Arrival of ex-sirdárs of Pesháwer. — Hâjí Khân’s project.—March of Dost Máhomed Khân to Kândahár.—Feeling in the country. — Gúlístân Khán’s rebellion. — His message to Amír Máhomed Khân.—Faction of Nawáb Jabár Khân.—His proposal to Dost Máhomed Khân.—Letter to the Shâh.—Imprudence of the Shâh. — Action near Kândahár. — Flight of the Shâh. — Fate of his followers.—Errors of the expedition.— Intercepted correspondence.—Abdúl Samad’s villainy.—Dost Máhomed Khân’s wish. — State of affairs at Kâbal.—Letter from Kámrân.—Department of Kândahár sirdárs.—Return to Kâbal.—Death of Amír Máhomed Khân.—Shamsodín Khân.—Proceedings of ex-sirdárs of Pesháwer.—Occupation of Jelálabád.—Disavowal of their officers.—Meeting with Dost Máhomed Khân.—Letter to Ranjit Singh.—Kámrân’s offers to Shâh Sújah al Múlkh.—The Shâh’s distrust.—Flies to Lâsh—to Sístân—to Balochistán.—Pursuit of the Shâh.—Generosity of Mehráb Khân.—The Shâh retires upon Zehri and Bâgh.—Honesty of Samandár Khân.—His death.—The Shâh’s reception at Haidarabád.—His return to Lúdiána.—Dost Máhomed Khân’s letter to Lúdiána.—Reply.—Saiyad Keramat Ali’s officiousness.—Dost Máhomed Khân’s promise.—The Saiyad’s dilemma.—His ingenuity.—His good fortune.

I was yet occupied at Hidda when Súltân Máhomèd Khân, having failed by submission and entreaty to induce the Sikhs to relinquish their recent conquest, and being unable longer to subsist his followers, abandoned the plain of Pesháwer, and,
via Minchíní and the pass of Karapa, entered the valley of Jelálabád. Simultaneously, his brother, Pír Máhomed Khán, having journeyed from Kohát, crossed the Saféd Koh range and descended upon Kajar, where Súltán Máhomed Khán marched and joined him. With Pír Máhomed Khán was Náib Hâjí Khán. I have before noticed the sirdár's boast that he possessed three lákhs of rupees, that he cared not who knew it, and that, despite of his vaunts to employ it against the Síkhs, he thought better to preserve it. The treasure he had with him; and when from Kohát he had entered Bangash, Hâjí Khán wished to have persuaded him to take the road of Khost, where, in concert with the turbulent natives, he had hoped to have secured the prize. Pír Máhomed Khán was saved by the Ghúlám Khána chiefs with him, who apprised him of the náib's designs, and led him by the direct road through Bangash, the Túrí inhabitants of which are Shías, the reason ostensibly urged by Hâjí Khán for wishing to conduct the sirdár amongst the Afgháns of Khost.

Dost Máhomed Khán had proceeded from Kábal to Kándahár to assist in the repulse of Sháh Sújah al Múlkh, who for some time had invested the place, and had made an unsuccessful attempt to carry it by assault. His brother, Amír Máhomed Khán, was left in charge of Kábal. The march of Dost Máhomed Khán was a hazardous step, but one called for by the crisis. It was matter of no-
toriety that the chiefs of his army were well disposed towards the shâh, with whom they were in correspondence. Indeed, the Ghûlâm Khâna leaders had resolved to return from Ghazní, to secure the person of Amîr Máhomed Khân, and to proclaim the shâh. From this resolution, which, if carried into effect, would then have sealed the doom of Dost Máhomed Khân and the Báarak Zais, they were diverted by the timid counsels of one of their number, Máhomed Bâgher Khân, who suggested that it would be better that the Afghâns should set the example in defection. Of the feelings of the inhabitants of the country at large there was also little question, but their sympathy in the shâh's cause was passively displayed in the expression of good wishes, not in the energy of action, which might have contributed to its success. It is remarkable, that the only attempt to create a movement in favour of the shâh was made by Gûlistân Khân, the Hazâra chief of Kârabâgh, south of Ghazní, at the close of the autumn of the past year; and even he did not avow himself acting in behalf of the shah, but made resistance to oppression the plea for his rebellion. He boldly engaged and defeated the Ghazní troops sent against him, and had hoped to have set the precedent for a general rising, but the apathy of the mass was not disturbed, and no one appeared to side with him. Amîr Máhomed Khân, in charge of Ghazní, conscious of the delicate state of the times, did
not press matters with the refractory chief, and even soothed him by concessions. Under pretence of conferring a khelat upon him, he wished to have allured him to an interview; but, if purposing treachery, Gúlistán Khán was too experienced in darbár stratagems to place himself in the power of one to whom he had given so much cause for jealousy. His reply was characteristic. He said, that in conformity to the sirdár's orders he had mounted and taken the road to Ghazní, but had not travelled far when he met certain maleks (referring to Afghán maleks put to death by Amír Máhomed Khán) with their heads in their hands, who inquired of him where he was going, and if he wished to be treated as they had been. Knowing them to be Afgháns, he thought it possible they were wilfully giving him evil-counsel, and he proceeded, paying no attention to what they said. He had not gone much farther when Mir Yezdánbaksh met him, with his head also in his hands, who exclaimed, "Unhappy man, whither are you going? Is not my fate a warning to you?" Now, he said, he could not discredit one of his own Hazáras, and returned. Amír Máhomed Khán, however he relished this instructive communication, sent a khelat to Kárabágh, nor insisted upon the Hazára chief's attendance. Now that Dost Máhomed Khán had marched, a son of Gúlistán Khán, with a party of horse, accompanied the army. It has before been noted, that the Nawáb Jabár Khán
corresponded with the shâh under the idea, which beset him, that his expedition was set forth with the approbation, as it must have been with the knowledge and indirect sanction, of the British-Indian government. He had formed a strong party in Dost Máhomed Khân’s camp, and the Nawâbs Máhomed Zemân Khân, Máhomed Osmân Khân, and others, had bound themselves to act in respect to the shâh precisely as he might direct. The shâh, I have been told, agreed that the Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân was to receive Jelálabâd, and the Nawâb Jabár Khân the government of the Ghiljís, of which they had been deprived by Dost Máhomed Khân; while Máhomed Osmân Khân was to retain the jághîr he held. The Nawâb Jabár Khân, first taking care of himself and his confederates, not desiring absolutely to ruin Dost Máhomed Khân, aimed to procure some arrangement in which his interests might be consulted. It is impossible to conceive what plan he had devised, but at Ghazní he much entreated Dost Máhomed Khân to permit him to proceed in advance to Kândahâr, for the purpose of making terms with Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, never doubting but that the shâh would be victorious. Dost Máhomed Khân replied, Lâla (a term of affection), there will be time enough for that when we are defeated; and addressed a letter himself to the shâh, ironically setting forth that his brothers at Kândahâr were uncouth men, and did
not understand the respect due to imperial digni-

ity; that he, more enlightened on the subject, was
on the road, and on reaching them would teach
his brothers their duty, and escort him (the shâh)
to Kâbal, with all honour. The march from
Ghaznî to Kândahâr was rapid, and on his arrival
there he well knew that his only chance of safety
was to join battle immediately, for had he delayed
but a few days he would have been abandoned by
his troops. The shâh, hitherto, had been entrenched
in a position resting upon the city of Kândahâr,
destroyed by Nâdîr, and had he remained there
his enemies would have been destroyed, without an
effort on his part. His headstrong temper and self-
will proved his ruin, for, rejecting the counsels of
Samander Khân and his chiefs, on the arrival of
the Kâbal army he abandoned his entrenchments
and moved to the northern extremity of the hill,
at whose base the old town of Hûssên Khân stands,
and occupied, with his troops, the gardens which
abound at that point. He pretended that it was dis-
graceful to be pent up within lines of breastwork;
but his object was clearly that of having, in case
of discomfite, his rear open to flight, for it has
always been the bane of the shâh to be deficient in
the actual crises of his battles, and to be more ex-
pert in providing for his personal safety than for

Some of the Ghûlâm Khân chiefs actually went
by night to join the shâh, but finding his position
abandoned, and ignorant where to find him, they returned to the camp. The folly of the king having done all that Dost Máhomed Khán and his brothers could have wished, they lost no time in bringing on an action, and the shâh, seemingly with equal alacrity, precipitated his troops into battle, while, with the same breath that he urged them forward he issued orders to arrange for flight. While the troops were yet engaged the pusillanimous monarch left the field, following his treasure, which had been sent off the preceding night.

Dost Máhomed Khán, aware of the temper of his followers, while making the best arrangements in his power, had great mistrust of the event, as was manifested by the despatch of his equipage to Killa Azem, a march in the rear. With about two thousand men, on whom he could most certainly rely, he maintained himself aloof, as it were watching the various fortunes of the field. On one occasion he drew his sword, and directed a forward movement, but after galloping some fifty yards again reined up. It is difficult to comprehend the nature of the action that took place. No two accounts agree, the consequence of all acting independently, and without concert or orders. A weak battalion of the shâh, commanded by an Anglo-Indian, Mr. Campbell, carried all before it, dispersing in succession the battalion of Abdul Samad and the cavalry of the Kândahâr chiefs, and of Máhomed Akbar Khán; entangled at length between the
high banks of a dry water-course, it was over­whelmed, and Mr. Campbell, wounded, was made prisoner. His treatment was most handsome, and he was subsequently taken by Dost Máhomed Khân to Kâbal. Of Samander Khân, the gene­ralissimo of the shâh's army, nothing was heard. This chief had the reputation of being a very gûrg, or wolf, in combat, and Dost Máhomed Khân en­tertained of him so much dread that his counte­nance or words betrayed it whenever his name was mentioned. Some of his relatives, however, distinguished themselves, and fell on the field vic­tims to their zeal. A variety of causes are as­cribed as producing the disaster of the shâh, but all are reducible to his own incapacity and irresolu­tion. Had he been endued with a little sense and firmness, the treachery or cowardice of Jehandád Khân, the inertness of Samander Khân, and the want of regularity amongst his followers, might not have been evinced. Indeed, the whole expedition had been one of blunders, and its termination in failure and disgrace was but the natural result of its conception and prosecution in folly and error. Dost Máhomed Khân's sons fought, if to little pur­pose, but the nawâbs, the Ghûlám Khâna troops, and others, stood immoveable in line, and did not even return the fire which they received. Their eyes wandered in vain over the field to discover the shâh's standard. It had never been raised. The triumph of the Bârak Zais was followed by
the usual scenes of slaughter and plunder, and the entire artillery, stores, and camp of the fugitive shâh fell into their hands. His records and correspondence became the prize of the Kândahâr brothers, who transferred them to Dost Máhomed Khân. He wisely took no notice of the circumstance at the time, although it is believed that he intended to have swept out his own house, and to have wreaked his vengeance upon the Ghûlám Khâna leaders. Amongst the documents found was a copy of the treaty negotiated between the shâh and Ranjit Singh, and a variety of letters bearing the seal of Claude Martine Wade Sáhib Bahâdar, addressed to various individuals, apprising them that any service rendered to the shâh would be considered as rendered to the British government. Mîrza Samî Khân more than once told me of this circumstance, saying that one of the letters was addressed to himself. He was accustomed to add, that the shâh had a knack of forging seals, and he might have exercised his dexterity in this instance. What he believed I cannot tell. Whether the letters were spurious or otherwise, the shâh had not employed them.

Abdúl Samad, who, with the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, had corresponded with the shâh through the medium of the British agent, Saiyad Keramat Alí,—who, again, considered he was advancing the views of his government,—had, as soon as he reached Kândahâr, sent one of his battalion men with a message
to the royal camp, in which he was found on its capture. Abdúl Samad, to conceal his own guilt, without allowing time for explanation, blew the unlucky man from a gun.

The Kândahár chiefs were anxious to have pursued the flying monarch, but Dost Máhomed Khân did not concur; and those best acquainted with his views and wishes insist that he had really no desire to secure the person of the shâh, although a very great one to possess himself of Shâhzâda Máhomed Akbar, the king’s son by his own sister, as he would thereby have had, in any crisis of his affairs, a very convenient instrument to have elevated to royal dignity. As matters stood, however, he felt the necessity of returning to Kábal, where his brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, was dangerously sick, while the sirdârs of Peshâwer, encamped in the Jelâlabád valley, might profit by his absence. Besides, there were symptoms of discontent in the Kohistân, excited by Ghúlám Rasúl Khân of Perwán, who had left the army on its march from Ghaznú to Kândahár, and judging that the supremacy of the Bárak Zais was drawing to a close, had returned to his home, and, by collecting troops, sought at once to promote the shâh’s cause and to avenge his personal feuds and animosities. While Dost Máhomed Khân was yet at Kândahár, he received a letter from Shâhzâda Kámrân of Herât, professing that he was in nowise interested in the fate or fortunes of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh. No greater importance
was attached to this letter than was due to the fact of the Sháhzáda having condescended to send it; as he was not in the habit of corresponding with the Bárak Zais, whom he affected to consider as rebellious slaves. At this time it was within the power of the confederated chiefs to have annihilated the Herát ruler, but their own miserable dissensions effectually neutralised the ample means at their command. Notwithstanding the Kândahár chiefs owed their safety to Dost Máhomed Khán, they omitted on no occasion to treat him slightingly, and to assert their superiority, while they were so mistrustful of him as not to admit him within the walls of the city. Carrying off fifteen of the guns captured from the sháh, the Kábal chief set out from Kândahár, and on his road picked up an addition to the number of his wives, in the person of a sister of the Thokí chief, with whom he formed a political as well as matrimonial alliance. On reaching Kábal he found his brother, Amír Máhomed Khán, living, indeed, but speechless, and in the arms of death. The last audible words uttered by him were instructions to sell the old grain contained in certain magazines, and to replace it with new, exemplifying in his last moments the dominant principle of thrift and gain, which had distinguished him through life. As with very many provident fathers, he had a most improvident and thoughtless son; and the youthful Shamsodín Khán, on proceeding to Ghazní to assume charge of the
property to which he had become heir, remarked to his attendants, "What an excellent thing it is to have no father!"

We have noted the arrival of the fugitive chiefs of Pesháwer in the valley of Jelálabád. As soon as they were aware that Dost Máhomed Khán had passed Ghazní, imagining, like other people, that his defeat was certain, and informed of the alarming sickness of Amír Máhomed Khán at Kábal, they began to avow their intentions of possessing themselves of the province, and their several dependent officers were commissioned to occupy the various towns and villages. Mírzas Imám Verdi and Agá Ján, who administered the country on the part of Amír Máhomed Khán, retired to the castle of Azzíz Khán, Ghiljí, in Khach of Lúghmán, and it quietly dropped into the hands of Súltán Máhomed Khán and his adherents. Matters had been in this state but a few days, when tidings of Dost Máhomed Khán’s victory arrived. Súltán Máhomed Khán recalled his officers, pretending they had acted without his orders or sanction, and repeated salutes of artillery testified to the joy he felt on the happy occasion. He next proceeded to Kábal, which he reached before Dost Máhomed Khán, and advanced to meet that chief to Killa Kázáí. He was received courteously, and was told, that, the sháh disposed of, it remained to recover Pesháwer from the Síkhs. Hájí Khán, whose fortune again brought him to confront Dost Máhomed Khán, was assured that the past
was forgotten, the chief remarking, that if he had abandoned him he had joined another of the family, and had not connected himself with strangers. A crusade against the Sikhs was immediately proclaimed, and letters were despatched to Ranjit Singh, calling upon him to give up Pesháwer to Súltán Máhoméd Khán, from whom he had furtively acquired it, while Dost Máhoméd Khán was engaged in the repulse of Sháh Sújah al Múlkh, as much the enemy of the Máhárájá as of the Bárak Zais.

As we shall hereafter have no opportunity of alluding to the vanquished Sháh Sújah al Múlkh, it may be explained here, that his flight from the field of battle at Kândahár was directed to Farra, which he reached in safety. Sháhzáda Kámrán on hearing of his arrival despatched handsome presents, and a letter, stating that he was interested in the sháh’s favour, that his success would be agreeable to him, and in accordance with his own plans. He recommended another attempt to be made upon Kândahár, as Dost Máhoméd Khán could scarcely march a second time to its relief, and proffered to send his son, Sháhzáda Jehânghir, with four thousand horse, and guns, to assist.

Of the sincerity of Kámrán those with the king did not doubt, but he, always suspicious, fancied that Prince Jehânghir would be instructed to seize him, and this idea so completely possessed his mind that he precipitately fled from Farra
to Lâsh, the fortress and domain of Sâlú Khán. This chief, in disgrace with Shâhzâda Kâmrân, accorded the rites of hospitality to the king his guest, but did not, perhaps could not, further assist him. It is hard to determine whether the shâh was warranted in his apprehensions of Shâhzâda Kâmrân. His seizure did not follow as a consequence of the Shâhzâda’s offers of assistance, but was an event quite compatible with the spirit of Afghân diplomacy. In truth, the proposal to conquer Kândahâr for him evinced more generosity than the shâh was conscious he deserved, and very probably he imagined that he was about to be made a tool of, and when the object was gained would be discarded, or placed in durance. From Lâsh, he directed his steps across the desert of Sîstân towards Kalât of Balochistân; and Rahám Dil Khân of Kândahar, informed of his movements, made an effort to intercept him. The shâh had here need of all his good fortune. Having gained the territory of Kalât, he had encamped at the southern extremity of the plain of Mangarchar, between Mastúng and the capital, when Rahám Dil Khân, with three hundred horse, reached its northern extremity. Thence he sent out his spies to procure precise intelligence of the shâh, of whose proximity he was ignorant. One of them, who ascertained the shâh’s position, sympathized with royalty in misfortune, and informed him of his danger. Not a moment was lost; and the king, with a few at-
tendants, galloped off towards Garâní, a little village about six miles from Kalât. The spy, on his return to Rahám Dil Khân, told him that the shâh had taken the Bolan route, which induced the chief to follow smartly in that direction, but finding on his road that he was in error he returned and made his way to Garâní. The shâh had previously arrived at Kalât, where Mehrâb Khân, the Brâhóí ruler, was encamped in a garden. The monarch, without ceremony, walked directly into his tent, and claimed his protection. It was instantly accorded. Dáoud Máhomed, the Ghiljí adviser of the Khân, in vain entreated his master to deliver up the defeated prince, who was fortified in his resolu­tion by his wife, Bíbí Ghinjân. Mehrâb Khân intimated to Rahám Dil Khân at Garâní that it was unbecoming in him to pursue an unfortunate Sadú Zai king with so much rancour, and, informing him that he had determined to protect him, recommended that he should retire. The khân subsequently sent the shâh to Zehrí, that he might repose a while after his fatigues and adventures; after which he went to Bâgh in Kachi.

Here he found Samander Khân, who creditably enough delivered to him a sum of money, left in his castle at Quetta, when the advance was made on Kândahár, and counselled a fresh effort for the conquest of that place. The shâh approved the plan, and commenced the levy of troops, when Samander Khân fell suddenly sick, and died. The
shâh next proceeded to Haidarabâd in Sind, where Mír Sohabdâr, one of the mírs, thought fit to infringe the etiquette the monarch in misfortune even insisted upon, and strove rudely with his followers to enter the royal tent. The shâh gave the order "Bizan," or slay, and two or three of the mír's adherents paid the forfeit of their chief's indiscretion. The other mírs were at hand to moderate the king's ire, and to excuse the conduct of their boisterous relative, however it may have been evinced with their contrivance and knowledge. The shâh finally finding he could do no better, returned to Lúdiána, from whence he had started, bringing with him, as is asserted, more money than he had taken away.

Dost Mâhomed Khân when at Jelálabâd, and previous to his march to Kândahâr, had written to the political agent at Lúdiána, desiring to be informed if Shâh Sújah al Múlkh marched with the support of the British Government, observing, that if he proceeded with a few followers without such support, it were an easy matter to dispose of him, but if with it, the case became different, and he could not hope to oppose him and the British Government combined. The political agent replied, that the Government had nothing whatever to do with the shâh's movements, but that they were his well-wishers.

It has been noticed that Saiyad Keramat Alí, adopting the general impression, had committed
himself by becoming the medium of correspondence between the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, Abdúl Samad, and others at Kâbal, with the sháh. His conduct was not likely to be concealed from Dost Máhomed Khân; and as the saiýad’s licentious opinions on religion had rendered him obnoxious to many people, they urged upon Dost Máhomed Khân the propriety of seizing him, and expelling him the country. One of his bitterest opponents, Akkúnd Máhomed, obtained from Dost Máhomed Khân the promise to do so should he succeed in defeating Sháh Sújah al Múlkh; and at Kândahár, when the saiýad’s letters, with the others, turned up in the sháh’s camp, the fulfilment of the promise was claimed, and in the temper the sirdár was in he was readily induced to send orders to Amír Máhomed Khân to place the saiýad under arrest. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân, apprised of the circumstance, also despatched a letter to Amír Máhomed Khân, conjuring him, if he esteemed him a brother, to respect the saiýad’s liberty, and another to his favourite wife, directing her on no account to allow the saiýad to be taken from her house, while he urged all his influence with Dost Máhomed Khân to have the order rescinded. The saiýad, in this dilemma, shrewdly enough gave out that he was ordered to return to India, which, if he did not reach by a certain date his pay was to be stopped; and further, that his wife was waiting for him at Ráoal Pindi. The sudden sickness of
Amir Mahomed Khan may have saved the saiyyad; and the nawâb was enabled to represent to Dost Mahomed Khan that it was needless to expel a man who was himself going, and whose wife was waiting for him at Raoal Pindi.
CHAPTER XII.

Start on a tour to Khonar.—Bísút.—Tokchí.—Topes.—Púlwârí.—Bazárak.—Khonah Déh.—Malek Shafí.—Kohistánís.—Khúshál Khán.—Tope of Khonah Déh.—Killa Pádsháh.—Fáti Máhomed Khán.—Islámbád.—Saiyad Hissám and his ladies.—Mistaken for Bází-ghars.—Remains at Islámbád.—Route to Chitrál.—Dara Núr.—Barkot and Daminj.—Máhomed Zemán Khán’s failure.—Kázá Khél family.—Feud.—Bílangar.—Bísút.—Return to Tátang.—Trip to Lúghmán.—Killa Káfr.—Cháhrábágh.—Kergáh.—Mandaráwar.—Tírgarí.—Rivers of Alíshang and Alingár.—Múmjúma.—Namzáat Bází.—Fatal accident.—Zíárat Máte Lám Sáhib.—Tomb.—Wilford’s reveries.—Native traditions.—Sultán Máhmu’d’s dream.—Discovery of Lamech’s grave.—Ancient vestiges.—Koh Karín.—Alíshang.—Nadjíl.—Malek Osmán.—Sáleéh Ráná Kot.—Rubies.—Alingár.—Dara Níázi.—Revenue of Lúghmán.—Extent of cultivation.—Crops.—Eels.—Fire-flies.—Inhabitants.—Skilful agriculturists.—Amusing story.—Máhomed Akbar Khán’s disaster.—Tope of Múrkhi Khél.—Conjectures.—Nokar Khél.—Múrkhi Khél.—Jájís.—Násrúlah.—Tumulus of Nokar Khél.—Departure for Kábál.—Terikkí.—Arrival at Kábál.

The unsettled state of the country was unfavourable to the continuance of my researches, and I left Hidda, where I might otherwise have longer stayed, for Tátang. After resting a day or two, I repaired to my old haunts of Darúnta, and directed the examination of a number of tumuli, which abound there, some apparently connected with the topes, but many of them, it was fair to
infer, independent structures. I was occupied some time with them, when, taking my workmen, with their implements, we started on a tour into Khonar, as well to discover if there were any monuments there as to see that part of the country. We left the castle of Náib Yár Máhomed, my headquarters at Darúnta, myself, as well as my companions, on foot, and tracing the bank of the river, crossed it at the ferry of Behár Robát, where I saw the process of washing for gold. The road for about a mile led from the ferry across a small marsh choked with reeds, filling the space between the river and a low hill to the north of it; when we crossed a spur from the hill stretching towards the stream, on which is a white tomb, called the Kabar Lúlí, and entered the plain of Bisút. A mile brought us to the village of Kerímbád; a little beyond which are the two castles of Benáres Khán. We followed the high road skirting the cultivated lands, having between us and the hills a greater or less extent of barren surface. Traversing the entire extent of the valley from west to east, we reached at night a small Afghán fortlet, called Killa Shâhgalli, north of the village of Bilangar. In the morning we moved on to Tokchí, and came upon the Kámeh, or river of Khonar, the hills on either side of it approaching. In what is called the tanghí of Tokchí are three castles, one of them a superior one, named Bínígâh, built by Abdúl Ganní Khán, one of the Báarak
Zai family. It has a large extent of good land adjacent, and on the hill opposite to it on the west are the remains of a minute tope; curiosity had led, very possibly, Abdul Ganni Khan himself to examine the structure; and whatever else he may have found, a huge block of stone, lying amongst the rubbish, plainly informed us that it had once been more honourably situated within the monument. Beyond the castles we walked for a considerable distance through marshes and flags, until we reached a ziaarat at the corner of a low detached hill, a few yards to the east of us being the small village of Abdúl Khél. Here also we found a tope, of more considerable dimensions, but of ruder construction, which, with reference to the structures on the plain of Jelalabad, would rank in the third, or inferior class. It had no signs of embellishment, and not a trace of the coating of cement with which, we may conjecture, it was once covered, was visible. It had been perforated at some former period on all sides, and although it was impossible to decide whether the relics had been discovered, there was little encouragement to employ our labour in search of them. In age the monument appeared to agree with those of Hidda. About a mile beyond the ziaarat we reached the castles of Púlwârí, having passed to our right, on and about an eminence near the river, a very considerable ancient place of sepulture, evidenced by the usual tokens of
walls, mounds, &c. I have been told that there is an inscription here, but could never find any one able to point it out. From Púlwáří we went on to Shéghí, an enclosed village, of about three hundred houses, where we halted for the day, in a grove of plane-trees adjacent. The following morning our route led us to Bazáarak, also a walled-in village of three hundred houses. Resting awhile there, we were visited by Pádsháh Gúł, the hereditary malek, who sent an offering of pomegranates. From hence we passed on to Khonah Déh, a small enclosed village of sixty houses, seated on an eminence; behind which was a small, but very perfect tope, in style of architecture greatly resembling the tope Nandára of Darúnta, and I should judge, of the same age. The basement and cylindrical superstructure were very entire. This monument I should have been pleased to have opened, but as soon as I learned that the village belonged to Malek Shafí Khán I suspected there would be difficulty. This man had long been the petty tyrant of this part of the country, and was connected with the inhabitants of Dara Núr, amongst whom, when pressed by the authorities, he took refuge, and who, if required, furnished him with their bands. By their instrumentality he had become paramount over his immediate neighbours, and during the feeble sway of Máhomed Zemān Khán, whom he little feared, had made himself of some notoriety. Amír Máhomed
Khân’s first care on receiving charge of the Jelá-labád province, was to reduce to a due sense of their dependent situation the several maleks, who had too much presumed on the weakness of his predecessor. Malek Shafí Khân early received his attention, and, agreeably to the plan of at-tempering severity with kindness, was fined five thousand rupees, and then made to give his daughter to a son of the chief. I found the malek was close at hand, in the neighbouring village of Kal-latak, which he holds in jághír, and therefore paid him my respects. He received me as I anticipated, very coolly, and on starting the question as to whether he had any objection to my employing workmen on the tope, without absolutely replying that he had, his language was by no means en-couraging. He was surrounded by his armed att-enants, men of the Dara Núr, or Kohistânís, as here called, and they conversed with him in their own peculiar dialect, which, however, is so mixed up with Hindí, that I, and others of my people, comprehended the drift of their discourse. We understood that we might open the tope, but should not be permitted to carry off what we found in it. I therefore wished the malek good-b’ye for the present, telling him I should call upon him again, when Dost Máhoméd Khân came with his troops to Jelálabád, although I doubted whether I should have the pleasure of seeing him, as he then would be, probably, off to the Dara Núr.
Khúshál Khán, Jabár Khél, of Kirgah in Lúghmán, one of his friends, and his surety with the Sirdár Amír Máhomed Khán, was on a visit to him, and present at our interview. Being also an acquaintance of mine, he strove to induce the malek to be civil and compliant, but to no purpose, and following me after I arose, told me that he was involved in Malek Shafí’s faction, but must confess he was a desperate man, and not to be trusted.

