	0	Cross a wet nullah near the village. Camp S. W. of it mile.
25	179	Surrukpoor, 3 miles across the *Ravee*,	13	0	0	At 10 miles a village where we encamped. Moved and at 1½ mile crossed a wet nullah. Crossed the river Ravee; 2½ miles to the Ghat. There is a ferry and ford; the latter good. Camp on the left bank.
27	180	Gunjatee,	11	4	0	First part cross 2 dry nullahs. Half-way great expanse of plain, or desert; low jungle. A cross road half-way to Lahore. Camp ¼ mile E.
28	181	Sullianee,	13	7	0	Half-way village of Abphur. A cross road hence to Lahore. At 10 miles Nuddeepoor. Camp ¼ mile W. of the village.

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No. 9.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Y.	Remarks.
Dec.						
29	182	Kussor,	10	0	0	First half of road jungly. Camp E. close to the town.
30	183	Left bank of Sutluj,	10	6	0	Road first part over the ruins of Kussoor. 9½ miles to the right bank; cross the river to left bank. Camp 1½ mile from the Ghat, and 5 miles from Ferozpoor.
		From Peshawer,	347	1	40	
		From Cabool,	540	5	70	

No. 10.—*Route of the Bombay Army from Bominakote to Dadur.*

1838.					
Dec.					
24		Bominakote,			A small village 2 miles from Vikkur and Gorabaree.
	1	Julalkote,	9	1	A small village, crossed the river on Pontoons.
25	2	Somanakote,	7	7	Moderate village, fine Tope of trees.
26	3	Goolamshaw,	18	4	A large village on N. B. of Bugaur river: crossed the Bugaur branch of the Indus.
28	4	Tattah,	11	4	Camp on S. W. of the city.
1839.					
Jan.					
23	5	Shaik Radaw Peer,	9	2	No village, 2 large tanks, and Peer on small hills.
24	6	Soonda,	13	3	A large village, 2 miles from the Indus.
25	7	Jirrikh,	9	5	Ditto do. on bank of the river.
Feb.					
3	8	Mozauwur,	9	2	Camp on do. do.
4	9	Kotree, near Hyderabad,	13	6	A large village on do. do.
10	10	Bada,	9	2⅔	A village do. do.
11	11	Oonderpoor,	11	3½	A large do. do.
12	12	Kassye and Gopang,	11	1	2 villages do. do.
13	13	Majinda,	10	0	A large town on a creek 1½ mile from the main river.
14	14	Sun, or, Sen,	12	1	A large place, ½ mile from the river.
15	15	Amree,	10	7½	A small village on bank of the river.
16	16	Lukkee, (a Pass,)	11	1	A large village, and fine sheet of water.

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No. 10.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Remarks.
Feb.					
21	17	SEWUN,	13	1	A large town. Arrul and branch of the Indus rivers, cross.
23	18	Terooty and Bullalpoor,	8	1	One mile apart, both small villages. An extensive lake.
24	19	Bombia Jullow,	9	4	A moderate village, 1½ mile from the river.
	20	MOONDRA,	11	3	A large town, wells, and standing water.
25	21	Rookun,	6	7	A large village on the bank of the river.
26	22	Gulloo,	10	2	A moderate village, a small lake.
27	23	Nowadera,	15	6½	Camp 1½ mile on left of the village—bank on the Indus.
28	24	Chunna,	6	2	A moderate village, on a branch of the river.
Mar.					
1	25	Futehpoor,	7	0	A large village, and fine sheet of water.
2	26	Bukranee,	15	6	A moderate village near the Narrah river.
3	27	LARKHANA,	9	7	A large town, and Larkhana river now dry. (The Maiee river not fordable on the 26th and 27th Jan.)
12	28	KUMBER,	15	1½	A large town with good wells.
13	29	Dost Ali,	9	7½	A moderate village where Kafilahs assemble going N.
14	30	Shudautpoor,	15	4	Do. near the Runn, or desert—lately deserted.
16	31	Keechee,	30	0	Cross the Cutch Gundava desert. A village near the hills.
18	32	JHULL,	19	1	A large town, the principal one of the Moongassee Belooches, and fine streams of water.
20	33	Punjook,	13	5½	Do. village of the Moongassee Belooches.
21	34	GUNDAVA,	11	3½	A large town do. do.
31	35	Gugur,	5	3½	Do. village do. do.
Apl.					
1	36	Shoorun,	14	3	A moderate village, but the principal one of the Rind Belooches.
2	37	Sooner,	23	3½	A small village—cross a perfect desert.
3	38	Noushera,	18	1	A large place, with a good Bazar.
5	39	DADUR,	7	4	A large town, the principal of the district.
		Total miles,	476	0	

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No. 11.—*Route of the Bombay Column from Cabool viâ Ghuznee, and Quetta (leaving Candahar to the right) to Kelat.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Remarks.
Sep.					
18	1	Urghundee,	14	4	(Reckoned from 2½ miles E. of Cabool.) Several killahs, and a good stream on the right of the road.
19	2	Mydan,	12	4	An extensive cultivated valley, with many killahs, and a fine river.
20	3	Benee Badam,	7	4	4 killahs on right, and a small stream of water.
21	4	Shakabad,	11	3	A large place, fine river, and cultivated valley.
23	5	Hyder-khel,	7	5½	1 killah, on left, and 1 killah and river 1 mile on right.
24	6	Tukea,	6	4	Several populous killahs, much cultivated ground, and good stream of water.
25	7	Shushgao,	13	5	6 killahs on right, aqueduct of water, and considerable cultivated ground.
26	8	GHUZNEE,	14	4	A fortress, important bazar, fine river, and many populous killahs, and villages.
29	9	Siriwana,	6	4	Several killahs, fine cultivated plain, and aqueduct of water.
30	10	Nanee,	7	0	The town 1½ mile on left, a small river with good stream crosses the road from the hills on right; the plain on left highly cultivated.
Oct.					
1	11	Mooshakee, *(Road turns off from the Candahar road.)*	12	4	Several populous killahs and villages in a cultivated plain. The road runs to the left of the *Candahar road* from this.
2	12	Bushkee,	10	2	Several populous killahs, cultivated plains, and streams of water.
4	13	Ootuk,	10	0	A large killah, some villages near, and aqueduct of water.
5	14	Mookoor, (Road entirely diverges from the Candahar road.)	13	3	Many killahs and villages in an extensive cultivated plain, the road diverges to the left, here, entirely from the *Candahar road*, and the valley of the *Turnuk river*.
6	15	Tajik	12	2	A killah and village 2½ miles from the road on right, and aqueduct of water.

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No. 11.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Remarks.
Oct.					
7	16	Munsoor Karez,	12	5	3 small villages on the banks of the Abistada lake which is salt, and some aqueducts of water.
8	17	Bara-khel,	13	2½	Several large villages in the cultivated plain, and aqueduct of water.
10	18	Jumaet,	11	0	2 or 3 small villages in the same plain, and aqueduct of water.
12	19	Kishainee,	8	0	A small village in the same plain, and small stream of water.
13	20	Ghoondan,	11	0½	An aqueduct stream, and some cultivated ground at Ghoondan mountain, several villages 3 or 4 miles to the right, the road across a low range of hills very difficult for guns.
15	21	Moossu-khel,	10	0	3 small villages, and small stream of water, the road crosses another low range of hills.
16	22	Speenwarree,	11	5½	A mound (ruins of a city) near a river in a cultivated valley: the inhabitants encamp generally in the hills.
18	23	Soorkh-ab,	10	2	A few huts on the banks of the river Soorkh-ab, which winds through a range of hills; road difficult for guns.
19	24	Sir-i-Soorkh-ab.	10	0½	A few huts and places of native encampment near the bed of the Soorkh-ab river, the road winding by the river bed through the same range of hills, laborious and difficult for guns.
20	25	Khoodoo Chumun,	13	3½	Some cultivated ground (the natives encamp) on the banks of a small river; at the foot of another range of hills, the road reaches the summit of the Soorkh-ab range half-way; then descending, crosses an undulating valley, in general very difficult for guns.
21	26	Kudinee,	7	6	A few huts on the bank of a small river, the road winding by the river bed, and crosses another range of hills, also difficult for guns.
22	7	Koturrik,	11	0½	A few huts and places of native encampment on the banks of the Koturrik river, the road crosses another range of hills, mid-way

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No. 11.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Remarks.
Oct.					ascent and descent, rugged, stony, and very difficult for guns.
24	28	Cutch Toba,	12	3	Some huts and several places of native encampment, and cultivated ground on the banks of a small river. The road winds by the river bed, through a very hilly country, nearly all the way.
25	29	Toba, See the Map and direction leaving *Candahar* to right.	7	3	Camp 2½ miles W. of Toba killah, at a few huts, and small stream of water. The killah, the residence of *Hajee Khan, Kakur's* family; the road winds through another range of hills.
26	30	Shahur Gullaee,	12	6	Several small villages on the banks of a small river, in a very hilly country. The road winding over another range of hills, stony, rugged, and very difficult for guns.
27	31	Burshahra,	8	2	5 or 6 killahs, and several small villages along the Burshara river. The road along the river bed, nearly all the way.
28	32	Soorkh-ab Paunde Khan Killah,	16	4	A large killah, open village, and aqueduct of water; at 7 miles the road, which winds through the hills by the river bed, reaches the extensive, and cultivated plains of *Pisheen.*
29	33	Hyderzye,	14	2	2 large villages. River and cultivated plains.
30	34	Kuchlak,	9	4	Several villages and killahs, cultivated plains, and fine streams of water.
31	35	Quetta (or Kot) in province of Shawl,	10	4	Several villages and killahs, cultivated plains and fine streams of water. N. B. By this Route the Bombay Column saved 85 miles of march to Quetta. The Bengal Column made 43 marches from *Quetta* to *Cabool.*
Nov. 3	36	Ispunglee,	5	4	A large village, and aqueduct of water.

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No. 11.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Remarks.
Nov.					
4	37	Burg Karez,	7	8	An aqueduct of water, 4 or 5 small villages at 2 or 3 miles distant on right, towards the hills.
5	38	Kanuk Karez,	12	6	An aqueduct of water, some huts, much cultivated ground; the village of Kanuk 2½ miles on S. W.
6	39	Moostoong,	15	2	A large walled-town, many villages near, in an extensive cultivated plain.
8	40	Sheereen-ab,	11	6	The bank of Sheereen-ab river, a small but good stream, no village near.
9	41	Dost Mahomed Karez,	9	3½	A small village, and aqueduct of water.
10	42	Zirid,	12	2	About 8 small villages and aqueduct of water, in an extensive cultivated valley.
11	43	Burem Chinao,	9	4½	An aqueduct stream and much cultivated ground, in an extensive plain, 2 or 3 small villages from 2 to 3 miles distant.
12	44	Guramee,	17	7	A small village and aqueduct stream; about 2 miles short of the large villages of Zyarut, there was no water on the road from Burem Chinao.
13	45	Kelat,	8	2	A strong fortress and lofty citadel, a considerable town, outside, on the right; and another on the left, with many villages, in a cultivated valley.
		Miles from Cabool to Kelat,	494	2	By this route the Bombay Column saved 85 miles of march to Quetta.

No. 12.—*Route of Bombay Column from Kelat to Kotree in Sindh (vid the Moollah Pass) 7 miles from Gundava.*

Nov.		*In Kelat territory.*			
	46	Rodenjo,	14	7	A village of about 50 houses, and a fine stream of water.
	47	Soorma Singh,	12	0	Name of a river, 1 mile W. of the halting place.
	48	Sohrab,	16	3	A collection of several villages; wate in streams from the hills.

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No. 12.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Remarks.
Nov.	49	Anjeera,	14	1	3 or 4 houses, and a stream of water. The *Sonmeanee* road runs off to the right from this.
	50	Bapow,	11	6¾	A moderate village, 1 mile to the N. of the road. The road runs along the bed of the Moollah river, which runs through the Pass, water in pools.
	51	Pesee Bent, (the Moollah Pass,)	12	5	No village, but means an opening in the valley. At 10½ miles the hills on each side, suddenly closed and approached to within 20 or 30 feet, and at least 500 feet high, almost perpendicular.
	52	Putkee,	11	7	No village, but at 7 miles the deserted village of Mordana. Crossed the river several times, which has now a good stream running; with a good deal of Tamarisk jungle.
	53	Paeesht Khana, (Out of the Kelat territory.)	10	4	No village near. The first 5 miles very tedious, having to cross the river several times, and is very stony. The hills from this opened into a large plain, with better road. The river meets another stream from the N. from Pandarang.
	54	Nurd,	11	6	At 3 miles pass Peer Luttoo, a Fakeer's tomb. Cross the river several times in the first part of the march. Another stream joins in from the right, by which a road comes in from Khozdar by Guzgooroo and Zehree. A few huts; some supplies were brought in here.
Dec.	55	Jungi-kooshta,	12	2	From Bapow to Nurd the direction was S. E. when it changed to N. E., with considerable descent. At 6½ miles pass the tomb of Sokka, the adopted son of Shah Bhaz.
	56	Bent-i-Jah,	10	4	At 7 miles pass the village of Katachee. The road good leaving the river to the right. A village here and some supplies.

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No. 12.—*Continued.*

1839.	Nos.	Stages.	M.	F.	Remarks.
Dec.	57	Camp 1½ mile short of Kohow,	11	2½	The valley is very confined here. The river is left to the right the first part of the way, but is crossed several times in the last 2 miles, passing the halting-place, called Paneewan, about mid-way.
	58	Kullaz or Keelan (a Pass,)	10	2¼	The first mile of road very bad, when it ascends some elevated ground, descending into the river bed again at 6 miles, and enters the pass of Nowlung—this is a ruined village and the end of the Pass.
	59	Kotree, (See Route No. 10, march No. 34 for the route back to the sea coast.)	13	2¾	Left the river which runs E. into the plain at Keelan Pass. Peerchuttai at 6 miles, where there are some fine trees and cultivation, with a fine stream of water, or small river, which runs to Kotree. For a short distance from Peerchuttai, the road is indifferent and stony where it crosses the river. Passing halfway from Chuttai the tomb (a handsome building) of Mahomed Ettazai. Kotree is a large place, with a good bazar, principally inhabited by Hindoos from *Shikarpoor*. It is 7 miles from *Gundava*, and the 7th Camp from *Larkhana* of the (Bombay) army in its advance in March, 1839. See Route No. 10, march No. 34, then Nos. 33 to No. 1.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

Proclamation.

1. The Right Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. of India having, with the concurrence of the Supreme Council, directed the assemblage of a British force for service across the Indus, His Lordship deems it proper to publish the following exposition of the reasons which have led to this important measure.

2. It is a matter of notoriety that the treaties entered into by the British Govt. in the year 1832, with the Ameers of Sinde, the Nawab of Bahawulpore, and Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh, had for their object, by opening the navigation of the Indus, to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British Nation, in Central Asia, that legitimate influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce.

3. With a view to invite the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Afghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those Treaties, Capt. Burnes was deputed, towards the close of the year 1836, on a mission to Dost Mahomed Khan, the Chief of Cabul. The original objects of that officer's mission were purely of a commercial nature.

4. Whilst Capt. Burnes, however, was on his journey to Cabul, information was received by the Govr. Genl. that the troops of Dost Mahomed Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient Ally, Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh. It was naturally to be apprehended that His Highness the Maha Rajah would not be slow to avenge this aggression; and it was to be feared that the flames of war being once kindled in the very regions into which we were endeavouring to extend our commerce, the peaceful and beneficial purposes of the British Govt. would be altogether frustrated. In order to avert a result so calamitous, the Govr. Genl. resolved on authorizing Capt. Burnes to intimate to

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

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

6. After much time spent by Capt. Burnes in fruitless negotiation at Cabul, it appeared, that Dost Mahomed Khan, chiefly in consequence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted, as respected his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, in using the most unreasonable pretensions, such as the Govr. Genl. could not, consistently with justice and his regard for the friendship of Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh, be the channel of submitting to the consideration of His Highness; that he avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command. Ultimately he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Afghanistan, of the unfriendly and injurious character of which, as concerned the British power in India, he was well appriz-ed, and by his utter disregard of the views and interests of the British Govt., compelled Capt. Burnes to leave Cabul without having effected any of the objects of his mission.

7. It was now evident that no further interference could be exercised by the British. Govt. to bring about a good understanding between the Sikh Ruler and Dost Mahomed Khan, and the hostile policy of the latter Chief showed too plainly that, so long as Cabul remained under his Govt., we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian Empire would be preserved inviolate.

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8. The Govr. Genl. deems it in this place necessary to revert to the siege of Herat, and the conduct of the Persian nation. The siege of that city has now been carried on by the Persian Army for many months. The attack upon it was a most unjustifiable and cruel aggression, perpetrated and continued, notwithstanding the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the British Envoy at the Court of Persia, and after every just and becoming offer of accommodation had been made and rejected. The besieged have behaved with gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause, and the Govr. Genl. would yet indulge the hope that their heroism may enable them to maintain a successful defence, until succours shall reach them from British India. In the meantime, the ulterior designs of Persia, affecting the interests of the British Govt., have been, by a succession of events, more and more openly manifested. The Govr. Genl. has recently ascertained by an official despatch from Mr. McNeill, Her Majesty's Envoy, that His Excellency has been compelled, by the refusal of his just demands, and by a systematic course of disrespect adopted towards him by the Persian Govt., to quit the Court of the Shah, and to make a public declaration of the cessation of all intercourse between the two Govts. The necessity under which Great Britain is placed, of regarding the present advance of the Persian Arms into Afghanistan as an act of hostility towards herself, has also been officially communicated to the Shah, under the express order of Her Majesty's Govt.

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

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

11. His attention was naturally drawn at this conjuncture to the position and claims of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, a monarch who, when in power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British Govt., and who, on his empire being usurped by its present Rulers, had found an honorable asylum in the British Dominions.

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

13. After a serious and mature deliberation, the Govr. Genl. was satisfied that a pressing necessity, as well as every consideration of policy and justice, warranted us in espousing the cause of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proved to His Lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the Govr. Genl. was further of opinion, that it was just and proper, no less from the position of Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British Government, that His Highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations. Mr. Macnaghten was accordingly deputed in June last to the Court of His Highness, and the result of his mission has been the conclusion of a Tripartite Treaty by the British Government, the Maha Rajah, and Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, whereby His Highness is guaranteed in his present possessions, and has bound himself to co-operate for the restoration of the Shah to the throne of his ancestors. The friends and enemies of any one of the contracting parties, have been declared to be the friends and enemies of all. Various points have been adjusted, which had been the subjects of discussion between the British Govt. and His Highness the Maha Rajah, the identity of whose interests with those of the Hon'ble Company, has now been made apparent to all the surrounding states. A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be tendered to the Ameers of Sinde; and the integrity of

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Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected; while by the measures completed, or in progress, it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British Govt. will gain their proper footing among the natives of Central Asia, that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India; and that a lasting barrier will be raised against intrigue and encroachment.

14. His Majesty Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference, and factious opposition, by a British Army. The Govr. Genl. confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British Army will be withdrawn. The Govr. Genl. has been led to these measures, by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the British crown; but he rejoices that, in the discharge of this duty, he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Afghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit; to reconcile differences; to secure oblivion of injuries; and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Afghans have been impaired. Even to the Chiefs, whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British Govt., it will seek to secure liberal and honorable treatment, on their tendering early submission; and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures, which may be judged the most suitable for the general advantage of their country.

By Order of the Right Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. of India,

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secy. to the Govt. of India,
with the Govr. Genl.

NOTIFICATION.

With reference to the preceding declaration, the following appoint ments are made.

Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to Govt., will assume the functions of Envoy and Minister on the part of the Government of

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India at the court of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk. Mr. Macnaghten will be assisted by the following officers.

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

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

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

Lieut. E. B. Conolly, of the 6th Regt. Bengal Cavalry, to command the Escort of the Envoy and Minister, and to be Military Assistant to do. do.

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

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secy. to the Govt. of India,
with the Govr. Genl.

Oct. 1st, 1838.

No. II.

To T. H. Maddock, Esq. Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Govr. Genl. (1)

SIR,

In my letter to your address of the 12th instant, I ventured to record an opinion to the effect, that the lapse of a few days would suffice to show the high estimation in which H. M. Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk is held by his countrymen, as well as the wisdom of the policy pursued by the British Govt., throughout the whole of the proceedings in which we are now engaged.