The malek, about forty years of age, had a fine commanding presence; but his countenance, while expressive of ability, alike betrayed his little scrupulous and reckless disposition. My experience with topes induced me to conjecture that this one of Khonah Déh had been erected over a relic of some saint, and that we should not have found any coins in it. In the hills behind it are a number of caves, proving the spot to have been a víhára, or monastery, as there are more than would have been necessary in simple connexion with the monument. We now passed the village of Kallatak, containing, within walls, about five hundred houses, and proceeded to Shéva, another village, of three hundred houses, where we halted for the day. The river was now a little distance to the south. From Shéva we passed in the morning to Lamatak, a village of sixty houses, and thence to Killa Pádshâh, the deserted seignorial castle of Fatí Máhomed Khán, Popal Zai. This noble-
man was one of the sirdárs and friends of Máhomed Azem Khán in Káshmír, and had received substantial proofs of his patron’s favour. He was reputed, and perhaps with justice, wealthy, and on that account, as well as others, did not venture to place himself in the power of Dost Máhomed Khán. So long as Máhomed Zemán Khán retained authority at Jelálabád he attached himself to his interests, and enjoyed in return a considerable revenue from Khonar. He erected the killa, or castle, which we now saw in decay, and planted orchards and gardens, making the retreat a very agreeable and commodious one. He contrived to extricate himself from Jelálabád a day or two before its capture, and escaped to Pesháwer, but Dost Máhomed Khán seized and confiscated his property in Khonar. The Nawáb Jabár Khán was much displeased, one of his wives, and the most powerful of them, being a daughter of Fátí Máhomed Khán; and thought that, for his sake, the castle and property might have been spared. Dost Máhomed Khán, on his part, was glad that the opportunity occurred to annoy the feelings of his relative.

From Killa Pádsháh we moved on to Islámabád, a small walled-in village, where resides Saiyad Hissám, of the family of the saiyyads of Khonar. As we were following the path people came from the village, shouting to us to retire, and driving away the weavers, plying their looms under the
shade of the trees. The saiyad and his ladies, it seemed, were about to walk to a garden and summer-house by the river-side, and, of course, no profane eyes were permitted even to look upon such sacred and reserved objects. We took the liberty to advance in place of retiring, and when we were at a due distance a report was made, and out stalked Saiyad Hissám, a corpulent, unwieldy personage, attended by a flock of chadered females. When they had nearly reached the garden we returned towards the village; and the saiyad, looking back, observed my companions, with their implements shouldered, and it occurring to him that they were bází-ghars, or merry-andrews with their poles, he bellowed with a voice like thunder for them to come down and divert his ladies; but some one, probably, informing him of his mistake, he again roared out, and motioned with his hand for them to be off.

We here inquired as to the road in advance, and found it not advisable to proceed farther, as, though we were many, we were unarmed. We had already witnessed at Killa Pádsháh that the men of the Dara Núr came into the little hamlet there, and violently helped themselves to any trifling thing they coveted, and we very nearly had a scuffle with them.

The valley hence becomes contracted, and we could see up it for about three miles, to a place called Kúndí, when it turns to the north. Im-
Immediately behind Islampur is a hill, covered with the remains of walls and parapets, indicating a place of ancient sepulture. On one of the eminences are the remains of a very small tope, so dilapidated to the south that the interior of the building is exposed, and shows that a perpendicular shaft extended from top to bottom. At Kundi, I was informed, were similar vestiges, but to a greater extent. At this place the valley of Khonar may correctly be said to commence, as beyond it are the petty towns and villages held by the various members of the saiyyad family, for many generations established in it, as Khonar, Peshat, &c.

It would be an interesting journey to follow the course of the river from this point to Chitral; and, while collecting all the information I could respecting it, I did not question but that, with due precaution, the route was a practicable one.

From Islamabad we returned to Killa Padshah, and remained there during the heat of the day. This castle is placed at the entrance of a valley leading up the hills to the north, in which are the castles of Budiali, Suruch, Amlah, &c., and which breaks off into the valley of Dara Nur on the east, and into the valleys of Barkot and Daminj on the west. At its upper extremity is a castle, called Killa Padshah, alike built by Fatimahomed Khán, possibly for the coercion of, or
as a check upon, the neighbouring tribes. It was regarded by them with great jealousy, and at the time of his disasters was taken possession of. It is now held by Maleks Khodā Nazar and Mastapha.

Dara Núr is inhabited by people calling themselves Sáfís, but speaking their own peculiar dialect, and not understanding the Pashto language. They are a straightforward, manly race, with florid complexions, light eyes, and hair. They have many peculiar customs, and retain many vestiges of ancient arts; for instance, they have bee-hives, unknown to the inhabitants of the plains. Their valley is most celebrated amongst their neighbours as being the native soil of the nerkhis (narcissus), posies of which brought therefrom I have seen. It is affirmed that there is a variety of the flower with black petals. The hills of the inhabitants yielding grapes, quantities of wine and vinegar are made by them; the few samples of the former I have met with were sour and unpalatable, and did not cause me to admire the beverage of the Sáfís.

The valleys of Barkot and Daminj, to the west of Dara Núr, are alike inhabited by Sáfís, independent and lawless, but engaged in enmity with their neighbours of the contiguous dara. Barkot is said to include about one hundred and fifty families, and Daminj the same number, or a few more. The people of the two daras, unable to contend with their more numerous enemies, are strictly leagued with the inhabitants of Kâshmún,
a village high up in the hills still farther to the west.

Máhomed Zemán Khán, during his exercise of power, marched with a force to compel the inhabitants of Barkot to become raiyats, and to pay tribute. They flooded the approaches to their valley, and the sirdár retired disgracefully, after losing many of his men. He consoled himself by the boast that he had been where Nádír had never been.

Towards the afternoon we retraced our steps to Lamatak and Shéva, the road pleasantly leading along a canal fringed with trees, on which vines were spreading in festoons above. From Shéva, instead of again visiting Kalatak, we skirted the river-bank, and passing three castles, called collectively Killa Noh Júí, the property of Malek Shafí Khán, we came to a seignorial castle, belonging to Sádadín, father of Mír Saifadín Khán, the khán múlla of Kábal. Hence we passed on to Shéghí, where we fixed ourselves for the night. In this neighbourhood are the family castles of the Kázi Khél family of Kábal, from whom the kázi and khán múlla, with others of the hierarchy, are provided. Their ancestor, Faizúlah, kázi to Táimúr Sháh, was a person of great influence; he was succeeded in office by his son Sádadín, now living retired in this neighbourhood, one of whose sons is the actual khán múlla. Murder has been committed in this family, one of them,
RETURN TO TATANG.

Saiyad Habíb, having been slain by his brother; consequently there is a serious feud in it; and it is probable that in a few years the ruin of the whole will follow in the train of the fratricide.

From Shéghí, on the succeeding day, we returned by the road we had come to Killa Shâh-galli, and thence moved on to Bîlangar, a village of two hundred houses, where we halted. The next day, having previously skirted the plain of Bísút to the north, we took a central road through the villages and cultivated lands. This led us by the castles of Manohar Khán and Abdúl Gafúr Khán to Bísút, the ancient village, giving name to the plain. It was small, enclosed within walls, and contained a slight bazar. The neighbourhood was cheerful, from its pastures and clusters of date-trees. Thence, at a short distance, we passed the smaller village of Abdín, and afterwards the two castles of Benáres Khán, from which we made the village of Kerimabád. From that place we gained Kabar Lúlí, and thence passed on to Killa Behár Robát, where we halted for the night. The following morning we crossed the river, and rejoined our head-quarters at Killa Náib Yár Máhoméd. I was sufficiently pleased with this pedestrian excursion to meditate another to Lúghmán; and, allowing my companions a day or two to repose themselves, I went on to Tátang, to look after my horses, and to ascertain if aught worthy
of my attention had occurred during my absence.

Returning to Darúnta, I started with my companions to Lúghmán.

From the náib’s castle, a course of nearly two miles brought us to the termination of the Síáh Koh range, through a fissure in the extremity of which the river of Kâbal escapes from the valley of Lúghmán into that of Jelálabád. This spot always appeared to me as singular as it is picturesque. On the rocks on either side there are water-marks, considerably, perhaps sixty to eighty feet, above the highest level the river now attains. On the summit of the eminence on the opposite bank are the remains of ancient walls and parapets, called Killa Kâfr, but pointing out an ancient burial-place. This eminence in composition is the same with the Síáh Koh, of which it is obviously the termination, and sinks beneath a low series of sandstone and conglomerate elevations, which stretch north of the river the whole extent of the plain of Jelálabád, resting upon Koh Kergah, and filling up the space between the valleys of Lúghmán and Khonar, as Koh Kergah defines their northern limits, so far as it stretches. Having crossed the ferry, the road winds over the point where the conglomerate rest upon the eminence; and thence we commanded a fair view of the portion of Lúghmán before us, of the villages of Chahárbaugh and Kergah, of the river of Kâbal, and the district of Khach.
Skirting the conglomerate elevations the greater part of the way, we at length reached Chahárbâgh, where we were entertained by the Hindú Diwân Jowâhîr. In the neighbourhood of this village are a vast number of mounds, and beneath the hills behind it to the north we found a small but compact tumulus, arranged in the manner of those of Darûnta. Chahárbâgh is the capital of a district, and yields with it a revenue of twenty thousand rupees. It may contain five hundred houses, has a moderately-supplied bazar, and a manufactory of swords, gun-barrels, and cutlery. The next day, passing the castles of Khúshâl Khân, Jabár Khél, we made Kergah, a small village romantically seated on a rocky eminence at the western extremity of the line of hill generally designated by its name. Immediately west of it, the united rivers of Lúghmân fall into that of Kâbal. We crossed the former stream, and went on to Mandarâwâr, where we proposed to halt, but the person we intended to honour with our company was absent. This is a considerable walled-in village, with bazar, and occupies a square of about three hundred and twenty yards. Our course from Killa Kâfr to Mandarâwâr had been from east to west; we now turned towards the north, and the road tracing the line of eminences confining the cultivated lands, we left behind us in succession the villages of Haidar Khân and Kâla Kot, and in the evening reached the walled-in town of Tírgarî; to gain which we had to
re-cross the stream. At Tirgarí unite the rivers of Alíshang and Alíngár, the latter bearing the name of Kow, and its source is supposed to be very remote, that of the river of Alíshang being nearer. The valley of Alíngár, wide and spacious, tends eastward from Tirgarí, as that of Alíshang inclines westward. In Alíngár is the castle of Múmjúma, belonging to Máhomed Sháh Khán, Ghiljí, who has also other castles there, as well as in Tézín. In one of his Lúghmán castles, called Badiabád, it would appear, the captive ladies and officers in the power of Máhomed Akbár Khán, were secured, previous to their transfer to one of his Tézín castles, where late accounts describe them to have been carried. Máhomed Sháh Khán is connected by alliances both with Máhomed Akbár Khán and the Nawáb Jabár Khán. The former espoused one of his daughters, and the latter, when governor of the Ghiljís, was affianced to his sister, represented to be a handsome and intelligent woman.

Many of the Afghán tribes have a custom in wooing, similar to what in Wales is known as bundling-up, and which they term namzát bázi. The lover presents himself at the house of his betrothed with a suitable gift, and in return is allowed to pass the night with her, on the understanding that innocent endearments are not to be exceeded. The bands of the maiden’s perjámas are very tightly secured, and she is enjoined on no account to suffer them to be unloosed. The precaution is not always
effective, and whether from being inconveniently tight or from other causes, the bands are a little relaxed; and, from natural consequences, it is necessary to precipitate the union of the parties, and not unfrequently the bridegroom when he receives his bride carries home with her his first-born in a bakkowal, or cradle.

The Nawáb Jabár Khán went on a namzât bázi visit to the sister of Máhomed Shâh Khán, and wishing to profit by the opportunity more than the lady's modesty permitted, received a severe chastisement from her slippers, which so disheartened him that, though often threatening to fetch her to his house, he has never summoned resolution to do so, and when I left the country she was yet pining away in celibacy and solitude at Múmjúma.

We found an Afghán friend at Alíshang, and accompanied him to his village of Pashai, about three quarters of a mile beyond it. The following morning we repaired on a visit to the zíárat, or shrine of Métar Lám Sáhib, about two miles distant from our village. In our transit we had to cross the river of Alíshang, which, like its neighbour of Alingár, while not deep, unless at particular seasons, has a rapid current, and its bed so full of loose boulders that it is always dangerous to cross. No year elapses that many casualties are not occasioned by these rivers, and while we were here, and within our observation, a fatal accident happened. A man crossing on horseback was drowned, the animal
having lost his footing and fallen. I was surprised, for there was not so much as a foot and a half of water, but I was given to understand that a man who falls is lost. Having gained the eminences edging the cultivated lands, their summits covered with ancient sepulchral vestiges, we soon reached, in a hollow, the celebrated ziarat. I inspected it, and my companions strove to propitiate the favour of the holy personage supposed to be interred here. There is no very pompous or extensive establishment, yet the place is kept clean, and in a certain degree of order. It is regularly visited every Júma by the people of the neighbourhood, and in the

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spring mélas, or fairs, are held here. It is considered that the fertility of the cultivated lands is due to the possession of the grave of so distinguished a patriarch, and whoever is buried within the precincts of the holy place is deemed secure of paradise; hence many noble families choose to send their dead here, as did Fatí Máhomed Kháñ of Khonar, and the Sirdár Saiyad Máhomed Kháñ of Hashtnagar, besides many others; and the contributions of such people, no doubt, mainly support the humble establishment. The tomb, one of those of extraordinary dimensions, which has been assigned to the father of Noah, is but half of the length of that ascribed, with equal propriety, to the patriarch Lot, being sixteen yards only in length from north to south, while its breadth is about two yards and a half. In height it stands about five feet; and covered over with cement, is painted throughout in imitation of brick-work. Palls of cloth and silk are duly spread over it. Wilford had learned in some manner that the grave was provided with a small door beneath, conducting into a vault where the corpse of the patriarch, in excellent preservation, was to be seen in a sitting posture, now the favourite one of the natives of India. Whether he believed such to be the case, or wished others to believe so, I cannot tell, yet the gravity with which he repeats the tale is wonderful. I need scarcely add, that there is no such door beneath the grave, nor any such vault, and those who would
wish to see the good old patriarch Lamech, sitting cross-legged, would be disappointed if they came to Lúghmán in search of him. The traditions now current in the country vary in some measure from those related to Wilford, as indeed they differ in themselves. Some consider Métar Lám to have been the brother of Nohlákhí Sáhib, another celebrated saint, or deified hero, who with nine lákhs, or nine hundred thousand men, waged war against the infidels. The former died here, and the latter in the Káfr country, where his zíárat is held in high veneration, although, of course, inaccessible to Máhomedans.

It is universally believed that the Káfirs, stealthily and by night, visit the zíárat of Métar Lám Sáhib. Another story relates, that when Súltán Máhmúd first entered Lúghmán, Métar Lám appeared to him in a dream, and informed him that his remains were interred in the country, and no honour was paid to the spot, from its being unknown. The apparition, farther, good-naturedly instructed him as to the manner in which the locality was to be detected. In pursuance of the lessons he had received, the súltán mounted a camel, allowing the animal to go whithersoever he pleased, and he was finally brought to the spot where the zíárat now is. The súltán, alighting, thrust his lance into the ground, whence blood instantly issued. Thé miracle convinced the prince of the verity of the dream, and of the facts disclosed by
it, and the sacred place became, in consequence, the object of his care and munificence. Very many of the shrines in Lúghmân are of the connexions of Métar Lám; and his grave being once found it became easy to discover the graves of his relatives. They are all of extraordinary dimensions. On our return to Pashai we examined the several zíárat{s at the villages in our road, and found fragments of sculptured white marble in more than one of them. There was, no doubt, at all times a town of more or less importance at this point, and the old burial-places were those vestiges we observed on the eminences contiguous. Many relics, as coins, &c., are occasionally found; but they create no wonder, for in what part of the country are they not found in similar situations? Our next excursion from Pashai was to Alíshang, and to the castle of Alládád Khân, somewhat beyond it. We carefully investigated the valley, now diminishing in compass as it neared the hills, on either side, that no tope or important structure might escape our scrutiny, and we found none, although numerous caves and tumuli everywhere are common. None of the caves, however, occur in number or groups, so that we might infer they related to a place of former consequence; the contrary deduction might be authorized.

The northern limit of the valley is prominently marked by the high mountain Koh Karinj, extending from east to west along its entire length, and round whose respective extremities the rivers
of Alíshang and Alingár wind. This mountain, while snow sometimes partially covers its summits, is without the limit of perpetual congelation, and is distinguished by its vegetable, as well as animal productions. The vine flourishes on it, and monkeys rove over its sides. I have constantly heard of an inscription, said to exist at some part of the hill, but could never find any one who could point it out.

On the northern side of Koh Karinj commence the seats of the Síáposh Káfrs, who are accustomed to roam over the hill; therefore when parties visit it, as they sometimes do, on excursions of hunting or pleasure, it is necessary that they go in number, and prepared for the chances of a hostile encounter. Alíshang is a small walled-in town, of about four hundred houses, but has nothing remarkable in its appearance, or any tokens to denote it an ancient site of consequence. The contracted valley, indeed, on either side, has abundance of mounds, and in the sides of the encircling eminences are caves, but, as we have so frequently observed, such vestiges are too common to demand especial notice, unless they have in themselves something peculiar or extraordinary. The emperor Baber mentions the place under the same denomination it bears at present; and he judged it necessary to put the refractory malek to death. The actual inhabitants are reputed for their quarrelsome propensities, and there is a proverb, or saying, current in Lughmán, referring to the two towns
of Chahárbağh and Alíshang, or rather to the man-
ners of those who inhabit them, which runs:—

Chahárbağh, ding, dâng;
Alíshang, jang, jang.

We followed the valley beyond the castle of
Alládád Khán until it might be said to cease,
and to the point where the road strikes off towards
the north for Nadjíl, said to be eight cosses, or
twelve miles, distant, when we returned. Nadjíl is
held by people now called Tâjiks, but were recently
Kâfrs, and who, while professing Mâhomedanism,
preserve, in great measure, their pristine manners
and customs. They pay revenue to the governor
of Lúghmân. Their malek, Osmán, from his long
standing and experience, enjoys a reputation out
of his retired valley. He boasts of descent, not
exactly from Alexander the Great, but from Amír
Taimúr; and when rallied upon the subject, and
asked how so diminutive a being can lay claim
to so proud an origin, replies, that he has only to
put out one of his eyes, and lame one of his legs,
and he would become Taimúr himself. The tradi-
tion goes, that Taimúr procured a wife in this
country. It is curious to find, on reference to the
history of this monarch, not a confirmation of the
tradition, but a circumstantial detail of his visit
to this part of the world.

Baber notes, that in his time swine were plentiful
in Lúghmân. In these days there are none, the
entire conversion of its inhabitants having effected the extinction of the unclean race. The natives of Nadjil fatten capons, which are sent as presents and luxuries to their friends. About eight miles south-west of Alíshang is a place called Sâloh Ráná Kot, where are two or three modern castles and, it is said, some ancient vestiges. From a spring there, it is also asserted that fragments of rubies are ejected, and that parcels of them have been collected and sold to the pessárís, or drug-compounders, at Kâbal as medicaments. The opposite valley to Alíshang, that of Alingár, is much more spacious and of greater length. It is inhabited chiefly by Afghâns, Ghiljís, Arrokís, and Níaázís; is amply provided with castles, but has no considerable village. In one of its southern valleys, the dara Níaází, very many of the usual sepulchral indications are to be found; and the discovery of treasure there when the nawáb held the government of the Ghiljís, led to the loss of many lives. The revenue of Lúghmân amounts to two hundred and thirty thousand rupees; and as the Afghâns contribute one hundred and sixty thousand, it may be judged how much of the land is in their possession; as a great part of the Tâjik revenue is derived from the towns and villages in which they nearly exclusively reside. As is customary throughout the Kâbal territories, the Afghâns and Tâjiks have their separate hákams, or governors, and the latter are dependent on the government of Jelálabád. It
is computed that there are one hundred thousand jerríbs of cultivated land in the valley of Lúghmán, exclusive of twenty thousand in Khach, or the narrow slip of land between the course of the Kábal river and the Síáh Koh range.

The lands are very productive, and the agriculturists are esteemed expert. Two general crops are obtained in the year, as in Ningrahár and Pesháwer, the Rabbi and Kharíf, the first of barley and wheat, the latter of rice, sugar-cane, and cotton. The artificial grasses are extensively grown, and wasma, a species of indigo-plant, is reared. Formerly the extract was made, as neglected vats and reservoirs in the earth at one or two places testify; at present the leaves of the plant are dried as tobacco leaves, and the pulverized mass is sold to the dyers, who use the infusion. I observed with pleasure the firefly enlivening the darkness of the nights. I had previously seen an occasional one at Darúnta; here they were numerous, and in groups. In some of the canals the eel is found, called már-máhí, or the snake-fish; it is matter of dispute whether the ambiguous animal is or not lawful food. The heat is very oppressive in Lúghmán until the month of September, when the weather becomes temperate, and the winter is delightful. The great amount of land given over to the cultivation of rice, by being inundated until the grain matures, throws out very noxious exhalations before the harvest, and to walk
SKILFUL AGRICULTURISTS.

amongst the fields is very unpleasant, but the same may be said of all rice-countries.

The Tajiks of Lughmân speak a dialect called by themselves and their neighbours Lughmâní, but which, I presume, to be nearly the same as the Pashai, the Kohistâni of Dara Nûr, and the dialect of the Síáposh Kâfrs. They also speak Persian. They are industrious, and remarkably neat cultivators of the land. The ridges between the several plots of soil are formed very precisely, the fields are weeded, and altogether are so tended as I have nowhere else witnessed. They are partial to drill-husbandry, and transplant all their rice-plants, and receive the benefit of their skill and labour in overflowing crops. They are esteemed a very cunning and litigious people, and, according to their neighbours, their agricultural proficiency need not be wondered at, considering to whom they are indebted for it. On which matter they have the following amusing story:—

In times of yore, ere the natives were acquainted with the arts of husbandry, the shaitân, or devil, appeared amongst them, and winning their confidence, recommended them to sow their lands. They consented, it being farther agreed that the devil was to be a sherik, or partner, with them. The lands were accordingly sown with turnips, carrots, beet, onions, and such vegetables whose value consists in the roots. When the crops were
mature the shaitān appeared, and generously asked the assembled agriculturists if they would receive for their share what was above-ground or what was below. Admiring the vivid green hue of the tops, they unanimously replied, that they would accept what was above ground. They were directed to remove their portion, when the devil and his attendants dug up the roots, and carried them away. The next year he again came, and entered into partnership. The lands were now sown with wheat and other grains, whose value lies in their seed-spikes. In due time, as the crops had ripened, he convened the husbandmen, putting the same question to them as he did the preceding year. Resolved not to be deceived as before, they chose for their share what was below ground; on which the devil immediately set to work and collected the harvest, leaving them to dig up the worthless roots. Having experienced that they were not a match for the devil, they grew weary of his friendship; and it fortunately turned out that on departing with his wheat he took the road from Lúghmān to Bárīkāb, which is proverbially intricate, and where he lost his road, and has never been heard of or seen since. The portion of the road to this day retains the name of Shaitān Gūm, or the place where the devil lost his way.

Between it and Lúghmān is a locality called
AKBAR KHAN'S DISASTER.

Bádpash, remarkable for the current of air which constantly drives there. In my time, Máhomed Akbár Khan, with his troops, returning from a foray on the Sáhibzâda Uzbíns, was caught in a wind-tempest at the place, and he and they were as nearly blown away as the devil had been before them. The force was overwhelmed in the elemental strife, and broken up. Several persons perished, with their horses. Many were found afterwards, and slain by the Sáhibzâda Uzbíns.

From Pashai I made one long march to Darúnta, and thence the next day passed on to Tátang. Besides the trips and excursions I have noted in this work, I had during this year thoroughly explored the valley of Jelálabád, abounding in interesting monuments, as tumuli, mounds, caves, &c.

Having turned my attention to the side of Kabál, before finally leaving the lower countries, I made yet another short excursion to Múrkhí Khél, at the foot of the Saféd Koh, to ascertain if it were true, as affirmed by rumour, that a tope existed there. I made one march from Tátang, passing through Nimla, and reached the place by evening, where I was civilly received by a malek, whose house was immediately adjacent to the monument. He was very willing that I should examine it; and I have ever since been much chagrined that I did not at the time do so, as this is one of the objects which, when in my power, I neglected, while subsequent events
prevented my again giving it my personal attention. The monument was in style of construction, and as regards appearance, the miniature type of the superior tope at Hidda; I therefore had little doubt as to its age; but I had hoped, from the nature of its relics, if it fortunately contained any, to have been enabled to have speculated upon the precise character of the two structures, which the costly and diversified deposits obtained from the Hidda monument scarcely permitted. I had a strong impression that the latter edifice might be due to one of those princes whose coins we possess, and which we call Indo-Sassanian, and my visit to Múrkhí Khél tended to confirm me in my conceit.