2. Yesterday the Shah, with his disciplined troops, made a march of 22 miles to Deh Hadjee, where we had the satisfaction of learning that the Sirdars were about to decamp. We have since ascertained that they actually set out about 3 o'clock yesterday evening, attended by about 200 followers. Their conduct to the last was marked by meanness and rapacity. Whilst with one hand they were selling their stores of grain to the merchants of the city, they

(1) Political Dept. (Simla.)

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were practising every species of extortion and violence towards the peaceable inhabitants, and they departed amidst the execrations of all classes.

3. This morning we marched upon Candahar, a distance of about 18 miles, and we are now encamped within 2 miles of the city. The spectacle which presented itself to us on the road, was the most interesting one it ever fell to my lot to witness. H. E. Lt.-Genl. Sir J. Keane, with the army of the Indus, was one march in our rear, our advance having been made on an erroneous calculation of the distance, which, owing to the heat of the weather, was too great to be performed by the European troops. The Shah's disciplined troops were behind us, and H. M. advanced, attended only by the officers of the Mission and his own immediate retainers. At every 100 yards of our progress, we were met by bands of well-mounted and well-armed men all tendering their allegiance to His Majesty, whilst the peaceable inhabitants of the country assembled in crowds, and manifested their joy at the Shah's restoration in the most unqualified terms.

4. Tranquillity is restored—the people flock to our Camp with the greatest confidence. There is no longer any apprehension of scarcity, and even the confidential servants of the Sirdars, several of whom have visited me, declare their satisfaction at the change of Govt., and state that they would sooner have joined the Shah, but for the dread that some evil would have been inflicted on their families, whom they must have left in the city.

5. H. M. proposed to send out a party in the hope of overtaking the fugitive Sirdars, and they certainly appear deserving of little consideration after the wickedness and folly which they have displayed, in spite of repeated and solemn warnings. It doubtless would be dangerous to allow them to remain at large and excite disturbances in the country; but I was apprehensive that in the present excited state of men's minds, they might be seized by the Shah's party, and be subjected to unnecessary cruelty; I therefore prevailed upon H. M. to permit me to make the Sirdars one more offer, which, if accepted, will enable them to retire to our territories in safety. Any provision which His Lordship the Govr. Genl. may please to assign to them will, of course, fall far short of what they would have received had they at once come into our terms; and I am of opinion that 500 Rs. (2) per mensem for each of them, would be an ample provision.

(2) £50.

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6. It is my intention, therefore, to write to the Sirdars, through *Moollah Nussoo*, their confidential adviser, and I am not without hope that they will come into my terms—deserted as they are by nearly all the followers who left the city with them, and surrounded as they must be by dangers and difficulties of every description.

7. I now proceed to detail the progress of events from the date of my last communication.

8. Since the despatch of my letter to your address, dated the 12th instant, giving the substance of my communication with the Sirdars, nothing of sufficient importance occurred to require a separate report.

9. In the *Kojuk Pass*, we found a natural obstacle of a much more formidable nature than we anticipated: it was speedily surmounted by the energy of the British troops. Brigr. Arnold, who went to reconnoitre the Pass, suddenly came upon a small party detached by the Sirdars, and was fired upon; the party however made a precipitate retreat; and it was evident that the Sirdars had been surprised by the rapidity of our advance.

10. In the same Pass, letters were intercepted from the Sirdars, addressed to the authorities in *Sevee* and the eastern provinces, stating that they intended to advance and oppose us in *Pesheen*, and calling upon all true *Mahomedans* to join in a religious warfare against the invading *infidels*. We further learnt that the Sirdars were still unremitting in their endeavours to excite the same feelings of animosity, against us at *Candahar*.

11. It subsequently came to our knowledge, that *Rahim Dil Khan* and *Mehr Dil Khan*, with a number of other chiefs, and a body of between 2 and 3,000 Cavalry, had quitted *Candahar* with a view of annoying us in every possible way,—leaving Kohun Dil Khan to guard their interests in the city. The main body advanced as far as *Killa Futtoollah*, whence they detached parties to the vicinity of *Dunda-goolaee*. These parties succeeded in killing several of our followers who had incautiously strayed; and in carrying off two of my elephants which had been, against orders, taken for the purpose of procuring fodder, to a great distance from the Camp. They also put us to considerable inconvenience, for a short time, by *diverting the stream* which supplied our Camp with *water*.

12. On the morning of the 20th instant, *Hajee Khan, Kakur*, who had accompanied the Sirdars from *Candahar*, and who is decidedly the most powerful chief in these parts, reported his arrival, with about 200 horsemen, to pay his respects to the *Shah*.

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He was escorted into Camp, and received with all honor both by H. M. and myself. This defection, it was obvious, would at once prove fatal to the hopes of the Sirdars.

13. On the same day, two other persons of considerable influence came in, namely, *Abdool Mujeed Khan*, the son of *Shah Pussund Khan*, Govr. of *Lash* and *Gholam Akhoondzada*, a moollah, who, I have good grounds for believing, was one of those who were most violent in stirring up the population to oppose us.

14. The secession of these individuals, and the near approach of our troops, filled the Sirdars with consternation ; and they fell back rapidly on Candahar.

15. The *ancient nobles* of the land have been nearly exterminated by the *rapacious tyranny* of the *Barukzye* usurpers ; but it was gratifying to find that the advent of the *Shah*, was cordially welcomed in every stage of his progress, by every man of respectability who has been left in the country ; and H. M.'s reception at Candahar, as above detailed, has fully justified the opinions that have been pronounced, as to his popularity with all classes of his subjects.

16. I shall report further proceedings in the course of to-morrow.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Envoy and Minister.

Camp at Candahar, the 24th April, 1839.

By order of the Hon'ble the President in Council,

(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP, *Secy. to Govt.*

Political Dept. 3rd June, 1839, *(Calcutta.)*

No. III.

G. O. by H. E. Lt.-Genl. Sir. J. Keane, K. C. B. and G. C. H. Commanding the Army of the Indus.

Hd. Qrs. Camp, Candahar, 4th May, 1839.

The combined forces of Bengal and Bombay being now assembled at Candahar, the Comr.-in-Chief congratulates all ranks on the triumphant, though arduous, march which they have accomplished, from distant and distinct parts of *India*, with a regularity and discipline

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which is much appreciated by him, and reflects upon themselves the highest credit. The difficulties which have been surmounted have been of no ordinary nature, and the recollection of what has been overcome, must hereafter be a pleasing reflection to those concerned who have so zealously, and in so soldier-like a manner, contributed to effect them, so as to arrive at the desired end. The engineers had to make roads, and, occasionally, in some extraordinary steep mountain passes, over which no wheeled carriage had ever passed. This was a work requiring science and much severe labor; but so well has it been done, that the progress of the Army was in no manner impeded. The heavy and light ordnance were alike taken over in safety, by the exertions and good spirit of the Artillery, in which they were most cheerfully and ably assisted by the troops, both *European* and *Native*, and in a manner which gave the whole proceeding the appearance, that each man was working for a favorite object of his own.

2. H. E. shares in the satisfaction which those troops must feel (after the difficult task they have accomplished, and the trying circumstances under which they have been placed, the nature of which is well known to themselves, and therefore unnecessary for him to detail), at knowing the enthusiasm with which the population of *Candahar* have received and welcomed the return of their lawful sovereign, *Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk*, to the throne of his ancestors in *Affghanistan*. Sir J. Keane will not fail to report to the Rt. Hon. Lord Auckland, Govr. Genl. of India, his admiration of the conduct and discipline of the troops, by which means it has been easy to effect, and to fulfil the plans of his Lordship, in the operations of the campaign hitherto.

3. The Comr.-in-Chief has already, in a G. O. dated the 6th ultimo, expressed his acknowledgment to Maj.-Genl. Sir W. Cotton for the creditable and judicious manner in which he conducted the *Bengal* column to the valley of Shawl. H. E. has now a pleasing duty to perform in requesting Maj.-Genl. Willshire, Comg. the *Bombay* column, to accept his best thanks for his successful exertions in bringing the troops of that Presidency to this ground, in the most efficient and soldier-like state.

4. The Comr.-in-Chief entertains a confident expectation, that the same orderly conduct which has gained for the troops the good-will of the inhabitants, of the states and countries through which they have passed, will continue to be observed by them during their advance upon *Cabool*, when the proper time for the

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adoption of that step shall have been decided upon, by H. E. in concert with H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, and the Envoy and Minister, W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. representing British interests at the Court of the King of Affghanistan.

G. O. 5th May, 1839.

On the occasion of H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk taking possession of his throne and receiving the homage of his people of *Candahar*, the following ceremonial will be observed:—

The whole of the troops now at Head Quarters will be formed in order of Review at day-light on the morning of the 8th inst. on ground which will be pointed out to Asst. Adjts. Genl. of Divisions to-morrow afternoon at 5 o'clock, by the D. Adjt. Genl. of the Bengal Army.

2. The troops will take up their ground in the following order from the right.

3. *Bengal.* Horse Artillery; Cavalry Brigade, Camel Battery; 1st Brigade of Infantry; 4th Brigade of Infantry.

Bombay. Horse Artillery; Cavalry Brigade; Infantry Brigade.

4. The 4th (Bengal) Local Horse will take up a position in front of the right flank, and the Poona Auxiliary Horse in front of the left flank, for the purpose of keeping the space in advance of the troops, clear of the populace.

5. A platform will be erected for H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, in front of the centre of the Line, on either flank of which detachments of H. M.'s Cavalry will take post, to prevent the intrusion of the populace.

7. The troops of H. M. Shah Shoojah will be drawn up in a street in the most convenient situation, between the gate and the British Army, and will salute H. M. as he passes. The king's Artillery will be formed near the palace, and will fire a royal salute on the departure, and return of His Majesty.

8. On His Majesty approaching the platform, a royal salute is to be fired from one of the batteries in the line; and on his appearing in front of the troops, he will be received with a *General Salute* from the whole line,—the colors being lowered in the manner that is usual to crowned heads; and as soon as the infantry have shouldered, 101 guns are to be fired from the batteries in line, under directions from Brigr. Stevenson.

9. The Envoy and Minister, and officers attached to the mission, the Comr.-in-Chief and his personal staff, and the officers at the heads of departments, and Affghan Sirdars, are to be station-

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ed on the right of the throne; and Syuds and Moollahs on the left—the populace on both sides and in rear of the Shah, restrained by H. M.'s Cavalry, 4th Local Horse, and Poona Auxiliary Horse.

10. The Envoy, and the Comr.-in-Chief will present Nuzzurs,—as representatives of Govt.

11. The officers of the Shah's force will also present Nuzzurs, leaving their troops for that purpose, after the Shah has passed, and returning to receive His Majesty.

12. The Shah's subjects will then present Nuzzurs. At the close of the ceremony, the troops will march past, the cavalry in columns of squadrons,—the infantry in columns of companies, in slow time; the columns will move up to the wheeling point in quick time. The columns having passed, will continue their route towards the encampment, the 4th Brigade of Bengal Infantry moving on to the Cabool gateway, at which His Majesty will enter the city, where it will form a street, and salute His Majesty as he passes.

13. The troops are to appear in white trousers, the officers of the general staff in blue trousers and gold lace.

14. Corps will parade on the occasion as strong as possible, and the encampments will be protected by the convalescents, and by Quarter and Rear guards; such extra-guards as may be considered essentially necessary, to be placed over treasure, at the discretion of Brigadiers Comg. Brigades.

15. Officers Comg. divisions are to be supplied with field states, showing the actual number of troops there are under arms in their respective commands, to be delivered when called for.

16. His Majesty having expressed a wish that H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief should be near his person during the ceremony, Maj.-Genl. Sir W. Cotton will command the troops in line.

G. O. 8th May, 1839.

Lieut.-Genl. Sir J. Keane has received the gracious commands of H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, to convey to Major-Genl. Willshire, Comg. in the field, (3) to the Generals and other officers, and the N. C. O. and soldiers who were present and assisted at the splendid spectacle of the king taking possession of his throne this day, the deep sense His Majesty entertains of the obligations he owes to them, and to the British nation. The king added, that he would request W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Envoy and Minister at

(3) Sir W. Cotton was sick.

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H. M.'s Court, to convey these his sentiments, to the Rt. Hon. Lord Auckland, Govr. Genl. of India.

No. IV.

Fort William, 6th Sept. 1839, *Political Dept.*—The Hon'ble the President in Council has much satisfaction in publishing, for general information, the following official papers received, by express, from the Head Qrs. of the Rt. Hon. the Govr. Genl., announcing the desertion of Dost Mahomed Khan by his Army on the 3rd August, and the possession obtained, in consequence, of all his guns; also the subsequent advance of the Army under H. E. Sir J. Keane to Cabool, which city was entered in triumph by H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk on the 7th ultimo. (4)

A Royal salute will be fired from the Ramparts of Fort William in honor of this important event; and a *feu de joie* will be fired in the afternoon, upon the occasion of the intelligence being communicated to the troops in garrison.

By order of the Hon'ble the President in Council,

(Signed) H. T. Prinsep,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

NOTIFICATION.

Secret Dept. Simla, 26th August, 1839.—The Govr. Genl. of India publishes for general information, the subjoined copy and extracts of despatches from H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, and from the Envoy and Minister at the Court of H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, announcing the triumphant entry of the Shah into Cabool on the 7th instant.

In issuing this notification, the Govr. Genl. cannot omit the opportunity of offering to the officers and men composing the Army of the Indus, and to the distinguished leader by whom they have been commanded, the cordial congratulations of the Govt. upon the happy result of a compaign, which, on the sole occasion

(4) The last time he entered in triumph was on the 13th July, 1803.

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when resistance was opposed to them, has been gloriously marked by victory, and in all the many difficulties of which, the character of a British Army for gallantry, good conduct and discipline has been nobly maintained.

A salute of 21 guns will be fired on the receipt of this intelligence at all the principal stations of the Army in the 3 Presidencies.

By order of the Rt. Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. of India,

(Signed) T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
with the Govr. Genl.

(True copy,)
(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP, *Secy. to Govt.*

(Copy.)

To the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Auckland, G. C. B.

MY LORD,

We have the honor to acquaint your Lordship, that the Army marched from *Ghuznee* on route to Cabool, in two columns, on the 30th and 31st ultimo, H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, with his own troops, forming part of the second column.

2. On the arrival of the Comr.-in-Chief with the 1st column at Hyder Khail, (5) on the 1st instant, information reached him, and the same reached the Envoy and Minister at Huftasaya, (6) that Dost Mahomed with his Army and Artillery were advancing from Cabool, and would probably take up a position at *Urghundee* or *Midan* (the former 24, the latter 36 miles from Cabool). Upon this, it was arranged that His Majesty, with the second column, under Maj.-Genl. *Willshire*, should join the 1st column here and advance together, to attack Dost Mahomed, whose son, Mahomed, Akbar had been recalled from Jellalabad, with the troops guarding the Khyber Pass, and had formed a junction with his father; their joint forces, according to our information, amounting to about 13,000 men.

3. Every arrangement was made for the king and the army marching in a body from hence to-morrow, but in the course of the night messengers arrived, and since (this morning) a great many chiefs, and their followers, announcing the dissolution of Dost

(5) Four marches from Cabool.
(6) Five marches from Cabool.

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Mahomed's army by the refusal of the greater part to advance against us with him, and that he had, in consequence, fled with a party of 300 horsemen, (7) in the direction of *Bameean;* leaving his guns behind him; in position as they were placed at *Urghundee.*

4. H. M. Shah Shoojah has sent forward a confidential officer, with whom has been associated Major *Cureton,* of H. M.'s 16th Lancers, taking with him a party of 200 men and an officer of Artillery, to proceed direct to take possession of those guns, and afterwards such other guns, and public stores, as may be found in Cabool and the Bala Hissar, in the name of, and for H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk; and the king's orders will be carried by his own officer with this party, for preserving the tranquillity of the city of Cabool.

5. A strong party has been detached in pursuit of Dost Mahomed under some of our most active officers. We continue our march upon Cabool, to-morrow, and will reach it on the 3rd day.

We have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KEANE,
Lt.-Genl. Comr.-in-Chief.
W. H. MACHAGHTEN,
Envoy and Minister.

Extract from a Letter from H. E. Lt.-Genl. Sir J. Keane, K. C. B. and G. C. H. dated Hd. Qrs., Camp Cabool, 8th August, 1839.

It gives me infinite pleasure to be able to address my despatch to your Lordship from this capital, the vicinity of which, H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, and the Army under my command, reached the day before yesterday. The king entered his capital yesterday afternoon, accompanied by the British Envoy and Minister, and the gentlemen of the mission, and by myself, the generals and staff officers of this army, and escorted by a squadron of H. M.'s 4th L. D. and one of H. M.'s 16th Lancers, with Capt. Martin's troop of Horse Artillery. H. M. had expressed a wish that British troops should be present on the occasion, and a very small party only of his own Hindoostanee and Afghan troops. After the animating scene of traversing the streets, and reaching the Palace in the Bala Hissar, a Royal salute was fired, and an additional Salvo, in the Afghan style, from small guns resembling wall-pieces, named Jinjals,

(7) Major Outram makes them much more.

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and carried on camels. We heartily congratulated His Majesty on being in possession of the throne and kingdom of his ancestors; and after taking leave of His Majesty, we returned to our camp.

I trust we have thus accomplished all the objects which your Lordship had in contemplation, when you planned and formed the Army of the Indus, and the expedition into Afghanistan.

The conduct of the army, both European and Native, which your Lordship did me the honor to place under my orders, has been admirable throughout, and, notwithstanding the severe marching and privations they have gone through, their appearance and discipline have suffered nothing; and the opportunity offered them at *Ghuznee* of meeting and conquering their enemy, had added greatly to their good spirits.

The joint despatch addressed by Mr. Macnaghten and myself to your Lordship on the 3rd instant, from Shakkabad, (8) will have informed you, that at the moment we had made every preparation to attack (on the following day) Dost Mahomed in his position at Urghundee, where, after his son Mahomed Akbar had joined him from Jellalabad, he had an army amounting to 13,000 men, well armed and appointed, and 30 pieces of Artillery, (9) we suddenly learnt that he abandoned them all, and fled with a party of horsemen on the road to *Bameean;* leaving his guns in position as he had placed them to receive our attack.

It appears that a great part of his army, which was hourly becoming disorganized, refused to stand by him in the position, to receive our attack, and that it soon became in a state of dissolution. The great bulk immediately came over to Shah Shoojah, tendering their allegiance, and I believe H. M. will take most of them into his pay.

It seems, that the news of the quick and determined manner in which we took their stronghold, *Ghuznee*, had such an effect upon the population of Cabool, and perhaps also upon the enemy's army, that Dost Mahomed, from that moment, began to lose hope of retaining his rule for even a short time longer, and sent off his family and valuable property towards *Bameean*, but marched out of Cabool with his army and artillery, keeping a bold front towards us, until the evening of the second, when all his hopes were at an end, by a division in his own camp, and one part of his army abandoning him.

(8) Three marches from Cabool.
(9) Only 25 were found.

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So precipitate was his flight, that he left in position his guns with their ammunition and wagons, and the greater part of the cattle by which they were drawn. Major Cureton, of H. M.'s 16th Lancers, with his party of 200 men, pushed forward on the third, and took possession of these guns, &c. There were 23 brass guns in position and loaded, two more at a little distance, which they attempted to take away, and since then, three more abandoned still further off on the Bameean road. Thus leaving in our possession 28 pieces of cannon, with all the material belonging to them, which are now handed over to Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk.

(True Extract)
(Signed) T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Govr. Genl.

(True Copy)
(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secy. to the Govt.

(Copy.)

Extract from a Letter from W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. Envoy and Minister to the Court of Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, dated Cabool, 9th August, 1839.

By a letter signed jointly by H. E. Lieut.-Genl. Sir J. Keane and myself, dated the 3rd instant, the Right Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. was apprized of the flight of Dost Mahomed Khan.

The ex-chief was not accompanied by any person of consequence, and his followers are said to have been reduced to below the number of 100 on the day of his departure. In the progress of Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk towards Cabool, H. M. was joined by every person of rank and influence in the country; and he made his triumphant entry into the city on the evening of the 7th instant. H. M. has taken up his residence in the *Bala Hissar*, where he has required the British Mission to remain for the present.

(True Extract)
(Signed) T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Govr. Genl.

(True Extract)
(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secy. to Govt. of India.

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By order of the Comr. of the Forces.

In obedience to the above notification, a salute of 21 guns, to be fired at all the principal stations of this Presidency, on receipt of this order.

(Signed) J. R. LUMLEY, *Maj.-Genl.*
Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

No. V.

General Orders by the Commander of the Forces: Head Quarters, Meerut, 22nd Nov. 1839. *By the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, Camp Somalka, 19th Nov.* 1839.

The following General Orders, issued by the Right Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. in the Secret Department, under date the 18th instant, are published for general information to the army:

General Orders by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India.

Secret Department; Camp Puniput, the 18th November, 1839.

1. Intelligence was this day received of the arrival, within the Peshawer territory, of His Excellency Lt.-Genl. Sir John Keane, K. C. B. and G. C. H. Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, with a portion of that force on its return to the British provinces. The military operations under the direction of His Excellency having now been brought to a close, the Right Honorable the Governor General has, on the part of the Government of India, to acquit himself of the gratifying duty of offering publicly his warmest thanks to His Excellency, and to the officers and men who have served under his command, for the soldier-like spirit and conduct of all ranks throughout the late campaign, and he again cordially congratulates them on the attainment of the great objects of national security and honor, for which the expedition was undertaken.

2. The plans of aggression, by which the British empire in India was dangerously threatened, have, under Providence, been arrested. The Chiefs of *Cabool* and *Candahar*, who had joined in hostile designs against us, have been deprived of power, and the territories which they ruled have been restored to the government of a friendly monarch. The Ameers of Scinde have acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and ranged themselves

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under its protection; their country will now be an outwork of defence, and the navigation of the Indus within their dominions, exempt from all duties, has been opened to commercial enterprise. With the allied government of the *Seikhs*, the closest harmony has been maintained; and on the side of *Herat*, the British alliance has been courted, and a good understanding, with a view to common safety, has been established with that power.

3. For these important results, the Governor General is proud to express the acknowledgments of the Government to the Army of the Indus, which alike by its valor, its discipline, and cheerfulness under hardships and privations, and its conciliatory conduct to the inhabitants of the countries through which it passed, has earned respect for the British name, and has confirmed in central Asia a just impression of British energy and resources.

4. The Native and European soldier have vied with each other in effort and endurance. A march of extraordinary length, (10) through difficult and untried countries, has been within a few months successfully accomplished; and in the capture of the one stronghold where resistance was attempted, a trophy of victory has been won, which will add a fresh lustre to the reputation of the armies of India.

5. To Lieut.-Genl. Sir John Keane, the Comr.-in-Chief of the army, the Govr. Genl. would particularly declare his thanks for his direction of these honorable achievements. He would especially acknowledge the marked forbearance, and just appreciation of the views of the Govt., which guided his Excellency in his intercourse with the Ameers of *Scinde*. He feels the Govt. to be under the deepest obligations to His Excellency, for the unshaken firmness of purpose with which throughout the whole course of the operations, obstacles and discouragements were disregarded, and the prescribed objects of policy were pursued; and above all, he would warmly applaud the decisive judgment with which the attack upon the Fortress of *Ghuznee* was planned, and its capture effected; nor would he omit to remark upon that spirit of perfect co-operation with which His Excellency gave all support to the political authorities with whom he was associated. Mr. Macnaghten, the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, and Col. Pottinger, the Resident in Scinde, have been chiefly enabled by the cordial good understanding which has throughout subsisted between them and His Excellency, to

(10) More than 1,700 miles; on arriving at Ferozpoor 2,070 miles.

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render the important services by which they have entitled themselves to the high approbation of the Government: and his Lordship has much pleasure in noticing the feelings of satisfaction with which His Excellency regarded the valuable services of Lieut.-Col. Sir A. Burnes, who was politically attached to him in the advance upon *Ghuznee*.

6. The Govr. Genl. would follow His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in acknowledging the manner in which Maj.-Genl. Sir Willoughby Cotton, K. C. B. and K. C. H., exercised his command of the Bengal division throughout the campaign, and supported the honor of his country on the 23rd July; and His Lordship would also offer the thanks of the Government to Maj.-Genl. Willshire, C. B., commanding the 2nd Infantry division; to Maj.-Genl. Thackwell, C. B. and K. H., commanding the Cavalry division; to Brigr. Roberts, commanding the 4th Infantry brigade; to Brigr. Stevenson, commanding the artillery of the army; to Brigr. Scott, commanding the Bombay Cavalry brigade; and to Brigr. Persse, upon whom, on the lamented death of the late Brigr. Arnold, devolved the command of the Bengal Cavalry brigade; as well as to the Commandants of corps and detachments, with the officers and men under their respective commands; and to the officers at the head of the several departments with all of whom His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has expressed his high satisfaction.

7. To Brigr. Sale, C. B. already honorably distinguished in the annals of Indian warfare, who commanded the storming party at *Ghuznee*; to Lieut.-Col. Dennie, C. B. who led the advance on the same occasion; and to Capt. George Thomson, of the Bengal Engineers, whose services in the capture of that fortress have been noticed in marked terms of commendation by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; and to Capt. Peat, of the Bombay Engineers, and Lieuts. Durand and Macleod, of the Bengal Engineers, and the other officers and men of the Bengal and Bombay Engineers under their command, the Governor General would especially tender the expression of his admiration of the gallantry and science which they respectively displayed, in the execution of the important duties confided to them in that memorable operation.

8. In testimony of the services of the army of the Indus, the Governor General is pleased to resolve, that all the corps, European and Native, in the service of the East India Company, which proceeded beyond the "*Bolan Pass*," shall have on their regimental colors the word "*Afghanistan*," and such of them as were employ-

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ed in the reduction of the fortress of that name, the word "*Ghuznee*" in addition.

In behalf of the Queen's regiments, the Governor General will recommend to Her Majesty, through the proper channel, that the same distinction may be granted to them.

9.—The Govr. Genl. would here notice with approbation, the praiseworthy conduct, during this expedition, of the officers and men attached to the disciplined force of His Majesty Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk. This force was newly raised, and opportunities had not been afforded for its perfect organization and instruction; but it shared honorably in the labors and difficulties of the campaign, and it had the good fortune, in repelling an attack made by the enemy in force, on the day prior to the storming of *Ghuznee*, to be enabled to give promise of the excellent service which may hereafter be expected from it.

10.—His Lordship has also much satisfaction in adding, that the best acknowledgments of the Govt. are due to Lieut.-Col. Wade who was employed upon the *Peshawer frontier*, and who, gallantly supported by the officers and men of all ranks under him, and seconded by the cordial aid of the Seikh Govt., an aid the more honorable because rendered at a painful crisis of its affairs, opened the "*Khyber Pass*," and overthrew the authority of the enemy in that quarter, at the moment when the advance of the forces of the Shah Zadah Tymoor could most conduce to the success of the general operations.

By command, &c.

(Sd.) T. H. MADDOCK, *Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Govr. Genl.*

(Sd.) J. STEWART, *Lieut.-Col. Secy. to the Govt of India Mily. Dept. with the Rt. Hon. the Govr. Genl.*

By order of the Comr. of the Forces,

(Signed) J. R. LUMLEY, *Major-Genl. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

No. VI.

G. O. by the Comr. of the Forces; Head Quarters, Meerut, 12th December, 1839.

The following General Orders, issued by the Rt. Hon'ble the Govr. Genl., in the Secret Department, under date the 4th instant, are published for general information to the army:

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G. O. by the Right Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. of India.

Secret Department; Camp Deothanee, the 4th December, 1839.

The many outrages and murders committed, in attacks on the followers of the army of the Indus, by the plundering tribes in the neighbourhood of the "*Bolan Pass,*" at the instigation of their chiefs, *Meer Mehrab Khan,* of *Kelat,* at a time when he was professing friendship for the British Government, and negociating a treaty with its representatives, having compelled the Govt. to direct a detachment of the army to proceed to Kelat, for the exaction of retribution from that chieftain, and for the execution of such arrangements as would establish future security in that quarter, a force under the orders of Maj.-Genl. *Willshire,* C. B. was employed on this service; and the Rt. Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. of India having this day received that Officer's report of the successful accomplishment of the objects entrusted to him, has been pleased to direct that the following copy of his dispatch, dated 14th ultimo, be published for general information.

The Rt. Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. is happy to avail himself of this opportunity to record his high admiration of the signal gallantry and spirit of the troops engaged on this occasion, and offers on the part of the Govt. his best thanks to Maj.-Genl. Willshire, and to the officers and men who served under him.

By command, &c.

(Signed) T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India,
with the Govr. Genl.

Despatch.

Camp near Kelat, 14th Nov. 1839.

To the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Auckland. G. C. B. Govr. Genl. of India, &c.

MY LORD,

1. In obedience to the joint instructions furnished me by H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, and Envoy and Minister to H. M. Shah Shoojah, under date Cabool, the 17th Sept. 1839, deputing to me the duty of deposing *Mehrab Khan* of *Kelat,* in consequence of the avowed hostility of that chief to the British nation during the present campaign, I have the honor to report, that on my arrival at Quetta, on the 31st ultimo, I communicated with Captain *Bean,* the Political Agent in Shawl, and arranged with him the best means of giving effect to the orders I had received.

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2 Guns Bombay Horse Artillery.
4 ditto Shah's ditto.
2 Ressallahs 4th Ben. local horse.
2nd Queen's Royal
H. M. 17th Regt.
31st Bengal Native Infantry.
Bombay Engineers.

2. In conseqence of the want of public carriage and the limited quantity of Commisst. supplies at Quetta, as well as the reported want of forage on the route to Kelat, I was obliged to dispatch to *Cutch Gundava*, the whole of the cavalry and the greater portion of the Artillery, taking with me only the troops noted in the margin, leaving Quetta on the 3rd instant.

3. During the march the communications received from *Mehrab Khan* were so far from acceding to the terms offered, that he threatened resistance if the troops approached his capital. I therefore proceeded, and arrived at the village of *Giranee* within eight miles of Kelat, on the 12th instant.

4. Marching from hence the following morning a body of horse were perceived on the right of the road, which commenced firing on the advanced guard commanded by Maj. Pennycuick, H. M. 17th Regt. as the column advanced; and skirmishing between them continued until we came in sight of *Kelat*, rather less than a mile distant.

I now discovered that three heights on the N. W. face of the fort, and parallel to the north, were covered with infantry, with five guns in position, protected by small parapet walls. Capt. *Peat*, Chief Engineer, immediately reconnoitred, and having reported that nothing could be done until those heights were in our possession, I decided upon at once storming them simultaneously, and if practicable, entering the fort with the fugitives, as the gate in the northern face was occasionally opened to keep up the communication between the fort and the heights.

5. To effect this object, I detached a company from each of the European regiments, from the advanced guard with Maj. Pennycuick H. M.'s 17th Regt., for the purpose of occupying the gardens and enclosures to the N. E. of the town, and two more companies in the plain midway between them and the column; at the same time I ordered three columns of attack to be formed, composed of four Cos. from each corps under their respective commanding officers, Maj. Carruthers, of the Queen's; Lt.-Col. Croker, H. M.'s 17th Regt., and Major Weston, 31st Bengal N. I., the whole under the command of Brigr. Baumgardt, the remainder of the regiments

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forming three columns of reserve under my own direction, to move in support.

6. A hill being allotted to each column, Brigr. Stevenson, commanding the artillery, moved quickly forward in front towards the base of the heights, and when within the required range opened fire upon the infantry and guns, under cover of which the columns moved steadily on and commenced the ascent, for the purpose of carrying the heights, exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns, which had commenced while the columns of attack were forming.

7. Before the columns reached their respective summits of the hills, the enemy, overpowered by the superior and well directed fire of our artillery, had abandoned them, attempting to carry off their guns, but which they were unable to do; at this moment it appearing to me the opportunity offered for the troops to get in with the fugitives, and if possible gain possession of the gate of the fortress, I dispatched orders to the Queen's Royal, and H. M.'s 17th Regt. to make a rush from the heights for that purpose, following myself to the summit of the nearest to observe the result; at this moment the four companies on my left, which had been detached to the garden and plain, seeing the chance that offered of entering the fort, moved rapidly forward from their respective points towards the gate-way, under a heavy and well-directed fire from the walls of the fort and citadel, which were thronged by the enemy.

8. The gate having been closed before the troops moving towards it could effect the desired object, and the garrison strengthened by the enemy driven from the heights, they were compelled to cover themselves, as far as practicable, behind some walls and ruined buildings, to the right and left of it, while Brigr. Stevenson having ascended the heights with the artillery, opened 2 guns under the command of Lt. Forster, Bombay H. A. upon the defences above the gate and its vicinity, while the fire of two others commanded by Lt. Cowper, Shah's artillery, was directed against the gate itself, the remaining 2, with Lt. Creed, being sent round to the road on the left leading direct up to the gate, and when within 200 yards commenced fire for the purpose of completing the blowing it open, and after a few rounds they succeeded in knocking in one half of it; on observing this, I rode down the hill towards the gate pointing to it, thereby announcing to the troops it was open, they instantly rose from their cover and rushed in, those under the command of Maj. Pennycuick, being the nearest, were the first to gain

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the gate, headed by that officer, the whole of the storming columns from the three Regts. rapidly following and gaining an entrance as quickly as it was possible to do so, under a heavy fire from the works and from the interior, the enemy making a most gallant and determined resistance, disputing every inch of ground up to the walls of the inner citadel.

9. At this time I directed the reserve columns to be brought near the gate, and detached one company of the 17th Regt. under Capt. Darby, to the western side of the fort, followed by a portion of the 31st Bengal N. I. commanded by Maj. Weston, conducted by Capt. Outram, acting as my extra Aide-de-camp, for the purpose of securing the heights, under which the southern angle is situated, and intercepting any of the garrison escaping from that side; having driven off the enemy from the heights above, the united detachments then descended to the gate of the fort below, and forced it open before the garrison (who closed it as they saw the troops approach) had time to secure it.

10. When the party was detached by the western face, I also sent 2 companies from the reserve of the 17th under Maj. Deshon, and 2 guns of the Shah's artillery, under the command of Lt. Creed, Bombay artillery, by the eastern to the southern face, for the purpose of blowing open the gate above alluded to, had it been necessary, as well as the gate of the inner citadel; the infantry joining the other detachments, making their way through the town in the direction of the citadel.

11. After some delay, the troops that held possession of the town at length succeeded in forcing an entrance into the citadel, where a desperate resistance was made by *Mehrab Khan* at the head of his people, he himself with many of his principal chiefs being killed sword in hand; several others however kept up a fire upon our troops from detached buildings difficult of access, and it was not until late in the afternoon, those that survived were induced to give themselves up on a promise of their lives being spared.

12. From every account I have every reason to believe the garrison consisted of upwards of 2,000 fighting men, and that the son of Mehrab Khan had been expected to join him from *Nowskey* with a further reinforcement. The enclosed return will show the strength of the force under my command present at the capture.

13. The defences of the Fort, as in the case of *Ghuznee*, far exceeded in strength what I had been led to suppose from previous

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report, and the towering height of the inner citadel was most formidable both in appearance and reality.

14. I lament to say, that the loss of killed and wounded on our side has been severe, as will be seen by the accompanying return; that on the part of the enemy must have been great, but the exact number I have not been able to ascertain; several hundreds of prisoners were taken, from whom the Political Agent has selected those he considers it necessary for the present to retain in confinement: the remainder have been liberated.

15. It is quite impossible for me sufficiently to express my admiration of the gallant and steady conduct of the officers and men upon this occasion; but the fact of less than an hour having elapsed from the formation of the columns for the attack, to the period of the troops being within the fort, and this performed in the open day, and in the face of an enemy so very superior in numbers, and so perfectly prepared for resistance will, I trust, convince your Lordship how deserving the officers and troops are of my warmest thanks, and of the highest praise that can be bestowed.

16. To Brigr. Baumgardt, commanding the storming columns, my best thanks are due, and he reports that Capt. Wyllie, acting A. A. G. and Capt. Gilland, his A. D. C., ably assisted him and zealously performed their duties; also to Brigr. Stevenson, commanding the artillery, and Lts. Forster and Cowper, respectively in charge of the Bombay and Shah's artillery, I feel greatly indebted for the steady and scientific manner in which the service of dislodging the enemy from the heights, and afterward effecting an entrance into the fort, was performed; the Brigr. has brought to my notice the assistance he received from Capt. Coghlan, his Brigade Major, Lt. Woosnam, his A. D. C., and Lt. Creed, when in battery yesterday.

17. To Lt.-Col. Croker, commanding H. M.'s 17th Regt., Major Carruthers, commanding Queen's Royal, Maj. Weston, commanding the Bengal 31st N. I., I feel highly indebted for the manner in which they conducted their respective columns to the attack of the heights, and afterwards to the assault of the town, as well as to Maj. Pennycuick, of the 17th, who led the advanced guard companies to the same point.

18. To Capt. Peat, Chief Engineer, and to the officers and men of the engineer corps, my acknowledgments are due; to Maj. Neil Campbell, acting Qr. Mr. Genl. of the Bombay army; to Captain Hagart, acting D. A. G; and to Lt. Ramsay, acting A. Q.

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Mr. Genl., my best thanks are due, for the able assistance afforded me by their services.

19. It is with much pleasure I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Maj. Campbell, for relieving me from the necessity of returning by the route by which the army advanced to Cabool, which being entirely exhausted, must have subjected the troops to great privations, and the horses to absolute starvation. The Q. M. G. took upon himself the responsibility of leading my column through the heart of the *Ghiljie* and *Koroker* countries, never hitherto traversed by Europeans, by which our route was considerably shortened, a sufficiency obtained, and great additions made to our geographical knowledge of the country, besides great political advantages obtained in peaceably settling those districts.

20. To my Aide-de-camps, Capt. Robinson and Lt. Halket, as well as to Capt. Outram, who volunteered his services on my personal staff, I received the utmost assistance, and to the latter officer I feel greatly indebted for the zeal and ability with which he has performed various duties that I have required of him upon other occasions as well as the present.

21. It is with much satisfaction I am able to state that the utmost cordiality has existed between the political authorities and myself, and the great assistance I have derived from Capt. Bean in obtaining supplies.

22. After allowing time to make the necessary arrangements for continuing my march, I shall descend into "*Cutch Gundava*" by the "*Moona Pass*," having received a favorable report of the practicability of taking guns that way.

23. I have deputed Capt. Outram to take a duplicate of the despatch to the Hon'ble the Govr. of Bombay, by the direct route from hence to "*Soomeanee Bunder*;" the practicability or otherwise of which, for the passage of troops, I consider it an object of importance to ascertain.

I have, &c.

(Signed.) T. Willshire, *Maj.-Genl.*
Comg. Bombay column, Army of the Indus.

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Return of Casualties in the army under the command of Maj.-Genl. Willshire, C. B., employed at the Storming of Kelat on the 13th November, 1839.

	Killed.				Wounded.										Total killed and wounded.	Horses.	
	Lieut.	Soobadars.	Rank and file.	Total.	Capts.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Adjts.	Jemadars.	Sergts.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Regtl. Bheasties.	Total.		Killed.	Wounded.
Dett. 3rd troop of Horse Artillery,.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1st troop of Cabool Artillery, ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	6
Gun Lascars attached to ditto, ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Regt. ..	1	0	21	22	2	2	0	1	0	2	0	*40	0	47	69	0	1
H. M.'s 17th Regt., ...	0	0	6	6	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	29	0	33	39	0	0
31st Bengal Native Infantry, ...	0	1	2	3	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	14	1	22	25	0	0
Sappers, Miners and Pioneers, ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Two Ressallahs of the 4th Bengal L. H.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Total,....	1	1	29	31	4	2	1	1	2	8	1	87	1	107	138	0	7

* One Corporal since dead.