That the spot had been anciently appropriated to the reception of the dead of some peculiar race or sect, was sufficiently intelligible from the surprising quantities of human bones strewing the surface in certain places. These were in such number that the walls separating the several plots of soil were formed of them. To answer this purpose they were, of course, entire, and it was impossible to imagine that they had ever been subjected to the action of fire. They might, indeed, have been interred; and it was necessary to suppose so, or to conjecture that at Múrkhí Khél we had fallen upon a spot where the old Guebre inhabitants of the country deposited their corpses. I was inclined to the latter opinion, because some fifteen or sixteen copper coins I pro-
cured here, picked up amongst the bone localities, were all Indo-Sassanian. When I reflected for the moment that the monies might or might not be as essential a provision to a Guebre corpse as to one which was destined to cremation, another fact well explained their presence.

At Nokar Khél, about three miles north, or lower down on the plain, entire skeletons are and have been frequently found. Around their ankle-bones were originally tied trinkets, coins, or tokens of some kind; of which the present inhabitants are so aware that upon detecting a new subject they never fail minutely to examine its lower extremities, and are generally rewarded by some trifle; sometimes they obtain articles of value. In these days Múrkhí Khél is a delightful locality, comprising the two sides of a spacious glen, down which flows a fine rivulet. There is a village called by that name, of about fifty houses, and several small hamlets, castles, and towers, together forming an aggregate of nearly three hundred houses. My friend, the malek, told me that there were about one hundred vineyards. Although the temperature is low, they have two harvests, one of wheat in the spring, and another of gáll and júár in the autumn. The latter is so productive, that I was assured a chárak and half of seed yielded in return a kharwâr of grain. About two miles east of Múrkhí Khél, also at the foot of the hills, is Zoár,
famed for the multitude of its vineyards and orchards; west of it is Mámá Khél, where resides Mír Afzil Khán, who I have before had occasion to mention. Múrkhi Khél is, moreover, situated at a point where a road leads over the Saféd Koh range to the Jájí country.

During my stay here—and the spot had so many attractions that I remained three days—I saw many of the Jájís, who seemed to make the house and tower of my malek their serái. They were a shade more rude in manners than the people on the northern skirts of the Saféd Koh, and these are not very refined. Their dress is peculiar, a kind of cap being used in place of the lúnghí, or turban, and their pantaloons fitting closely to the legs, while the lower portions are highly ornamented with needlework. An intelligent youth, Nasrülah, who knew more about his own country, or had a better way of communicating his knowledge than any other of his countrymen I conversed with, after having satisfied my inquiries, demanded in return, a távíz, or written charm, to soften the hearts of Gúl Khán and his wife Tanai, who objected to give him their daughter, his kanghál, or sweetheart, with the musical name of Gúlsimma.

The subordinate hills of the Saféd Koh are in the neighbourhood of Murkhí Khél interesting, as containing steatite, prase, and other magnesian minerals, while they are clothed with forests of
pine-trees. From all the accounts I gathered, this celebrated range has an abrupt descent upon the plains of the opposite province of Khúram. On our return we came down upon Nokar Khél, near which is a tumulus, of large dimensions. The people of the vicinity hearing of the operations carried on upon the topes and tumuli near Jalalabad, considered it might be profitable to ascertain the contents of the edifice in question, and parties, in turns, commenced their labours at the summit. In four or five days they grew discouraged, and desisted.

From Nokar Khél we passed on to Nimla, where, the evening being far advanced, we halted for the night. The next morning we crossed the undulating country to Balla Bâgh, and fording the Súrkh Rúd, again reached Tátang, having now nothing farther to do than to make the best of our way to Kábal. Accordingly we started, having as escort Abdúlah, brother of the malek at Jigdillik, from which place we took the route of Híra Manzí, leading over a very high hill, but the road good, so that it is not requisite to dismount, and came down directly into the valley of Tézín. Here we did not halt, but for a few minutes; on resuming our road, we crossed the Haft Kotal, and traversing the table-space beyond, eventually reached Terikkí, where we passed the night with some Ahmed Zai Ghiljís, who dwell in tents there. Here were the remains of a
Chaghatai castle, and the fragments of marly rock everywhere strewing the surface of the soil were full of fossilized shells. In the morning we passed, in the distance to our left, the village of Khúrd Kâbal, and crossed the range which separated us from the Kâbal valley, descending upon the tope and village of Kamarí. Hence we struck across the plain, and reached in safety my old quarters in the Bálla Hissár.
CHAPTER XIII.

Dost Máhomed Khân's intention to assume royalty.—Views and opinions of parties.—Súltán Máhomed Khân's departure.—Day of inauguration.—Ceremony.—Exhortations.—Remarks of his subjects.—Dost Máhomed Khân's demeanour.—His justification.—Preparations for the war.—The khán múlla's dexterity.—Plunder of the Hindus.—Máhomed Ospán Khân's address.—Dost Máhomed Khân's intentions.—Exortion from Máhomedans.—Death of Sabz Alí.—Amount of exactions.—March of troops.—Hájí Khân's departure.—State of the season.—Mírza Uzúr.—Máhomed Kúlí Khán.—Progress to Jelálabád.—Robbers at Séh Bábá—Jigdillik.—Necessity of Máhomed Kúlí Khán.—Gândámak.—Daránta.—Death of Náib Yár Máhomed.—Letters from Ludíána.—Equivocal nature of employment.—Incivility of the nawáb.—Saiyad Keramat Alí's departure.—His tactics.—His intentions.—His assault on Ranjit Singh.—Delicate duties.—Evils of Saiyad Keramat Alí's conduct.—Afghán notions of official etiquette.

At Kábal the public mind was much occupied by the preparations making for the announced crusade against the Sikhs, and by the understood intention of Dost Máhomed Khân to assume the dignity of padsháh. Hájí Khân, who, previous to his departure from Kábal, proposed this step, now on his return again recommended it, as did Mírza Samí Khán, and others. The relatives of the sirdár

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were unanimously opposed to it, urging, that it was unbecoming and impolitic; but since the deaths of Amír Máhomed Khán, and Máhomed Réhim Khán, the Amín-a-Múlh, there were none amongst them to whose opinions he judged it necessary to pay deference. It was therefore decided upon, and the day for the ceremony of inauguration fixed. Súltân Máhomed Khán, with his brother, Pír Máhomed Khán, were living at Kâbal, on no very friendly terms with Dost Máhomed Khán. The latter omitted no opportunity, by taunt or sarcasm, to annoy Súltân Máhomed Khán; he possessed himself of his guns, muskets, and other military munitions, which were surrendered because it was known that, otherwise, they would have been forcibly taken. The two brothers, notwithstanding many defections happened amongst their followers, still maintained a large proportion of troops, and Súltân Máhomed Khán was willing, in concert with his friends, to have drawn the sword and braved the chances of a struggle with his brother. On one occasion he actually left the city and proceeded to the Afshár castles, but admittance was refused to him. Had he been received he would have displayed his standard, and been joined by those in his interest or in the plot, and Kâbal, for a few days, whoever had been the victor, might have exhibited, as of old, instructive scenes of tumult. Now that the inauguration of Dost Máhomed Khán was about to take place, Súltân Máhomed Khán did not choose
either to assist or to be present at the ceremony. He therefore obtained permission to proceed to Bajor, to induce Mir Alam Khan to co-operate in the warfare against the Sikhs, and left Kabal, having obtained a sum of money from Dost Mahomed Khan for his expenses. The day at length arrived when the chief of Kabal proposed to elevate himself above his brothers, by the assumption of a new title, and superior degree of rank. It was ushered in with no expressions of joy, and there were no discharges of artillery to announce to the inhabitants of the city that their chief was about to invest himself with regal authority. Towards evening, Dost Mahomed Khan, leaving the Balla Hissar, proceeded to the Id Gah, near Siah Sang, where many, but not all, of his relatives and chiefs attended, with the eldest son of Mir Wais. The latter officiated as primate; and repeating prayers, placed two or three blades of grass in the turban of Dost Mahomed Khan, proclaiming him Padshah, with the title of Amir al Momanin, or commander of the faithful. Then, turning to the crowds around, and alluding to the holy war the amir intended to wage with the infidels, he informed them, it was the duty of every Mussulman, by voluntary contribution, to assist in the promotion of so righteous a cause to the extent of his power. Abdul Samad scattered a few rupees amongst the crowd, which then began to disperse, the amir's relatives, and other chiefs, taking the road to the city by the Derwaza.
Lahorí, while he, and some half a dozen particulars, returned to the Bálía Hissár by the road he went. There were immense crowds collected from the city, both of Máhomedans and Hindús, probably in expectation of witnessing some display of pomp and ceremony, and they returned to their homes disappointed, as there really was little to be seen.

I was sitting on the summit of a small eminence, called Tappa Khák Balkh, within gun-shot of the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid, as the newly-created amír passed along the road, separated from the tappa by the breadth of a cultivated field. Some of his horsemen galloping over it, he cried out to them, not to ride over the raiyat’s grain. One of those near me observed, “Do you hear the scoundrel? How soon he evinces solicitude about his raiyats.” Another party, of six or seven persons, broke up as he came near, saying one to the other that he was a bacha Kâballi, or lad of Kâbal, and if he saw them sitting together he would fancy that each of them had a bottle of wine under his cloak. For some days after this event the darbár was frequently the scene of much mirth, if not of buffoonery. It had formerly been the custom in addressing the chief to call him Sirdár, it now became fit that he should be styled Amír Sáhib, and it was settled that any one who should be guilty of a lapsus linguæ should forfeit a rupee. The people who recommended Dost Máhomed
Khân to proclaim himself padshâh, it was supposed, did so under the idea that he would not, a slave to etiquette, interest himself so much in the management of affairs, leaving a little more to their discretion. In this they were grievously disappointed, for not only did his plainness of manner and easiness of access continue as before, but he seemed to give more personal attention to business than ever. Inspecting some new gun-carriages, made under orders of Abdúl Samad, he inquired for the wood and nails of the old ones. Abdúl Samad submitted that it was derogatory in a padshâh to ask about such trifles. The amîr told him that he was altogether mistaken, for it behoved him to look after them as they would come into use. If the amîr himself had any reasons for putting on a superior title beyond the petty ones of mortifying his relatives, and gratifying at a costless rate his own vanity, they may be found in the opinions held by Afghâns in general, that in combats, whether for political or religious ends, it is becoming to fight under the standard of a sovereign, as in that case the reward of martyrdom is certainly secured to the slain. It is also agreeable to Afghân ideas, that an individual who has discomfited a padshâh, as Dost Mâhomed Khân had done Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, should himself assume the dignity he is supposed fairly to have won. It was, moreover, alleged by his supporters that he merely revived the pretensions and claims of the Báarak Zai family, as set
forth by his ancestor, Hájí Jamál, who proclaimed himself pâdshâh, and struck coin, previous to the acknowledgment of the Sadú Zai family, in the person of Ahmed Shâh; and, it was asserted, that the claims of the Bárak Zais by lying dormant had not become superseded. The more cogent of the arguments advanced by his friends, however, was the necessity of the moment. As for Dost Mâhomed Khân, he said, and always afterwards insisted, that Hájí Khân, Mírza Samí, the khan múlla, with the whole horde of múllas, and of the religious classes, forced him to take up the title. There was an amusing contention amongst the ingenious mîrzas to provide fit mottoes for the official seal of the amir, and for the new rupee it was intended to strike. In both instances Mírza Samí Khân bore the palm from his competitors. While these proceedings were in train, the important conflict before them was not lost sight of by the amír and his friends. They began seriously to think on the means of prosecuting it, and how and where to obtain money engrossed all their attention. It may have been hoped that voluntary contributions would have spared the amír the trouble and odium of making extortions, but it was clear that, however the Mâhomedâns of Kâbal were attached to their religion, they were quite as partial to their gold, and no one thought of offering it in support of the great cause of which the amír avowed himself the champion.
With respect to the Hindus, the khan mulla's sagacity discovered a sacred text admirably adapted to their case, as well as to the circumstances of the amír. It set forth, that it was lawful to seize the wealth of infidels, provided the wealth so seized was employed in repelling the aggressions of infidels. Now, as Ranjit Singh had clandestinely acquired Pesháwer during the absence of the amír at Kândahár, and to recover Pesháwer was the object of the amír's present expedition, it was clear that Ranjit Singh was the aggressor; and in engaging in a defensive war against the infidel, it became obviously consistent with divine sanction that the amír should supply his necessities from the funds of his Hindú subjects. Had the amír possessed a single doubt of conscience it must have been allayed by the sound deductions of the khan mulla. The Hindú shikárpúris, or bankers of the city, were sent for, and being informed they were prisoners until they had arranged to contribute three lakhs of rupees, were made over to the custody of Hájí Khân. Officers were despatched over all parts of the country in search of Hindús, and to secure those who had wealth. Shamsodín Khân was enjoined to look after those of Ghazní; and Máhomed Akbar Khân zealously fulfilled his instructions regarding those of the province of Jelálabád. Many fell into the hands of their pursuers, many contrived to hide themselves, but the houses and visible property of all were
plundered throughout the country. In the city only the principal suffered. The petty sirdárs and jághírdárs imitated the salutary example set them by the amír. Hájí Khán by his agents despoiled the Hindús of Cháhárá Bâgh of Lúghmán; and Máhomed Osmán Khán repaired to Bálá Bâgh, where he seized all the Hindús, having dexterously induced them, by letters assuring them of protection, to remain in their houses until he arrived. Subsequently, when the amír passed Bálá Bâgh in his way eastward, he inquired of Máhomed Osmán Khán how much money he had procured for him from his Hindús. The reply was, none, as they had given him the slip, and secreted themselves under the Saféd Koh.

Many times afterwards the amír would ask about the Hindús of Bálá Bâgh, and Máhomed Osmán Khán as constantly averred he knew nothing of them. In course of time, it proved that they had, all the while, been detained in close custody at Bálá Bâgh; and when they were discovered and produced before the amír, it was lamentable to witness the trim in which they appeared. The amír could not get any of the money taken from these particular Hindús by Máhomed Osmán Khán, but he compelled him to give them bills for the amount, and soothed them by the hopes of having the sums taken from them repaid. The hunting over the country for Hindús continued long after snow had fallen, and when the
hiding-places of any of them were brought to light messengers were instantly despatched to seize the fugitives. The Shikárpúris did not long remain in durance; sensible they had no hope to escape the demands made upon them, they tendered a smaller amount, and after some debate, in which Háji Kháñ professed himself their friend, a sum a little beyond two lákhs of rupees was accepted from them, for which the amír gave them his bonds for repayment. It must be noted, that whatever monies were taken on this occasion may rather be considered as compulsory loans than as absolute extortions, it being the intention, if affairs prospered, to repay them. The amír walked in the footsteps of his profligate brother, Fatí Kháñ, who, notorious for the unscrupulous manner in which he replenished his coffers, and met his pecuniary exigencies, was also as celebrated for the punctuality with which he repaid the sums he forcibly borrowed, whenever able to do so; whence, although as unprincipled a man as perhaps ever lived, he ultimately acquired the honourable reputation of being a “sáhib ítawâh,” or a man of his word, and trustworthy. The financial operations of the amír were not confined to his Hindú subjects, but included within their compass the more opulent of the Máhomedan merchants, as well as many individuals politically suspected, or obnoxious. Sabz Álí, a merchant, from whom thirty thousand rupees were asked, expired under
the tortures applied to him, at which the amír expressed, and probably in truth, much regret, as he did not desire the death of the man, but his money. He was not well pleased, however, that the accident should set aside his claim, and dealing with the conjuncture in the best way he could, compelled the relatives of the unfortunate man to ransom his corpse. Neither did the amír on this occasion spare his own wives. From some of them he obtained jewels to a considerable amount; and his mode of treatment with these fair subjects varied according to their dispositions. From the timid, a slight menace, or peremptory command would be sufficient; for others, his vows to abstain from conjugal intercourse until his demands were satisfied, in the end proved successful. Besides all these various means, he levied two years' jezía, or capitation-tax, on the Hindús throughout the country, and anticipated the receipt of a year's revenue on the town duties of Kâbal. It was supposed that he had made extraordinary collections to the amount of nearly five lákhs of rupees, and having expended two lákhs in unavoidable expenses, and in marching his army from Kâbal, took with him into the field funds to the amount of three lákhs of rupees. The troops had been for some time, in succession, despatched to Jelálabád, and in the latter end of February the amír followed them, leaving Mírza
Samí Khân, and the Nawâb Jabâr Khân to obtain money on jewels which he had procured from his wives; the mîrza to act as agent in negociating the loan, and the nawâb to act as guarantee that the jewels should not be claimed before the sums advanced on them were paid.

On the 5th of March Hájí Khân left the Bálla Hissár to join the Amír. His departure was signalized by the scattering of copper money amongst the populace, who were loud in the praises of sakhí, or generous, Hájí Khân. On reaching the zíárat Shâh Shéhid, whither the crowd followed him, he halted, and, extending his hands, implored a benediction; then abruptly saluting the by-standers with one of his best Salám alikams, cantered off for Bhút Khâk. He was entirely alone, and wrapped in a postín, his people having preceded him.

This season presented a strange but favourable contrast to the last. Snow had fallen in the beginning of December, but it had gradually disappeared, and the weather was beautiful and mild. The new year, 1835, commenced most auspiciously, and spring seemed to have taken the place of winter. During the month of February the flowers of Noh Roz made their appearance, as did swallows; and it was matter of congratulation that the winter had passed. On the night of the 26th February a smart shower of snow destroyed these expectations, and some cold weather succeeded, but still
not to be compared to the rigour of the preceding year; neither did the snow fall in such quantity as to remain long on the surface.

I had for some time been thinking of proceeding to Jelálabád, and now arranged to go in company with Mírza Uzúr, Hájí Khan's chief secretary, and one of my Bámián acquaintance. The 7th of March was the day fixed, and when I sent to the mírza to inquire if he was ready to start, he replied that he wanted ten rupees to redeem his cooking-utensils, lodged with one of his creditors. As I had no mind to delay, I sent him the sum required, and presently after he came, and we rode on to Bhút Khák, and occupied the samúches. The mírza had eight or ten small but active nags. It had rained, in a drizzling manner, all the way from Kábál, and, now and then, a flake of snow fell. In the morning the same kind of weather continued, and I wished to move on, but the mírza said it was indispensable that he should send a man back to the city for hinna, to dye the tails and hoofs of his horses, as it was ungenteel to travel with them in a colourless state. We were, therefore, detained this day at the samúches. In the evening we were joined by Máhomed Kúlí Khán, the only surviving son of the Vazír Fatí Khán, who had a party of about forty horse, besides his laden cattle. He occupied a samúch, contiguous to ours. The weather was too threatening to allow us to march, and we were, therefore, against our wills, detained an-
other day here. In the evening, with Mírza Uzúr, I supped with Máfomed Kúlí Khán. I found him a handsome youth, of nineteen or twenty years of age, but with a peculiar cast of features, having a long acquiline nose and pointed chin. He was very intelligent, but, it was easy to perceive, libertine and dissipated. He formerly resided with his uncles at Péshawer, who allowed him twenty thousand rupees per annum. On their expulsion, he came of necessity to Kábal, where his excesses were not so indulgently viewed by the amír, and he was told, that, to secure favour, he must reform his course of life, and dismiss his evil associates. I suspect these conditions were rather too difficult to be complied with, and his contumacy afforded the amír a pretext for behaving very parsimoniously towards his nephew. Máfomed Kúlí Khán is one of two brothers, the only sons the vazír had, and they were by a celebrated Kinchiní, named Bâghí, whom he married. Sirbalend Khán, the elder, is said to have been a promising youth, and met his death accidentally in the Bâgh Sháh at Kábal, amusing himself with the jeríd, or exercise of the lance. Endeavouring to transfix an apple on the ground, his weapon rebounded and pierced his breast. He lingered a few days and died. We sat a long time in chat with Máfomed Kúlí Khán, and on parting it was agreed that we should be companions on the road. The next day being fine and clear, we started, and taking the road of Sokhta
Chanár, we halted on the rivulet below Tézín. Just before reaching our ground we fell in with a party of robbers, but they filed over the hills leading to Tézín. During the night our chokís, or guards, were kept on the qui-vive, I suppose by these very fellows, but we lost nothing. The following morning we proceeded down the valley, and met a large Afghán káfila. We learned that a band of about thirty Sáhibzâda Uzbín robbers were stationed at the zíárat Séh Bábá, a little in advance; that they had not ventured to assail the káfila, the men belonging to it being Afghâns, and too numerous. We had scarcely passed these when we met a smaller káfila, also Afghán, who informed us that they had been attacked, but had preserved their property at the expense of three of their men being wounded. Of this we had ocular evidence in the poor fellows bathed in blood. It was a sad pity we had not reached five minutes earlier. Máhomé Kúlí Khán, Mírza Uzúr, and myself, with about fifteen horsemen, soon reached Séh Bábá, where we drew up, that the rest of our party might join. We descried a fellow skulking on the summit of one of the eminences in our front, but on our hailing him he decamped. He was the spy of the robbers, who, no doubt, were in ambush close by us. We were too strong to be attacked, and it is never part of the system of these thieves to commit themselves with horsemen.

Our whole party assembled, we placed our bag-
gage in front, and ascended the undulating sandstone eminences intervening between Séh Bábá and Báríkâb. We rested awhile at the latter place, and then resumed our journey to Jigdillik, where we halted in the garden. We saw none of the inhabitants here, as they had removed, for the season, or perhaps to escape the visit of troops, to a valley lower down, called Perí Dara (the fairy's vale). I received an intimation at this place that I should be applied to on the part of Máḥomed Kúlí Khán for money, as it appeared that the son of the vazír was penniless; and I had authorized my servant, if such a request were made, without speaking to me, to give, as if from himself, a small sum. Ghúlám Alí, the maternal uncle of the young khán, in due time represented his necessities, and my servant gave ten rupees, which sufficed to procure provender, and other little necessaries they needed. In mentioning this circumstance I must not be thought to convey an imputation on my companion, who, so far from being intrusive, or greedy of the property of another, was liberal to prodigality. He was destitute as to money, yet still would have given me anything of what he possessed, and I had difficulty to refuse little things he was continually sending me. From Jigdillik the next day we marched on to Gandamak; and it proved that two sisters of Máḥomed Kúlí Khán were in the vicinity, one residing permanently at Mámá Khél, with her husband, Mír Afzil Khán,
DEATH OF YAR MAHOMED.

the other, a wife of Máhomed Zemán Khán, temporarily occupying a castle near Gandamak. He had frequently boasted to me on the road that he should be at home on reaching Gandamak. The sister there sent her little boy to his uncle with a present of fruit, and shortly after came a sheep, with other necessaries. A messenger from Mámá Khél brought a gentle reproach from the sister there on account of Máhomed Kúlí not having visited her. The next day, taking leave of the vazír's son and Mírza Uzúr for the present, I, with my party, took the road to Bálla Bágh, and passing it, as well as the nawâb's castle of Tátang, we reached Darúnhta in the evening. It was with much regret that I heard the news of my good friend the Náib Yár Máhomed having departed this life but a few days before. He spoke frequently of me in his last sickness, and said his ill-fortune detained me at Kabal, or had I been present I should have given him medicine, and cured him. He was succeeded as náib of the Ghiljís by his son, Ghúlám Rasúl Khán. Before I had left Kabal I had seen the Nawâb Jabár Khán; and aware that it had been arranged that he should proceed to Bajor, I had concerted to accompany him, purposing to remain there for some time, and examine the country and its neighbourhood. The nawâb, having effected his political objects, would of course return. I had sent one of my young men to Tátang to see if the nawâb had reached from Kabal, and he brought me a message
that one of that nobleman's kâsids, just arrived from Lúdíána, was the bearer of letters for me. This took me to Tátang the next morning, and a letter was put into my hand from Captain Wade, the political agent at Lúdíána, informing me that the government, at his recommendation, had been pleased to appoint me their agent for communicating intelligence in these quarters.

Whatever my feelings were on this occasion, it is unnecessary for me to obtrude them on public attention. I might have supposed it would have been only fair and courteous to have consulted my wishes and views before conferring an appointment which compromised me with the equivocal politics of the country, and threw a suspicion over my proceedings, which did not before attach to them. I might have also lamented that I should be checked in the progress of antiquarian discovery, in which I was engaged, and I might reflect whether the positive injury I suffered in this respect was compensated by the assurance that his lordship, the governor-general in council, "anticipates that the result of your employment will be alike useful to government and honourable to yourself."

The messenger who brought the letter for me had delivered a packet to the nawâb, from his son and the persons in his train at Lúdíána. I knew not the nature of their communications, but this nobleman, who had hitherto been so assiduous in his attentions and civility, treated me with such
marked rudeness, that I abruptly left him, and without taking leave mounted my horse. This was the first fruit of my new appointment; nor was it until some time after his return to Kâbal that our intercourse was carried on in the same friendly manner as before. To do the nawâb justice, when he found that he had been deceived, or that he had misunderstood matters, his concessions and apologies were ample.

I have before noticed Saiyad Keramat Ali, and the dilemma from which he was relieved by the death of Amîr Mâhomed Khân. It appeared that, in consequence of disagreement with Captain Wade, he had requested permission to return to India, which was granted, and Mohan Lâl, the Hindû mûnshí, and companion of Lieutenant Burnes in his travels, was appointed to succeed him. The saiyyad, however, on the return of Dost Mâhomed Khân to Kâbal, with the view of maintaining his position until the time fixed for his departure, adopted a new line of tactics, and fell in heartily with all the projects of the politicians of Kâbal as to alliances with the British government, while he imputed his misdeeds relating to the correspondence with Shâh Sûjâh al Múlkh, to the known wishes of Captain Wade, however they had proved contrary to those entertained by the government. Previous to his departure he had procured a document, sealed by a number of persons, calling upon the government to depute an envoy to Kâbal, and that envoy to be
either Captain Burnes or Captain Conolly; and when he finally left he vowed that he would procure the removal of Captain Wade from Lúdíána, or be himself sent across the kāla pání (black water), that is, be transported.

He had also other wrathful intents; in consequence of which, when at Lahore, he rejected the presents tendered by Ranjit Singh, and commanded him to desist from his aggressions on the Afgháns. Finding the Máhárarájá not perfectly compliant, he stroked his beard, and swore he would play the deuce with him when he got to Calcutta. The old prince, terrified, applied to Captain Wade at Lúdíána for protection against the saiyad.

The first duty I had to discharge was to set the various parties at Kábal right with the political agent—no easy matter—and "to correct any misconceptions which the nawâb may be inclined to form from his (the saiyad's) representations;"—again a difficult task—for as Captain Wade also wrote, "I could hardly have credited the accounts which I have received of his intrigues since he went to Cabúl, had I not myself acquired an insight into his transactions at that place, both while he was there and since his return, that clearly proves his deceitful conduct, and the gross subterfuges to which he can have recourse to serve his own mischievous designs. The impositions which he has been practising on the nawâb are, I understand, of the most glaring nature. His removal from Cabúl must be regarded as a for-
tunate event. There is no knowing the extent to which he might have involved the interests of government had he remained. His sole object while there seems to have been to deceive the Barak Zais into an extravagant belief of his own importance, at the expense, if possible, of the just influence of his immediate superior. He was long ago warned by me not to interfere in the affairs of the chiefs, whoever they might be; that his duty was merely that of a reporter of passing events. Such an interdiction was likely to be very intolerable to his intriguing disposition; and considering his irritable temper, much of his real or affected discontent, rancour, and malice, towards every one who has at all interfered with him, may, no doubt, be ascribed to my detection of his attempts to impose on the credulity of these people.” Farther, “The nawâb and all his relatives and retainers, ought now to be convinced of their extreme folly and weakness, in trusting to the specious words and promises of their unworthy adviser, Keramat Ali. The governor-general has desired me to inform the nawâb, that he cannot recognize the saiyad as a proper channel of communication, and has not replied, therefore, to the letters of which he was the bearer. I have done so, and will thank you to reiterate the injunction, as well as to point out to the nawâb and his family the propriety of confining their correspondence to the prescribed channel of the officer charged
with the conduct of the intercourse existing between the two states, and to send copies, as ordered, of all letters that he may desire to send to other quarters."

It will be seen that the commencement of my official labours was under auspicious circumstances. I never took the trouble to ascertain, precisely, what the saiyad had done,—that he had done a little I have shown, and I found that he had bound the nawâb, and many other persons, to support him by oaths on the Korân. I treated the matter less seriously than did Captain Wade, and in the course of two or three months, by the assistance of friends, had succeeded to put the nawâb, and others, in a more friendly disposition. An evil, greater in my estimation than the irritation occasioned to Captain Wade, arose from the political lessons given by the saiyad to Dost Mâhomed Khân, and the principal people at Kâbal, for he instructed them not as things were, but as he fancied them to be; this was unfortunate, and so was his connexion with the Persian adventurer, Abdûl Samad; and his errors here were afterwards felt in their effects. I had also no small trouble in inculcating the propriety of compliance with Captain Wade's notions of the etiquette to be observed in correspondence with himself and the government; and I remembered that, in Saiyad Keramat Alî's time, some objections had been made to the mode in which letters were
despatched from Kâbal, it being insisted they should be put in proper envelopes, and then enclosed in silken bags. This produced some merriment in the darbár, where many thought that, as Afghâns, their letters might reasonably enough be forwarded under felt covers.
CHAPTER XIV.

Attempt to assassinate the Amír.—His anxiety.—Letter from the governor-general.—Views of the government, and of Captain Wade.—Commencement of communications with Persia.—Máhomed Hússén.—Allah Yár Khán’s letter.—The Amír’s progress.—His prayer at Alí Bāghán.—Prognostications.—Dreams.—Mr. Harlan’s mission.—Súltán Máhomed Khán’s letter.—Pír Máhomed Khán intercepted.—Deputation of the nawáb.—Junction of Súltán Máhomed Khán.—Khaibar chiefs.—Ranjit Singh’s movements.—Negotiations.—Truce.—The Amír’s cunning.—Rage of Pír Máhomed Khán.—Committal of Pír Máhomed Khán.—Various counsels.—Arrival of Ranjit Singh.—His energy and dispositions.—Mission to the Afghán camp.—Amír decides on retreat.—Proposals to Súltán Máhomed Khán.—Sikh envoys made over to Súltán Máhomed Khán.—Retreat of the Amír.—Arrival in Khaibar.—Súltán Máhomed Khán’s conduct.—Search for Súltán Máhomed Khán.—Letters from Súltán Máhomed Khán.—Disposal of the army.—Return of the Amír to Kábal.—Mírza Sání Khán’s wrath.—Evils of the Amír’s injudicious policy.

On our road from Kábal a courier had informed us of an attempt to assassinate the new amír in the camp at Jelálabád. The offender proved to be a man once in the service of Fátí Máhomed Khán, the father-in-law to the nawáb. Máhomed Kúlí Khán justly observed, that the loss of the amír at such a crisis would be a great evil. Whatever may have been Dost Máhomed Khán’s suspicions as to
the inciters of the intended crime, he did not judge fit to express them at this juncture, and the assassin himself was, I believe, suffered to go unpunished.

At Jelalabad the amir was sufficiently employed; and Mirza Samí Khan drew up plans for the disposition of the army in the conflict which was to take place with the infidel Sikhs. There is little doubt that the amir began to distrust his vaunted power for the expulsion of his foes from Pesháwer by force of arms, and would have been glad, by any fair pretext, to have been enabled to withdraw from the contest, and on this account he anxiously looked for replies to letters he had addressed to Captain Wade and to the British government. I am not aware of the nature of these letters, but can readily imagine they were numerous enough. I sometimes saw the nawâb, but, under his irritated feelings, to very little profit; and sometimes I saw Mirza Samí Khan, who was civil, but asserted, that until informed by the nawâb he did not know that Saiyad Keramat Alí's actions were disapproved of by Captain Wade.

While the army was yet at Jelalabad a letter was received from the governor-general. It was opened with expectations far from realized by the contents. The amir merely smiled, Mirza Samí Khan felt much surprised that no answer had been given to what he considered the essential point, affirmed that the liveliest hopes had been entertained, and that the matter was one which could
have been easily arranged by the British govern-
ment. The nawâb was very wrath,—avowed that
the government was pleased that the Afghâns should
be exterminated; and his sentiments being re-echoed
by his friends about him, I was glad to get away
from them.

The governor-general's letter, which would have
been a very good one at another time, had now ar-
rived mal-à-propos. Subsequently, after the amîr's
brief and fruitless campaign had terminated, and
he had returned to Kâbal, I received a letter from
Captain Wade, explanatory of his own views and
those of the government at this period, which now
there can be no harm to disclose, and that cannot
be better done than in the political agent's own
words:—

"With regard to the anxiety of the amîr and
his brother for the arrival of an answer to their
letter, soliciting the mediation of the British go-

ternment to settle their quarrel with the Sikhs,
the letters which I despatched to them on the 6th
of March will have prepared these chiefs for the
reluctance which is felt by our government to be-
come a party in such an affair. I regret the result
sincerely, and endeavoured to avoid, by submitting
a proposition, which if approved, would in its effects
have, in all probability, secured Dost Mâhomed
Khân's present object, and laid the foundation of
an alliance between him and our government bene-
ficial to the interests of both parties, without dis­
gusting Ranjit Singh or compromising the obliga­
tions of friendship due to him. Government, how­
ever, has taken a different view of the subject, and
it behoves us, therefore, to try and establish by other
means that influence in Afghânistân which it is our
object to obtain.

“'In the letter of the governor-general, which will
probably have been shown to you, a plain declara­
tion is made to Dost Mâhomèd Khân and his
brothers, of the desire of the British government to
form a close connexion with them by an inter­
change of commercial advantages. They are not
likely, at first sight, to discern the benefits which
they will assuredly derive, in a political point of view,
from an alliance formed on such a basis, and may,
in their indignation at the apparent indifference
with which our government has regarded their ap­
plication for assistance against the Sîhks, think that
nothing but a motive purely selfish has dictated
the counter-proposition which we have offered; but
I need not observe to you, that should Dost Mâ­
homèd Khân be disposed to encourage our ostensible
object, a real advantage may be gained by him, as
concerns the future importance and strength of his
government, by entering heartily into such a con­
nexion with our government as his lordship’s letter
has indicated.

“I herewith enclose copies of the letters which
I have just addressed both to the nawâb and the amîr, which will give you some insight into my sentiments. It is impossible for me to exert any direct interference with the dispute which is now raging between them and Ranjit Singh, without being authorized to do so by government, but my opinion is, and I have expressed it to Abdûl Ghîás Khân’s preceptor and his companion, that the amîr should use every endeavour in his power to negociate a peace with the Sîkhs. He committed great precipitation in bidding defiance to the Mâhârâjá at the time he did. If determined on hostility, he should have ascertained beforehand whether there was any person on whose aid or assistance he could depend, instead of declaring war, and finding himself left to prosecute it with no other resources than his own, when it was too late to retrace his footsteps with credit. Notwithstanding this fatal error, I still anxiously hope that some means may be devised by Dost Mâhomed Khân, who has, on several occasions nearly as difficult as the present, given such great proofs of the fertility of his genius, to extricate himself, without any serious loss of honour, from his present embarrassing position. I sympathise deeply with him, and though I cannot use the authority of government, the obligation I am under ‘of cultivating a good understanding’ with him and his family will not make me backward in availing myself of any opportunities which my personal in-
fluence may afford me, and of which I may legitimately take advantage, of restoring an amicable feeling between him and his ambitious neighbour.

"I generally concur in the truth of the opinions which you have stated, to justify an exertion of British mediation (to put a stop to the contest which has perhaps ere now endangered the political existence of Dost Máhomed Khán), and shall send a copy of the eloquent appeal which you make in his favour to government, with such remarks as appear calculated, in my opinion, to throw light on the proper line of policy which it is our duty to pursue at the present crisis, but I doubt the disposition of the government to involve itself, at once, in such direct political alliance as the amír and his immediate interests require. The threat of seeking the support of a rival power shows that want of foresight for which the Afgháns are proverbial. If they reflect on their relative situation to the British government, they must see that such a step might prove more destructive of their independence than any which they could possibly take."

It would be contrary to the plan I propose for observance, to comment upon this letter.

The threat alluded to of seeking the support of a rival power was, in some measure, attempted at this very time. Máhomed Hussén, since memorable as having been one of the agents employed by Dost Máhomed Khán, being about to return
to Persia, his native country, requested a letter for the shâh. Mâhomed Hússén had for some years resided at Kâbal in the Serai Mâhomed Khúmí, engaged in traffic, and bearing a most disreputable character. He had become one of the companions of Saiyad Keramat Alí, and latterly, since Abdúl Samad had been admitted to the amír’s confidence, had avowed himself to be a correspondent of Abbás Mírza. I doubted the truth of this statement, and that I was justified in doing so was afterwards evidenced; for, when in Persia, he never announced in his intercourse with any one that he had been so employed, which he would not have failed to do, if only for the purpose of arrogating a little credit to himself. I was not aware of the communication made through Mâhomed Hússén at the time; and when I became informed of it I also learned that he had proceeded to Bokhára, and, not seeing his way clear into Persia, remained there. Subsequently, it was again pointed out to me that Mâhomed Hússén had carried letters to the Shâh of Persia; and supposing that those written in the Jelálabád camp were designated, I did not pay much attention to the information; and, still later, when a letter from Allah Yár Khán at Meshed apprized the amír of Mâhomed Hússén’s arrival there, and of his despatch to Tehrân, I suspected it to be a fabrication, not being aware that Mâhomed Hússén had returned to Kâbal, and re-
started with fresh credentials. Notwithstanding the marked rudeness of the nawâb to me, when the first letters were given to Mâhomed Hûssên, I must do him the justice to state, that he refused to be a party to them, and affirmed that he had always advocated a connexion with the British government, and would continue to do so. This fact I learned from others, as well as from himself.

On the 5th of April the amîr broke ground from Jelâlabâd, and by easy marches reached Bas-sowal. It was clear he lingered on the road, awaiting, possibly, some overtures from the Sikhs, and at Alî Bâghân he was favoured with a letter from Attâ Singh, a brother of his former acquaint-ance, Jai Singh. There also the festival of Id Khúrbân was celebrated; and the amîr, on the occasion, offered up prayers for success in the im-pending conflict. He exclaimed audibly, of course that he might be heard by those around, that he was a weak fly, about to encounter a huge ele-phant; that, if it pleased God, the fly could over-come the elephant, and he implored God to grant him victory. Neither did he neglect an appeal to the more profane arts of divination, and Hazâras in the camp, skilful prognosticators of events to come, consulted, agreeably to the custom of their country, the blade-bones of sheep. Many, also, were the dreamers of the army; and the inter-pretation of their mysterious visions was neces-sarily made to indicate the elevation of the amîr,
and his triumph over his deadly antagonist, Ranjit Singh, variously typified as a serpent, a dragon, or a devil. While such ingenious devices were imagined by the amír, or tolerated by him in others, it is just to observe, that the economy of his camp, and his management of the overflowing hosts of Gházís, were excellent.

It had been understood that Mr. Harlan was deputed from the Sikh camp on a mission to Súltán Máhomed Khán at Bájor; and, while at Bás sowal, a letter was received from the latter chief, stating the fact of Mr. Harlan’s arrival, and that he had been put to death, while his elephants and property had been made booty. This news created a sensation in the camp, and the multitude exulted that by the act Súltán Máhomed Khán had detached himself from Sikh interests. I had the satisfaction to listen to the “Alamdillahs!” or God be praised! of the nawâb’s dependents, who vociferated that, now the brothers had become one, and had wiped away their enmities in Feringhí blood. Mírza Samí Khán, however, pretended to be amazed; it was hard, he said, to believe that Súltán Máhomed Khán had committed so foul an action, yet here was his messenger and his letter. The amír, he said, would have received Mr. Harlan with honour, and have dismissed him in like manner. Whether the letter was really sent by Súltán Máhomed Khán, or fabricated by Mírza Samí Khán, I know not; but a
day or two disclosed that Mr. Harlan's reception had been most flattering, and it afterwards turned out that the amír's brother easily fell in with Sikh views. Mr. Harlan, with reference to the part he now played, said he did not deceive Súltân Máhomed Khán, but allowed him to deceive himself, and, of course, he reported to his employers that the chief was gained over.

Here also joined Pír Máhomed Khán; he had lingered behind at Jelálabád, and now dropped down the river on a float. He probably had intended to have passed on to Lálpúra, and to have joined his brother in Bájor; but the amír, anticipating, or apprized of his project, had stationed people on the river-bank, who compelled him to bring-to. He had, therefore, no other course than to renew his oaths of fidelity to the amír, and to swear that he renounced brotherhood with Súltân Máhomed Khán, should he make arrangements with the Sikhs without the amír's sanction or concurrence. Accompanying Pír Máhomed Khán were two or three men most obnoxious to the chief of Kábal, and their countenances too plainly manifested their fears, and they were unwilling sojourners in camp.

From Bássowal the nawáb was allowed to proceed to Bájor, pledging himself to return with Súltân Máhomed Khán and the Bájor levies to Dáka, where the amír proposed to halt for a few days.

When the army marched from Bássowal, I re-
turned to Jellálabád, where I resided with an old acquaintance, Mírza Agâ Jân. At Dáka, the nawáb, with Súltân Máhomed Khán and Mr. Harlan, returned to camp. The ex-chief of Pesháwer was attended by his own troops and a respectable force from Bajor, under orders of Amír Khán, the cousin of Mír Alam Khán, who was too wary to trust himself in the amír's power. Mr. Harlan did not find the amír so facile as his brother, and was upbraided for his interference in matters which could not concern him, as well as for promoting dissension between him and Súltân Máhomed Khán. Mr. Harlan found it necessary to send the amír a Korán, and to make many promises; in allusion to which Mírza Samí Khán, in a letter to Alladád Khán, the chief of Ták, who had succeeded his late father, Sirwar Khán, remarked, that Mr. Harlan had used many sweet words, but that he was aware that Feringhís were like trees, full of leaves, but bearing no fruit,—an allusion so happy that he sent a copy of the letter to me, if not for my instruction, possibly for that of the political agent at Lúdíána. Mr. Harlan, after witnessing a review of the army at Ghágarí, was, no doubt, glad to receive permission to pass over to the Sikh camp, from whence he had come.

In the passage through the defiles of Khaibar many of the maleks, or petty chiefs of Pesháwer, who had been caressed, and appointed to lucra-
A TRUCE EFFECTED.

tive offices by the Sikhs, forsook them, and re-
paired to the amír, excusing their defection on
the plea of religious zeal. The amír, with his
host, finally encamped at Shékhân, in the plain
of Pesháwer, resting on the skirts of the Khaibar
hills.

Ranjit Singh, it is supposed, was not inclined
to believe that the amír would venture to lead
his forces into the plain, and, apparently under
this belief, although he had left Lahore, seemed
to loiter in the country east of the Indus. The
tidings that the Afghâns had actually encamped
and taken up position at Shékhân, made the Má-
hárájá accelerate his movements, and he despatched
peremptory orders to his sirdárs at Pesháwer to
avoid a general action, and await his arrival.

In consequence of such orders, the Sikhs re-
newed negotiations to amuse the amír until the
Máhárájá appeared. The nawáb and one Agá
Hússén were diplomatists on the part of the Af-
ghâns; the latter commissioned to watch the con-
duct of the former, justly suspected by the amír.
Agá Hússén, however, did more, and affirming
that he had a complete ascendency over the amír,
received three thousand rupees, promising to pre-
vail upon him to return to Kábal.

At length Súltân Máhomed Khân proceeded
to the Sikh camp, where he remained for some
time, and through his instrumentality a truce was
agreed upon until the arrival of the Máhárájá.
The ex-chief, it is fair to observe, had proposed perfect reconciliation to his brother, provided he would affix his seal to a bond, and engage to make over Pesháwer to him, whether recovered by force of arms or by negotiation. The amír refused, acknowledging that he intended to give Pesháwer to his own son, Máhómed Akbar Khán. Súltán Máhómed Khán then demanded the promise of Jelálabád, which was alike denied. Without hope, therefore, from the justice or generosity of his brother, he considered himself free to further his own interests in any mode and in any quarter.

The amír, conscious of the evil likely to arise from the presence of his brother in the hostile camp, in despite of the existing truce, secretly encouraged his Gházís to attack the Síkh, dishonestly hoping thereby to endanger him. Between the Afghán and Síkh armies were numerous ravines, and the inequality of surface was favourable to the approaches of the Gházís, and sheltered them from the fire of artillery, so much dreaded. They made several desultory attacks, and even two rather serious ones upon their infidel enemies, and brought some heads into camp, together with plunder from tents. They were probably indebted to the orders of the Máhárájá, which reduced the Síhks to the necessity of awaiting assault, and then merely to stand on the defensive. Pír Máhómed Khán on these occasions was, or feigned to be, in great agony. He presented
himself to the amír, and drawing his dagger, threatened to plunge it into his own breast, denouncing the baseness of exciting the Gházís to action, with the desire that his brother might be put to death in retaliation. The amír protested that he could not restrain the ardour of his Gházís, affected to order that they should not violate the truce, and again encouraged them to do so, and to help themselves to the golden ornaments of the infidels. It was the custom daily to send out a karowal, or advanced guard, commanded by one of the principal chiefs; and when it was Pír Máhomed Khán's tour of duty the amír made such demonstrations as engaged the attention of the Síkhs, and ultimately committed the karowal in conflict. Pír Máhomed Khán was a brave soldier, and creditably acquitted himself; but, in receiving the congratulations of the amír, he did not forget to inveigh against the atrocity of the scoundrel.

The Afghan councils were strangely discordant. Mírza Samí Khán constantly advocated battle, and he was supported by the amír's eldest son, Máhomed Afzil Khán, Hájí Khán, and others. Hájí Khán consistently proposed a variety of schemes; and wished, with the cavalry of the army, to describe a chirk, or circle, and to intercept the Máhárájá between Atak and Pesháwer. Abdúl Samad professed an irresistible desire to combat, and only demanded that his foe, M. Avitabile, should be
given to him, that he might blacken his face, and parade him through the streets of Kâbal on a jackass. The nawâb and his party insisted that it was useless to contend against the superiority of the Síkhs, and the amír, whatever his boasts, showed that he felt the same.

There are some who think that, had the amír brought on an engagement, the occasion was not unfavourable, and that it was possible he might have dispersed one or two of the Síkh camps, as, while the sirdárs individually would not obey the orders of any one but the Málhárájá, there was a doubt whether, if attacked, they would have assisted each other.

The veteran ruler of Lahore at length appeared in camp, and his presence diffused confidence amongst his troops, and unanimity amongst his sirdárs. Disorder and confusion were converted, as if by magic, into order and regularity, and the energy inspiring the bosom of the chief was communicated to those under his command. An immediate change was directed in the disposition of the army, hitherto dispersed about the village of Búdání. The camp nearest to the Afgháns remained stationary, to disguise the contemplated movements, while upon it the rest of the army formed in the shape of a semi-circle, completely enveloping the Afghán position. The Síkh forces were classed into five camps, their fronts protected by artillery; behind it were sta-
tioned the regular infantry, of which thirty-five battalions were present, and again behind them were the various masses of cavalry.

While arranging his troops for attack, the Máhá-rájá deputed, in company with Súltán Máhomed Khán, Fáquír Azzízaldín and Mr. Harlan to the amír’s camp, with instructions to prevail upon him to retire, and to bring Súltán Máhomed Khán back with them. While the envoys were still urging their suit the amír became informed that his camp was surrounded, and that but one of two alternatives remained to him, to fight, or to retreat without loss of time. He was confounded for the moment. He clearly saw that his enterprise had failed, and that his vigorous antagonist had determined to bring matters to a prompt issue. To engage had perhaps never been his purpose; he was conscious of his inferiority; and when he reasoned, that, by remaining on the ground he at present occupied he ran the chance of losing his guns, munition, stores, and equipage, when he would be reduced to the level of Jabár Khán, Máhomed Zemán Khán, or any other of his relatives, he at once determined to retire, while the opportunity permitted. Of course he consulted in his dilemma with his confidential minister, Mírza Samí Khán, and with one or other of them originated the ingenious idea of carrying off with them Ranjít Singh’s envoys, Fáquír Azzízaldín and Mr. Harlan. It was conceited, that the old Sikh chief could scarcely
exist without the fáquír, who officiated as his physician, prepared his drams, and was absolutely necessary to him. It was hoped that Ranjit Singh would be obliged to cede Pesháwer in exchange for the indispensable fáquír, or that, at least, a good round sum would be gained as ransom. Resolved to act upon a suggestion so admirable, it occurred that a degree of odium might attach to a violation of the respect which amongst Afgáns, as amongst all other nations, is conceded to the persons of envoys. The tact of one or the other proposed a means of obviating this difficulty, as regarded themselves, and it was agreed to criminate Súltán Máhomé Khan. That sirdár was accordingly sent for, and the amír, exchanging oaths on the Korán, informed him of what was meditated, and expressed his wishes that, as the elchís came to the camp in his company, so he should carry them off, when everything they wanted would be obtained. Súltán Máhomé Khan, who at once perceived that the amír’s object was to gain his point at the expense of his own reputation, and irreparably to ruin him in the estimation of the Sikh ruler, feigned exceedingly to approve the plan, promised entire compliance, and took all the oaths on the Korán required of him, considering them, made under such circumstances, as invalid. The amír summoned the envoys to his presence, and coarsely reproached and reviled them,—foul language with Afgáns being the preliminary step when more violent mea-
sures are contemplated. He made them over to the charge of Súltán Máhomed Khán.

Dost Máhomed Khán had too much experience in Afghán camps not to know that an orderly retreat is almost an impossibility. He did, however, his best to obviate confusion, but could not prevent the greater part of the army bazár from being plundered by his Gházís, now become a disorganized mass, and formidable only to their quondam friends. The regular troops were drawn up in line, while the artillery and camp-equipage was borne off, and when it had entered the defiles of Khaibar they retrograded and closed upon the rear. It was evening when the retreat was effected, and it had become dark when the amír reached the heights of Ghâgarí, within the Khaibar hills. There his ears were assailed by the reports of the Sikh salvos, discharged in triumph at his flight, just made known to them. He turned round, and looking towards Pesháwer, uttered an obscene oath, and said, “Ah! you káfírs, I have taken you in!” referring to the capture of the fáquir and Mr. Harlan, who, as he supposed, were in custody of Súltán Máhomed Khán in the rear.

The latter sirdár, penetrating the evil intentions of his brother, and seeing an opportunity of recommending himself to the favour of Ranjit Singh, in place of carrying off the envoys, escorted them towards their own camp, and having placed them beyond danger, retired to Minchíni, north of the
great river, there to await the decisions of the Máhárájá.

It should have been explained, that the reasons for making free with the persons of the envoys, as advanced by the amír, were, that they should be detained as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms they proposed, which were, that the amír should retire, and that half the territory of Pesháwer should be restored to Súltán Máhomed Khân. As the amír saw no chance of obtaining the country for himself, he affected to consent to this arrangement, but next demanded some ratification, or some proof of the Máhárájá’s liberality towards himself, and representing that he had been put to great expense in putting forth the expedition, suggested that it would only be considerate to give him a few lákhs of rupees by way of nâll-bandí, literally, to pay the charges of shoeing his horses. He protested that he had not come to make war with the Máhárájá, whom he revered as a father, but to make peace. The fáquírs promised that the request should be considered by the Máhárájá, and the amír observed, that the claim was then admitted, and that the elchís should remain with him until it was adjusted, and until Pesháwer had been made over to his brother. The fáquír urged that it was necessary he should return to the Máhárájá to apprise him that his propositions had been accepted, and of the claim for nâll-bandí now advanced by the amír. The latter replied, it was
unnecessary, as all could be done by a short letter. Finally, when the fáquír was weary of offering argument in vain, and hinted at the indelicacy and impropriety of the step the amír seemed to intimate he had decided upon, he was told that the Sikhs were káfrs, and unlike any other people, as they were breakers of oaths and treaties, therefore anything was fair in dealing with them or with the agents employed by them, although it would not be fair with other people. The amír's march from Shekhán was continued to Jabarghí, and in the morning he sent to enquire where Súltán Máhomèd Khán was located, not doubting but that, with his prisoners, he was in camp. The sirdár was not to be found; still the search was continued until about noon, when a courier was announced from Súltán Máhomèd Khán. The man produced a letter, addressed to the amír, which commenced with the most violent abuse, and after calling the amír everything that was bad, required that he would instantly dismiss his brother, Pír Máhomèd Khán, with his náib, Háji Khán, and restore all the guns, muskets, and other articles of which the amír had robbed him. Another letter, addressed to Pír Máhomèd Khán, informed him that it had come to his (Súltán Máhomèd Khán's) knowledge that the amír had concerted to blind him, and that to preserve his eyes he had been compelled to retire. The amír and Mírza Samí Khán were excessively chagrined and mor-
tified, having, besides the failure of their schemes, been duped by Súltân Mâhomed Khán, while they were exposed to odium and ridicule. Indeed, many of those who heard the letter read were obliged to retire from the amír's presence that they might indulge in laughter unrestrained.