Missing—none.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Killed.		Wounded.		
Corps.	Rank and Name.	Corps.	Rank and Names.	Remarks.
H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's, Royal Regiment, ...	Lieut. T. Gravatt, ..	H. M.'s 2nd or Qn.'s Roy. Regt.	Capt. W. M. Lyster, ...	Severely.
		,, ditto,.....	,, T. Sealy, ...	Ditto.
		,, ditto,.....	Lieut. T. W. E. Holdsworth,	Ditto.
		,, ditto,.....	,, D. I. Dickenson, ...	Slightly.
		,, ditto,.....	Adjt. J. E. Simmons, ...	Severely.
		H. M.'s 17th Regt., ...	Captain L. C. Bourchier, ..	Ditto.
		31st Bengal N. Infantry, ...	,, Saurin,.....	Slightly.
		,, ditto,.....	Ensign Hopper, ...	Severely.

(Signed) C. Hagart, Capt., *Actg. Dy. Adjt. Genl., Bombay Column, Army of the Indus.*

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State of the corps engaged at the storming of Kelat, on the 13th November, 1839, under the command of Major-General Willshire, C. B.

Camp at Kelat, 14th November, 1839.

Corps.	Major General.	Brigadiers.	Aides-de-Camp.	Actg. Dy Adjt. Genl.	Actg. Qr. Mr. Genl.	Dy. A. Qr. Mr. Genl.	Brigade Majors.	Sub. Asst. Com. Genl.	Lieut. Cols.	Majors.	Capts.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Adjts.	Quarter Masters.	Surgeons.	Asst. Surgeons.	Native Officers.	Sub-Conductors.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and file.
Staff,	1	2	5	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dett. 3rd Troop Horse Artillery,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	36
1st Troop of Cabool Artillery,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	1	58
H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	31	10	0	290
H. M.'s 17th Regiment,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	13	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	29	9	0	336
31st Regiment Bengal Native Infantry,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	0	12	0	30	14	0	329
Total,	1	2	5	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	9	26	5	2	2	2	0	12	0	100	34	1	1049

Note.—Two Ressallahs of the Bengal Local Horse remained in charge of the Baggage during the attack.

(Signed) C. Hagart, Captain,
Act. Dy. Adjt. Genl., Bombay Column, Army of the Indus.

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List of Belochee Sirdars killed in the assault of Kelat, on the 13th November, 1839.

Names.	*Remarks.*
Meer Mehrab Khan, ...	Chief of Kelat.
Meer Wullee Mahomed, ...	The Muengul Sirdar of Wudd.
Abdool Kureem, ...	Rushanee Sirdar.
Dad Kureem, ...	Shuhwanee Sirdar.
Mahomed Ruzza, ...	Nephew of the Wuzzeer Mahomed Hoosen.
Khysur Khan, ...	Ahsehire Sirdar.
Dewan Buchah Mull, ...	Financial Minister.
Noor Mahomed, and Tajoo Mahomed, ...	Shagpee Sirdars.
Prisoners.	
Mahomed Hoosen, ...	Wuzzeer.
Moola Ruheem Dad, ...	Ex-Naib of Shawl.

With several others of inferior rank.

(Signed) J. D. D. Bean, *Political Agent.*

(Signed) J. Stewart, *Lieut.-Col.*
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept. with the Rt. Hon. the Govr. Genl.

By order of the Comr. of the Forces,

(Signed) J. R. Lumley, *Major-Genl.*
Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

No. VII.

London Gazette.

Downing street, 12th August, 1839.

The *Queen* has been graciously pleased to nominate and appoint Lt.-Genl. Sir John. *Keane,* K. C. B. of the most Hon'ble Order of the Bath; to be a G. C. B.

Whitehall, 11th Dec. 1839.

The *Queen* has been pleased to direct *Letters Patent* to be passed under the *great seal,* granting the dignitaries of Baron and Earl of the united kingdom of Gt. Britain and Ireland, unto the Rt. Hon. George *Auckland,* G. C. B. and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; by the names, styles, and titles of Baron *Eden,* of Norwood, in the county of Surrey, and Earl of *Auckland.*"

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The Queen has also been pleased to direct Letters Patent, &c. granting the dignity of a baron of the U. K. of Great Britain and Ireland, unto Lt.-Genl. Sir J. *Keane*, G. C. B., and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron *Keane*, of Ghuznee, in Afghanistan, and of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford.

The *Queen* has also been pleased to direct Letters Patent, &c. granting the dignity of a Baronet of the U. K. of Great Britain and Ireland, unto the following gentlemen, and the heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotten, *viz.* Wm. Hay Macnaghten, Esq. of the Civil Service of the E. I. C., on the Bengal establisement, Envoy and Minister from the Govt. of India to H. M. Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk; and Col. Henry Pottinger, in the service of the E. I. C., on the Bombay establishment, Political Resident in Cutch.

The *Queen* has also been pleased to direct Letters Patent, &c. conferring the honor of knighthood upon Lt.-Col. *Claud Martine Wade*, of the Mily. Service of the E. I. C., on the Bengal establishment, Pol. Resident at Loodiana.

War office, 13th Dec. 1839.

Brevet. The undermentioned commissions are to be dated 23rd July, 1839, Col. Rob. Hen. Sale, 13th foot, to have the local rank of Maj.-Genl. in *Affghanistan*.

To be Lieut.-Col. in the *Army:*

Majors C. R. Cureton, 16th Lt. Drs. — F. D. Daly, 4th L. D.
Jno. Pennycuick, 17th Foot. — R. Carruthers, 2nd Foot.
E. T. Tronson, 13th Do. — G. J. McDowel, 16th L. D.

To be *Majors* in the Army:

Capt. T. S. Powel, 6th Foot. — Capt. Jas. Kershaw, 13th Foot.

To be *Lieut.-Cols.* in the *East Indies* only:

Majors Jas. Keith, Bombay N. I. (D. A. G.) — Geo. Warren, Bengal Eurn. Regt.
Jas. MacLaren, Bengal N. I. — C. M. Wade, Bengal N. I.
P. L. Pew, (Do.) Arty. — H. F. Salter, Bengal Cavy.
J. D. Parsons, (Do.) D. C. G. — David Cunninghame, Bombay Cavy.

To be Majors in the *East Indies* only:

Capts. N. Campbell, Bombay N. I. (D. Q. M. G.) — Jno. Lloyd, Bombay Arty.
Geo. Thomson, Bengal Engrs. — Pat. Craigie, Bengal N. I. (D. A. G.)
A. C. Peat, Bombay Engr.

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Capts. W. Garden, Bengal N. I. W. Alexander, Bengal Cavy. (D. Q. M. G.)

Jno. Hay, Bengal N. I.

To have the local rank of Major in *Affghanistan :*

Lieut. Eldred Pottinger, Bombay Arty.

Downing street, 20th Dec. 1839.

The *Queen* has been graciously pleased to nominate and appoint—

Col. T. Willshire, Comg. the Bombay troops, and serving with the rank of Maj.-Genl. in *India ;*

Col. J. Thackwell, Comg. the Cavy. and serving with the rank of Maj-Genl. in *India ;* and Col. R. H. Sale (11) Comg. 13th Lt. Infy.

(11) Entered the Army as Ensign in 36th Foot, 24th Feb. 1795. Lieut. Feb. 1797. Exchanged into 12th Foot in Feb. 1798, served with it at the battle of Mallavelly 27th March, 1799. At siege and storm of Seringapatam 4th May, 1799, and served throughout the campaigns in the Wynnaud country in 1801. Received a medal for Seringapatam, and promoted to a company without purchase, 6th March, 1806. At the storming of the Travancore lines in 1809, and at the capture of the Mauritius in 1810. On 31st Dec. 1813, a Majority, without purchase. In Dec. 1818, placed on Half Pay, by the reduction of the 2nd Bn. In June 1821, received a Majority in 13th Lt. Infy., paying the difference. At the capture of Rangoon in 1824 (in the command of his Regt.) drove the enemy from the vicinity of Rangoon, 14th May, 1824. Stormed the stockades near "Kemmendie," 10th June, 1824, for which "distinguished conduct," he received the thanks of Sir A. Campbell, on the field of battle. Stormed the seven stockades, on 8th July, 1824, and thanked for his "gallant conduct," and noticed in G. O. On 1st Dec. 1824, stormed the enemy's lines with the 13th Lt. Infy. and 200 Sepoys; on 5th Dec. commanded 1600 men, and drove the enemy from every position. On 15th Dec. 1824, commanded 800 men in an attack on the rear of the enemy's lines in front of the great Pagoda, near Rangoon, and received a very severe wound on the head; and noticed in G. O. for the actions of the 5th and 15th Dec., as also for the capture of the intrenchment, at Holkeun. Commanded a brigade employed in the reduction of Bassein, and subsequent operations from 10th Feb. to 2nd May, 1825. Lt.-Colonel, 13th Lt. Infy., without purchase, 2nd June, 1825. On 1st Dec. 1825, commanded 1st Brigade, and repulsed the Shauns and Burmese at Prome. With same Brigade, stormed the heights and lines near Prome, next day; and stormed Mallown, where he received a severe wound. For his "gallant conduct," and "distinguished services," made a C. B.

On 28th June, 1838, promoted to Colonel. In October, 1838, appointed to the command of the 1st (Bengal) Brigade "Army of the Indus," which formed the "*Advance*," throughout the campaign, in Affghanistan. Com-

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and serving with the rank of Maj.-Genl. in *Affghanistan* to be Knts. Comrs. of the most Hon. Mily. Order of the Bath.

H. M. has also been pleased to nominate and appoint the following officers, in H. M.'s Service, to be companions of the said most Hon. Mily. Order of the Bath.

Lt.-Cols. J. Scott, 4th L. D.	W. Croker, 17th Foot.
W. Persse, 16th Lancers,	R. Macdonald, 4th Foot, D. A. G. (Q. T.) Bombay.

H. M. &c. following officers, in the service of the E. I. C. to be companions of the said most Hon. Mily. Order of the Bath:

Lt.-Cols. A. Roberts, Bengal N. I.	B. Sandwith, Bombay Cavy.
T. Stevenson, Bombay Arty.	F. Stalker, Do. N. I.
T. Monteath, Bengal N. I.	C. M. Wade, Bengal Do.
H. M. Wheeler, Do. Do.	Geo. Thomson, Do. Engineers.
C. C. Smyth, do Cavy.	E. Pottinger, Bombay Do.

Downing street, 21st Jan. 1840.

The *Queen* has been pleased, &c. Maj.-Genl. Sir W. Cotton, K. C. B. to be a G. C. B.

The Brevet for Khelat.

2nd June, 1840. To be Lieut.-Col. in the Army: Major Chas. John Deshon, 17th Foot.

To be Majors in the Army: Capts. Geo. D. I. Raitt, and J. G. S. Gilland, of the 2nd Foot. Capt. J. Darley, 17th Foot, and Capt. O. Robinson, 2nd Foot.

To be Lieut.-Col. in the East Indies only: Major J. S. H. Weston, 31st Regt. Bengal N. I.

To be Majors in the East Indies only: Capts. Sir A. Burnes, (12) 21st Bombay N. I., C. Hagart, Jas. Outram, and W. Wyllie, Bombay N. I. and Capt. W. Coghlan, Bombay Artillery.

The only officer who has not been noticed, is Lieut.-Col. *W. H. Dennie*, C. B., H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infy. who led the "Advance," at the storm of Ghuznee, who was wounded in the Burmese War, and for his services there was made a companion of the Bath. He has been in the Army since the 28th Oct. 1801.

manded a Dett. of 2,500 men sent to Girishk. On 23rd July, 1839, commanded the "*Storming-Party* at Ghuznee, where he received a Sabre-cut on the chin, and a contusion on the chest and shoulder, from a musket ball.

(12) Since made a C. B. I hear.

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No. VIII.

Lord Auckland, Govr. Genl. of India to the Secret Committee of the East India Company.

Camp at Bhurtpoor, 12th Dec. 1839.

I do myself the honor to forward copies of the despatches noted in the margin, (13) relative to the assault and capture of the Fort of Kelat.

2. The decision, the great military skill, and excellent dispositions of Maj.-Genl. Willshire, in conducting the operations against Kelat, appear to me deserving of the highest commendation. The gallantry, steadiness, and soldier-like bearing of the troops under his command, rendered his plans of action completely successful, thereby again crowning our arms across the *Indus* with signal victory.

3. I need not expatiate on the importance of this achievement, from which the best effects must be derived, not only in the vindication of our national honor, but also in confirming the security of intercourse between *Scinde* and *Affghanistan*, and in promoting the safety and tranquillity of the restored monarchy; but I would not omit to point out that the conduct on this occasion of Major-Genl. *Willshire;* and of the officers and men under his command (including the 31st Regt. of Bengal N. I., which had not been employed in the previous active operations of the campaign), have entitled them to more prominent notice than I was able to give them in my General Order of Nov. 18th, 1839; and in recommending these valuable services to the applause of the Committee, I trust that I shall not be considered as going beyond my proper province, in stating an earnest hope that the conduct of Maj.-Genl. *Willshire* in the direction of the operations, will not fail to elicit the approbation of Her Majesty's Govt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUCKLAND

(13) India Board, 13th Feb. 1840.—*London Gazette.*

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No. IX.

From the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Hill, Genl. Comr.-in-Chief, H. M.'s Forces, Horse Guards, 4th Dec. 1839, to H. E. Lieut.-Genl. Sir John Keane, G. C. B. &c.

Hd. Qrs. Bombay, 28th Feb. 1840. (14)

(Ext.) I have perused with the deepest interest the particulars, as detailed by you, of the capture by storm, of the important Fortress of *Ghuznee*, together with its citadel, by the army under your command, and I have the greatest satisfaction in conveying to you the sense I entertain of your conduct upon that occasion, marked and distinguished as it was, by a display of skill, judgment and valour; and most gallantly supported throughout every part of the difficult and dangerous operation, by the admirable courage and discipline of all the troops.

In submitting these important despatches to the *Queen*, I did not fail to solicit Her Majesty's attention, not only to the undaunted spirit and gallantry of the troops under your command; but likewise, to the exemplary behaviour immediately subsequent to this daring as successful achievement, behaviour which could only have resulted, as you have justly observed, from the maintenance of a high state of discipline, combined with British courage, and British character; and you will be so good as to avail yourself of an early opportunity to make known to the army under your command, that the *Queen* has been pleased to express her most gracious approbation of their brilliant and important services.

(Signed) HILL.

By Order of H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief,

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, *Lt.-Col.*

Dy. Adjt. Genl. H. M.'s Forces in India.

No. X.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, 22nd April, 1840.

No. 36. G. O.—H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief in India has been honored by receiving the commands of Her Majesty, contained in a

(14) G. O. by H. E. Lieut.-Genl. Sir T. MacMahon, Bart., K. C. B.

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letter from Genl. Lord Hill, commanding the army in Chief, dated 4th March, 1840, to express Her Majesty's high satisfaction at the judgment, skill, gallantry and discipline, displayed by Major-Genl. Sir Thomas Willshire, K. C. B. and by the Officers and Men of H. M.'s 2nd and 17th Regts. of Foot, in the glorious and successful assault upon the Fortress of Kelat.

His Excellency is aware that these most gracious expressions of the Queen's approbation, are equally intended to be conveyed to the Detachment of the Bombay Horse Artillery, to the 31st. Regt. Bengal Native Infantry, and to the other Detchments engaged; and he is quite certain that Her Majesty's Officers and Men will freely and liberally share with them, the applause thus bestowed, upon their united, and gallant exertions, and upon their splendid, noonday achievement.

No. XI.

To Major P. Craigie.

Dy. A. G. of the Army, with the Army of the Indus.

Mily. Dept.

Sir,

It has been brought to the notice of the Rt. Hon. the Govr. Genl., that the wives and families of officers attached to the ***Bengal Column*** of the Army of the Indus, have been, in some instances, subjected to much inconvenience, by the delay, or interruption, of the remittances on which they are dependent for support, occasioned by the irregularity, or interruption by robbers, of the Dâk Communication between the Army and the Company's Provinces.

2. *(Ext.)* The Govr. Genl. has been pleased to determine, that such portion of their pay and allowances as officers of the Bengal Column of that army may authorize the deduction of, by the field Pay Master, shall be paid to their wives, or families, in the provinces; under such arrangements as shall be made for that purpose, in the Pay Dept. to which the necessary reference will be made.

3. In the mean time, to obviate delay, I am directed to request H. E. the Comr.-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, will cause *Rolls* to be prepared, of the officers wishing to avail themselves of this indulgence; specifying the amount to be deducted from each,

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and the month from the pay of which the first deduction has been made.

4. These Rolls may be sent in the first instance, by the Fd. Pay Master, to the Depy. Pay Mr. of the district in which the *Payees*, the officers' wives or families, are residing; and full instructions will be furnished, hereafter, for Capt. *Bygrave's* guidance, by the Accountant in the Mily. Dept.

(Signed) JAS. STUART, *Lt.-Col.*
Offg. Sec. to Govt. of India Mily. Dept.
with the Rt. Hon. the Govr. Genl.

Simla, 4th June, 1839.

No. XII.

Dooranee Order. (15)

Secret Dept. 3rd August, 1840.

The Rt. Hon. the Govr. Genl. in Council is pleased to publish the following list of officers who have been invested with the Order of the Dooranee Empire, by permission of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

Members of the 1st Class of the Order of the Dooranee Empire.

Sir W. H. Macnaghten, Bart., Envoy and Minister at the Court of Cabool.

Lt.-Col. Sir C. M. Wade, Kt. C. B. Resident at Indore.

Lt.-Col. Sir Alex. Burnes, Kt. Envoy to Kelat and other states.

Members of the 2nd Class.

Maj.-Genl. Simpson, late Comg. Shah Shoojah's Force.

Brigr. A. Roberts, C. B. Hon. Company's Eurn. Regt. Comg. Shah Shoojah's Force.

Brigr. Stephenson, C. B. Lt.-Col. Bombay Arty.

Lt.-Col. Parsons. Depy. Comy. Genl., Bengal Army.

Major Garden, Dy. Qr. Mr. Genl. Bengal Army.

Major Thomson, C. B. Bengal Engineers.

Major Peat, Bombay Engineers.

Major E. D'A. Todd, Bengal Arty., Envoy to Herat.

(15) The names given at p. 263 are correct, but Capt. *Anderson's* is added to this List. Lord *Auckland* has accepted of the Order, though not detailed in the present List.

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Major Craigie, Dy. Adjt. Genl., Bengal Army.

Capt. (now Major) J. Outram, Pol. Agent Lower Sinde.

Members of the 3rd Class.

Lt.-Col. Orchard, C. B. Bengal European Regt.

Lt.-Col. Wheeler, C. B. 48th Bengal N. I.

Lt.-Col. Monteath, C. B. 35th Bengal N. I.

Lt.-Col. Smyth, C. B. 3rd Bengal Lt. Cavy.

Lt.-Col. Sandwith, C. B. 1st Bombay Lt. Cavy.

Lt.-Col. Stalker, C. B. 19th Bombay N. I.

Lt.-Col. Salter, 2nd Bengal Lt. Cavy.

Lt.-Col. Warren, Bengal European Regt.

Lt.-Col. Cunningham, 2nd Bombay Lt. Cavy. Comg. Poonah Auxy. Horse.

Lt.-Col. Pew, Bengal Arty.

Lt.-Col. McLaren, 16th Bengal N. I.

Major (now Lt.-Col.) Weston, 31st Bengal N. I.

Major Thomson, Bengal Eurn. Regt.

Major Thomas, 48th Bengal N. I.

Major Hancock, 19th Bombay N. I.

Major C. J. Cunningham, 1st Bombay Lt. Cavy.

Major Alexander, Comg. 4th Local Horse.

Major McSherry, late Major of Brigade, Shah Shoojah's Force.

Major Hagart, Bombay Eurn. Regt.

Major Leech, Pol. Agent, Candahar.

Major E. Pottinger, C. B. Bombay Arty.

Capt. Davidson, 17th Bombay N. I.

Capt. Sanders, Bengal Engineers.

Capt. Johnson, Pay Mr. and Commsst. officer, S. S. Force.

Capt. Anderson, Bengal H. A. Comg. Horse Arty. S. S. Force.

Capt. Macgregor, Pol. Agent at Jellalabad.

Capt. E. B. Conolly, Mily. Asst. and Comg. Escort, Envoy and Minister.