The amír had been particularly anxious to preserve the army entire, that he might boast of having retreated with honour, but his utmost efforts could not keep it together. It broke up and dispersed. He had wished to have inspected it at Dáka, but as this was impossible he purposed to assemble it at Jelálabád, and despatched a small guard of horse to Súrkh Púl with orders to turn back any fugitives from the army seeking to reach Kâbal. The first strong body that arrived at Súrkh Púl overpowered the guard, and plundered it of horses, arms, and accoutrements. The amír, in disgust, made no farther attempt to restrain the flight of his men, and eventually reached Kâbal privately by night. For some three or four days he would admit no one to his presence; it was supposed that he felt ashamed. Mírza Samí Khán in like manner secluded himself, reviled the amír for not having fought as he counselled him, broke his kalam-dân, or pen-and-ink case, the badge of his office, and vowed that he would have nothing farther to do with state-affairs. That the amír had acted injudiciously in originating the contest so ingloriously concluded, there can be little doubt.
He had engaged, without allies or resources, in a struggle to which he was unequal, and the consequences of his failure proved a fertile source of subsequent embarrassment to him, while he had thrown away the advantages he possessed, and those which he might have derived from his victory over Shāh Sújáh al Múlkh. He had also discovered that he could not justly calculate upon the religious ardour of the people, for although large numbers of Gházís did join his standard, they were not in the countless myriads he expected, and many of them were from countries independent of his jurisdiction. Having deceived them, as it were, in this expedition, he certainly could not expect that they would attend him on any future occasion.
CHAPTER XV.

The Amír’s reproaches.—His projects.—State of Kábal.—Intrigues and plots.—Retrenchments.—Hájí Khán’s conversations.—The Nawáb’s irresolution.—Overtures from Lúdiána.—Their effect at Kábal.—Results.—Dexterity of Sir John Hobhouse.—Violence of intrigues.—Letter from Captain Wade.—Arrival of Rashíd Akhúndzáda.—Proscription lists.—Rashíd Akhúndzáda’s subtlety.—Mírza Samí Khán’s retreat.—Precautions of the devoted.—Danger of my situation.—Interviews with the Amír.—Rashíd Akhúndzáda opposes the Amír’s plans.—Useless expostulation of the Amír.—Ábdúlah Khán consigned to plunder.—Seizure and spoil of Abdúlah Khán.—The Amír’s repentance.—Restitution of property.—Popular dissatisfaction.—Captain Wade’s interference.—Resignation of appointment.—Cessions by Ranjit Singh to Súltán Máhomed Khán.—Letters from Pesháwer.—The Nawáb’s willingness to be deceived.—Interview with the Amír.—Events of 1836.—Series of intrigues and alarms.—The Amír’s plans.—Strives to gain over Máhomed Osmán Khán.—Sudden panic.—Hájí Khán’s recommendation.—The Khán and his Hindú creditors.—The Amír’s financial measures.—Movements of the Sikhs and of Kámrân.—Hájí Khán’s remarks on the times.—Departure of Pír Máhomed Khán.—His attempted assassination.—Impediments thrown on his retreat.—Letters from India.—Resume duties.—Intercourse between Kábal and Lúdiána.—Renewed communications with Persia.—Hájí Ibráhím.—Hússén Alí.—Iván Vektavich.—His seizure, release, and despatch from Bokhára.—His intentions and assertions.—Ábdúl Samad’s projects.—His influence in the Amír’s háram.—The Amír’s evasion.—Journey to Táttang.

As soon as the amír recovered sufficient confidence to sit in darbár, there was but one topic
on which he indulged, and that was the treachery
and perfidy of his brothers, and other relatives, who,
he said, had betrayed him to the Sikhs, and would
not allow him to fight. He believed, or affected
to believe, that it was essential to the success of
his future plans that they should be removed, to­
gether with other obnoxious persons; and the mode
and manner of compassing their degradation or
destruction now absorbed his attention. As the
business was a serious one, he strove, if not to pro­
cure the sanction of, to palliate his proposed mea­
sures to his brothers, at Kândahâr, and they feign­
ing to acquiesce in the propriety of all he urged,
promised to send Rashîd Akhûndzâda to Kâbal,
at the due time, to represent themselves, and to
assist and countenance him in the necessary acts
of justice, which he had determined to carry
through. Kâbal was in a cruel state of conster­
nation, as it had been ever since the return of
the amîr; the streets were the theatres of con­
stant conflicts and slaughters, of which no one
seemed to take notice, and the city appeared on
the verge of delapsing into anarchy. The darbâr
of the amîr was unattended, and the functions of
government seemed to be suspended. The chance
is, had there been a leader upon whom the mass
could have confided, a change in the rule of the
country might easily have been brought about.
Various parties applied to the Nawâb Jabâr Khân,
who, while he listened to every one, and expressed
himself as dissatisfied as any other person, was de­
terred by indecision of character, or perhaps pru­
dence, from profiting by the opportunity to elevate
himself. A cause of much disquietude and stormy
altercation during this season of plots and alarm
was the necessity the amír found himself under
of reducing his army, and of providing for the in­
creased numbers now dependent upon him, owing
to the breaking-up of the Pesháwer darbár and
government. There were many of his Bárak Zai
relatives, and many Dúránís of respectability, as
well as others, who had previously subsisted in the
employ of Súltân Máhomed Khán, whose claims
even the amír did not dispute. The question was,
how to satisfy them. As it was impossible to en­
tertain both his full amount of ancient troops and
these new-comers, he adopted the medium course
of rejecting the inefficient, and of retaining only
the effective of both classes. So much opposition
was offered that he succeeded but partially to
carry his point. But when he called upon his
chiefs to sacrifice a portion of their allowances to
meet the wants of their relatives and friends now
expelled from Pesháwer, he was assailed by loudly-
expressed discontent, and amongst the most noisy
and querulous was Hâjí Khán, who, if he had not
acquired his former influence, indulged in all his
accustomed freedom of speech.

Previous to starting on the late expedition he
had been questioned as to what was likely to
happen, and replied, "Nothing serious; but as long as the business is about the amír will put his arms around my neck and cry Hâjí Lâla! what is to be done? Hâjí Lâla! what is to be done? When it is over, he will think of nothing else but, by some pretext or other, to reduce my stipend." I had visited the khán in the camp at Jelálabád, and he asked me what I thought of pending affairs. I put to him the same question. He said, it was hardly possible to contend with the numerous and disciplined troops of the Síkhs; that he had recommended the amír to postpone the expedition until next year. He complained that the amír placed no trust in any one but his own sons. All the brothers, he averred, should have been present; those at Kándahár were not inclined to move; while Súltân Máhoméd Khán was at Bájor, everyone knew for what purpose. Had the enemy been Shíás, he said, being still Mússulmáns, there would have been a means of accommodation with them, as there would had they been Faringhís, who do not trouble themselves about the religion of other people; but with the Síkhs, unclean infidels, who were neither one thing nor the other, there was no coming to an understanding. He concluded by lamenting that with such antagonists there was no room or justification for the exhibition of treason. The khán, however, proved prophetical, as regarded the fate which awaited his stipend; but he took the
amír's resolution in very ill-humour, and was anxious, by strong language, to have set it aside. One day he addressed the amír:—"If I tell you that you have surpassed your brother, Vazír Fátí Khán and Sírdár Máhomed Azém Khán; that you went with twenty thousand men, and placed yourself in front of seventy thousand Síkhs, that you discharged your guns upon them, that you fought them, and brought their heads into your camp,—then you are angry. If I tell you, that you went and showed them your nakedness, and sneaked off,—then you are angry; there is no saying anything to please you." The amír put his turban on the ground before Hájí Khán, and conjured him to have pity, remarking, "You know what I was when you first became acquainted with me in the vazír's camp." The reduction of allowances being general, the bulk of those affected by it wished to have broken out into rebellion, and were very earnest with the Náwáb Jabár Khán that he should resist its application to himself, which they would accept as a signal to unsheath their swords in his support. The náwáb was irresolute; and on the amír opening the subject to him, yielded at once, and consented to the diminution of his allowances.

When the wrath of Mírza Samí Khán had become a little appeased, and he condescended to resume the toilsome duties of office, he never ceased to complain of the neglect shown by the Sáhibán of Hind. About this time I received the
letter from Captain Wade, of which I have given extracts in the preceding chapter. In other letters from the mírzas in attendance upon Abdúl Ghíáž Khán, the same officer had explained in detail the steps to be taken to bring about a commercial treaty. I could not but remark, that such information was conveyed through unofficial channels; still, as communicating the wish of the government, I had only to support it to the extent of my power. It was understood that Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh, on his return to Lúdíána, had not for some time been favoured by a visit from the political agent, who reproached the unlucky monarch for having made him a daroghghwí, or liar, to his government; and it may have been supposed, that owing to that functionary's temporary ire Dost Mándom Kháñ was indebted for the present overtures. I had conferences with the nawáb and Mírza Samí Kháñ on the subject, and enforced the propriety of doing everything that Captain Wade seemed to intimate and desire, and after much delay answers were sent. There was a struggle between the nawáb and Mírza Samí Kháñ as to which of them should be deputed to Lúdíána to arrange the treaty, the former considering he was entitled to be so honoured, and the latter deeming himself to be the fit person on account of his enjoying the amír's confidence. These differences were unfortunate, as both parties had been given to understand that it was Captain Wade's wish to be invited to Kábal
himself, and I considered this so very likely that I regretted my inability to persuade them simply to express their entire concurrence as to the advantages of the proposed arrangements, and to leave the ulterior steps to the pleasure and discretion of the political agent. Mírza Samí Khán addressed a letter to Captain Wade, in which he expressed his great desire to see him, which, however, could not be gratified without an intimation from Lúdíána. I suspected this would prove fatal to the commercial treaty, and eventually a letter was received in reply, noting that however great the mirzá’s desire might be to see Captain Wade, it could not exceed that officer’s desire to see the mírza; and nothing farther was heard of the overtures for a commercial treaty. The errors of the Kábal politicians may, however, have benefited Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh, for the political agent’s anger towards him moderated, and at an interview, when the Shâh lamented his ill success, he was soothed, and informed that God would make all things easy.

It became my duty to report, from the slight encouragement with which Captain Wade’s overtures were received at Kábal, as well as from the juggling to which they gave rise, that, in my opinion, the advantages of a commercial treaty were not duly appreciated, as well as that the time was adverse to the consideration of such matters; and, singular enough, I see my sentiments
at this time, 1835, brought forward in a recent debate in the House of Commons by Sir John Hobhouse, to justify the aggressive line of policy adopted in 1838.

The receipt of the letters from Lúdáiána did not affect the active intrigues carried on in Kâbal, which raged with undiminished violence. The na-wâbs, and others of the amír’s relatives, were closely combined; and the Kazilbâshes wished to have made me the medium of opening a correspondence with Lúdáiána, for the purpose of reinstating Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh. I, of course, declined to become the medium, and even to see their principals, as had been wished. These people were anxious to have begun the business without reference to the nawâb, and only asked my countenance. I necessarily was unable to respond to so much zeal. I, however, apprised the nawâb of part of what had been proposed, and he prayed me to say nothing which might damp the effervescence. The audacious Abdúl Samad, by a person in his confidence, offered to seize the amír and to proclaim the shâh, provided I gave my assent. The amír’s eldest son, in close alliance with the nawâbs and their faction, swore the amír was not his father, and stigmatized him as something worse than a knave. Pír Máhomed Khân, with Hâjí Khân, were inclined to the most desperate measures, and constantly upbraided the na-wâb for his dilatoriness.
In these troubled times, when the slightest movement would have involved the country in anarchy, I preserved the same steady course, yet, as in duty bound, reported circumstances as they arose and came to my knowledge, to Captain Wade; and the notice he took of them will be seen by the following extracts from his letters at this period:

"Lúdiána, 25th July, 1835.

"I have to thank you for the zealous attention which you continue to evince in the discharge of the duties that have been imposed on you. I am well aware of the difficulty which you must sometimes experience in encountering the intrigues that at present prevail in Kábal, and in conciliating the good-will of the different parties who are now contending for the gratification of their own views and interests at that place, but my confidence in your discernment assures me that you will be able to meet any contingencies that may arise with ability and discretion, and in a manner best calculated to secure the reputation, and promote the acknowledged designs of our government, in opening the navigation of the Indus. It will be a pleasing office to me to bring your services from time to time to the notice of government, whenever I find that I can do so with propriety, and I hope they will ultimately reap their full reward."

In the same letter the replies from Kábal, re-
ferring to the commercial overtures, are alluded to. "By the present opportunity I have the pleasure to send you the letter which you wished me to write to Dost Māhomed Khân, together with my replies to two letters addressed to me by Mírza Abdúl Samí Khân and Mírza Rajab Alí, which I have left open for your perusal. Copies of two letters sent to the amír and his brother, are likewise enclosed for your information. My letters to the two mirzas are merely in reply to letters received from them, of the contents of which I conclude you are aware. It is not consistent with the usage of our government, whatever it may be of theirs, for its officers to correspond with people in the relative situation which they hold to their chiefs. The chiefs themselves, too, are in the habit of writing to the head of our government, with a frequency which is embarrassing to government, when it cannot respond to their letters in a tone agreeable to their expectations and wishes; and I approve of the discretion which you have used in discouraging the transmission of letters which appeared to you to be objectionable in principle." And again: "The present crisis of affairs in Kâbal is a highly interesting one. I heartily hope with you that it may eventually tend to place our relations with that country on a better footing than they are at present. The means are equally, if not more, in the hands of the Barak Zais than our own, but as the different parties concerned
refer the consideration of their conflicting views to me, and I have no authority to favour one more than another, it is difficult for me to express any opinion as to the course which they ought respectively to take, that is not authorized in some measure by the communications which I receive from government. In the case of Shâh Sújáh’s last expedition, I was obliged to reply to similar appeals by observing, that the Barak Zais ought to be the best judges of what consisted with their own welfare; and I do not feel entitled to deviate from that expression on the present occasion, though I deem it my duty to communicate everything that you report, for the information of government.”

I shall not comment on these extracts farther than to observe, that there is no longer any allusion to commercial overtures, and that, as before explained, the political agent’s intercourse with Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh had been renewed.

Captain Wade had justly described the crisis of affairs in Kâbal as a highly interesting one, but it had not yet arrived at maturity. Rashíd Akhúndzâda, as agent to the brother-chiefs of Kândahâr, reached the city, and we had to look for the development of the projects which the amír and his adviser Mîrza Samí Khân had concerted. The Akhúndzâda pretended perfect acquiescence, but was instructed by his employers to counteract the amír’s plans. Lists of the proscribed were drawn up. The first comprised twelve names of
the amír's relatives and other principal men. The second contained about one hundred names of persons of minor consideration, and of all classes and descriptions, but who, being supposed to possess wealth, were deemed fit objects for plunder and slaughter. Rashíd Akhúndzâda cleverly performed his part. He simulated entire approval and compliance with everything the amír proposed, won his confidence, and became entrusted with all his secrets. The Akhúndzâda had, however, due attention to his own profit in the delicate business, and while assiduous in cultivating the good graces of the amír, he was in constant communication with those of the adverse and devoted faction, who strove, by valuable presents, to secure his favour. He alternately soothed and excited their alarms, but never allowing their apprehensions wholly to subside, contrived to keep them in that state of incertitude and uneasiness which preserved unimpaired his importance to them, and induced the necessity for them to be very liberal, and to be unable to refuse anything which he desired or coveted. The Kândahár agent, a shrewd man, was so avaricious that it has been remarked of him, that were he placed in a naked room, rather than leave it without taking something away he would scrape off the plaster from the walls. On this occasion there can be no doubt but that he greatly enriched himself at the expense of those whom the amír had consigned to destruction.
The day for the general seizure was finally fixed; the crafty Mírza Samí Khán having arranged everything, so that, as he imagined, it only remained to act, withdrew himself to the Koh Dáman, on pretence of looking after his villages, but in reality to put himself out of the way, that he might hereafter assert that all had been done without his sanction or knowledge; and that, in case of failure, he might return to the city with good grace as a mediator. The amír could scarcely have been ignorant that his designs had become matter of notoriety. Copies of his lists were in possession of many. The Nawáb Jabár Khán, moreover, had openly taxed him with his dark intentions in darbár, and upon his denial had given up his sources of intelligence, which a little confounded him. Supported, as he conceived, by Rashíd Akhúndzâda, he determined to work out his plans. The individuals exposed to danger did not neglect their precautions. They kept their retainers under arms night and day, and took especial care not to call upon the amír together, that they might not be seized in a mass; also, when they did attend they were numerously accompanied by armed followers. In this unpleasant state of affairs my house in the Bálla Hissár was assaulted for five successive nights by bands of muffled villains. I quietly filled my house with armed men, and without taking farther notice, bided in tranquillity the course of events. It is just to observe, that I did not so much suspect the amír,
however capable he was of any enormity, as I did the unprincipled Abdúl Samad, and others. This man had been desirous of forming an acquaintance with me. Seeing no possible benefit likely to arise from intercourse with such an individual, I declined to have anything to do with him, but however civilly I excused myself he was not the less offended. Now that he might reasonably calculate upon a period of anarchy and confusion, I supposed he considered the occasion favourable to destroy me, assured that at such a time there would be little inquiry or calling to account. In this conjuncture Fátí Máhomed Khán, Popal Zai, himself one of the proscribed, represented to the Nawâb Jabár Khán the peril which menaced me in the Balla Hissár, and the nawâb promised to send for me on the morrow. He was too much occupied with his own cares and apprehensions to think of me, and forgot to do so. I had decided not to shift my quarters, so the nawâb’s omission was unimportant. Until this year, although I had lived in the country since the spring of 1832, I had never called upon the amír, as I had nothing to say to, or to do with him, and so far as I knew, while aware of my presence, he did not concern himself about me. I had become intimate with his eldest sons, and of this circumstance, most likely, he was informed. Subsequent to my appointment, he had sent for me twice, and, to judge from the evidence of his language, for the express purpose of intimidating.
and insulting me. I did not allow myself to be put down, and answered him in a tone similar to that in which he addressed me. At length the evening came when Dost Māhomed Khān proposed, the following morning, to put into execution his long-cherished and cogitated plans of blood and plunder. He fancied himself about to be elevated above the treachery of his relatives and their adherents, while treasures were about to flow into his coffers which would enable him to wage eternal crusades and warfare with the Sīkhs, and other infidels. He sat meditating on his fell purpose, awaiting Rashīd Akhūndzāda, when that important personage made his appearance. With a countenance full of dismay, he announced that all had transpired, and plainly told the amīr, that he must not think of putting his designs into effect, for he had just left the nawâibs and their confederates, who had exchanged oaths, and sworn to repel force by force. The amīr was sorely incensed, but the Akhūndzâda pressed his point, insisting that violence must not be thought of, or ruin would follow. Their conversation grew very animated, but the amīr saw that he had been foiled, and understood on whose side the Akhūndzāda had ranged himself, while, left as it were alone, he had not even Mīrza Samī Khān to consult. He asked the Akhūndzâda why he had come from Kândahâr to deceive him and to overthrow his plans. This question brought on a discussion, which closed by the amīr receiving per-
mission (I believe I rightly express the state of the case) to seize Abdúlah Khán, the Atchak Zai sirdár, on the next day. He was inimically regarded by the chiefs of Kándaháir, and was personally obnoxious to the Akhúndzáda, while he was suspected of having much wealth. Being a Durání sirdár, no one felt any sympathy for him, and he was unconnected with the nawâbs and their faction. As the amír was disappointed with respect to the capital prizes he had coveted, it was judged becoming to glut his avarice with one of smaller consideration. This affair settled, at midnight the amír sent for Abdúl Samad, and made arrangements for the disposition of the battalion. Two companies were ordered immediately to the palace, for now, in turn, the plotter of so much mischief became influenced by fear. It had been proposed that the wives of the amír should invite the ladies of Abdúlah Khán to visit them, as they would in that case array themselves in their jewels, which could be secured within the haram, while their lord and his adherents were despoiled without. So flagrant a breach of hospitality found its reprobators, and the foul idea was dismissed. In the morning Abdúlah Khán was sent for by Máhomed Akbár Khán, and coming as unsuspicious of fraud as he was innocent of crime, was accused of corresponding with Kámrân of Hérát, and made prisoner. His retinue was despoiled of horses and arms, while a company of soldiers was despatched
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to take possession of his house and property. The amîr's visions of gold and jewels were not realized; and after he had divided the horses acquired amongst his sons, relatives, and principal chiefs, making them, in a manner, accomplices in his guilt, and silencing their reproaches by making them sharers in the profit derived from it, little was left to his own lot beyond a few shawls, carpets, felts and copper vessels. He now grew ashamed either of the deed, or of the small advantage attending it, and ingenuously confessed his sorrow in darbâr. The khân múlla remarked, that he should have thought of contrition before he committed crime. After some time Abdúlāh Khân was set at liberty, his horses were returned from those to whom they had been distributed and restored to him, as was most of his other property. The amîr had sold his shawls to merchants, who had sent them to Bokhâra; and as they could not be recovered, a draft for their value was given. The amîr had discovered that he had been duped by Rashíd Akhûndzâda, and that the seizure and spoliation of the Atchak Zai sirdár were acts rather agreeable to the chiefs of Kândahâr than profitable to himself. Public opinion, which in Kâbal has a beneficial and controlling influence, and often checks the irregularities of its rulers, was loudly expressed, and the degradation of a man whose only error was fidelity to the Bárák Zai family throughout its various fortunes, was indignantly reprobated. The tale of correspondence
with Kámrán no one believed, and it was deemed absurd to expect money from a man who had been subjected to spoil but the preceding year by his employers at Kândahár.

At an early period of my antiquarian researches I had, through the medium of Colonel, now Sir Henry Pottinger, made proposals to the Bombay government, over which the Earl of Clare then presided, and they were favourably received. I had subsequently the satisfaction of receiving the assurance that my labours were appreciated, a valuable testimony, because I felt that it would not be given unless judged to be merited. Captain Wade, aware of this connexion, on requesting me to correspond with him, and before I received notice of the appointment as agent, had, on the 5th of December, 1834, in allusion thereto, accurately described it as "one of a scientific nature," and properly continued, "and will not, of course, interfere with the connexion which you have formed with me, as such a collision might prove embarrassing to all parties." So soon, however, as the duties of agent were, to use Captain Wade's appropriate term, "imposed" on me, and he considered me well within his grasp, I found that it was plainly his intention to interfere, and that he was very careless as to producing the collision and embarrassment he had formerly deprecated. From the correspondence which ultimately became revealed, as well as from other sources, I observed with
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regret that he was abetted by the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, and that he had succeeded temporarily to embroil me with Colonel Pottinger and with the Bombay government, who honourably supported their own officer. I saw no alternative, therefore, but to tender the resignation of an appointment which was made instrumental in promoting strife and mischief, and did so with one hand while with the other I forwarded a full explanation to Colonel Pottinger. I now felt myself at liberty, as winter had set in, to retire from Kábal; and leaving behind its politics and intrigues, repaired to the milder and serener atmosphere of Tátang.

I was not so easy in mind as to resume old pursuits with any pleasure, and did little more than while away the winter months. About this time Ranjít Singh, finding that the occupation of Pesháwer was not only expensive but even difficult—although on the retreat of the amír a fortress of considerable strength had been erected on the site of the old citadel, and other forts had been constructed in the country,—thought prudent to secure the services of Súltán Máhomed Khán by giving to him Hashtnagar, and the Doábéh, north of the Kábal river, with the southern districts of Kohat and Hângú, which his troops could not well hold; and this prudential act gave him an opportunity of boasting that he had fulfilled his arrangements with Dost Máhomed Khán.
Súltân Máhomed Khân's arrival at Peshāwer was followed by the despatch of numerous vaunting letters to his brother and relatives at Kâbal, and they attached more than due credit to them for the time. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân was so assured that Súltân Máhomed Khân was in a condition to act offensively that he not only entirely fell in with his supposed views, but rejected the summons of the amír to return to Kâbal. It was to no purpose I pointed out that he was in error: he was unwilling to dismiss an illusion so agreeable to his wishes. Orders after orders came from Dost Máhomed Khân, still the nawâb prolonged his stay; and finally, when he could not bring himself to obey them, he despatched his family, and I availed myself of their company to the city, and again found myself in my old quarters.

The amír had naturally kept himself informed of my movements and actions; and he appeared more satisfied than formerly as to my intentions. I had an interview with him shortly after my return; and he chose to be civil, remarking, that I ought to call upon him, as we were neighbours, and it was only seemly that one neighbour should enquire occasionally after another; and probably, in consequence of my having combated the nawâb's inclinations in favour of Súltân Máhomed Khân, would frequently observe, that I was at least not his enemy, and, moreover, listened approvingly to
the praises which many in the darbár now ventured to bestow upon me.

It is needless to detail the political events of this year (1836), as they would principally turn upon the abortive attempts of the amír to dissipate the confederacy of his relatives, and their measures to counteract him. Generally, they would practise upon his fears, which were easily excited; and the stratagem sufficed to divert his attention from them to other objects. The presence of Súltán Máhomèd Khán at Pesháwer enabled them to procure an abundance of eloquent epistles suitable to their views; and when they wanted these it was easy to forge them; and his brother, Pír Máhomèd Khán, provided with his seal, could readily affix it and make them sufficiently authentic. It must be acknowledged that the amír was not suffered to remain in repose. If disposed to be tranquil, Pír Máhomèd Khán would present himself with a letter, said to have been just received from his brother, and addressed to himself or to his mother. Prefacing the delivery by protesting that he was bound to produce any communication from that quarter, and of course that he was not answerable for its contents, the letter on being read would be full of the most opprobrious terms and menaces, and consequently extremely irritate the amír. The latter had been anxious to have carried into execution the dark plans of last year, and was desirous of doing the
business himself, without trusting to Rashíd Akhúndzáda or others. His doubts, however, as to the results led him to endeavour to detach some of the confederacy, and he selected Máhomed Osman Khán as one likely to be worked upon. When he thought him sufficiently prepared, he divulged his intentions, and said, “Let us take a knife, and cut through the flesh of our arms to the bone; and when we have mangled and mutilated ourselves, no one can reproach us with mangling and mutilating others.” Máhomed Osman Khán reported to his friends all that passed, and returned to the amír to listen to fresh intimations of his designs. I do not think there was much reason for apprehension this year; but on a sudden the amír was overwhelmed with letters from various persons, announcing that Súltán Máhomed Khán, with a large force, was stationed in Bájor, ready to descend upon the valley of Jelálabád. All who were in the secret exclaimed, “Good heavens! what are you about? why sleep when the enemy is at your doors?” The business was so well managed that the amír was panic-struck, and although he could not comprehend the danger, feared it. He inquired what was to be done? Hâjí Khán replied, that troops must instantly be despatched to secure the passes leading from Bájor and Pesháwer to Jelálabad. The amír asked who would go? The khán replied, that he would, and that Abdúl Samad should be
sent to Khonar. Hájí Khán ordered his pesh-khâna to Síáh Sang, where it remained for a month, and was then silently withdrawn. A considerable degree of ridicule was caused by the manoeuvres put into play on this occasion; and they were never clearly understood, for it soon became known that Súltân Máhomed Khán had never quitted Pêsháwer. Had the amír dispersed his troops, and deprived himself of his battalion, he would have been left alone in Kâbal at the mercy of his adversaries,—a position in which they might have been pleased to see him, but one into which he was too wary to place himself. He probably discovered the futility of attempting to involve the whole of his obnoxious relatives in destruction by a *coup de main*, and henceforth his policy led him to essay their subversion by attacking them singly.