Lt. F. Mackeson, Pol. Agent, Peshawer.

Mr. P. B. Lord, Pol. Agent, Bameean.

N. B. The following Members of the Order have died since its institution.

Brigr. Arnold, Lt.-Col. H. M.'s 16th Lancers, 2nd class.

Lt.-Col. Keith, Dy. Adjt. Genl. Bombay Army, 2nd Class.

Lt.-Col. Herring, C. B. Bengal Infy. 3rd Class.

Capt. Hay, 35th Bengal N. I. 3rd Class.

(Signed) H. Torrens,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

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No. XIII.

List of Officers of the "Army of the Indus," dying from 1st November, 1838, to 1840.

Nos.	Rank and Names.	Corps.	Dates.	Where and how died, &c.
1	Lt. Halliday,	S. S. O. M.	Nov. 1, 1838.	Loodianah.
2	Lt. Kewney,	D. A. Q. M. General,	Nov. 5,	Kurnal, Suicide.
3	Lt. F. C. Fyers,	H. M. 4 L. D.	Dec. 14,	In Sindh, Suicide.
4	Lt. E. W. Sparkes,	2d Q.'s Foot,	Jan. 30, 1839,	Ditto, accidentally burnt to death.
5	Lt. T. A. Nixon,	Ditto,	Ditto,	
6	Asst. Surg. W. E. Hibbert,	Ditto,	Ditto,	
7	Lt. E. C. Campbell,	Bombay 1st Lt. Cavy.	Feb. 19,	In Sindh.
8	Capt. H. J. Keith,	2d Q.'s Foot.	March 3.	
9	Capt. Hand,	2d Bombay Grenrs.	April,	Kurachee, murdered by the Beloochees.
10	Lt.-Col. J. Thomson,	31st Bombay N. I.	April 19,	1st march from Shikarpoor—Apoplexy.
11	Lt. Inverarity,	H. M.'s 16th Lancers,	May 28,	Candahar—murdered by Affghans.
12	Lt. J. H. Corry,	17th Foot,	June 4,	Proceeding to join. Heat of weather.
13	Asst. Surgeon J. Halloran,	Bombay Foot Artillery,	...	Ditto, ditto.
14	Lt. Chalmers,	43d Bengal N. I.	June,	Bagh, ditto.
15	Ensn. Beaufort,	42d ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto, ditto.
16	Dr. Hamilton,	17th Foot,	June 21,	Candahar.
17	Lt. Baynes,	Bombay Arty.	Aug.	Quetta.
18	Capt. Meik,	31st Bengal N. I.	Ditto,	Ditto.
19	Brigr. Arnold,	H. M.'s 16th Lancers,	Aug. 20,	Cabool.
20	Lt.-Col. J. Herring, C. B.	37th Bengal N. I.	Sept. 3,	At Hyder Khel, near Cabool, murdered by Ghiljies.
21	Capt. Fothergill,	13th Foot,	Sept. 5,	Cabool.
22	Capt. Gould,	42d Bengal N. I.	Sept. 6,	Quetta.
23	Capt. Timings,	Bengal H. A.	Sept. 12,	Cabool, worn out.
24	Bt. Major Hart,	43d Bengal N. I.	Oct. 11,	Candahar.
25	Capt. J. Hay,	35th ditto,	Oct. 13,	Cabool.

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Nos.	Rank and Names.	Corps.	Dates.	Where and how died, &c.
26	Major Keith,	D. A. G. Bombay Army,	Oct. 19,	Between Cabool and Quetta, sore throat.
27	Capt. Hackitt,	17th Foot,	Ditto,	Jugduluk, between Cabool and Jellalabad.
28	Lt. T. Gravatt,	2d ditto,	Nov. 13,	Killed at the storm of Khelat.
29	Capt. Hilton,	H. M.'s 16th Lancers,	Dec. 12,	Drowned fording the Jheelum, in the Punjab.
30	Capt. Ogle,	H. M.'s 4th L. D.	Dec.	At Shikarpoor.
31	Dr. Forbes,	V. Bombay Lt. Cavy.	Ditto,	Ditto.
32	Dr. Walker,	42d Bengal N. I.	Dec. 22,	Candahar.
33	Lt. Collinson,	37th ditto,	Jan. 18, 1840,	Died of wound received in action at Pooshoot near Jellalabad.
34	Capt. Sutherland,	13th Foot,	April,	Cabool.

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No. I.

Return of all Death Casualties (killed, &c.) in the Bengal Column of the Army of the Indus, from 10th Dec. 1838 to the 31st Dec. 1839. Hd. Qrs. Camp at Ferozpoor, 1st Jan. 1840.

			Eurn. Comssd. Officers.						European N. C. O., Rank and File.					Native Comssd. N. C. O., Rank and File.						Cattle.	
Average Strength in year 1839.	Arm.	Corps and Detachments.	Colonels.	Lt.-Cols.	Capts.	Lieuts.	Ensigns, &c.	Assist. Surgeons.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Bombrs.	Trumpeters, &c.	Rank and File.	Soobadars.	Jemadars.	Havrs. &c.	Naicks, &c.	Trumpeters, &c.	Rank and File.	Horses.	Gun Camels.
102		2nd T. 2nd B. H. A.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	0
93	Arty., ..	4th Co. 2nd B. A.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
161		2nd Co. 6th B. A.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	18	0	44
463		H. M. 16th Lancers.....	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	62	0	0	0	0	0	0	219	0
440		2nd Lt. Cavy.,	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	20	206	0
450	Cavalry,	3rd do., ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	12	76	0
160		Dett. 1st local Horse,.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	75	0
879		4th Local Hrs.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	540	0
254		Sappers and Miners, ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	0
502		H. M. 13th Lt. Infantry, ..	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	4	0	2	85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
728	1st Brigade Infy.	16th Regt. N. I.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	7	0	53	0	0
741		48th do. do. ..	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	42	0	0
676		31st do. do. ..	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	4	0	43	0	0
617	2nd do..	42nd do. do. ..	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	8	5	2	59	0	0
744		43rd do. do. ..	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	0
566		1st European Regt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
730	4th do..	35th Regt. N.I.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	25	0	0
703		37th do. do. ..	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	27	0	0
9007		Totals,..	1	3	5	3	1	1	5	5	2	3	188	3	2	36	25	4	380	1146	44
(1)		Total of each,	14						203					450							

N. B. The H. A. marched with 169, 16th Lancers 463, 2nd Cavalry 440, 3rd Ditto 450. Dett. 1st Local Horse with 160, and 4th Local Horse, with 797. Total 2,479 Horses. *The loss of* 1,146 *being* 46 *P. C.* (including cast, &c. &c.) The *Bombay Column*, out of about 1700 horses, lost 418, equal to more than 27½ P. C. Total Bengal and Bombay horses lost 1564, or nearly 38 P. C. The Bombay loss is calculated up to its return. The transport train lost 195 out of 500 bullocks. Hackery bullocks 326. Total loss of 521 bullocks.

(1) Add park of artillery 684. Also 4th T. 3rd B. H. A. (lent to the Shah's force) 140, making the total 9,831 men.

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Observations on Table No. 2, Admissions into Hospital, and Deaths in the "Army of the Indus," for the year 1839.

The sickness in the 31st and 42nd Regts. N. I. is to be ascribed more to the fatigue and privations the men underwent before their arrival in *Shawl* (May 1839), than to any peculiar unhealthiness in the situation of *Quetta*. These Regts. marched from Shikarpoor by Detts. in charge of Convoys, during the months of April, May, June and part of July; and suffered greatly from incessant fatigue, daily, indeed hourly, exposure to intense heat, (the thermometer one day stood at 135° in a tent,) and severe privations arising from want of water; which, when procurable, was for the most part very bad.

On these parties reaching *Shawl*, they were in a comparatively cold climate, and incapable of protecting themselves against its chilling effects, in consequence of many of them, (the whole of the 31st N. I. certainly,) having been compelled to throw away all their bedding and warm clothing, such as *meerzaees* (quilted jackets) and *ruzaees* (quilts) from want of carriage, arising from casualties among their camels.

The men not being able to procure vegetables, milk, and other articles of diet considered necessary by them, must have had an injurious effect; more particularly as for some time they had no dhall, (split peas.)

The 43rd N. I. arrived at Quetta in March, 1839, consequently continued healthy.

The 43rd N. I. arrived at Quetta in March, the 31st and 42nd N. I. not till May, 1839. The 37th N. I. reached Candahar in May, 1839. The rest of the Bengal troops reached Candahar in April, 1839.

The climate of Shawl is variable, the changes of temperature sudden, and the range of the thermometer great, *viz.* about 45° within the 24 hours in tents, and about 90° in the open air. Nevertheless, if the sepoys arrived there in good health, had sufficient clothing (extra to what is customary in Hindostan during the cold season); abundance of warm-bedding; good huts; and wholesome food, it is the opinion of medical men, that they would remain as healthy as Native troops generally are in *India*.

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Around the town of *Quetta*, the water lies near the surface, and forces itself upwards by many springs which stagnate, and cause numerous small morasses. These and the constant irrigation of the fields, may account for the *intermittent fevers* which always prevailed at *Quetta* in autumn.

This part of the valley, however, is capable of being drained, which operation would, it is said, decidedly add much to the salubrity of the place, and probably would free it altogether from fevers.

The Bolan Pass is open for travellers during the whole year. The difficulty and danger lies between Dadur and Shikarpoor in the hot weather.

The cold this winter at *Quetta* has stood at 10°, and 50° in a tent with a fire.

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No. 2.—*Monthly Numerical Return, shewing the number of Admissions and Deaths, in the European and Native Troops of the "Army of the Indus," from* 1*st Jan. to* 31*st Dec.* 1839, *inclusive.*

Camp Jellalabad, 1*st Jan.* 1840.

(1) 1839. Months.	H. M.'s 16th Lancers, average strength 463½.										2nd Troop 2nd Bgde. H. Arty., average strength 102½									
	Admissions.					Deaths.					Admissions.					Deaths.				
	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	5	1	—	34	40	—	—	—	1	1	2	2	—	10	14	—	—	—	—	—
February,	1	—	—	57	58	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	11	14	—	—	—	—	—
March,	21	—	—	41	62	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	4	5	—	—	—	1	1
April,	13	1	—	116	130	—	—	—	2	2	2	5	—	27	34	—	—	—	—	—
May,	6	—	2	97	105	2	1	—	4	7	1	4	—	18	23	—	2	—	2	4
June,	16	1	—	85	102	1	1	—	4	6	—	11	—	14	25	—	—	—	—	—
July,	15	2	—	67	84	1	—	—	7	8	4	3	2	12	21	1	—	—	2	3
August,	9	1	—	38	48	—	—	—	1	1	6	—	—	10	16	1	—	—	1	2
September,	14	—	—	18	32	—	—	—	7	7	3	1	—	5	9	—	—	—	—	—
October,	17	2	—	45	64	—	—	—	5	5	2	1	—	4	7	—	—	—	1	1
November,	14	1	—	34	49	1	—	—	2	3	4	3	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—
December,	8	1	—	37	46	2	—	—	4	6	5	—	—	6	11	—	—	—	—	—
Total,	139	10	2	669	820	7	2	—	37	46	30	33	2	121	186	2	2	—	7	11
Ratio p. c. per annum,	32	2	½	1¼ to 1	2 to 1	1½	½	—	8	10	30	33	2	1⅛ to 1	2 to 1	2	2	—	7	11

(1) For range of the Thermometer, see Table, No. 3.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(2) 4th Co. 2nd Arty. Bn. average strength 93 $\frac{7}{12}$.										(3) H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infy., average strength 502.									
	Admissions.					Deaths.					Admissions.					Deaths.				
	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	2	3	1	7	13	—	—	—	—	—	15	8	—	51	74	—	—	—	—	—
February,	2	3	—	9	14	—	—	—	1	1	11	10	—	70	91	1	—	—	—	1
March,	2	—	—	9	11	—	—	—	—	—	23	10	—	61	94	—	—	—	—	—
April,	8	1	—	19	28	—	—	—	—	—	55	8	1	97	161	—	—	—	1	1
May,	5	—	—	11	16	—	—	—	1	1	38	10	3	126	177	—	1	—	—	1
June,	4	—	—	9	13	—	—	—	1	1	45	27	2	100	174	—	1	—	4	5
July,	8	—	—	10	18	—	—	—	—	—	33	15	1	106	155	3	2	—	21	26
August,	12	—	—	10	22	1	—	—	—	1	12	8	1	52	73	1	3	—	10	14
September,	30	2	—	8	40	—	—	—	—	—	16	1	1	26	44	—	—	—	4	4
October,	43	—	—	5	48	1	—	—	—	1	11	10	—	49	70	—	—	—	5	5
November,	23	—	—	6	29	—	—	—	—	—	9	2	—	21	32	1	1	—	1	3
December,	11	—	—	7	18	—	—	—	1	1	18	2	—	44	64	1	1	—	8	10
Total,	150	9	1	110	270	2	—	—	4	6	286	111	9	803	1209	7	9	—	54	70
Ratio p. c. per annum,	1 $\frac{2}{3}$ to 1	10	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	3 to 1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	58	22	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	—	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	14

(2) Left at Candahar when the Army marched on 27th June, 1839. (3) Left at Cabool the whole winter.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(4) Hon. Comp. 1st Eurn. Regt., average strength 566. Admissions. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Deaths. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	(4) 2nd Regt. Lt. Cavy., average strength Admissions. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions	Deaths. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	18	7	...	57	82	...	...	...	1	1	9	...	...	24	33	...	...	...	1	1
February,	23	10	...	38	71	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	...	18	31	1	...	...	...	1
March,	24	18	...	48	90	...	...	...	1	1	10	...	...	20	30	2	...	...	1	3
April,	65	13	...	86	164	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	47	63	1	...	...	1	2
May,	45	30	...	78	153	2	1	...	1	4	10	...	...	52	62	2	...	...	...	2
June,	49	19	...	50	118	1	...	...	2	3	9	...	...	24	33	1	...	...	...	1
July,	49	22	...	119	190	1	...	...	4	5	9	...	...	42	51	1	...	...	...	1
August,	21	3	...	60	84	...	...	...	2	2	11	...	...	36	47	...	...	...	...	...
September,	9	5	...	45	59	...	...	...	1	1	8	...	...	15	23	...	...	...	...	...
October,	7	4	...	44	55	...	...	...	3	3	7	...	...	16	23	...	...	...	...	...
November,	4	1	...	60	65	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	14	18	...	...	...	...	...
December,	3	3	...	39	45	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	22	30	...	...	...	...	...
Total,	317	135	...	724	1176	4	1	...	15	20	112	...	...	332	444	8	...	...	3	11
Ratio p. c. per annum,	68	28	...	1¼ to 1	2½ to 1	¾	¼	...	2¾	3½	27	...	...	76	100	2¼	...	...	1¾	3

(4) Marched from Cabool in October 1839 for Jellalabad. The Eurn. Regt. is at Kujyah (now), 25 miles from Jellalabad.

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No. 2,—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(5) 3rd Regt. Lt. Cavy., average strength 450.										(5) 4th Regt. Loc. Hse., average strength 879 $\frac{8}{12}$.									
	Admissions.					Deaths.					Admissions.					Deaths				
	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	16	—	—	32	48	1	—	—	—	1	10	5	—	23	38	—	—	—	1	1
February,	14	8	—	26	48	—	—	—	—	—	18	15	—	13	46	—	—	—	—	—
March,	10	8	—	20	38	—	1	—	2	3	14	9	—	18	41	—	—	—	—	—
April,	5	—	—	58	63	—	—	—	2	2	3	—	—	18	21	—	—	—	—	—
May,	15	—	—	39	54	—	—	—	—	—	26	—	—	58	84	—	—	—	1	1
June,	11	—	—	24	35	—	—	—	—	—	19	—	—	32	51	—	—	—	—	—
July,	10	—	—	48	58	—	—	—	1	1	20	—	—	29	49	—	—	—	—	—
August,	7	—	—	27	34	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	23	43	—	—	—	1	1
September,	6	—	—	11	17	—	—	—	—	—	12	1	—	18	31	—	1	—	—	1
October,	6	—	—	24	30	—	—	—	1	1	5	—	—	15	21	—	—	—	—	—
November,	10	—	—	15	35	1	—	—	1	2	9	—	—	5	14	—	—	—	1	1
December,	17	—	—	7	24	3	—	—	—	3	10	—	—	6	16	2	—	—	1	3
Total,	127	16	—	331	474	5	1	—	7	13	167	30	—	258	455	2	1	—	5	8
Ratio p. c. per annum,	29	3½	—	66	100	¼	—	—	1	1¼	18	3⅓	—	27	48	¼	⅛	—	⅝	1

(5) Marched from Cabool on 16th October, 1839, and returned to India.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(6) 2nd Co. 6th Bn. Arty., average strength 161½.										(7) 16th Regt. N. I., average strength 728½.									
	Admissions.					Deaths.					Admissions.					Deaths.				
	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	5	..	..	12	17	..	..	..	..	..	26	..	..	48	74	..	..	..	..	..
February,	4	..	..	11	15	..	..	..	..	..	25	1	..	27	53	..	..	..	..	..
March,	5	..	..	10	15	..	..	..	..	..	33	..	..	32	65	1	..	..	..	1
April,	10	..	..	24	34	..	..	..	..	..	38	..	..	129	167	..	..	..	..	..
May,	6	..	..	11	17	..	..	..	..	..	30	4	..	111	145	..	..	..	2	2
June,	6	..	..	5	11	1	..	..	1	2	28	..	..	58	86	1	..	..	..	1
July,	10	1	..	26	37	1	..	..	..	1	42	..	..	158	200	2	..	..	13	15
August,	14	..	..	20	34	..	..	..	2	2	39	..	..	48	87	1	..	..	10	11
September,	6	1	..	5	12	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	7	13	2	..	..	1	3
October,	2	..	..	6	8	..	..	..	..	..	29	..	..	29	58	2	..	..	2	4
November,	5	..	..	4	9	..	..	..	1	1	43	1	..	15	59	11	..	..	1	12
December,	3	..	..	4	7	..	..	..	1	1	41	..	..	5	46	14	..	..	1	15
Total,	76	2	..	138	216	2	..	..	5	7	380	6	..	667	1053	34	..	..	30	64
Ratio p. c. per annum,	50	⅘	..	90	1½ to 1	⅘	..	..	3⅕	4⅗	65	¾	..	90	1 ¼ to 1	4 9/16	..	..	4¼	9

(6) Left Cabool for Jellalabad in Nov. 1839—returned to Cabool in April, 1840.
(7) Left at Ghuznee on 30th July, 1839, and there ever since.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(8) 31st Regt. N. I., average strength 676½. Admissions. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Deaths. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	(9) 35th Regt. N. I., average strength 730 $\frac{6}{12}$. Admissions. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Deaths. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	20	10	...	30	60	...	...	...	...	...	5	11	...	35	51	1	...	...	...	1
February,	20	2	...	22	44	...	...	...	...	...	20	3	...	25	48	...	...	...	2	2
March,	19	1	...	20	40	...	...	...	...	...	19	7	...	21	47	...	...	...	...	...
April,	11	4	...	21	36	...	...	...	...	...	18	2	...	43	63	...	...	...	2	2
May,	36	14	...	32	82	...	...	...	...	...	26	7	...	61	94	...	...	...	2	2
June,	36	20	...	28	84	...	...	...	...	...	27	5	...	34	66	...	1	...	...	1
July,	38	22	...	167	227	1	...	...	...	1	24	11	...	84	119	...	1	...	2	3
August,	62	23	48	74	207	1	1	21	1	24	40	14	...	49	103	...	...	...	...	...
September,	33	14	4	37	108	...	...	...	...	...	18	3	...	19	40	...	...	...	1	1
October,	28	7	...	65	100	2	1	...	2	5	17	2	...	19	38	1	...	...	...	1
November,	25	7	...	59	91	...	...	...	1	1	14	1	...	26	41	...	1	...	4	5
December,	165	1	...	40	206	2	...	...	1	3	15	2	...	16	33	...	...	...	1	1
Total,	503	135	52	595	1285	6	2	21	5	34	243	68	...	432	743	2	3	...	14	19
Ratio p. c. per annum,	75	20	8	89	2to 1	¼	½	3	¾	5	33	10	..	61	100	½	¾	...	1¾	2¾