Hájí Khán, who had been so eager to display his zeal, availed himself of the opportunity to improve his finances, and called together some Hindu of the city, to whom collectively he was indebted seven thousand rupees. They attended with alacrity, presuming he intended to settle their accounts preparatory to entering upon his campaign. He addressed them in an oration, setting forth, that he was about to engage in a war with infidels, and that, adverting to its chances, they all knew how disgraceful it would be to a Mussulmân to die in debt. That he owed them seven thousand rupees,
for which they held his bonds; they would confer a signal favour upon him, and at the same time perform a worthy action, if they returned them, and allowed him to go to battle with a clear conscience. He had always been their friend in the darbár, and they had made large profits in their transactions with him; and they well knew that if he returned safe and victorious they would not be losers by him. He had not a rupee to move his men from the city, and they would confer an everlasting favour upon him if they advanced him two thousand rupees at so important a crisis; in doing so, they might expect that their riches would increase vastly in this world, and they would all become cows in the world to come, for so charitable and generous a deed could not but secure its due reward. The Hindús were astounded, but the khán was irresistible, and procured the surrender of his bonds, with the two thousand rupees, for which he gave an order for grain on Chahár-bágh of Lúghmán.

The large military force the amír deemed it advisable to keep up, and to which he was in some measure compelled, pressed heavily upon his finances, and a multitude of expedients were put into practice to meet the extraordinary expenses it involved. No opportunity was neglected of seizing property, and although a pretext, more or less valid, was generally urged, extreme dissatisfaction prevailed, and the popularity of the amír
diminished daily. An effort made to increase the revenues derived from the Ghilji districts of Ghazni threw them into insurrection, and the Ghilji districts of Kâbal were on the verge of revolt for the same reason. In both instances the amir gained a trifle, notwithstanding the Ghazni Ghiljis defeated his troops. In the autumn Máhomed Akbar Khán marched into Taghow, and after some severe fighting, in which men of consideration were slain, possessed himself of the valley. Here also tribute was enforced. Many of the troops employed in this expedition went provided with barâts, or orders for their pay, drawn out in anticipation. Such orders are described as being on the stag’s antlers, meaning that the stag must be first caught.

Abroad, while to the east the Sikhs were consolidating their power at Pesháwer, and extending their arms and influence on the western banks of the Indus, now actually occupying the level country of Dáman, in which formerly only their agents resided, while they pushed their troops into Banú; to the west, Shâh Kámrân demonstrated that he was able to leave Herát; and his army spread over Sístân, which he rendered tributary. Of all men living there was no one so dreaded by the Bárak Zais as Shâh Kámrân. For many years civil dissensions and intrigues had confined him within the walls of Herát, and it was supposed that he would never be competent to leave them. Having purified his house, agreeably to his own fashion,
by murder and banishment, he now appeared in the field, and but for the views of his minister, Yár Māhōmed Khān, which were opposed to his progress eastward, would very probably have possessed himself of Kandahār. His movements, however, prevented some contemplated seizures at Kābal, Ḥājī Khān suggesting that the times were critical, and remarking, with some propriety, that when a man was abroad who would spare none of them, it behoved them not to destroy each other.

The close of this year was marked by the departure from Kābal of Pir Māhōmed Khān, half brother to the amīr, and full brother to Sūltān Māhōmed Khān. Of the amīr's relatives he was the most turbulent, and therefore most apprehended. A daring and desperate man, he was particularly desirous of acting, and the more prudent Nawāb, Ḥābīr Khān, had frequently trouble to restrain him. He had, besides, money, and was therefore enabled to keep his troops together, and of them he had as many as seven hundred, chiefly Atchak Zais and Ghiljīs. The amīr, constantly informed of all his plans—for it was notorious that his writers had been corrupted—thought it necessary to be rid of him, and had twice sent assassins by night to his house. They missed Pir Māhōmed Khān, but on the first visit carried off money and valuables to the amount of twenty-four thousand rupees, and on the second, to the amount of five thousand rupees. Complaining to the amīr, the
sirdár was jeeringly told, that most likely the Nawáb Jabár Khán had done the evil, as every one knew he entertained robbers. Matters having come to this extremity, Pír Máhomed Khán saw the necessity of leaving Kâbal, and after much debate and altercation did so. Many of his followers were seduced by the amír, and remained, while his eldest son even returned from Bhút Khák. Orders were sent to the authorities at Jelálabád to obstruct his passage by every means short of actual violence; not to admit him within the town, and to tamper with his dependents. Other orders were sent to Khonár, to the Momands, and to the Khaibaríis respectively, instructing them not to grant a passage through their countries either to Bájor or to Pesháwer. Máhomed Akbar Khán precipitately gained Jelálabád from Taghow, where his brother, Máhomed Haidar Khán, was sent from Kâbal to replace him, but, in despite of obstacles, Pír Máhomed Khán, with the remnant of his followers, reached Lâlpúra, where he was met by Amír Khán of Bájor with a good force, and together they marched into Bájor.

Soon after my return to Kâbal in the spring, I had received letters from India; among them one from Mr. Trevelyan, in reply to a communication I had made containing the reasons which had compelled me to tender the resignation of the appointment imposed on me. I was recommended to continue to discharge the duties, and was told,
“Your sole duty, is to keep the supreme government informed of all that is going on in any of the countries beyond the Indus, intelligence of which reaches Kâbal, with the addition, whenever you think proper to offer any, of your own views and comments upon the particulars communicated by you. By doing this well, as you have hitherto done, you will render an important public service, and it will always be open to the Governor-general to employ you in any other way he may think proper.”

In deference to these sentiments, although not very satisfactory ones, I renewed my correspondence with Captain Wade, in despite of an official letter I received at the same time, with a very obsequious private one from that officer, and which would have fully justified me to have declined any farther intercourse with him, even according to his patron, the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, who, when informed of it in 1838, and being told that a friend of mine had characterized it as an insolent and imperious letter, remarked, that it merited severer reprobation.

During this year little correspondence took place between the authorities in Kâbal and Lúdiána. The accession of Sir Charles Metcalfe to the government in India had produced letters, indeed, from the amír and nawâb Mîrza Samí Khân; remembering that Sir Charles had corresponded with the Vazîr Fatî Khân; but no replies were received,
the policy of the government being for the mo-
ment opposed to dubious connexions with states
beyond the frontiers; which events have proved
was the wise policy, since a deviation from it has
produced such signal disaster and disgrace.

It became my duty this year to report the des-
patch of fresh letters to Persia, which were sent by
Hājī Ibrāhīm, a brother of Abdūl Samad. This
profligate man had amassed some money, for, be-
sides large allowances, he trafficked, made ducats,
and scrupled at no means of increasing his wealth.
It was a point with him to send it out of the
country, and his brother was commissioned to return
to Persia, and to deposit it there. Of course, letters
were procured to the shāh, if no other object were
hoped from them, that the importance of Abdūl
Samad might be made known. As the journey
was dangerous to the Hājī, Hūssēn Alī, a young
man of the Bálla Hissār, who had more than once
gone as far as Orenburgh, was prevailed upon
to accompany him to Bokhāra. I was well ac-
quainted with Hūssēn Alī, and he took leave of
me previously to his departure, but never mention-
ed that he was charged with letters for the Rus-
sian government, nor did any one suspect that he
was. He had a commission to purchase furs for
Abdūl Samad, and spontaneously offered to be
useful to me in any way.

At the close of last year letters from Bokhāra
had announced the presence there of Iván Vekta-
vich, whose name has since been sufficiently notorious. A merchant of Kábal, then at that place, noted to his correspondent that Vektavich had been arrested as a Persian spy, when he declared himself to be a Russian, and was in consequence released by the Ghosh Begí. Thereupon presuming, he openly took notes, which being reported to the amír, that chief proposed to slay him, but the Ghosh Begí again privately sent him away, with an escort, to Mangkishlák, on the Cásbian. Vektavich had requested of the merchant to forward letters to me, and to Mr. Court at Lahore, but his sudden departure deprived us of the honour of his communications. Vektavich gave himself out as a most important personage, and declared that Russia, being at ease as regarded Persia and Turkey, intended to interfere in the affairs of Central Asia.

Vektavich was still in Bokhára when Hâjí Ibráhím and Hússén Alí reached, and the latter went in his company to Mangkishlák. Hâjí Ibráhím, in a letter from Bokhára, reported the flight of Hússén Alí, and that he had made off with a number of his ducats, and requested his brother to confiscate his house and property at Kâbal. Abdúl Samad did not do so, and observed, that Hússén Alí had gone on his business, or, as was supposed by those who heard him, to buy furs.

In reporting the despatch of letters to Persia I remarked, that it remained with the government
to consider the value to be placed on such communications, and to treat them lightly or otherwise. In case they were seriously judged, there were ready instruments of arresting the evil, viz. Shâh Sújáh al Múlk at Lúdíána, or Shâh Kámrán, already in the field. From the tone in which I set forth the matter, it must have been clear that my opinion was, that very little notice need be taken of them.

Amongst the consolatory events of this year, was the assurance communicated to me, by orders of the Bombay government, that the vindication, into which the subtle conduct of the political agent at Lúdíána had forced me, was entirely satisfactory.

I remained this year in Kábal until its termination, and should most likely have passed the winter there, when I became apprised of a circumstance which induced me to accompany the Nawâb Jabár Khán to Tátang. The amír’s eldest son, Máhomed Afzil Khán, had been appointed to collect the revenue of Khúram, which for two years had been neglected, and Abdúl Samad, with his battalion, was commissioned to attend him. This fellow, it seemed, had urged my seizure upon the amír, striving to delude him with the notion of finding twenty thousand rupees in my house. I was unconscious of all this, when I received an intimation from a quarter I was not permitted to suspect, that it was necessary to be on my guard against the designs of Abdúl Samad. According to the
information given, the amír, when the subject was proposed to him, honourably affirmed that I was his guest. He therefore was not consenting. Abdúl Samad, who possessed a singular influence with the amír’s most powerful wife, endeavoured to obtain her support to the step he recommended; and from this lady’s control over her husband, if she really exerted it, I had reason for mistrust. The day for Abdúl Samad’s march drew near, and he strenuously pressed upon the amír to proceed to extremity with me, saying, that unless he did he should not leave Kâbal satisfied. The amír replied, that he might go with his mind perfectly at ease, for he should very soon be informed how Masson Sáhib had been treated. I understood that the amír by his answer had evaded the request, and ridden himself of Abdúl Samad’s importunity. I, however, informed the Nawâb Jabár Khân of what I had heard, without making him acquainted with the source of my intelligence, and he, observing, very truly, that they were all scoundrels, and not to be trusted, proposed that I should accompany him to Tâtang, to which I agreed; and in a day or two after we started.
CHAPTER XVI.

Aggressions of Hari Singh.—Preparations to repel it.—Despatch of troops to Jelalabád.—Plans of attack.—Attempt to assassinate the Amír.—Retaliation of Máhomed Akbar Khán.—March into Khaibar.—Cannonade of Jamrud.—Attack by Hari Singh.—Discomfiture of Afgháns.—Battle renewed by Shamsadin Khán.—Danger of Amír’s sons.—Feat of Máhomed Akbar Khán.—Hari Singh mortally wounded.—Retreat of Sikhs.—Mírza Samí Khán’s prayers.—Death of Hari Singh.—His intrepidity.—Disputes in the Afghan camp.—Altercation between Abdúl Samad and Mír Afzíl Khán.—Retreat of Afghan army.—Hájí Khán’s deeds in the Doábeh.—Lénah Singh’s messages.—Hájí Khán’s letters to Kábál.—Contest with Lénah Singh.—Retreat of Hájí Khán.—His suggestions at Jelalabád.—His treachery.—Abdúl Samad’s effrontery.—His degradation and dismissal.—Interview with the Amír.—With Máhomed Akbar Khán.—Mírza Samí Khán’s advice.—Correspondence between Sikhs and Afgháns.—Return to Kábál.—Adventure at Jigdillik.—Reception of Máhomed Akbar Khán at Kábál.—Dismissal of Hájí Khán.—His welcome at Kándahár.—His connexion with the British.—His understanding with Gúlú.—His pursuit of Dost Máhomed Khán.—His final disposal.—The Amír’s displeasure with the Ghazní chiefs.—Zerin Khán’s remark.—Motives of displeasure.—Removal of Shamsadin Khán.—Remonstrance of Kándahár Sírdárs.—Supposed plans of the Amír.—The Amír’s exultation.

The commencement of the year 1837 was distinguished by active preparations on part of the amír
to resent the occupation of a petty castle at Jamrud, by Hari Singh, the Sikh governor of Pesháwer. The amír was apprehensive that the step taken by the Sikhs was a prelude to farther aggressive measures, and he saw, in the intimidation and submission of the people of Khaíbar, the road laid open to Jelál-abád. Jamrud, it may be observed, is at the very entrance of the defiles of Khaíbar. The amír did not on this occasion himself leave Kâbal, but deputed his confidential minister, Mírza Samí Khán, to superintend the operations, his son Máhomed Akbar Khán commanding the troops. It was not the actual intention of the amír that collision should take place, but it was judged necessary to make a display of force, and to secure the Khaíbarís, endangered by the proximity of the Sikhs. For this purpose Mírza Samí Khán was provided with money, and instructed to arrange the payment of annual allowances to their principals. It was also determined, if possible, to erect a castle and to establish a garrison in Khaíbar. Five of the amír's sons were present with the army collected on this occasion; Máhomed Afzil Khán, Máhomed Akbar Khán, Máhomed Azem Khán, Máhomed Haidar Khán, and Máhomed Akram Khán. With them were the Nawábs Jabár Khán and Máhomed Os-mán Khán, Sújáh Dowlah Khán, son of the Nawáb Máhomed Zemán Khán, and Shamsadín Khán, the amír's nephew. Of the high military chiefs, were Náib Amír Akhúndzáda, Náib Múlla Momin
Khân, Máchomêd Hússein Khân, Arz Bégí, Zérín Khân, and Nácír Dilâwar. Háji Khân, who had previously been sent on a mission to Mîr Alam Khân of Bâjor, and who had returned reporting that he had settled everything, was despatched again in that direction for the purpose of invading, in conjunction with the Bâjor and Momand levies, the districts of the Doâbeh, and Hashtnagar, north of the Kâbal river.

No sooner had the preparations to resist Sikh aggression been determined upon, than it was followed by one of the usual attempts to remove the amír by assassination. At midnight some one introduced himself into the apartment of Ghour Khinchíni, one of the amír's wives. Not finding him there the assassin went to that occupied by the mother of Máchomêd Akbar Khân. There alike unsuccessful, he found his way into the chamber of Azzíz Khân, Ghilji's sister, where Dost Máchomêd Khân was sleeping. Fortunately, he was aroused, and calling upon a kaníz, or slave-girl, to bring a light, the villain made off, contriving, however, to carry off some articles of apparel, and six hundred rupees in value of trinkets from the apartment of Ghour Khinchíni. In the morning the amír consulted with Mîrza Samí Khân and Múlla Momind Khân, and arrested several individuals of the Bâlla Hissâr, while he removed the katwâl from office. Nothing farther transpired, and the prisoners were released; but the amír publicly asserted he knew the instigators, and would settle his
accounts with them when the expedition terminated.

Subsequently Súltan Máhomédd Khán complainted that assassins had been sent by Máhomédd Akbar Khán on several occasions to Pesháwer; and it proved that he had not complained without reason; and so closely was he beset that he never moved abroad but in daylight.

Mírza Samí Khán, with the amír’s sons, marched into Khaibar, and one circumstance leading to another, they advanced to the castle of Jamrúd, when becoming bold by the non-appearance of Harí Singh, a cannonade was commenced upon one of its faces. In the course of two or three days the weak defences of the place were destroyed, and the Afgháns were congratulating themselves on its being about to fall into their hands when, on the morning of the 30th April, Harí Singh unexpectedly attacked their position, and for the moment carried all before him.

The divisions of Náíb Amír Akhúndzáda, Múlla Momind Khán, and Zerín Khán were broken and dispersed, being those upon which the attack bore, while their leaders were severally wounded. The unattacked divisions dispersed and fled, leaving the amír’s sons, and the Nawáb Jabárá Khan on the field, with a few individuals adhering to them. Máhomédd Haidár Khan, a boy, who had never before seen battle, retired weeping. Máhomédd Afzil Khán, who, at the head of two thousand men, was sta-
tioned on the plain, alone stood firm, and kept his troops together. Hari Singh, in the first instance, appeared to have the intention of attacking this body, but, observing its steady attitude, suddenly wheeled round, and fell upon the divisions ranged amongst the small eminences skirting the plain. The amír's sons, and the Nawâb Jabáâr Khân, while scorning to fly, were in ravines and hollows separated from each other, unconscious of what was passing around them, and fearful, lest they might be detected, to ascend the eminences to ascertain. Fourteen of the Afghan guns had been captured, and the Síghs, supposing the victory gained, committed themselves in pursuit, when they were met by a large body of horse under Shamsadín Khân, who, not present at the attack, was on his way to the field; nor did the flight and discomfiture of his friends induce him to check his progress. Very many of the troops who had fled without combat also returned with him, and the Síghs in turn became fugitives.

While these events were passing a small party of Sikh horse galloped over an eminence into the hollow where Máhomed Akbar Khân was placed, and, of necessity, a conflict took place. The noise brought his brother, Máhomed Akram Khân, from a contiguous ravine, where no one knew he was, and together making up about one hundred men; they repulsed the Sikh party, and Máhomed Akbar Khân, assisted by two or three of those near
him, killed one of his infidel foes, on which account he arrogated to himself high credit. The Nawáb Jabár Khán and Sújah Dowlah Khán had also united, and on the arrival of Shamsadín Khán made a successful charge, and recaptured a couple of guns. Máhommed Akbar Khán, who detested both of them, hastily came and struck a spear into the ground, thereby attributing to himself the merit of the affair. At this crisis Harí Singh, who might or might not have been able to remedy the confusion which had spread amongst his troops, received a fatal wound, and was carried off the field. The Síkhs retired under the walls of Jamrud, and entrenched themselves. Máhommed Akbar Khán, elate at the sudden and happy change in the fortunes of the day, proposed, possibly without intending so much, to march upon Pesháwer; when Mirza Sami Khán appeared, and crying that his prayers had been accepted, and his good name preserved intact, entreated the boasting young man to be satisfied with what was done.

As soon as the action commenced the mirza had secreted himself in some cave, or sheltered recess, where, in despair, he sobbed, beat his breast, tore his beard, and knocked his head upon the ground; now, he asserted, that he had been offering up prayers, and was willing it should be believed they had been efficacious. The results of the struggle were, that the Afgháns recovered eleven of the fourteen guns captured from them; they also possessed themselves of three belonging to the Síkhs,
who, in like manner carried off the same number belonging to the Afghâns. Amongst the latter was a very large cannon, much prized, whose fellow, the Zabar Zang, was at Ghaznî; Harí Singh, remarking its superior dimensions, had directed it to be borne off upon its capture. The Afghâns had really not much to boast of in this action, although Máhomed Akbar Khân plumed himself on a transcendent victory. The Sikhs scarcely acknowledged defeat, but their loss in the person of their chief was irreparable. That gallant leader expired, and was burnt the evening of the action. Harí Singh was possessed of great personal intrepidity, but, whether from want of judgment or from undervaluing his foes, had frequently been placed in critical situations, and at length fell a victim to his temerity. He held the Afghâns in bitter contempt, ever affirming that they were dogs and cowards, and that he knew them well.

Born in the same town as Ranjit Singh, he had been his playmate in boyhood; in mature age he became the most faithful and able of his chieftains. It is said, the ruler of Lahore was seriously affected by the tidings of his death. After the action grave disputes arose between Máhomed Akbar Khân and the Nawâb Jabâr Khân on the propriety of moving forward; but ere they could agree powerful reinforcements had arrived for the Sikhs, which compelled the Afghâns precipitately to retire. The retreat was effected by night, and, as usual on such
ALTERCATION.

occasions, as soon as the signal was given the army bazár was plundered. On reaching Dáka, Máhomed Akbar Khán wished to pass the troops under review, to prove that he had retreated in perfect order,—neither disliking, perhaps, to show that he could manage better than his father had done, nearly similarly situated. Some few of his relatives, and of the chiefs, paraded before him. The greater part refused to do so; which increased the animosity, already too prevalent, in the camp. At this place, also, high words passed in the darbár, between Máhomed Afzil Khán and Abdúl Samad; the former placed his hand on his sword, when his brother, Máhomed Akbar Khán, said to him, in Pashto, “Let the dog alone, he has often addressed more abusive language to myself.” The profligate Persian, with his battalion, had been ordered to join Máhomed Akbar Khán, and should have reached before the battle, but he had lingered on the road, and contrived to arrive after it had been fought. In the subsequent trifling operations, he was observed to be so partial to the covering of shélás, or ravines, that he acquired, in witty allusion to the Persian words of command, dosh fang, &c., the appropriate sobriquet of Shéla-fang. From Dáka the Afgháns retired to the skirts of the Saféd Koh, Máhomed Akbar Khán locating his troops along the valley of Chaplíár, while he fixed himself at the head of it, in Aghám. The Nawâb Jabár Khán retired to Tátang.
We have stated that Haji Khan had been despatched towards Bajor, it being intended that, in co-operation with the Bajor and Momand troops, he should make a diversion in the Doabeh north of the Kabal river. In that district was a castle, held by a small Sikh garrison, and the Sirdar Lénah Singh, with a thousand horse and two guns, had been detached for its protection. Haji Khan found himself in command of five or six thousand men, including his own retainers, being attended by Mír Alam Khán of Bajor, Sádat Khán the Momand chief, and Saiyad Bábá Jân of Peshatt, in Khonar. Procrastinating amongst the hills, Lénah Singh sent him a letter, stating that report gave him credit for being a great warrior, if so,—and he had come expressly, as he avowed, for kazzâh (or to devote himself in the cause of religion,)—why keep under the shelter of the hills. The Sikh recommended him to advance upon the plain, where his object was likely to be attained. On another occasion, Lénah Singh sent a man to see what kind of a person Haji Khan was, whether fat or lean, tall or short. The khán exhibited himself, and then pointing to a man in armour sitting by his side, said, This is Mír Alam Khán, of Bajor. He next showed the fellow Sádat Khán Momand, and Saiyad Bábá Jân of Khonar, with others, and dismissed him to report what he had seen. While this farce was playing Máhoméd Akbar Khán arrived at Jamrúd, and learning that
no assistance had been given to Hari Singh, saw there was just a chance of effecting a decisive impression upon Pesháwer, and desiring the khan to leave objects of minor consideration in the Doábeh, earnestly besought him to cross the Kábal river and join him. Hájí Khán, who had a game of his own, wrote to the amír that Máhomed Akbar Khán had requested him to cross the river, but how could he do so with an enemy in front, and until he had exterminated him. Ultimately, advancing on the plain, the Afgháns encamped close to the castle, under which Lénah Singh was entrenched. The Momands attacked the ramparts, and it is believed would have forced them had not Hájí Khán compelled them to desist. During the combat one of Lénah Singh's guns burst, which enabled the khan to write to Kábal that he had won a great victory, killing one hundred to one hundred and fifty Sikhs, and capturing a gun. The annihilation of Lénah Singh was promised. His next letter was dated from Gand-áb, and announced that, influenced by letters from Súltán Máhomed Khán, the Bájor, Khonar, and Yusaf Zai chiefs had abandoned him, and that he had no alternative but to retire with Sádat Khán Momand. The amír was sorely incensed, and the khan was next heard of at Jelálabád, where he was urging Máhomed Akbar Khán to send him and Abdúl Samad to Jamrubd, where they would renew hostilities. As the Sikhs now mustered nearly forty thousand
men at Pesháwer, it is difficult to imagine what the khán's object may have been, unless to have inducted them into the valley of Jelálabád. Súltán Máhomed Khán, with his brother, Pír Máhomed Khán, during these operations were both at Lahore, in attendance upon the Máhárájá. When apprised of what was passing, they sent letters to Hâjí Khán and Mír Alam, with all the presents they had received from Ranjit Singh for themselves, and instantly set out for Pesháwer. Popular rumour accused Hâjí Khán of receiving a sum of money from Lénah Singh; it was possible, but not likely. Of his treachery no one doubted.

The day of the degradation of the notorious Abdúl Samad at length drew nigh. Perceiving his influence had declined, and that his dishonesty had become known, he resolved by some manoeuvre to recover himself, or by some desperate deed to free himself from embarrassment. His battalion was in arrears of pay for some months, and he profited by the circumstance to put into play a stratagem, in which the men were to perform a part. As concerted between Abdúl Samad and his captains, they arose, cut down their tents and his own, and on foot led him to Chahár Bágh, in their way to Kâbal, where they said they were going to clamour for their pay. Máhomed Akbar Khán, with a few horsemen, rode after them, striving to prevail upon them to return. Four shots were fired at him, when he retired. The
battalion continued its route; on reaching Gandamak Abdúl Samad was seated upon a horse. When they neared Kábal he was again made to walk, and the battalion finally marched to the meadow in front of the amír's palace, where they placed their vagabond commander on the summit of a mound. His friends pitched a tent over him, with the amír's permission. Aga Saiyad Máhomé, the amír's sandúkdár, sent to the battalion, was unhorsed and maltreated.

Towards evening Abdúl Samad was summoned to the amír's presence. He went, accompanied by twenty of his men, armed with carbines. The amír had prepared for any violent attempt, by placing a party of Afgháns at the head of the stair-case leading to his apartment, with orders to allow no one but Abdúl Samad to enter. When the fellow had passed, his followers made a vain effort to force a passage; two or thee of them were wounded and all were despoiled of their arms. Some were secured, others fled. Amongst the former was one who had fired upon Máhomé Akbar Khán, and he was ordered to be hanged forthwith. Abdúl Samad pretended that his battalion had revolted on account of arrears of pay. The captains affirmed, that they had merely obeyed his own orders, and had done what he suggested to them. Ismael Khán, Merví, the amír's mírákor, becoming guarantee, he was suffered to go to the house of one of his disso- lute companions, called Sháh Sáhib, in the Arabah.
An inventory was taken of his effects, which were afterwards confiscated, and he sought refuge in the house of Khân Sheríän Khân, in Chándol. Ultimately he left Kâbal and reached Bokhâra, where his impudence and dexterity enabled him to secure a tolerable footing. There were many curious circumstances attending his dismissal, which I never rightly understood. It is almost certain that after his disgrace the amir’s ruling lady sent him a rich dress, worked by her own hands.