(8) Arrived at Quetta in May and left it for Khelat in Nov. 1839. Now in India.
(9) Left at Cabool the whole winter.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(10) 37th Regt. N. I., average strength 703 $\frac{8}{14}$. Admissions. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Deaths. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	(11) 42nd Regt. N. I., average strength 617 $\frac{8}{12}$. Admissions. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Deaths. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	13	..	..	58	71	..	..	..	..	..	11	11	..	50	72	..	..	..	1	1
February,	28	..	..	38	66	2	..	..	..	2	38	7	..	38	83	1	..	..	1	2
March,	27	1	..	25	53	1	..	..	1	2	29	10	..	28	67	..	..	..	..	..
April,	24	..	..	30	54	1	..	..	..	1	7	1	..	18	26	..	..	..	..	..
May,	21	..	..	40	61	..	..	..	..	..	19	12	..	40	71	..	..	..	..	..
June,	18	3	..	53	74	1	..	..	..	1	19	1	..	40	60	..	..	..	..	..
July,	33	..	..	50	83	..	1	..	..	1	80	4	..	89	173	..	..	..	..	..
August,	26	..	..	51	77	..	..	..	4	4	123	..	22	77	222	1	1	18	1	21
September,	20	..	..	54	74	1	..	..	..	1	88	2	..	76	166	..	..	..	..	..
October,	11	..	..	33	44	1	..	..	1	2	62	1	..	111	174	..	1	..	..	1
November,	3	..	..	10	13	..	..	..	..	..	34	2	..	59	95	..	1	..	..	1
December,	1	1	..	47	49	..	..	..	2	2	18	..	..	20	38	3	..	..	1	4
Total,	231	5	..	489	719	7	1	..	8	16	528	51	22	646	1247	5	3	18	4	30
Ratio p. c. per annum,	32	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	70	100	1	1-7	..	$\frac{1}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$	84	$8\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{21}$ to 1	$2\frac{1}{17}$ to 1	1p.c. $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	5

(10) Marched from Cabool to Jellalabad in October, 1839—returned to Cabool in April, 1840.
(11) Reached Quetta in March, 1839, went to Candahar in October, 1839, and is now there.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(12) 43rd Regt. N. I., average strength 744. Admissions. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Deaths. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	(13) 48th Regt. N. I., average strength 741 $\frac{2}{12}$. Admissions. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Deaths. Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	21	10	...	62	93	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	...	103	137	...	...	...	...	...
February,	27	5	...	39	71	...	...	...	...	...	28	...	...	55	83	...	...	...	1	1
March,	26	8	...	16	50	...	...	...	...	...	21	...	...	40	61	...	...	...	...	...
April,	33	4	1	28	66	...	...	...	...	...	51	4	...	189	244	...	...	...	...	...
May,	48	8	...	18	74	1	1	...	1	3	21	3	...	170	194	...	1	...	...	1
June,	63	3	...	28	94	...	...	...	...	...	23	...	...	102	125	...	...	...	4	4
July,	47	5	...	35	87	...	...	...	...	...	35	...	...	226	261	1	...	...	5	6
August,	45	15	...	42	102	1	...	...	1	2	32	2	...	117	151	...	...	...	15	15
September,	53	9	...	14	76	...	...	...	...	...	32	4	...	107	143	2	...	...	...	2
October,	55	3	1	17	76	2	1	...	...	3	32	...	...	62	94	2	...	...	2	4
November,	66	4	...	11	81	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	66	86	...	...	...	1	1
December,	47	2	...	9	58	1	...	...	...	1	21	2	...	54	77	...	...	...	3	3
Total,	531	76	2	319	928	5	2	...	2	9	350	15	...	1291	1656	5	1	...	31	37
Ratio p. c. per annum,	74	84	$\frac{1}{8}$	43	1$\frac{1}{4}$ to 1	1	$\frac{1}{8}$	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1$\frac{1}{2}$	50	2	...	1$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	2 to 1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	...	4$\frac{1}{7}$	5

(12) Arrived at Quetta in March, and went to Candahar in September, 1839.
(13) Left Cabool in October, 1839—and since then with the European Regt. at Kujyar near Jellalabad.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(14) Sappers and Miners, average strength 254.										(15) 4th Tp., 3rd Bde. Hse. Arty. avge. strength 140.									
	Admissions.					Deaths.					Admissions.					Deaths.				
	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	4	2	..	14	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
February,	3	..	..	24	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
March,	7	2	..	12	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
April,	4	3	..	9	16	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
May,	14	28	..	16	58	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
June,	11	4	..	17	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
July,	21	13	..	31	65	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4	5	..	..	..	..	..
August,	9	4	..	10	23	1	..	..	1	2	6	1	..	8	15	..	..	..	1	1
September,	6	3	..	1	10	..	..	..	..	..	16	5	..	18	39	..	1	..	..	1
October,	2	3	..	7	12	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	16	21	..	..	..	..	..
November,	13	..	..	22	35	..	..	..	..	..	12	2	..	8	22	..	..	..	..	..
December,	9	7	..	10	26	1	..	..	2	3	9	1	..	11	21	..	..	..	..	..
Total,	103	69	..	173	345	2	..	..	4	6	46	12	..	65	123	..	1	..	1	2
Ratio p. c. per annum,	43	28	..	46	1¼ to 1	½ p.c. & ¼	..	..	1½	2¼	33	9	..	50	88	..	¾	..	¾	1½

(14) Left Cabool on 16th Oct. 1839 and returned to India; except a small part left in Affghanistan.
(15) Left at Cabool. Wintered at Bameean; and a native Troop of H. A.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

1839. Months.	(16) Park of Artillery, average strength 684.									
	Admissions.					Deaths.				
	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Admissions.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Other Diseases.	Total Deaths.
January,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
February,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
March,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
April,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
May,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
June,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
July,	8	1	..	15	24	..	..	..	..	..
August,	2	3	..	13	18	..	1	..	2	3
September,	2	1	..	10	13	..	..	..	4	4
October,	3	..	..	7	10	..	1	..	..	1
November,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
December,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total,	15	5	..	45	65	..	2	..	6	8
Ratio p. c. per annum,	2½	⅝	..	6¾	10	..	¼	..	½ p. c. and ¼	1¼

(16) Left Cabool on 16th October, 1839, and returned to India.

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Admissions into the Hospital of the 35th Bengal N. I., at Cabool, during the months of January, February, March, and April, 1840.—About 700 men.

1840. January.	Diseases.	Remaining on 1st January, 1840.	Admitted in January.	Total.	Discharged in January.	Died in January.	Remaining.
	Cutaneous diseases,	..	2	2	2	..	..
	Dislocations and sprains,	1	..	1	1	..	..
	Intermittent fevers,	3	11	14	10	..	4
	Gonorrhœa,	1	1	2	2	..	..
	Thoracic Inflammation,	2	9	11	3	6	2
	Rheumatism,	..	1	1	..	..	1
	Syphilitic affections,	..	2	2	1	..	1
	Ulcers,	4	3	7	6	..	1
	Wounds,	2	..	2	1	..	1
	Other diseases,	3	5	8	1	2	5
	Total,	16	34	50	27	8	15

1840. February.	Diseases.	Remaining on 1st February.	Admitted in February.	Total.	Discharged in February.	Died in February.	Remaining.
	Diarrhœa,	..	1	1	..	..	1
	Cutaneous diseases,	..	1	1	1	..	..
	Fevers { Remittent,	..	1	1	1	..	..
	Fevers { Intermittent,	4	2	6	5	..	1
	Thoracic Inflammations,	2	7	9	2	1	6
	Rheumatism,	1	3	4	4	..	..
	Syphilis,	1	..	1	1	..	..
	Ulcer,	1	..	1	..	..	1
	Wounds,	1	..	1	..	..	1
	Other diseases,	5	6	11	5	..	6
	Total,	15	21	36	19	1	16

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1840. March.	Diseases.	Remaining on 1st March.	Admitted in March.	Total.	Discharged in March.	Died in March.	Remaining.
	Cutaneous,...	...	2	2	2	...	...
	Diarrhœa, ...	1	1	2	...	1	1
	Fevers, { Remittent,.....	...	15	15	11	...	4
	Fevers, { Intermittent, ...	1	1	2	1	...	1
	Thoracic inflammation, ...	6	...	6	5	...	1
	Rheumatism,.....	...	3	3	1	...	2
	Ulcers, ...	1	1	2	...	...	2
	Wounds, ...	1	...	1	...	...	1
	Other diseases, ...	6	13	19	9	1	9
	Total,.....	16	36	52	29	2	21

1840. April.	Diseases.	Remaining on 1st April.	Admitted in April.	Total.	Discharged in April.	Died in April.	Remaining.
	Cutaneous diseases,.....	...	1	1	...	...	1
	Diarrhœa, ...	1	...	1	1	...	...
	Sprains, ...	...	1	1	...	...	1
	Fevers, { Remittent,.....	4	22	26	20	1	5
	Fevers, { Intermittent,.....	1	16	17	12	...	5
	Thoracic Inflammation, ...	1	3	4	2	...	2
	Rheumatism,.....	2	2	4	3	...	1
	Syphilis,.....	...	1	1	1	...	...
	Gonorrhœa, ...	...	1	1	1	...	...
	Ulcers, ...	2	...	2	1	...	1
	Wounds, ...	1	...	1	...	...	1
	Other diseases,.....	9	25	34	29	...	5
	Total,.....	21	72	93	70	1	22

N. B. About 150 of this Regt. were on duty on an average, during the *winter*. H. M. 13th Infy., it is said, had about 60 men, on duty. The sepoys of the 35th N. I. stood the cold admirably well; though the thermometer was often 4 and 6 degrees below *zero*, and though exposed as sentries day and night. They had barracks, and fires were kept up in them. The men had charpoys (beds), but were crowded, and the floor is said to have been damp. Out of 700 men 12 died in 4 months; about 1⅞ p. c. They lost 14 men in all 1839.

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No. 3.—*Range of the Thermometer during* 1838-39. *For the Month of Dec.* 1838.

Places.	1838 Dec.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks. (1)
In the Bhawulpoor Country.	18	45	84	39	
	19	45	84	39	
	20	48	86	33	
	21	48	86	38	
	22	53	80	27	
	23	53	80	27	
	24	50	70	20	
	25	34	70	36	Ice ¼ inch thick.
	26	54	66	12	A cold westerly wind and heavy clouds, succeeding to the heat of the morning.
	27	54	72	18	
	28	40	70	30	
Bhawulpoor,	29	50	68	18	
	30	50	68	18	
	31	50	68	18	

(1) The range of the Thermometer was kept inside a small 12 feet square Hill-tent, with 2 flies (roofs) but only one set of Qunats (walls).

The difference between this tent and a Subaltern's single-poled-tent (14 feet square) gave a lower temperature of about 5 to 8 degrees.

At Candahar we used *Tatties* in the months of May and June, 1839.

The tents of the sick were about 5 degrees hotter than the hill-tents; but the European sick were quartered in mud houses, in which the temperature was reduced 18 to 20 degrees below that in a hill-tent.

At *Bameean*, on the Feb. 1840, the cold was excessive, being 10° below *zero*, for several mornings, and the maximum temperature at noon was 15° to 20° of the thermometer in the shade. In the forts, there, with a good fire raised to 50°, The Goorkha Battn. had lost 30 men since their arrival there. But Jellalabad, between Cabool and Peshawer, offered this year the most curious fact as to temperature. On the 6th January, 1840, the thermometer stood *at* 28° *at sunrise, and at* 92° *at* 2½ P. M. *in the open air; being a difference of* 64 *degrees*, a variation greater than reported from any other station in Affghanistan. Jellalabad and Kujyar are the most trying situations for troops, European or native. Their relief would, consequently, be desirable.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of January, 1839.

Places.	1839 Jan.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
The Bhawulpoor Country.	1	55	68	13	
	2	45	60	15	
	3	46	60	14	
	4	34	60	26	
	5	48	60	12	
	6	44	74	30	
	7	44	74	30	
	8	44	80	36	
	9	44	80	36	
	10	44	82	38	
	11	44	84	40	
	12	54	68	14	
	13	58	84	26	
In Upper Sindh.	14	44	76	32	
	15	40	62	22	
	16	50	70	20	
	17	54	72	18	
	18	40	80	40	
	19	38	76	38	
	20	44	80	36	
	21	38	74	36	
	22	38	72	34	
	23	37	78	40	
Rohree.	24	44	84	40	
	25	56	78	22	
	26	48	78	38	
Lower Sindh.	27	47	80	33	
	28	50	80	30	
	29	48	80	32	
	30	55	82	27	
	31	60	82	22	

Maximum 84°. Minimum 34°. Mean 59°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of February, 1839.

Places.	1839 Feb.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
Lower Sindh.	1	48	78	30	
	2	47	76	29	
	3	55	78	23	
	4	58	84	28	
	5	58	78	20	
	6	40	80	40	
	7	44	80	36	
	8	50	86	36	
	9	45	89	44	
	10	55	91	36	
	11	54	92	38	
	12	65	92	27	
	13	54	90	36	
	14	60	90	30	
Sukkur.	15	60	92	32	
	16	50	90	40	
	17	48	85	37	
	18	44	78	34	Threatened rain. Thunder and large drops fell in showers.
	19	50	78	28	Rain fell heavily at 4 A. M.
Shikarpoor.	20	55	86	31	Altitude above the sea 250 feet.
Upper Sindh.	21	55	86	31	
	22	48	78	30	
	23	58	86	28	
	24	48	78	30	
	25	36	76	40	Ice this morning.
	26	50	80	30	
	27	45	90	45	
	28	50	92	42	

Maximum 92°. Minimum 36°. Mean 64°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of March, 1839.

Places.	Altitudes.	1839 Mar.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
Upper Sindh.	Feet.					
		1	50	94	44	
		2	50	94	44	
		3	50	94	44	
Beloochistan.		4	60	98	38	
		5	56	96	40	
		6	60	98	38	
		7	60	98	38	
		8	60	96	36	
		9	60	88	28	
Dadur.	743	10	60	88	28	
		11	55	82	27	
		12	50	82	32	
		13	50	84	34	
		14	55	82	27	
		15	50	86	36	
	904	16	62	86	24	
	1,081	17	60	86	26	Very close and cloudy.
	1,695	18	60	72	12	Rain poured all night, and at 4 A. M. heavily.
The Bolan Pass.	2,540	19	50	66	16	A gale of wind, and some heavy showers during the night. Cold considerable. Many tents blown down.
	4,494	20	52	66	14	Wind N. W. and cold.
	5,793	21	44	60	16	
		22	38	75	37	
		23	50	68	18	Heavy clouds—threatening snow.
		24	55	72	17	
		25	44	66	22	
Quetta.	5,637	26	34	60	26	
		27	40	62	22	Clouds and wind.
		28	30	58	28	Rain at day-break. Snow in the hills, and rain in the valley, whole day and night.
		29	38	60	22	
		30	38	72	34	A beautiful day.
		31	40	70	30	

Maximum 98°. Minimum 34°. Mean 66°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of April, 1839.

Places.	Altitudes.	1839 Apl.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
		1	44	76	32	
		2	50	76	26	
		3	55	76	21	Heavy rain at night.
		4	56	76	20	The weather cleared up in the morning. In the evening a strong gale, with heavy rain.
		5	40	64	24	Cold clear sky and wind. 3 P. M. bleak wind; bitter cold all night, and strong wind.
		6	38	64	26	
Kuchlak.		7	46	76	30	
Hyderzye.	5,259	8	62	79	17	Close cloudy morning.
Hykulzye.	5,063	9	52	82	30	
		10	52	88	36	
		11	48	83	35	
		12	60	80	20	
		13	55	84	29	
Kojuk Pass.	6,848	14	60	94	34	The summit of the Pass 7,457.
Chumun Chokee.	5,677	15	60	86	26	
		16	60	87	27	
Dundee Goolaee.	4,036	17	62	89	27	
		18	62	97	35	
		19	54	102	48	
Quilla Futoolah.	3,918	20	54	102	48	
		21	54	102	48	
		22	52	102	50	
Tukht-i-pool.	3,630	23	60	102	42	
		24	62	100	38	
		25	68	99	31	
Canda har.	3,484	26	62	94	32	
		27	62	88	26	
		28	50	90	40	
		29	50	97	47	
		30	64	96	32	

Maximum 102°. Minimum 38°. Mean 70°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of May, 1839.

Places.	Altitudes.	1839 May	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
Candahar.	3,484	1	54	98	44	
		2	54	94	40	
		3	55	96	41	
		4	54	99	45	
		5	56	102	46	
		6	60	100	40	
		7	62	100	38	
		8	62	102	40	
		9	60	98	38	
		10	56	98	42	
		11	56	100	44	
		12	56	102	46	
		13	56	102	46	
		14	56	102	46	
		15	58	102	44	
		16	60	104	44	A violent storm of wind at night.
		17	62	104	42	Weather getting more oppressive every day.
		18	66	104	38	
		19	66	100	34	A gale of wind from S. W. with clouds of dust; but cool in the middle of the day.
		20	50	86	36	Cold wind from S. W. cloudy—threatening rain.
		21	54	85	31	Strong S. W. winds and heavy clouds.
		22	56	85	29	
		23	59	92	33	
		24	58	95	37	
		25	56	96	40	
		26	58	97	39	
		27	56	99	43	
		28	62	98	36	
		29	62	100	38	
		30	64	102	38	
		31	54	102	48	

Maximum 104°. Minimum 50°. Mean 77°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of June, 1839.

Places.	Altitudes.	1839 June	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. E.	Differ.	Remarks.
Candahar.	3,484	1	52	104	52	
		2	54	104	50	
		3	54	105	51	
		4	66	106	40	At 10 A. M. 100°. Noon 102°. In the sun 122°.
		5	58	106	48	
		6	60	106	46	
		7	54	106	52	
		8	54	106	52	
		9	62	106	42	A close heavy atmosphere. At night a gale of hot wind.
		10	74	100	26	Strong wind and cloudy.
		11	56	102	46	Very chilly early in the morning.
		12	52	100	48	
		13	62	104	42	A very windy hot day.
		14	62	100	38	A gale of hot wind all day with clouds.
		15	60	100	40	
		16	52	100	48	
		17	54	106	52	
		18	60	106	46	At 9 A. M. 90°. Noon 98°. In the sun 128°. Hot wind at night.
		19	70	108	38	Do. Noon 100°.
		20	66	108	42	10 A. M. 100°.
		21	68	108	40	
		22	68	108	40	
		23	70	108	38	
		24	70	110	40	
		25	72	110	38	
		26	72	110	38	
Abool Uzeez.		27	72	108	36	Left Candahar.
Quilla Azeem.	3,945	28	82	103	21	12°, cooler during the march.
Quilla Akhoond Shuhr-i-shuffa.	4,418	29	72	100	28	Full moon. Cool during the night.
	4,618	30	68	104	36	

Maximum 110°. Minimum 52°. Mean 81°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of July, 1839.

Places.	Altitudes.	1839 July	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
Teerundaz,	4,829	1	70	100	30	Great change in the temperature which increased much towards dawn.
		2	68	100	32	
Jugduluk,	5,396	3	76	102	26	A gale of hot wind blew all night. A hot march.
Khelat-i-Ghiljie,	5,773	4	62	100	38	
		5	62	98	36	
Sir-i-usp,	5,973	6	72	96	24	A cold, cutting, breeze sprung up on the march.
Tazee Nouruk,	6,136	7	72	93	21	
Tazee,	6,321	8	70	93	23	
		9	62	90	28	93° noon. Thunder, cooled atmosphere.
Shuftul,	6,514	10	60	96	36	
Chusma-i-Shadee,	6,668	11	58	97	39	Heavy clouds and wind.
Punguk,	6,810	12	70	93	23	Strong gusts of wind, heavy clouds—evening cool.
Ghojan,	7,068	13	66	92	27	In the sun 12 to 2 P. M. 110°. After 3 P. M. heavy gale of wind and clouds.
Mukoor,	7,091	14	64	87	23	
		15	56	87	31	
Oba,	7,325	16	60	92	32	
Jumrood,	7,426	17	62	93	31	
Musheekee,	7,309	18	66	91	25	Heavy rain in the middle of the night.
Arghistan,	7,502	19	66	93	27	Close day with distant thunder.
Nannee,	7,420	20	68	94	26	
Ghuznee,	7,726	21	68	94	26	
		22	66	92	26	
		23	56	94	38	The wind cold, and chilling.
		24	58	90	32	
		25	58	92	34	
		26	58	93	35	Thunder storm in the night, and light rain.
		27	62	90	28	Ditto ditto, lightning and rain in the evening.
		28	58	92	34	
	(2)	29	60	90	30	
Shushgao,	8,697	30	62	86	24	A furious wind all day, with hazy weather.
Huftasya,	8,420	31	52	88	36	At 4 A. M. in open air 47°. Cold S. wind and cool night.