When the army marched from Jelálabád towards Khaibar I returned to Kâbal, and the amir hearing of my arrival sent for me, and I breakfasted with him. He was very civil, and laughingly said, that he did not think the nawâb would be so anxious to pass the next winter at Tátang, as he certainly never would have gone there this year had he dreamed of what was to happen. When the tidings of the engagement at Jamrúd reached I congratulated him, not on the victory which had been gained, as I was not quite sure of its nature, but that his five sons had escaped accident. He noticed my qualified congratulation, but received it cordially, and I sat with him during the day. Subsequently I had business which took me to Mirza Samí Khân, at Aghâm, under the Safíed Koh at Jelálabád, and intimating to the amir my intention of visiting the camp, he approved of it. On reaching Aghâm I had an interview with Mâhomèd Akbar Khân, who dilated on the recent
victory, and particularly explained that it was not owing to the wound of Harí Singh. Mírza Samí Khán had previously assured me that the sirdár had become so intelligent that it was a pleasure to converse with him, while in valour he surpassed Rústam. He prayed me to turn the conversation on military affairs and battles, averring that the sirdár delighted to commune on such topics. Máhomèd Akbar Khán was affecting a little ceremony and state more than usual, particularly civil, and I was considered his immediate guest so long as I remained in camp. Desiring to see the correspondence which had passed between the sirdár and the Sikhs subsequent to the retreat, a variety of letters were read to me; amongst them was one addressed to Ranjít Singh, informing the old rájá that they knew Harí Singh occupied the castle of Jamrúd without his orders, therefore they did not mean to make war upon the Máhárájá when they marched to Jamrúd. Harí Singh was their only enemy. They would have been satisfied with the demolition of the obnoxious castle, but the sirdár attacked them, and of the consequences the Máhárájá was aware. The moment they heard of the arrival of Sháhzádá Noh Níhál Singh (the Máhárájá's grandson), they retired; as, with reference to the chances of war, exemplified in the fate of Harí Singh, it would have been considered a great misfortune, (and what was impossible!) that a similar accident should befall a prince so dear to the Máhárájá. I
could not forbear to smile at the display of such delicate sympathy, which Mírza Samí Khán observing, put his arms around me, and said, “Masson ‘Sáhib, you are a lion. We were obliged to come back, because we had nothing to eat. This is what we write to Ranjit Singh.” The correspondence altogether was a queer one, and Máho­med Akbar Khán directed my attention to be especially directed to a letter addressed in his name to the young Sikh Sháhzáda; he said that it was “mazzardár,” or very delightful. It was so, but I do not now remember much of it.

From Aghám I crossed the country to Tátang, where I found the Nawáb Jabár Khán. On asking him whether I should congratulate him on the recent victory, he replied, “For God’s sake, do not mention it.” At this time news arrived from Khonar of the decease of Fátí Máho­med Khán, the nawáb’s father-in-law, which compelled that nobleman to make a journey to Khonar. I therefore started for Kábal, and reached Jigdollik. Being well known here, I halted amongst the people of the place, who dwelt in tents, about a mile off the road, up the valley. In the evening, seated on the pinnacle of a moderately high mound, with one of my servants by my side, while on the opposite side of the valley, about eighty or one hundred yards distant, was a tree, with a rivulet flowing beneath it; I observed a man running, with a musket in his hand, and crying audibly, so that
we heard him, "Dár Feringhí lár dí?" or Is the Feringhí gone? Briskly moving under the tree, he knelt, placed his musket on the bank of the rivulet, and deliberately took aim. I remarked, "That fellow means to fire." My servant replied, "No, he can hardly mean it." "By heavens, he does!" and as the words passed my mouth the shot came, striking about a foot beneath us. We secured him before he had time to reload, which he made no offer to do, as now he appeared quite stultified. Taking his musket from him, we led him to the tents, where he proved to be one Akram Khán, a resident inhabitant there, and the youngest of three brothers. I sat up until midnight, in the hope he would reveal the instigator of the act, but both he and his brothers said that was impossible. The man was at my mercy, and had I reported the case to the amir he would undoubtedly have ordered his slaughter, even though he had been commissioned by himself, which, however, I did not suspect. Still, reasoning, there was little use in sacrificing the poor stupid fellow, when the person who prompted him would escape; I dismissed him, with the recommendation not to try his hand at such experiments again. The next morning the three brothers went off, armed to the teeth, and I quietly pursued my road to Kâbal.

In the middle of July Mâhomed Akbâr Khán, with the forces from Jelâlabâd, reached the city; and his arrival was honoured by a grand procession
of the military. A vast deal of powder was expended. Seated on the same elephant with him was Máhomed Osmán Kháñ, who had not particularly distinguished himself at Jamrúd, where he restrained his men, willing to have fought, by crying, "Zentilák," or May his wife be divorced who draws a sword. Having at Dáka paraded his men before Máhomed Akbár Kháñ, it was inferred his compliance, in that instance, procured him so much distinction.

Hájí Kháñ arrived with the rest, and in a day or two received orders to quit Kábal. The Kháñ became a suppliant, placed his turban on the ground before the ámir, and entreated that he might be allowed to remain in his service, even upon a reduced salary. The ámir was inexorable; and the Kháñ left for Toba, with his horsemen, leaving his wives and family, who were to follow him, in the Nawâb Jabár Kháñ’s castle at Chahár-déh. Had the ámir been capable of acting as the Vazír Fatí Kháñ most likely would have done on such an occasion, he would have replaced the turban of Hájí Kháñ upon his head, have raised him from the ground, and have forgiven him, while, instead of reducing his salary, he would have augmented it some ten thousand rupees per annum. By such procedure there was a chance that he would have compelled the Kháñ to be honest for the future; if he failed he would then have been justified to proceed to extremities with him. The ámir, no
doubt, was surfeited by his continual treason, and argued, that if he were to put him to death, however he might merit his fate, every one would join in condemning the measure, remembering that Haji Khán had been serviceable to him in his advancement to power. He therefore suffered him to depart, although aware that he would combine with those hostile to him, and that he was a person capable of doing much mischief. It was a common remark, that the amír was so fearful of him, and desirous to be rid of him, that he would have distributed a lákh of rupees in charity in the morning if sure that Haji Khán would have died in consequence a natural death during the day. Some time after, it was found that the khán had made his way to Kándahár, where the sirdárs received him with all honour.

The khán was destined to play a prominent part in the proceedings of the British army in Afghanistán. Sir Alexander Burnes had no sooner reached Bakar than one of the khán’s agents was with him, and an advance of some thousand rupees secured his good-will and services. Sir Alexander told me of the fact, and I observed that, while he was worth the money, he was a great villain, and it was necessary to be cautious with him. Before the army reached Kándahár Haji Khán joined it, and his defection precipitated the retreat of the brother chiefs.

The long stay made at Kándahár probably in-
duced the khan to suspect that his new friends were not so invincible as he had supposed, and he meditated to profit by their weakness, and therefore engaged in plots with Gul Mahomed, Ghiljí, or Gúlú, as commonly called. Having recourse to his old game of padshâh and vazîr, he proposed that Gúlú should be padshâh and himself vazîr, and that they should set up on the spoil of the British army. While this arrangement was concluded, Hájí Khân was the confidant of the unsuspecting envoy and minister, and nothing was done without his knowledge and concurrence. The shâh, moreover, had rewarded his treachery by creating him nasîr-adowlah, and Sirdár Sirdárân.

On the flight of Dost Máhomed Khân from Arghandí, Hájí Khân was despatched, with Major Outram, in pursuit of him. The result was, as might have been expected, for whether the khan were competent or not to have seized his former chief, few persons but the envoy and minister would have despatched him on such an errand. The khan on his return was seized and sent to India for his treason. It would have been well for the unfortunate envoy and minister had he been sent with him, for his lack of sense, and he deserved to have been. Dost Máhomed Khân since his capture, it is said, admits two errors in his career, one that he dismissed Captain Burnes, the other that he did not slay Hájí Khân.

Very soon after the departure of Hájí Khân the
amír evinced symptoms of displeasure with Naíb Amír Akhúndzâda, brother to Rashúd Akhúndzâda of Kándahár, and employed under Shamsadíín Khán, the hákam, or governor of Ghazní; also with Zérín Khán, Bárák Zai, a colleague of the Akhúndzâda. Their jághírs were resumed, and an inquiry instituted into the accounts of Naíb Amír. Zérín Khán was ordered to leave Kâbal, and a message was conveyed to him that if he remained longer than two days his effects should be confiscated. The Dúrání placed his hand upon his beard, and swore, “that if he remained one day the amír was at liberty to shave it and do what he pleased with it.” Mírza Samí Khán then was sent to soothe and pacify him, and to induce him to stay. It was not understood at the time why the amír should have selected these two individuals for degradation or for insult, because, while justly angry with many others for their conduct in the action at Jamrúd, he had nothing to reproach them with on that account, as both had been severely wounded. The train of events developed the amír’s secret motives, and it proved that his pretended harshness was but a ruse to humble them, preparatory to taking the government of Ghazní from his nephew, Shamsadíín Khán.

On the death of Amír Máchom Khán the amír assumed a control over the administration of Ghazní; still the ancient officers were continued in
employment, and Shamsadín Khán succeeded his father as governor. Amír Máhoméd Khán’s widows, and their families, resided constantly in the citadel, and the governor of course generally made it his place of abode. Now the amír determined to remove them altogether, to deprive Shamsadín of his government, and to place therein his son Máhoméd Haidar Khán. The measure was entirely offensive to the several members of the family, who beheld in it another instance of the amír’s contempt of all family claims; but they said very little, and Máhoméd Haidar Khán, after some slight demurring, was installed in his new government.

The sirdárs of Kándahár also regarded the step with aversion, and even remonstrated with the amír. They plainly saw that the policy of the amír would ultimately lead him to Kándahár, and the occupation of Ghazní they regarded as a preliminary measure. As he would only trust his own sons, they were aware that they had a year or two of grace, until Shír Ján, now eleven or twelve years of age, should be held competent to replace Máhoméd Haidar Khán at Ghazní, who would be commissioned to Jelálabád, when Máhoméd Akbar Khán, disengaged, would be brought to Kándahár, and established there. They well knew that they had hitherto escaped because he had no son that he could spare to take up their authority, and it did not accord with his views to confide in any other than a son.
The amír was so gratified with the induction of his son into the fortress of Ghazní that he publicly avowed his exultation, and remarked, that now he felt secure, and convinced that his government had firmly taken root.
CHAPTER XVII.

Intercourse between Kâbal and India.—Letters to Lord Auckland.—Announcement of Captain Burnes's mission.—Letters from Captain Wade.—Replies.—Lúdíána Akbar.—Farther letters from Captain Wade.—Replies.—Persian Envoy.—Russian letters.—Máhoméd Shâh's firman.—Hâjí Ibráhim's private letter.—Captain Wade's letters.—Kamber Ali's difficulties.—Kândahár treaty.—Lieutenant Vektavich.—Máhoméd Hússén's arrival at Kâbal.—His ridiculous conversations.—Letters from Captain Burnes and Captain Wade.—Interview with the amír.—Favourable dispositions of Ranjit Singh.—Night interview with the amír.—The nawâb's counsel.—Lieutenant Pottinger's departure from Kâbal.—Remarks on his presence at Herât.—Siege of Herât.—The Governor-General's warning off.—Results.

In September of this year, 1837, Captain Alexander Burnes reached Kâbal, on a mission from the Governor-general of India. As the consequences flowing from this diplomatic essay have been sufficiently serious, it may be useful to revert to the causes which led to it and to its progress, so far as my situation at Kâbal gave me the opportunity of observing.

It will have been noticed, that intercourse, more or less, had subsisted between the authorities at Kâbal and the political agent at Lúdíáña; moreover, that Lord William Bentinck had been accus-
tomed to send letters to Dost Māhomed Khān. During the interregnum of Sir Charles Metcalf such intercourse had been interrupted, and Captain Wade was reduced to frame excuses that the letters from Kābal were not answered. In the winter of 1835-6 the unofficial mīrzas attendant upon Abduł Ghīás Khān at Lūdíāna had reported, as they said, by Captain Wade's desire, that the British government could not treat with the Bārak Zais in consequence of their dissensions with each other. In the spring following, it became known at Kābal that a new Governor-general had arrived in India, and nearly at the same time a letter from the mīrzas suggested, on the part of Captain Wade, that a letter should be addressed to him from Kābal. It had been no pleasant task for me to reply to the remonstrances I was obliged to hear respecting the uncourteous withholding of replies to the amīr's letters, and when I heard of Lord Auckland's arrival at Calcutta I told Mīrza Sami Khān that he might probably now write with a better chance of success. Whether he would have written or not I cannot tell, but as Captain Wade's suggestion was to the same effect, I of course supported it, and it was agreed to despatch letters of congratulation to his lordship. They were written in the usual flowery style, and sent off.

In October 1836 the amīr received letters from the Governor-general, informing him, in reply to his communications, that a mission would be de-
puted to him, and letters from Captain Wade instructed us that Captain Burnes was to conduct it. The letter from Captain Wade to myself on this occasion, I give entire, as best explaining the nature and objects of the mission.

"Lúdíána, 30th September, 1836.

"Sîr,

"A Qasid of Nawâb Jabbar Khân accompanies your own, with letters from the Governor-general and myself to the nawâb and his brother, the amîr, the purport of which I hope will be satisfactory in some degree, if not altogether to them. His lordship has determined to depute Captain Burnes on a commercial mission to the countries bordering on the Indus, with a view to complete the re-opening of the navigation of that river. He will proceed, in the first instance, to Hydrabad, to negotiate for further facilities for the trade in the territory of the amírs of Sîndh; whence he will proceed to Mit-hankot, where I am instructed to meet him; and he and Lieutenant Mackeson, in concert with myself, are to devise a convenient point on the Indus for the establishment of an entrepôt, and annual fair; after settling which, Captain Burnes will proceed up the river to Attak, where he will disembark and proceed, viá Pesháwer, to Kabúl, thence to Qanda-har, and viá the Bolan Pass, to Shikarpur, and back again to Hydrabad. The mission is declared to be strictly of a commercial character, and the object of it is to collect commercial information, and to
make known to the merchants residing beyond the Indus the measures which have been adopted with a view of re-establishing the trade by that river. Circumstances may arise to require my continued presence here; in which event Lieutenant Mackeson will meet Captain Burnes at Mithankot, and be directed by me to accompany that officer during his passage through the Sikh possessions. In your reports, subsequent to intelligence of these measures reaching Kâbal, it is desirable that you should note how it is received, and any measures that the amîr and his advisers may contemplate in consequence.

"I am, sir, &c. &c. &c.,

"Sd. C. M. WADE,

"Political Agent."

"To C. Masson, Esq., &c. &c. &c., Kâbûl."

From this letter it will not fail to be observed that there was little notion entertained at this time of convulsing Central Asia, of deposing and setting up kings, of carrying on wars, of lavishing treasure, and of the commission of a long train of crimes and follies.

The Governor-general's communications were received with cordiality and satisfaction, which I reported to Captain Wade.

In a succeeding despatch from that officer, dated 11th November, 1836, was the following extract:—

"It might be important to ascertain if the letters
alleged to have been written to the amír from his brothers and others at Qandahar, were actually fabrications or not, and what had transpired between Máhomed Shâh of Persia, and the envoy from Qandahar to his court, regarding the reported intention of the Persians to advance during the ensuing season against Herát.”

In a letter of 31st December, 1836, Captain Wade wrote:—“With reference to the items of intelligence contained in your letter of the 30th of August last, regarding the designs of Máhomed Shâh against Herát, I am desired to observe that, by information received from other quarters, the Governor-general of India, in council, is led to believe that there may be more foundation than is supposed by you for the rumour relative to the chiefs of Qandahar; and as his lordship, in council, is anxious to be kept constantly informed of the affairs of Afgânistân, I have been directed to call on you to furnish me with the earliest intelligence of all important occurrences in that quarter, for the immediate information of government.”

The loss of my manuscripts and papers at Kalât in 1840, incapacitates me from presenting to the public copies of my correspondence with Captain Wade for the period in which I filled the situation of agent at Kâbal, which I would have gladly done, since Sir John Hobhouse has the modesty to make me an accessory in the evil measures so lauded by him. What my opinions were, may readily be
learned from the letters and extracts I have quoted, and may quote. In reference to this letter of 31st December 1836, the recovery of a letter-book at Kalât allows me to insert part of my answer to it.

"1st February, 1837.

"Of course I have not the opportunity of knowing from what other channels the Governor-general of India in council is led in some degree to credit such rumours, but I have observed that the public prints of India have, during the last twelve months, teemed with the most fallacious statements and absurd rumours relative to Máhomed Shâh and the Afghân countries, which must necessarily have had origin in some quarters, but that they were due to pure invention, or a desire to mislead, seems proved by subsequent events having shown their falsity.

"That Máhomed Shâh may entertain designs upon Herât is most probable, but the tenor of all information would lead to the supposition that his means are not so matured as to allow him to march on that place."

I may be excused to point out that a Persian paper, called the "Lúdiána Akbar," was printed at Lúdiána, under the direction of Shamat Alí, the confidential múnshí of Captain Wade. Items of intelligence frequently appeared in this paper, certainly never put together by the múnshí; and as it was industriously forwarded to Kabal, I was often annoyed, for the statements regarding Dost
Máhomed Khân were not only false, but so personal and insulting that they were not innocent, and that chief, while he would indignantly reject the paper, when some one officiously presented it, was wont to observe, that I wrote the lies about him. The evil corrected itself in time, for the statements were so egregiously absurd that it was admitted I should not write such nonsense, and the crime was placed on the right shoulders. In consequence of the unfounded tales and rumours I could not but notice in the Calcutta prints, I wrote to a literary friend at that presidency, asking if he knew how they originated; and although I received no direct reply to this particular question, subsequent issues of the paper, in which they appeared, revealed, that they were borrowed from the "Delhi Gazette," and that they were translations from the "Lúdiána Akbar." However, as Máhomed Shâh was represented, about this time, to be carrying fire and sword through Afghânistân, the government grew alarmed, and applied to their officers on the frontiers for intelligence; and owing to this panic I was indebted, I presume, for the above letter from Captain Wade.

Before my reply had reached, Captain Wade would seem to have suspected he was searching for a mare's nest, for in a letter of 1st February he writes, "The reports regarding the intercourse alleged to have taken place between the Bárak
Zais and the King of Persia, and the advance of the latter on Hérat, are certainly too vague to justify any confidence in them; at the same time, in the present state of affairs, it might not be altogether right, on our part, to neglect the means of being well informed of any political events of interest that may be passing on the frontiers of Persia and Turkistan."

In a letter, dated 7th April, he replies to mine of 1st February, and the extracts I give from it are curious, on more accounts than one.

"Copies of such parts of your letters as have related to the supposed designs of the King of Persia, and the overtures said to have been made to that monarch by the reigning members of the Bárak Zai family, for the expulsion of the Síkhs from their country, have been forwarded without delay to government, as well as a copy of your report regarding the preparations of Dost Máhomed Khân to repel the Síkhs from the occupation of Jamrút.

"If the amír seriously contemplated such a step as the last, he has lost the favourable opportunity of carrying it into effect, which the late assembly of the greatest part of the Máhárájá's troops at Amratsir, to join in the celebration of Kour Nao Nahál Singh's marriage, presented. No sooner have these festivities passed than Ranjit Singh has ordered his forces to move on Pesháwer, and their concentration in that quarter will, no doubt, render
it extremely difficult for the amír to resist their encroachments.

"I entirely concur in what you state regarding the delusive nature of the reports which are constantly appearing in the newspapers, on the subject of the designs of Máhomed Shâh on Afghânistân; yet, however fallacious they may appear to be to near observers, there are not wanting interested persons to mislead the shâh with false hopes of success in an expedition to that country, and, as it would appear from your letters of the 20th September, 13th October, and 7th and 30th November last, that Dost Máhomed Khân, or some of the Persian party in Kabâl, had been endeavouring to open a correspondence with the King of Persia, having for its object an offensive and defensive alliance with that ruler, the impression received by government would seem to have had some foundation.

"Accounts have lately arrived confirmatory of the report, that appears to have reached you by the way of Bokhâra, of the entire defeat of the Persians by the Túrkman tribes, a result which I fully expected. It is easier to speculate than to calculate on the facilities to Persia of carrying her arms into Afghânistân, so long as the British government maintains its place among the nations of Europe and the east."

In my Lord Auckland's memorable Simla declaration one of the imputed crimes to Dost Máhomed
Khân is, that he profited by the opportunity of the presence of the Sikh troops at Amratsir to celebrate the marriage of the Māhārājā's grandson, to attack the detachment at Pesháwer. We here find Captain Wade rebuking the amír for neglecting the occasion.

I hold this letter farther valuable, as demonstrating the little value and importance attaches by me to Persia, or Persian intrigues. It is fortunately in my power to give extracts from a letter of mine, dated 2nd February, which, while clearly setting forth my sentiments, will also show that I was alive to the interests of the Indian government, and not indifferent to the designs of other powers.

"I believe that the Government of India may be confident that no Persian emissaries have yet appeared beyond Herát; the ci-devant zirghar (goldsmith) of Kândahar, and such people as Abdúl Samad at Kabâl, who, without being authorized, talk largely on public affairs to increase their own importance, I presume are not to be considered such.

"While the various reports circulated in these countries the last two years, such as the arrival of Máhomed Shâh at Meshed, or its neighbourhood, with an impossible amount of forces, were not entitled to belief at the time they were current,—and experience has since proved them to be false,—reports at times have reached here, of some in-
tended operations upon Khiva from Mazanderan, which looks like acting in concert with, or at the suggestion of, the power whose vessels can command the Caspian. Among these rumours one has been frequently repeated, that the shâh was felling the forests of Mazanderan. This may be true, or not; but if he could be persuaded to destroy the best defences of that province, it would, of course, be so much the more open to invasion. The conquest of Orgenj by either Persia or Russia is probably not the easy matter some suppose; but if the latter power have any designs upon it, it would greatly facilitate their chances of success by engaging the former to co-operate in the attempt, while both powers, it must be conceded, have tolerably good reasons for desiring the destruction of the Orgenj state. The government of India must certainly be in receipt of constant intelligence from Tehran, where such plans would probably be partly concocted, and must become known, and perhaps it might be subject of reflection, whether it ought not to be determined beforehand what course would be best to be adopted, in the event of a possible contingency; for one of the necessary consequences of the occupation of Khiva by the Russians, or by the Persians under their influence, would be, the distribution of their agents in all countries intermediate between them and British India.”

In July of this year it became known at Kâbal
that Mâhomed Hûssên, who had carried a letter from the amîr to Mâhomed Shâh, had returned to Kândahâr, in company with one Kamber Alî, a Ghûlâm Shâh, and the bearer of letters and presents to the Bârak Zai chiefs.

In a letter of 8th July, I noted the circumstance to Captain Wade:—"A day or two after I last addressed you, and when I was still at Tâtang, I received an intimation from Kâbal that Kamber Alî, the Persian envoy, had reached Kândahâr, and that Abdûl Samad's property had been confiscated by the amîr, and that he had taken refuge in the house of Khân Sherîn Khân at Chándol. Having occasion to address Captain Burnes at that time, I forwarded a copy of the communication, and requested him, when he wrote you, to transmit it, or a copy, for your information. I proceeded immediately to Kâbal, and in course of two or three days letters were received from Mâhomed Hûssên, who accompanies Kamber Alî, copies of which I have also the pleasure to forward with this communication."

A little while before this, and previously to my departure from Kâbal for Jelâlabâd, the amîr informed me of a letter sent by his other agent, Hájî Ibrâhîm, the brother of Abdûl Samad, and purporting to be from the Russian envoy and minister plenipotentiary, Count Simonich. As it was forthcoming at the moment of Abdûl Samad's degrada-


and the amír evidently leaned to the same opinion. As he had sent it to Mírza Samí Khán, I could form no judgment upon it, but when I saw the mírza at Agham he showed it to me, and wished to give me a copy of it, but, aware that Captain Burnes would shortly arrive, I affected to treat it as a matter of no importance, as I had done with the amír, and observed, that it could be shown to Captain Burnes when he came. I, however, reported the matter to Captain Wade.

"The letter is written on pink-coloured paper; has no signature, but a seal stamped on it, with a legend, as Mírza Samí Khán reads it, 'Graf Ivan Simonich, Wázír Múkhtahár Béhi Rússí.' The letter is addressed to Amír Dost Máhomed Khán, and states that Hâjí Ibráhím, after his dismissal by the sháh, waited on the writer; that favourable reports of the amír and the Afgháns had frequently reached him; and that he was their well-wisher. But for the seal, and Hâjí Ibráhím's explanation, there is nothing in the letter to judge who wrote it; and, if genuine, it would seem intended to give weight to the sháh's firmân. Of neither, however, has any notice been taken."

I should have remarked, that Kamber Alí despatched from Kândahár a firmân, addressed to Dost Máhomed Khán, notifying to him that his petition had been received, and that His Majesty the King of Kings had enrolled him amongst his faithful subjects.

Never was a man more enraged than the amír;
he swore that he had sent a letter, not a petition, and vowed dire vengeance on Mâhomed Shâh, not even intending to spare the graves of his forefathers, or of Nâdir. There was hearty mirth displayed by the sûnîs of Kâbal, who thought their ruler deserved such a firmân, and they rejoiced that his face had been blackened.

A translation of the above letter from Count Simonich is given as enclosure 1 in No. 2, in page 5, of the Correspondence relating to Afghanistân, presented to Parliament by her Majesty's command. Succeeding it, and designated as enclosure 2 in No. 2, is a letter to the amîr from Hâjî Ibrâhîm.

The latter document was intended by the Hâjî to be read in darbâr. Accompanying it, was a very long one for the amîr's private information, which, of course, neither the amîr nor Mîrza Samî Khân would wish to be made public. However, at the time of its arrival, having heard of it, I contrived to get a copy, from which I forwarded other copies both to Captain Wade and to Captain Burnes,—and I presume one or the other must have sent it on to government. To have published this letter would not have accorded with the views of her Majesty's ministers, as it would have demonstrated both the character of the miserable agents whose proceedings have been made the pretence of so much alarm, and would besides show how ridiculous were the apprehensions to be entertained from Persia. I have still a copy, but it is too long to be
introduced; however, amongst many other things, the Hájí sorely complains that Máhomed Hússén was provided with a better letter than he was; explains how the shâh was well beaten by the Túrko-mans; and details Máhomed Hússén's behaviour in the camp at Shâhrúd, where, on the occasion of a review of the troops, he took occasion to lecture the shâh. The monarch was too dignified to reply; but when he withdrew, Hájí Mîrza Aghâssi, the prime minister, said to Máhomed Hussén: Fellow, who are you that presume to admonish the shâh? You are not an envoy, but the bearer of a letter. It is said, that the Afghâns are asses, and now we know it, or they would not have sent such a fellow as you here.