Maximum 102°. Minimum 52°. Mean 77°.

(2) Gundi Shere Pass, estimated 9,000 feet.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*
For the Month of August, 1839.

Places.	Alti-tudes.	1839 Aug.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
Hyderkhel,	7,637	1	60	94	34	
Shakabad,	7,473	2	56	98	42	
		3	60	94	34	
Mydan,	7,747	4	60	88	28	
Urghundee,	7,628	5	62	88	26	
Cabool,	6,396	6	68	92	24	Thunder storm after 3 P. M. which reduced it to 86°.
		7	68	92	24	
		8	72	94	22	
		9	74	96	22	
		10	72	96	24	
		11	72	96	24	
		12	74	96	22	A gale of wind in the evening.
		13	54	92	38	A gale of wind all night, reducing temperature next morning.
		14	48	90	42	
		15	48	86	38	
		16	46	86	40	Cloudy and windy night.
		17	58	88	30	
		18	48	86	38	
		19	50	88	38	
		20	48	91	43	
		21	50	96	46	
		22	60	96	36	
		23	66	94	28	Heavy gale, and some rain during the night.
		24	62	90	28	Thunder, lightning, and wind, and sharp rain after 3 P. M.
		25	62	76	14	Thunder, rain, and N. W. wind, succeeded by dampness all night.
		26	58	72	14	Heavy clouds, some peaks covered with snow.
		27	56	83	27	Great mist, and rawness in the atmosphere. Sudden gusts of wind from opposite directions, and hazy weather.
		28	60	88	28	
		29	60	87	27	A fog A. M. Heavy gusts of wind, almost blowing down the tents, and hazy weather.
		30	60	84	24	Heavy gale of wind till 11 P. M.
		31	59	83	24	High winds, and mist.

The thermometer often 96° in a single-poled tent at Candahar, during this month.

Maximum 98°. Minimum 46°. Mean 72°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*
For the Month of September, 1839.

Places.	Altitude.	1839 Sep.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
Cabool,	6,396	1	58	82	24	
		2	60	83	23	Clouds and strong gales.
		3	62	84	22	Heavy clouds, with a gale of wind. Snow fell on the mountains, lowering temperature.
		4	54	84	30	Cold N. W. winds. Snow
		5	54	86	32	melted during the day.
		6	56	88	32	Winds from E. with sultry lulls—close night gale of wind and thunder.
		7	64	84	20	The gale all night, cooled
		8	60	82	22	the atmosphere.
		9	58	82	24	Heavy rain, and strong gales of wind.
		10	58	76	18	Heavy winds, and deep fall
		11	52	80	28	of snow on the mountains.
		12	54	80	26	The snow disappeared. The
		13	54	80	26	natives said the late gales caused by the change of the moon.
		14	60	82	22	A gale of wind with the
		15	56	84	28	setting sun, and lasted
		16	54	90	36	best part of the night.
		17	56	88	32	A heavy gale of wind from
		18	50	88	38	N. E. after 3 P. M.
		19	52	88	36	
		20	54	88	34	A gale of wind and clouds in the evening.
		21	56	82	26	A cool summer breeze. Fresh breeze at dusk.
		22	54	84	30	Strong wind at night.
		23	54	88	34	
		24	54	90	36	Black clouds and high winds
		25	62	80	18	Heavy clouds, wind, and slight rain.
		26	56	72	16	Ditto ditto and strong gale of wind all night.
		27	54	70	16	Ditto ditto and wind. Heavy fall of snow on the mountains obscuring the sun. The highest peaks covered with snow; all darkness below.
		28	54	78	24	Strong wind in the evening, and night.
		29	50	78	28	The Autumn arrived.
		30	50	82	32	A gale of wind from 4 P. M. till 11 P. M. almost blew the tents down.

The thermometer often 96° in a single-poled tent at Candahar, during this month.

Maximum 90°. Minimum 50. Mean 70°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of October, 1839.

Places.	Altitudes.	1839 Oct.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
Cabool,	6,396	1	50	82	32	Fine temperate weather.
		2	50	80	30	
		3	50	80	30	A gale of wind, half the night.
		4	50	78		
		5	48	76	28	Gales of wind.
		6	47	73	26	A heavy gale of wind in the night.
		7	47	70	23	A N. W. wind, cold at night 54°.
		8	40	68	28	A. M. Ice outside ¼ inch thick, bracing weather, and clear sky.
		9	40	72	32	Fine weather, bracing cold.
		10	40	76	36	A. M. extremely cold.
		11	40	70	30	Ice outside the tent.
		12	40	68	28	Heavy clouds in evening, and cold E. wind, threatening a snow storm.
		13	48	72	24	Change to warm and close weather.
		14	48	72	24	
Boot Khak,	6,247	15	44	64	20	
Khoord Cabool,	7,466	16	36	64	28	Must have been below zero all night. The water bags having nothing but ice in them. Cold intense in the Pass, piercing E. S. E. wind.
Tezeen Valley,	(3) 6,488	17	30	66	36	
		18	50	75	25	A change of wind dispersed the frost.
Bareek-ab,	5,313	19	48	72	24	During the march the wind changed from S. to N., and froze the water.
Jugduluk,	5,375	20	54	72	18	
Soorkh-ab,	4,373	21	40	80	40	
Gundamuk,	4,616	22	56	78	22	
		23	54	75	21	
Futeh-ab,	3,098	24	52	80	28	
Sultanpoor,	2,286	25	54	90	36	
Jellalabad,	1,964	26	54	92	38	
		27	54	92	38	
		28	54	92	38	
Alee Boghan,	1,911	29	56	92	36	At 42 min. past 3 P. M. 2 distinct shocks of an earthquake, preceded by a rumbling noise.
Bareek-ab,	1,822	30	56	88	32	
Bassool,	1,509	31	54	88	34	

Maximum 92°. Minimum 30°. Mean 61°.

(3) Tezeen Pass, 8,173.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of November, 1839.

Places.	Alti-tudes.	1839 Nov.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
Dhaka,	1,404	1	56	87	31	
Lundeekhana	2,488 (4)	2	48	78	30	Change partly owing to elevation, and partly to damp gronnd surcharged with Soda.
Ali-musjid,	2,433	3	60	82	22	A change of wind.
		4	60	82	22	
Jumrood,	1,670	5	60	86	26	
		6	58	86	28	Heavy clouds; atmosphere close and hazy.
Peshawer,	1,068	7	62	92	30	
		8	52	82	30	
		9	52	82	30	
		10	60	68	8	Heavy clouds and slight rain—no clouds at night.
		11	50	76	26	A fine clear morning.
		12	50	82	32	
		13	50	82	32	
		14	52	85	33	
		15	48	82	34	
		16	46	82	36	
		17	48	78	30	
		18	48	80	32	
		19	50	81	31	
		20	54	79	25	
		21	44	75	31	
		22	42	76	34	
		23	46	66	20	Heavy clouds threatening rain. Heavy clouds all night.
		24	56	76	20	
		25	50	76	26	
Attok,		26	46	74	28	Heavy wind from W.
		27	46	76	30	
		28	40	76	36	
		29	34	78	44	
		30	33	74	41	

Maximum 92°. Minimum 33°. Mean 62½°.

(4) The summit of the Pass, 3,373.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

For the Month of December, 1839.

Places.	1839 Dec.	4 & 5 A. M.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Remarks.
	1	36	72	36	The cold severe, weather rather cloudy.
Rawul Pindee,	2	34	75	41	
	3	40	64	24	Heavy clouds.
	4	48	76	28	
	5	36	74	38	A cold N. W. wind.
	6	48	82	34	
	7	38	74	36	
	8	42	75	33	
	9	48	80	32	
Rhotus,	10	38	76	38	
Jheelum,	11	40	72	32	
	12	38	64	26	Cloudy and threatening rain.
	13	30	68	38	In open air 22° 5 A. M. ; 36° at 8½ A. M.
	14	32	73	41	
	15	42	68	26	Cloudy morning.
	16	40	72	32	
Chenab,	17	40	76	36	
	18	38	76	38	
	19	38	78	40	
	20	38	72	34	
	21	38	72	34	Very cold on the march.
	22	38	75	37	Hoar frost.
	23	36	76	40	
	24	36	68	32	Heavy clouds threatening rain.
Ravee,	25	44	64	20	
	26	40	70	30	
	27	40	70	30	
	28	44	75	31	
	29	40	75	35	
Sutluj,	30	44	75	31	
	31	36	74	38	

Maximum 82°. Minimum 30°. Mean 56°.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

Register of Thermometer at Quetta.

For the Months of May and June, 1839.

1839 May.	Sun-rise.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Wind.	1839 June	Sun-rise.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Wind.
1	66	91	25	W.	1	47	94	47	N. W.
2	64	87	23	ditto.	2	58	96	38	ditto.
3	63	83	20	ditto.	3	63	95	32	ditto.
4	55	93	38	ditto.	4	65	94	29	ditto.
5	64	96	32	ditto.	5	66	94	28	ditto.
6	60	98	38	N. W.	6	57	94	37	ditto.
7	64	96	32	ditto.	7	55	95	40	ditto.
8	64	93	29	ditto.	8	53	94	41	ditto.
9	63	91	28	W.	9	57	98	41	ditto.
10	61	91	30	ditto.	10	64	91	27	N. W. & S. E.
11	61	95	34	ditto.					
12	61	96	35	ditto.	11	56	90	34	ditto.
13	65	95	30	ditto.	12	52	90	38	ditto.
14	67	97	30	ditto.	13	62	90	28	Variable.
15	66	100	34	ditto.	14	64	94	30	ditto.
16	66	97	31	ditto.	15	62	90	28	N. W.
17	67	96	29	ditto.	16	54	91	37	ditto.
18	68	94	26	ditto.	17	54	93	39	ditto.
19	56	84	26	N. W.	18	60	96	36	N. W. & S. E.
20	54	86	32	ditto.					
21	53	82	29	ditto.	19	64	99	35	ditto.
22	55	80	25	W.	20	62	96	34	ditto.
23	52	86	34	ditto.	21	63	87	24	ditto.
24	53	89	36	N. W.	22	66	99	33	ditto.
25	49	91	42	ditto.	23	66	99	33	ditto.
26	49	92	43	ditto.	24	69	98	29	ditto.
27	52	92	40	ditto.	25	69	95	26	S. E.
28	55	93	38	ditto.	26	68	94	26	S. E. & N. W.
29	56	92	36	ditto.					
30	65	92	27	ditto.	27	65	95	30	N. W. & S. E.
31	56	92	36	W.					
					28	65	94	29	ditto.
					29	63	92	29	N. W.
					30	65	94	29	S. E. & N. W.

Maximum 100. Minimum 49. Mean 74½.

Maximum 99. Minimum 47. Mean 73.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

Register of Thermometer at Quetta.

For the Months of July and August, 1839.

1839 July.	Sun-rise.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Wind.	1839 Aug.	Sun-rise.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Wind.
1	70	92	22	Variable.	1	58	94	36	W.
2	72	93	21	ditto.	2	61	94	33	ditto.
3	69	93	24	ditto.	3	63	95	32	ditto.
4	71	93	22	S.& N. W.	4	63	95	32	ditto.
5	69	93	24	ditto.	5	64	94	30	ditto.
6	70	92	22	ditto.	6	63	90	27	N. W.
7	68	88	20	S.	7	64	95	31	S.
8	67	73	6	ditto.	8	64	95	31	W.
9	59	92	33	ditto.	9	63	94	31	ditto.
10	68	93	25	N. W.	10	63	95	32	ditto.
11	61	94	33	ditto.	11	65	95	30	ditto.
12	62	94	32	W.	12	66	96	30	Variable.
13	66	92	26	ditto.	13	66	97	31	ditto.
14	60	91	31	ditto.	14	67	95	28	N. W.
15	56	92	36	Variable.	15	65	90	25	N. W. &. S
16	62	92	30	ditto.	16	64	88	24	W.
17	65	95	30	S.	17	66	88	22	N. W.
18	68	79	11	ditto.	18	64	87	23	Variable.
19	65	92	27	Variable.	19	63	91	28	W.
20	64	92	28	ditto.	20	62	94	32	ditto.
21	60	92	32	N. W.	21	64	95	31	ditto.
22	62	94	32	ditto.	22	64	93	29	ditto.
23	62	96	34	ditto.	23	64	94	30	Variable.
24	64	96	32	ditto.	24	65	95	30	ditto.
25	66	96	30	ditto.	25	65	89	24	ditto.
26	68	95	27	ditto.	26	59	90	31	ditto.
27	68	88	20	Variable.	27	53	90	37	ditto.
28	64	94	30	N. W.	28	57	88	31	ditto.
29	62	93	31	ditto.	29	53	91	38	ditto.
30	62	94	32	ditto.	30	53	90	27	ditto.
31	62	94	32	ditto.	31	57	91	34	ditto.

Maximum 96. Minimum 56. Mean 76.

Maximum 97. Minimum 53. Mean 75.

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No. 3.—*Continued.*

Register of Thermometer at Quetta.

For the Month of September, 1839.

1839. Sept.	Sun-rise.	3 P. M.	Differ.	Wind.
1	62	91	29	Variable.
2	63	90	27	ditto.
3	62	87	25	W.
4	52	88	36	ditto.
5	47	89	42	Variable.
6	49	89	40	ditto.
7	58	90	32	S.
8	60	88	28	S. & S. W.
9	61	82	21	ditto.
10	52	67	15	N. W.
11	50	70	20	N. & S. W.
12	51	83	32	W. & S.
13	54	85	31	N. W.
14	55	85	30	W.
15	54	85	31	ditto.
16	56	87	31	ditto.
17	53	88	35	ditto.
18	52	89	37	ditto.
19	50	84	39	N. W.
20	51	88	37	ditto.
21	50	88	38	ditto.
22	50	89	39	ditto.
23	47	87	40	ditto.
24	48	88	40	W.
25	58	87	29	N. W.
26	57	87	30	ditto.
27	47	83	36	ditto.
28	45	80	35	N.
29	42	80	38	ditto.
30	43	79	36	W.

Maximum 91. Minimun 42. Mean 66½.

N. B. The Table for October was lost at Khelat. It would give a lower temperature than that in September,

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No. 4.

Barometrical Heights in feet. Observations with an Englefield Barometer, without an attached Thermometer. (1)

Places.	Feet.	Places.	Feet.
SHIKARPOOR,	250	Quilla Kazee,	6,508
Dadur,	743	CABOOL, (Baber's Tomb,)	6,396
Kohun Delan, (Bolan Pass,)	904	Boot Khak,	6,247
Gurm-ab, (ditto,)	1,081	Khoord Cabool,	7,466
Beebee Nanee, (ditto,)	1,695	Tezeen Pass,	8,173
Abi-goom, (ditto,)	2,540	,, Valley,	6,488
Sir-i-Bolan, (ditto,)	4,494	Bareek-ab,	5,313
Munzilgah, (out of Pass,) / Dusht-i-Bedoulut,	5,793	Jugdulluk,	5,375
		Soorkh-ab,	4,373
QUETTAH,	5,637	Gundamuk,	4,616
Hyderzye,	5,259	Futtehabad,	3,098
Hykulzye,	5,063	Sultanpoor,	2,286
Halt in Khojuk Pass, Foot of main ascent,	6,848	JELLALABAD,	1,964
		Ali Boghar,	1,911
Summit of Khojuk Pass,	7,457	Bareek-ab,	1,822
Chumun, (in the valley,)	5,677	Bussoolah,	1,509
Dundee Goolaee,	4,036	Lalpoorah,	1,404
Quilla Futtoolah,	3,918	Lundee Khana, (Khyber Pass,)	2,488
Tukht-i-Pool,	3,630	Summit of Pass,	3,373
Khoosh-ab,	3,484	W. of Ali Musjid,	2,433
CANDAHAR,	3,484	Jumrood,	1,670
Quilla Azeem,	3,945	PESHAWER,	1,068
Turnuk, (29th June,)	4,418	Summit of Khaki Sufed Pass,	8,670
Shuhr-i-Suffa,	4,618	Kot-i-Ashruf, (Mydan Valley,)	7,749
Teerundaz,	4,829	Sir-i-Chushm, (Head of Cabool river,)	8,836
Julduk,	5,396		
Khelat-i-Ghiljie,	5,773	Foot of main ascent of OonnyePass,	10,522
Sir-i-usp,	5,973	Summit of Oonnye Pass,	11,320
Tazee Noorook,	6,136	Youart,	10,618
Tazee,	6,321	Helmund river,	10,076
Shuftul,	6,514	Halt in Siah Sung River,	10,488
Chusm-i-Shadee,	6,668	Kurzar,	10,939
Punguk, (12th July,)	6,810	Foot of main ascent of Hajee Guk,	11,370
Gojhan,	7,068	Summit of Hajee Guk Pass,	12,190
Mookhloor,	7,091	Kulloo,	10,853
Oba,	7,325	Sooktar, or Kulloo River,	9,639
Jumrat, (Jumrood,)	7,426	Summit of Kulloo Pass,	12,481
Mahshookee	7,309	Topchee,	9,085
Urguttoo,	7,502	Bameean,	8,496
Near Nanee,	7,420	Zohawk at junction of Kulloo and Bameean River,	8,186
GHUZNEE,	7,726		
Gund-i-Sher Pass, (estimated,)	9,000	Lesser Erak Pass, (very steep,)	9,155
Shushgao,	8,697	Erak Valley, upper end of cultivation,	8,914
Huftasya,	8,420		
Hyder Khel,	7,637	Halt in Erak Ravine, near foot of main ascent,	11,545
Shakabad,	7,473		
Quilla Sir Mahomed,	8,051	Summit of the greater Erak Pass, (Here we came on our first route at Kurzar.)	12,909
Mydan,	7,747		
Urghundeh,	7,628		

(1) As taken by Dr. Geo. Griffiths, Madras establishment.

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No. 5.—*Guns, and Ordnance Stores, and Grain, captured at Ghuznee on the 23rd July ;—at Arghundee on the 1st, and at Cabool on 4th August ; and near Jellalabad. By Lieut.-Col. Wade.*

Ghuznee.	Brass Guns.			Iron Guns.					Total.
	68-Pr.	6-Pr.	4-Pr.	6-Pr.	3½-Pr.	1½-Pr.	Rifled wall pieces.	Ginjals or wall pieces.	
Taken in the Fort on the 23rd July, 1839.	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	21	30 (1)

Shot.

8 Inch.	48-Pr.	42-Pr.	32-Pr.	24-Pr.	12-Pr.	9-Pr.	6-Pr.	4-Pr.	3-Pr.	Chain. 6-Pr.	Grape 6-Pr.	Ditto 4-Pr.	Ditto 3-Pr.	Total.
6	164	47	7	4	250	40	1103	353	437	7	18	13	7	2358

Balls, Cartridges, Port-fires, Blue lights, &c.

Ginjal Balls.	Leaden Balls.	Cartridges with Ball 6-Pr.	Ditto 4-Pr.	Light 6-Pr.	Ditto 4-Pr.	Ditto 3-Pr.	Rockets large.	Ditto small.	Port fires.	Blue Lights.	Flints.
1940	2180(2)	186	54	253	61	231	491	55	400	74	4418

Iron.	Lead.	Powder fine.	Bayonets.	Swords.	Shields.	Powder Horns.	Match and flint locks.
1308 lbs.	2304 lbs.	22,612	12	50	67	60	238 (3)

There were 39 horses selected for the public service, by a committee, for the H. A. and Dragoons.

(1) Carriage and limbers—the large Gun, a carriage.

(2) Balls leaden Musketry of sizes 4,144.

(3) Shovels 42 ; Picks 14 ; Iron Axle 1 ; Cylinders 15 ; Copper Cauldrons 2. Felloes, wheel, rough 10 ; Cow-hides 9 ; Lashing (pieces 12) yards 200 ; Line-Cotton tent white 60 lbs. ; Oil (country) Gallons 15 ; Steelyard 1 ; Wheels 2 ; Wood for charcoal 60 cwt. ; Iron 56 lbs.

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No. 5.—*Continued.*

Grain Captured at Ghuznee and taken by the Commissariat for the use of the army.

Flour.	Wheat.	Barley.	Peas.	Bhoosa.	Wood.
79,080 lbs.	353,780 lbs.	74,000 lbs.	3520 lbs.	57,760 lbs.	2560 lbs. (4)

Guns, &c. taken at Arghundee on the 4th August, 1839.

Brass.							Iron.		Total.
24-Pr.	12-Pr.	10-Pr.	9-Pr.	8-Pr.	6-Pr.	Howit. 6-Inch.	4-Pr.	4-Pr.	
2	8	2	4	5	1	1	1	1	25 (5)

Guns, &c. taken at Cabool on the 4th August, 1839.

Guns Brass 4-Pr., Carriages, &c..... 4

Guns taken near Jellalabad.

By Lieut.-Colonel Wade, ... 14

(4) Rice 288 lbs. ; Salt 32 lbs. ; Raisins 160 lbs.

(5) Gun Carriages 20. Limbers 16. Iron Axletrees 10½. Wooden yokes 27. Gun-Carriage bodies 7. Do. wheels 8. Do. Block-wheel 1. Collars and harness 94. Saddles 9. Infantry pouches 50. Horse-traces 75. Sponges 7. Ammn. boxes 18. Pall-tents 5. Draught bullocks 139. Powder destroyed (by accidental explosion, *owing to some men smoking near the spot*) about 300 lbs. N. B. Two of the guns were found in a house not far from where the other 23 guns were parked.

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No. 6.—*Return of Month's supply for the Army of the Indus.*

Candahar, 1st June, 1839.

Columns.	Fighting men.	Mustered followers.	Miscellaneous followers.	Horses.	Bullocks.	Gun camels.	Abstract of men and cattle.	Otta or Rice.	Dall.		Ghee.		Salt.		Gram for cattle.
								Mds.	M.	S.	M.	S.	M.	S.	Mds.
							10,406 Fighting men,	7,804	975	23	487	36	162	22	
							14,621 Mustered followers, ...	10,965	1365	30	682	30	227	10	
Bengal Column, ...	6,460	11,474	12,852	2,100	481	97	14,032 Miscellaneous followers, ...	5,262	1315	20	,,	,,	219	8	
Bombay Column, ...	3,946	3,147	1,180	1,350	,,	,,	3450 Horses, ...	....	....	..	....	..	..	..	12,937
							481 Bullocks, ...	....	....	..	....	..	..	..	1,082
							97 Gun camels, ...	....	....	..	....	..	..	..	218
								24,031	3656	22	1170	26	609	0	14,237
	10,406	14,621	14,032	3,450	481	97	4 Mds. per camels, ..	6008	914	0	293	0	153	0	3,559

Remarks.	M.	S.	C.
Otta, ...	24,031	0	0
Dall, ...	3,656	22	0
Ghee, ...	1,170	26	0
Salt, ...	609	0	0
Barley, ..	14,237	0	0
Mds., 4)	43,704	8	0
(1)			
Camels,	10,926		
Add spare,	656		
Camels,	11,582		

Fighting Men and mustered Establishments.

Otta or Rice at 1 seer ea.=2 lbs.
Dall at 2 ch. ea.=¼ ,,
Ghee at 1 ch. ea.=⅛ ,,
Salt at ⅛ ch. ea.

Miscellaneous Followers.

Otta at ½ seer ea.
Dall at 2 ch. ea.
Salt at ⅛ ch. ea.

Cattle.

Horses at 5 seers ea.
Camels, Bullocks } 3 seers ea.

N. B. Thus for an Army of 10,406 men it requires $1\frac{1}{20}$ camel per man to carry provisions for one month. A Cavalry soldier requires 7 times as much as an Infantry soldier. The latter only wants his *one* seer, the former requires one for himself, one for the groom, and 5 for his horse. Let those who think an Invasion of *India* an easy operation, study this Table.

(1) A maund is 80 lbs.

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No. 7.—*Return of Ordnance* (1) *and ordnance stores belonging to the Bengal Park with the Army of the Indus.*

Kurnal, 31st October, 1838.

	Shot, Shells, &c.																		Balled Ammunition.			Gunpowder Barrels 100 lbs. each.	
	Bomb shot.			Spherical Case.					Cannister, or grape.					Carcass shells.			Carcasses.		Light Balls.					
	18-pr.	9-pr.	6-pr.	18-pr.	9-pr.	6-pr.	24-pr. Howr.	12-pr. Howr.	18-pr.	9-pr.	6-pr.	24-pr. Howr.	12-pr. Howr.	8-Inch.	5½-do.	4⅝-do.	8-Inch.	5½-do.	8-Inch.	5½-do.	Musket.	Carbine.	Pistol.	Musketry.	Ordnance.
Moved with the Army,	2000	1428	1920	100	620	720	144	180	200	124	240	24	24	600	708	144	20	32	20	20	1,529,040	26,520	1,04,520	47	425
In Depôt at Ferozpoor for 3d & 5h Brigades,..	,,	816	960	,,	112	360	70	90	,,	68	120	12	12	,,	54	72	,,	,,	,,	,,	560,236	4,800	,,	4 5/10	59

(1) N. B. *Ordnance.* Mortars, 2—8 Inch. 2—5½ Inch. Howitzers, 1—24-pr.; 1—12-pr. Guns, 4—18-pr.; 2—9-pr.; 2—6-pr. Mortar Beds, 2—8-Inch; 2—5½ Inch. Carriages, Gun and Howitzer with Limbers, 5—18-pr.; 4—9-pr.; 4—6-pr.; 2—24-pr. Howit.; 2—12-pr. Howit. Ammn. Carriages, 33. Ammn. Tumbrils 5. Transport Carriage 1. Platform carts 5. Store carts 11.

(1) I have been obliged to insert the Guns, &c. in this form, owing to the number of Columns. The expenditure of Ammn. was not great, being chiefly used at Ghuznee, and the greatest part unconsumed was left in Affghanistan. See loss in the Khojuk Pass, p. 90.

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No. 8.—*Loss of Public and hired Cattle in the Bengal Column "Army of the Indus."*

In 14 Months.	Public camels died.	Public camels, abandoned, strayed, stolen, &c.	Total public camels.	Cavalry & H. A. horses.	Bullocks.	
					Transport train.	Hackery.
From Nov. 1838 to Dec. 1839, both included, ...	6,109	2,864	8,973	1,146	195	326
Add for Gun camels, (Bhagree,)	44	,,	44	,,		
Add for Loss of Rewaree or hired camels, ...	,,	,,	10,983	,,		
Total, ...	6,153	2,864	20,000	1,146	521	

N. B. I cannot estimate the loss of hired camels at less than 10,983. The Dy. Comy. General said, the loss of camels by Government, including the hired camels, could not be less than from 25 to 30,000, (all the returns not yet collected;) but I believe he included both the Bombay as well as Bengal Column. The Bombay Column was supplied with 7,266 camels by the Bengal Commissariat up to the time of their leaving Cabool. (1)

The value of the public camels at 70 rupees, (£ 7).....	63,119
Ditto Rewaree ditto, ditto 25, (2).....	27,457
Ditto Horses at medium value 425 rupees, ...	48,705
Ditto 195 Train Bullocks, at 30 rupees, ...	585
Ditto 326 (3) Hackery Bullocks, at 20 rupees, ...	652
For Bengal Column,	£140,518

(1) Grain of sorts, more than 40,000 maunds (3,200,000 lbs.) and 6,759 gallons of Rum.

(2) Government paid a monthly hire, and on proof of the death of a camel 25 rupees were paid to the owner.

(3) Hired by Government.

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No. 8.—*Continued.*

Loss of Cattle, &c. by Officers and Men in the Bengal Column from Nov. 1838 *to Oct.* 1839, (4) *Army of the Indus.*

Corps and Departments.	Elephants.	Camels died.	Camels stolen, &c.	Horses.	Ponies, Yaboos, &c.	Bullocks.	Tents.
General Staff,	...	58	29	2	5	..	1
Cavalry Brigade ditto,	...	2	35	1	2	9	...
Infantry ditto ditto,	...	48	4	...	...	...	...
2nd T., 2nd B., H. A.	...	26	1	1	...	1	2
H. M.'s 16th Lancers, (5)	...	250	50	...	100	30	4
2nd Light Cavalry,	...	25	35	2	3	...	1
By the men,	...	7	4	...	...	4	...
3rd Light Cavalry,	...	105	4	...	5	11	8
By the men,	...	46	12	...	2	1	...
4th Local Horse,	...	25	1	2	1	...	1¼
By the men, (6)	...	30	...	...	56	29	11
Artillery,	...	29	30	1	...	...	½
H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry,	...	129	99	...	2	...	3½
By the men,	...	33	71	...	...	...	...
1st Bengal European Regiment,	...	112	52	7	...	5	17½
By the men, (7)	...	69	14	...	...	...	...
37th Native Infantry,	1	100	10	2	...	...	2
By the men,	(8)	58	40	2	...	...	...
42nd Native Infantry, (9)	...	98	5	...	...	...	1½
By the men,	...	150	29	...	2	3	...
43rd Native Infantry, (9)	...	46	...	...	...	...	...
By the men,	...	96	...	...	...	...	...
48th Native Infantry,	...	40	10	...	...	...	...
Total,	3 (8)	1585	465	20	178	83	53¼
Total,	...	2,050		...	...	...	...

(4) Up to October, 1839.

(5) Only obtained from one squadron and estimated for the other 3.

(6) Of only 3 out of 8 Ressallahs.

(7) They lost the greater part of their bedding; and nearly all their property not carried in their knapsacks.

(8) Killed in action, Sir W. H. Macnaghten's two elephants were carried off; Lieut.-Colonel Wheeler had two elephants; we had with the army only five elephants.

(9) Did not march beyond Quetta till September, 1839.

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No. 8.—*Continued.*

N. B. I have no return from the Engineers, 31st N. I., nor from the Shah's force, and the losses of the men in 4 corps are not given. If we allow for these omissions, I should estimate the loss of Camels, at 2,500 for the Bengal Column and Shah's force.

Value of 2,500 Camels at 70 rupees, ...	£17,500
Ditto 20 Horses at 400 rupees, ...	800
Ditto 178 Ponies or Yaboos at 40 rupees, ...	712
Ditto 83 Bullocks at 30 rupees, ...	249
Ditto 53¼ Tents (large and small) at 250 rupees, ...	1,331
Add 3 Elephants at 1,000 rupees, ...	300
	£ 21,092

But, as before explained, the full return has not been furnished me. There are 3 months more to be included, (Oct. Nov. and Dec. 1839.) Many Officers lost property of value, not included in the columns; the losses of the clothes, &c. of the men are to be added: —hence, including the Shah's force, I estimate our loss at, ...£50,000

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No. 8.—*Continued.*

Loss of Cattle, &c. by Officers and Men in the Bombay Column "Army of the Indus." (10)

	Camels died.	Camels stolen.	Horses.	Ponies, Yaboos.	Bullocks.	Tents.
General Staff,	74	20	1	8	..	1
Staff 1st Infantry Brigade,	5	2	1	2	..	..
Engineers,	2	1	..	2	..	..
Artillery,	68	10	1	28	..	1
Wing, H. M.'s 4th L. D.,	63	27	..	17	7	3
2nd Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot,	76	22	2	5	2	2
By the Men,	34	..	..	..	..	..
H. M.'s 17th Foot,	57	31	3	7	6	8
19th Native Infantry,	58	13	1	17	4	3
By the Men,	96	6	..	..	..	..
Total,	533	132	9	86	19	18
Total,	665		9	86	19	18

N. B. There is no return for the 1st Light Cavalry or Poonah Horse. The losses of the men in several corps not stated. I should, therefore, estimate the loss of Camels at 800.

Value of 800 Camels, at 90 rupees, (11).	£7,200
Ditto 9 Horses, at 400 rupees,	360
Ditto 86 Ponies, at 40 rupees,	344
Ditto 19 Bullocks, at 30 rupees,	57
Ditto 18 Tents, at 250 rupees,	450
	£8,411

For the same reason as assigned in regard to the Bengal Column, I would estimate the loss at, ... 20,000

(10) Only up to middle of September, 1839.

(11) Some Officers gave 150 rupees for each camel.

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No. 8.—*Continued.*

Recapitulation of the loss of animals, and their value.

Public and private losses.	Elephants.	Camels died, stolen, &c.	Horses.	Ponies, or Yaboos.	Bullocks.	Tents.
The Government loss in both Columns,..	..	26,700	1564	..	521	(14)
Officers and men in the Bengal Column,		(12)	(13)			
and Shah's Force, ...	3	2,500	20	178	83	53¼
Ditto Bombay Column, ...	..	800	9	86	19	18
					(15)	
Total,....	3	30,000	1564	264	623	71¼

N. B. Making a total loss of 32,483 animals, which may be called in round numbers 33,000 in an army of about 13,000 men including the corps left at Quetta; and without including any of the corps left in Sindh.

The value lost by Government,.....£140,518

Add 418 Horses, (Table No. 1,) Bombay Column, medium price 450 rupees, (16) 17,810

Loss of officers and men, Bengal Column, ... 50,000

Ditto ditto Bombay ditto, ... 20,000

Aggregate amount,....228,328

Which in round numbers is, ... 229,000

This is one branch of the expense of the expedition. The rest is comprised in the extra, or full batta to the Native Troops, the money rations to them while serving beyond the Indus; (see p. 9,) and the difference between the feeding, &c. troops in a cantonment: and on a march in a distant foreign country.

(12) i. e. 20,000 for the Bengal Column; 6,700 for the Bombay; and our Commissariat actually furnished them with 7,266 camels.

(13) 1,146 Bengal Column; and 274 (Table No. 1.) Bombay Column, up to 15th September, 1839.

(14) No return of. Some were lost.

(15) No return of the Bombay public Bullocks; some died, &c.

(16) At Bombay they give 500 and 450 rupees per horse.

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

Page 8—the number of camels carrying grain were nearly 16,000.
45—note (37) "Bolan" not "Balan."
49—*for* "Rifes," *read* "Rifles." *For* "Conally," *read* "Conolly."
50—*for* "Kalifa," *read* "Kafila."
54—note (19) line 13—before "Staff," dele "Déjéuné."
63—note (1) line 2—dele "Lt."
79—top line, *for* "order," *read* "ordered."
note (34) *for* "1 A. M.," *read* "1 P. M."
83—line 6, *for* "14th," *read* "4th Brigade;" dele the figure 1.
119—note (67) *for* "selecton," *read* "selection."
144—note (4) line 3 bottom, should be "withdrawn from this frontier, on the death," &c.
149—line 17, *for* "overing," *read* "hovering."
172—line 5, should be "up *to* the left."
174—line 3, add "the:" line 16, after "succession," a comma.
188—line 18, after "personal," add "Staff."
189—before "every gateway," add "3."
193—note (83) line 8, dele "as."
223—line 6, should be "have *no* evidence."
228—note (52) line 4, should be "princes."
233—line 13, *for* "Jahaghi and Shadee Bagge" *read*, "Bagadee Tungee, and Shadee Tungee."
251—line 15, *for* "agained," *read* "again."
272—line 8, *for* "Coy.," *read* "Cos."
312—note (13) line 2, full stop after "feet."
318—line 18, *for* "100,000," *read* "£10,000."
334—note (34) line 6, should be 250 Cwt.
343—note (20) top line, should be "longest," not "largest."
369—note (8) line 5, should be "Tubbus also."
400—line 6, after "kingdom," *read* the 4th line from the bottom. "This year (1818)" to "assailed it," page 401—then, line 6, page 400. "Futeh Khan, &c."—as the writing the letter, &c. must have been before he was blinded; though in the same year.

Appendix, page 35, line 14, Major not Lieut.-Colonel George Thomson, Bengal *Engineers*.
Major E. Pottinger, Bombay *Artillery*.

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ADDENDA.

Downing Street, June 6th, 13th, and 16th, 1840.

Major General Sir Thomas Willshire, to the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom, for the Capture of Khelat.

Col. J. G. Baumgardt, of the 2nd (Queen's Royal) Regt. of Foot ; and Lieut.-Col. J. Pennycuick, of the 17th Foot ; and Lieut.-Col. R, Carruthers, 2nd Regt. of Foot, to be Companions of the most Hon'ble Mily. Order of the Bath.

Major Alexander C. Peat, Bombay Engineers, and Bt. Major Sir Alexander Burnes, Knt. Bombay N. I. to be Companions of the Bath.

On the Invasion of India.

The new edition (1840) of the work *(On the British Empire in India)* of Lieut.-General *Count Bjournstjerna*, Swedish Ambassador at the Court of London, was received by me in Calcutta, some days after the article I had written on the invasion of India was printed. The Count points to the route *vid* Herat, Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabool, Peshawer, and the Indus for an invading Army. The route, therefore, of the Army from Candahar to Cabool, and of the Head Quarters from Cabool to India, will be a subject of interest to all. I give a few extracts from the work.

Routes. " That which leads from the province of *Fars* and *Kerman* (1) along the Eastern Coast of the Persian Gulf, through *Beloochistan*, to *Sindh*, at the mouth of the Indus." P. 217. " There is only *one* example on record of an Army having followed it, that of Alexander the Great." Page 218.

" Alexander was, however, master of the Persian Gulf, and was accompanied on the left bank by his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, conveying water and other necessaries. This assistance could not be enjoyed by an army marching the same route now to India, the English being, by means of their naval force stationed at Bombay, sole masters of the Persian Gulf, and without such support an enterprise in that quarter would be quite impossible : we see thus that India is perfectly safe on that side." P. 219.

(1) It was marching through this desert that Alexander quenched (as it is said) the thirst of his army, by throwing away the water brought to him by a soldier in his helmet !

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" What has been here said of the roads to India seems sufficient to show that the only *possible* route, for an army organized in the *European* manner, is that which passes through *Herat*, *Kandahar*, *Ghuznee*, *Cabool*, and *Peshawer* to *Attok*, on the *Indus*: it is the road taken by *all* former conquerers of India, by *Alexander*, *Tamerlane*, and *Nadir Shah*."

" Every military expedition, however, undertaken on this road, pre-supposes, as an indispensable condition, the co-operation of *Persia*. I say co-operation, for Persia alone is unable to undertake any thing of importance against the British power in India. Its Infantry and Artillery are inconsiderable, its Cavalry undisciplined, and its treasury empty; consequently, it could only be in conjunction with some greater power, and as its vanguard, that *Persia* could possibly, venture on an expedition against British India; that this power can be no other than *Russia* is scarcely necessary to repeat here." P. 227.

" After having crossed the Indus at the *upper* part, it enters the *Punjab*, (the kingdom of *Lahore,)* a marshy country, intersected by five great rivers of very difficult access; crossing the Indus at the *middle* part, it finds the sandy desert of *Bikaneer*, with want of water and of supplies; and if the passage be made at the *lower* Indus, the country of *Sindh* presents equally great difficulties: it is but after having surmounted all those difficulties, that the conqueror would arrive at the *real British Dominions*, where the burning *sun* of *India* would be equally fatal to the soldiers of a Northern people as the *Ice* and *cold* of *Russia*, was in 1812 to those of France and Italy."

" From these various data it may be concluded how very large that army must be, which, after having secured its communications with the necessary corps of reserve along the whole distance of 2,000 English miles, which separates the *Araxes (Arras)* from the *Indus*, could arrive in sufficient strength at the latter, to engage there with the *Anglo-Indian Army*, amply supplied with all the necessaries of war, &c. &c." P. 232.

N. B. I must not omit my thanks to Capt. *De Budé*, Engineers, Offg. Secy. to the (Bengal) Military Board, for Table No. 5, at page 75 of the Appendix.

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