Captain Wade, in a communication, dated 19th June, 1837, wrote: "The nature of the information contained in your letter regarding the communications received by Dost Máhomed Khân from Persia, is highly interesting, and would have fully authorized you in making an immediate report, as there seems great reason to believe that both Hájí Ibráhím and Máhomed Hússén were accredited with letters to the Persian court, in some form, from the amîr, though it may now be convenient to him to deny that they were acting on his authority; and much allowance may be made for the importance which has been attached to these envoys in Persia from the probable intrigues and exaggerations in which they have no doubt been indulging."
In a letter of 29th August, 1837, Captain Wade wrote: "The Governor-general, in council, to whom I have considered it my duty to submit every part of your letters which relate to the politics of that quarter, is anxious to receive every information on these subjects, and I feel assured that you will not relax in your vigilance and activity in keeping me regularly informed of passing events, at a juncture when it is of the highest consequence to the British government that I should possess every means of forming a correct opinion. In a despatch, which I lately received from government, adverting to the interesting nature of the information that I had communicated from you, his lordship in council seemed desirous that you should continue to report, without delay, every event of interest; I beg, therefore, that your despatches may be more frequent than before."

On the 15th September, 1837, Captain Wade wrote: "The new proofs you have afforded of your zeal and intelligence, in the performance of your special duty of keeping me regularly informed of passing events in that quarter, continues to engage the favourable notice of the Governor-general in council, and I trust that your continued industry and discrimination may secure for you a continuance of the favour of a liberal and discerning government.

"Your report of the impression at Kâbal as to the reply that is likely to be given to Kamber Alî Khân, is in coincidence with the national prejudices
and true policy of the Afghans, — Dost Mahomed Khán's real object in laying his grievances at the foot of his Persian majesty's throne, and the causes which gave rise to it, are obvious. An opportunity is now afforded to the amír of removing those causes by conciliating the Síkhs, who are ready to bring their quarrels with him to an amicable adjustment, on reasonable terms, in accordance with our wish for a mutual state of peace.”

Captain Wade wrote, in a letter of 13th October, 1837: “The information contained in your several Reports, now acknowledged, is very acceptable. I am enabled to confirm the intelligence which you mentioned having received of the deputation of Fatah Khán to the court of Persia, on the part of Shahzadah Kamrán. The envoy in question had arrived at Téhrán.”

On the 19th October following I received an intimation from Captain Wade as follows: “Until Captain Burnes shall have quitted Kabúl it is considered desirable that you should be subject to his orders, and discontinue your direct correspondence with me, and I beg that you will act accordingly. Captain Burnes will convey to me every week, if necessary, such information as he may collect either by his own means or those of yourself.” This letter was in consequence of instructions from government, communicated by the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten.

Captain Burnes had reached Kábal in September.
The Persian, Kamber Ali, had not been allowed by the sirdars of Kândahâr to come on to Kâbal; Rahám Dil Khân, one of them, avowing, that if he left the city for that purpose his throat should be cut. The Persian had, moreover, disgraced himself by his revels, and was finally in an unpleasant predicament. His companion, Máhomed Hússén, had borrowed of him some eight hundred rupees, and, being asked for payment, devised a plan to evade it, and clear himself of his creditor—quite worthy of him. He recommended Kamber Alí to feign sickness, and to keep his couch, while he went to Kâbal for some of Dost Máhomed Khân’s people, with whom he would return and fetch him. Máhomed Hússén, after a violent dispute with Hájí Khân, now at Kândahâr, was permitted to leave, and, forgetting the celerity which he had promised to use, came leisurely on to Kâbal—was sent by the amír to the Nawáb Jabár Khân’s house, and never thought of returning to Kândahâr. Poor Kamber Alí, in great terror, urged his departure upon the sirdârs, particularly as he had received letters from Máhomed Sháh’s camp, directing his return if no good was to be done; and the result was, that the sirdârs dictated a treaty, which is published with No. 3, letter from Captain Burnes to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., page 6 of the Correspondence, and which Kamber Alí was too glad to seal, to get away. A child ought not to have been deceived by such a document, however Captain Burnes may have chosen to
attach importance to it, or the Indian government to have fallen into his error. Kamber Alí was so apprehensive of being waylaid on his return that he left all his property behind, and decamped "jer-rab," or slightly equipped, as Lieutenant Vektavich, who succeeded him, set out from the Persian camp. There is a remarkable circumstance attending the despatch of Lieutenant Vektavich, viz. that he left the camp the morning after the return of Kamber Alí, seemingly in consequence of the latter's failure to reach Kâbal, without which there is a possibility we might not have been honoured with the presence of the Cossack lieutenant. I have always doubted whether he came from St. Petersburgh, and whether he passed through Téhrân. If he did not, the silence of Count Simonich to Sir John M'Neil, of which the latter complains, would be accounted for, as the count would at that time be ignorant both of his arrival in the camp before Herât and of his mission to Kâbal. Attached to Kamber Alí was a Saiyad Mobín, who, it is said, was in the receipt of a salary from Count Simonich as news-writer. It is lamentable to be obliged to confess that such was the imprudent conduct of the British mission; and so flagrant the reports in consequence circulated of their plans and intentions, that Russia, or any power, was justified to send persons to ascertain the nature of their proceedings—the principal object, I suspect, confided to Vektavich. That such a man could have been expected to defeat a British
mission is too ridiculous a notion to be entertained; nor would his mere appearance have produced such a result had not the mission itself been set forth without instructions for its guidance, and had it not been conducted recklessly, and in defiance of all common sense and decorum.

Mahomed Hussen on reaching Kabal was, of course, introduced to the amir, and gave an account so extraordinary of his sayings and doings in Persia that the chief and his nobles were obliged to rest their hands on the ground, while they were convulsed with laughter at the egregious lies he told. On points of business nothing could be gained from him, and the amir, confessing his inability to make aught of his story, intrusted Mirza Sami Khan to question him; but with no better success. The amir then regretted that he had taken the fellow from his dokan, or shop, in the bazâr, and asked for a horse which Mahomed Hussen had written from Persia he had purchased for the amir, and which was so excellent that Nâdir had never one equal to it in his stables. The elchî would fain have denied the letter to be in his writing, but this being proved beyond doubt, he remembered that the Turkomans had chapowed the shâh's camp, and carried off two hundred of his majesty's best horses. By the same accident he lost the noble animal procured for the amir. The amîr slily quartered him upon the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, the Ferin-ghî's friend, and occasionally sent for him, when
inclined to be mirthful and to laugh at the monstrous tales he related.

While Captain Burnes was on the way to Kâbal he had addressed a letter of remonstrance to the amîr respecting the action at Jamrûd and the warfare carried on against the Sikhs. Captain Wade had done the same; moreover, addressing Mâhomed Akbar Khân. The latter was not displeased at his letter, because he was recommended having shown his ability in making war, now to display it in making peace. But the amîr was sorely incensed at the letter addressed to him by Captain Burnes. I had to bear the weight of his resentment, and he was absolutely savage.

I was always sorry that Kamber Alî had not found his way to Kâbal, for not only must he have failed, but the proposals he was instructed to make were of that nature that either he must have suppressed them or it would have fallen to my lot to shield him from insult. But for the mismanagement of Captain Burnes he might have had the credit of doing as much for Vektavich.

As Captain Burnes drew near to Kâbal he had written me, in a letter from Daka, dated the 4th of September: "The view which you have taken of Peshâwer being passed over to Súltân Mâhomed Khân, is to me very satisfactory. I am not without hope that we shall, in course of time, be able to work out this matter, but it would be presumption in the extreme to hope for it if certain circum-
stances, which I shall unfold, did not lead me to have a well-grounded hope. I should like to have the amír's own views,—Súltán Máhomed Khán's I have, and, if I am not deceived, an inkling of those of Ranjeet Sing.”

It will be observed, that Captain Wade, on the 15th September, informed me that the “Síkhs are ready to bring their quarrels with him to an amicable adjustment, on reasonable terms, in accordance with our wish for a mutual state of peace.”

It appears that the mahrájá was so confounded at the death of Hárí Singh, that he informed Captain Wade that he should be glad to give up Pesháwer, preserving his pardah, or his honour. Nothing could be clearer than that the mahrájá, was willing, at the request of the British government, to have abandoned his unjust conquest,—such request would have saved him the appearance of having been forced to give it up, and have preserved his pardah. Farther, no person acquainted with the state of the country and its relations, could have doubted but that he intended to restore it to Súltán Máhomed Khán, who already enjoyed half the revenues—and from whom it was taken. Its restitution to Dost Máhomed Khán was a measure neither to be conceived with any propriety nor to be demanded, with any justice, from the mahrájá. The disposition of the mahrájá was so unhoped for, and so favourable to the success of the mission that it is no less extraordi-
nary than unfortunate that Captain Burnes should not have seen the matter in the light every one but himself did.

While Captain Burnes was at Pesháwer, where his pleasures and his business detained him a few days, the amír began to imagine he might stay altogether there, and grew alarmed. He had recourse to me in this juncture, and in a manner characteristic of him. Very late at night two of his men came to my house, saying, the amír wished to see me. I observed, the hour was unseasonable; however, as I was still up, I would go. At his house I was introduced to Máhomed Akbar Khán, who desired me to follow him, and led the way into a dark passage. I called to him to give me his hand, as I was not a cat that could see in the dark, and he laughed, and did so. After groping our way through a variety of passages, we came upon the roof of an apartment where were sitting the amír, Mírza Samí Khán, Mírza Imâm Verdí, and Náib Amír Akhúndzâda, around a far-nús, or paper lanthorn. I seated myself by the amír, and Máhomed Akbar Khán sat by the side of Náib Amír. The reasons for sending for me I found were to ascertain, first, whether Captain Burnes was really coming to Kábal, and secondly, what were the objects of his mission. To the first point I answered, that Captain Burnes was deputed to him and not to Pesháwer; and to the last, that I could not tell him what I did not know myself.
That envoys were provided with instructions (in which, however, in this case I was wrong), with which he would become acquainted when Captain Burnes arrived. The amír was scarcely satisfied. However, as I had nothing to communicate to clear up his doubts, he said, Burnes must please himself: and I, saying it was late, took leave, and was again escorted through the dark passages by Máhomed Akbar Khán. With reference to this interview I may remark, that the tone of the amír had been so high that the Nawáb Jabár Khán had recommended me to advise Captain Burnes to stay for a few days at Pesháwer, as well as to send Súltân Máhomed Khán to Bájor; when, as he said, the amír would be reduced to call on me, with the Korán in his hands, and implore me to persuade Captain Burnes to come on. This manoeuvre was a good Afghán one, and I doubt not would have brought the amír to the necessity of being a suppliant, but I hardly thought it honourable that it should be put in play by ourselves; and while mentioning what the nawáb advised to Captain Burnes, I stated that I thought it needless to act upon it, as matters without it were likely to go on smoothly. The amír very possibly heard of all this, and therefore sent for me.

In May of this year Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger arrived in Kábal, and in July, without acquainting me, or even the Nawáb Jabár Khán, in whose house he resided, departed for Herát, by
the route of the Hazáraját. With reference to
the extreme jealousy entertained by the Bárak
Zai chiefs of Sháh Kámrán, I had to contend
with a good deal of ill-will on this account, as
they could not be persuaded that I was innocent
of Lieutenant Pottinger’s departure, or that it was
not owing to a concerted plan between us. This
officer had procured twelve months’ leave of ab­sence, to explore the passes west of the Indus;
and when his uncle, Sir Henry Pottinger, heard
of his journey to Herát, he wrote to me, desiring
I would spare no expense in transmitting letters
of recal, pointing out that he would be compro­mised with the government, who, at his solic­i­tation, had granted the leave of absence. I have
always thought that, however fortunate for Lieu­tenant Pottinger himself, his trip to Herát was
an unlucky one for his country; the place would
have been fought as well without him; and his
presence, which would scarcely be thought acci­dental, though truly it was so, must not only
have irritated the Persian king, but have served
as a pretext for the more prominent exertions of
the Russian staff. It is certain, that when he
started from Kábal he had no idea that the city
would be invested by a Persian army; in proof
of which I have letters from him soon after he
reached; the first alluding to no such expectation,
and the second describing the Persian advances as
sudden, and wholly unlooked-for by the authorities.
Kámrán’s army, in the early spring, had threatened Kândahár, and advanced to the Helmand, from which it moved upon Lásh and Jíwand, and then spread itself over Sístán, where the horses of the cavalry perished from disease, and the finest force which for some years had marched from Herát became disabled. In this state, the surrender of the frontier fortress of Ghoríán, through treachery, reduced Kámrán to the necessity of enduring a siege.

The results are well known. The Governor-general of India, to employ the official term, warned off the Persians, who, nevertheless, paid so little attention to the warning off, that after they received it they made their last and most desperate assault on the place, when, being foiled, and sorely pressed by famine, and desertions from their camp, they retired in compliance, so they say, of his lordship’s warning off.

Colonel Stoddart, the British representative in the Persian camp, and Lieutenant Pottinger, joined in their congratulations to the Governor-general, and ascribed to Providence the deliverance of the capital of Kámrán. God forbid that I should write profanely! but if Providence had aught to do in the matter, by all human calculation, it had intended that the Persians should have left their guns and equipage behind them, and perhaps that Máhomed Sháh, Count Simonich, M. Goutte, and
the rest, should have been picked up by the Turko-mans in their flight towards Tehran. So much good, or so much evil may have been prevented by Mahomed Shah's compliance with the Governor-general's warning off.
CHAPTER XVIII.

Captain Burnes's notion of his mission.—Fallacy of opening the Indus.—Remarks on commercial missions.—My correspondence.—Letters from Captain Burnes.—His arrival in Kâbal.—Defect in instructions.—Captain Wade's jealousy.—Obstacles.—Advantages.—Statement of my views.—Favourable concurrences.

In the preceding chapter I have explained the origin of Captain Burnes's mission, and shown Captain Wade's notions of its object; in the present I shall exhibit Captain Burnes's opinions, which may be best done by recourse to his letters.

"Hydrabad in Sinde, 2nd February, 1837. The growing demand for markets to the merchant throughout the world has stimulated the government, no less than the mercantile community, to make one grand attempt to open the Indus, and the countries in and beyond it, to commerce; and the government of India have reposed their confidence in me to try and work out this great end. The objects of my journey are, primarily, commercial; and my political powers cease on leaving the Indus; but we would ill discharge our duty to ourselves if we did not look to the right and left. But you
will much oblige me by giving currency, as far as is in your power, to the fact, that the main and great aim of government is to open the Indus, and to inform the chiefs in Afghanistân, and the merchants of that country, of the arrangements which have been entered into. I cannot adduce a better proof of the sincerity of government in this great national undertaking than that after I had been directed to set out, Runjeet Sing threatened Sinde, and was alone prevented by British influence from attacking it. The government said, justly, that if the balance of power on the Indus is destroyed our commercial hopes are ruined, and we have therefore concluded a treaty with the ameers, taking them under our protection, and fixing a British agent in Sinde! We have no wish to extend our political relations beyond the river, but a great one to enter into friendly commercial ones with all the chiefs between this and Persia. I might write to you very diffusely on this subject, but I think I have placed before you, in a short compass, all that is interesting, and enough, I hope, to enable you to form a judgment on the prospects of success, on the kind of reception we shall experience, and on other points; of which your local knowledge and long acquaintance qualify you, above all others, to judge. If you will favour me with that judgment, I need not assure you of the thanks which I shall owe you.”

In the commencement of this letter Captain Burnes intimated his wish to be informed of the
"state of parties in Afgânistân," and, while I promised to write on that subject, I replied at once to the matter of the above extract.

The main, and great aim of government, is declared to be to open the Indus. Was the Indus ever closed, or farther closed than by its dangerous entrances and shallow depth of water? Another object was to open the countries on and beyond the Indus to commerce. Were they also ever closed? No such thing: they carried on an active, and increasing trade with India, and afforded markets for immense quantities of British manufactured goods. The governments of India and of England, as well as the public at large, were never amused and deceived by a greater fallacy than that of opening the Indus, as regarded commercial objects. The results of the policy concealed under this pretext have been the introduction of troops into the countries on and beyond the river, and of some half dozen steamers on the stream itself, employed for warlike objects, not for those of trade. There is, besides, great absurdity in commercial treaties with the states of Central Asia, simply because there is no occasion for them. From ancient and prescribed usage, moderate and fixed duties are levied; trade is perfectly free; no goods are prohibited; and the more extensive the commerce carried on the greater advantage to the state. Where, then, the benefit of commercial treaties?

However, these were points on which it would
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have been unnecessary for me to catechize Captain Burnes; my duty led me to do my best to facilitate his objects, such as they were, and I answered him in the following manner.

"I have no idea that the amír, or any one here, fully appreciates the advantages of a strictly commercial treaty,—all, no doubt, look forward to some political advantages, if no other than the security of their own dominions, from a connexion of any kind with the Indian government; and although your mission be avowedly a commercial one, it may easily be brought to be considered as the step to something that may be approved of even by themselves, and to which, in the natural course of things, it must lead.

"About two years since Lord Bentinck, in a letter to the amír, first suggested some kind of commercial arrangement; his letter was not understood as it ought to have been, and the amír's reply was not so satisfactory, perhaps, as to induce his lordship to put forward a mission; but I may note, that with Lord Bentinck's letter Captain Wade addressed me, stating, that it was unnecessary to point out to me the advantages that would in consequence of such a treaty arise to the amír in the stability of his government, and so forth; and Captain Wade to the amír, either directly or through the medium of Abdúl Ghíás Khán, explained, that one of the benefits of such treaty would be, that every one should know his own boundaries. If
these advantages, held out two years since, may be held out without exceeding your instructions at this period, in case such matters should be started, there would be nearly an end to discussion. These observations, and those preceding, I make in allusion to the sole topic, upon which I apprehend you may not be prepared to reply in the manner that may be wished, but by no means intend them to be discouraging. Lord Auckland's letter on this point was even satisfactory, for, alluding to the Sikh aggressions of which the amír complained, he mentioned, that if the British government were a party between, such aggressions should or would cease,—or something to that effect,—upon which the amír observed, that was something to the point, and then added, idly, however, laughing and rubbing his hands, that he had been better pleased to be ordered to attack the infidel Ranjit."

In the reply to the letter of which the above is an extract, Captain Burnes seems to have been set into a blaze by letters from Mr. M'Neil. He writes: "It gave me very great pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th April from Jelálabád, which reached me at Bhawulpore on the 10th of May. For your luminous view of the state of affairs in Cabool, believe me, I feel deeply indebted. I would have replied to your communication instantly, being quite alive to the necessity of letting the ameer, and all concerned, know of our approach, but a most important despatch, no less than the one containing
all the views of the Governor-general on Afgâhânistân, was sent, by the mistake of Captain Wade's moonshee, to Mr. Mackison, and I resolved, at all hazards, to await it. It reached me late last night, and I cannot now regret the delay, as in half an hour after I received an express from Persia containing matters of the first importance. The despatch of the Governor-general I enclose, and also the confidential express from Mr. M'Neil, well assured as I am, in putting you in possession of these important documents, I am but advancing the interests of government, and shall be able through you, even before I get to Cabool to elicit information to guide my proceedings.

"To proceed, however, step by step in my inquiries and observations, it is first necessary to observe, that about ten days before I received your letter from Jelâlabâd, I had become cognizant, through Candahar, of the fact that Dost Mâhomed Khân had opened a communication with Persia. I forthwith despatched the information to Lord Auckland, but I was not prepared for so rapid a confirmation of the circumstance as that which I received from you. You may imagine I lost no time in despatching extracts of all parts of your letter relating to public affairs to the private secretary. I observe what you state, that the ameer's hopes from Persia have since he opened that communication greatly abated, but it was the circumstance of his opening the communication at all that appeared to me important, and to
be a subject for our serious consideration. What then was my surprise to read the communications from the King of Persia to Dost Mâhomed Khân, of which Mr. M'Neil has with such dexterity possessed himself.

"The enclosed despatch of the supreme government, written to Mr. M'Neil on the 10th April, will show you that our policy in Afghânistân engages the anxious attention of government. What then, now must be the anxiety when such intrigues are brought to light? Before I heard of them I had addressed a letter to government, of which I enclose you a copy. It is not an official letter, but to the private secretary, and I do not forward to you the enclosure, which I hope soon to converse with you in person. From all these communications you will be put in the possession of the views of government, of Mr. M'Neil, and myself, and your competent knowledge, and great local experience will, I am sure, prove at this critical juncture of great service. I beg of you to favour me by writing your most unreserved sentiments. Nothing will gratify me more, and though I have published a book, and printed and written various views, no one will be more glad to alter those views than myself. I have no system to uphold but one, which is an ardent wish to place our relations in the west on such a footing as will best serve the interests of India. As yet I have no authority beyond that of conducting a commercial mission; but various hints
and letters, together with the chain of events now in progress, have served to convince me that a stirring time of political action has arrived, and I shall have to show what my government is made of, as well as myself. Waving, therefore, all what is called 'political humbug,' I have placed all matters before you. The next point to be attended to is the state of politics at Candahar, a Russian letter to the chief, and presents from the Czar. Why, zounds! this is carrying the fire to our door with a vengeance.—Nothing can come out of that scheme; but it also shows that we must be on the alert there."

On the 25th of June Captain Burnes had become more composed as he then wrote from Déra Ismail Khán: "After I last wrote to you, and four or five days had elapsed, I received an express from Lord Auckland's secretary on the first news of the intentions of Dost Māhomed Khán (to attack the Sikhs). These, as you may well imagine, gave cause for alarm, and I was instructed to delay my advance till I got instructions, which would follow in a day or two. These instructions have now reached me; and though prudence dictates a cautious line of procedure, still I am left at liberty to advance if I choose; and the government hope I may do good. I have, therefore, addressed Dost Māhomed Khán, and a copy of the letter I enclose for your information. The original I send; also letters for the nawâb and Mirza Sami Khán, which you will very much oblige
me by delivering, in the way which you may judge most suitable. You will see that I have been very explicit with the ameer; and if he could but see his own interests he would make terms with the Seiks from himself, and leave us unfettered; in which I see to him much good. The British government contemplate no employment of its power in Cabool, though it ardently wishes for peace on its frontier; and it is also most anxious that no further injury should be done to the Afghâns; but this must depend on the Afghâns themselves. You will well imagine how anxiously I shall look out for replies to these communications. I feel myself gifted with much more latitude since I last wrote to you, but I must see with my own eyes before acting, or recommending action, and it will never do to offend Runjeet Sing, whose alliance we court, and must cherish."

Captain Burnes's next letter to me, on the 25th July, was alike moderate. The collision between the Sikhs and Afghâns had passed over; with reference to which he wrote: "It really seems to me that matters have subsided into a better form than was to be anticipated, though I quite agree in the observation made by you, in one of your letters to Captain Wade, that a very free use of the name of the British government seems to have been made."

"I shall not fail to inform Captain Wade of the arrival of the elchee from Persia by the first packet. The designs from the west require to be sedulously watched, though I have received
much support to my opinions from finding you so strong upon the improbability of Shia ascendency in Cabool. I always looked upon it as highly improbable.”

On the 6th August Captain Burnes wrote from camp, near Attok:—“At Hasan Abdall, on the 1st, I had the satisfaction of receiving your communication of the 16th, by my own cossids; and if I have already felt myself obliged by your full exposition of the state of affairs in Cabool, I must say that you have, if possible, increased my obligation by this most valuable communication. You have laid before me the rocks which endanger every movement; and so foul is the path that I much fear, with such a beacon, I shall yet be involved in great embarrassments. I have only one sheet-anchor left, which is, that they will be roused in Calcutta to make some decided exertion, at variance with our late sleepy policy; and if they act not thus, I even question the propriety of their having ever deputed me to Cabool. The ameer’s letter which you enclosed is the counterpart of the original. I looked upon it as satisfactory, but there was still a tone and tenor in it which I do not like, and which your letter completely explained. I do not think the British government is in a humour to be trifled with; and if the ameer hopes to play off the offers of Bokhára and Persia, to quicken us in our movements, he may fail. If, however, government attaches importance to the communications from Russia (and I shall won-
der much if they do not do so) their proceedings may be very different, for I do not apprehend we should ever submit to a Russian intrigue near our own frontier without seeking to counteract it, and that had we not been already sent, some one of our nation must have followed, or they must have sent you yourself powers.

"The audacity of Mahomed Hussein, whose letters you enclosed, astounds me; he is, however, a very Persian. I translated the epistles, and sent them on to the private secretary. They require no comment. This letter is by no means meant as an answer to your last communication. That I have studied, and reperused with great care, and it has instilled into my mind some doubts, which are always wholesome. It seems, however, certain, that we must form some connexion with Cabool, and it is more the way in which that should be brought about that puzzles, than the kind of connexion—so conflicting and various are the interests.

"It will interest you to know, that Captain Shiel, the secretary of legation at Téhrân, has accompanied a Persian elchee to Khiva and Bokhára, to put down slavery—accompanied I say, because it has been so communicated to me, but I question the good which can arise from such a journey—we should look nearer home. My opinions on Persian politics are very fixed. Without Mr. Macneil there we should have been soon ousted—with him the evil day only is postponed, and our connexion with the country
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will end in signal discomfiture and disgrace. Taking a general view of things at present, I should not be surprised if government followed one of two views,—one is, to invest me with full powers; the other is, to direct me to stay in Cabool till I can communicate with them;—the last, and most improbable of all, is, to suspend my movements."

From Pesháwer, on the 22d of August, Captain Burnes wrote: "It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge your letter of the 12th, which reached me yesterday afternoon. At all events, your present letter sets my mind at ease regarding the feelings of Dost Máhomed Kháñ. The change of tone in the ameer is what I very much desired, and what I certainly hoped for, but I had also quite made up my mind to let him know at once that the British government were not likely to permit any coquetting on his part. The honour of having any agent, however humble, deputed to confer with him is by no means a small one, and if nothing took place but mere conference, and he saw his position properly, he might so strengthen himself, that in a year or two he would have no equal near him. Such at least are my sentiments; and with them you may imagine that we are not likely to be taken by storm. In fact, if Dost Máhomed Kháñ continues to contemplate attacks on the Seiks, and to increase his duties on the merchant, we may very well ask the utility of holding any communications with him."

"The approach of the bursting bubble of Má-
homed Hussein's mission is highly amusing. While seated on Hindoo Koosh, drinking tea and laughing at the said Mirza's fibs, which Ferdinand Mindez Pinto ne'er outdid, I little thought I was holding converse with the future ambassador of the ruler of Cabool to the King of Kings! Among other curiosities to show you on the affairs of nations, I have a very morceau in the shape of forged credentials from the ameer to Lord Auckland in behalf of Hajee Hussein Khan!! I possess the original, and a rarer bit of Hajee Babaism I have not seen."

Captain Burnes next wrote me from Dáka, on the 4th of September, when, having cleared the Khaibar Pass, he had entered Dost Máhomed Khán's dominions. He then said, "I have no means of doing justice to your many and considerate letters. Lying before me are those of the 14th, 17th, 23rd, and 26th of August, and yours of the 27th has just been put into my hands.

"The view which you have taken of Pesháwer being passed over to Súltân Máhomed Khán, is to me very satisfactory. I am not without hope that we shall, in course of time, be able to work out this matter; but it would be presumption in the extreme to hope for it if certain circumstances, which I shall unfold, did not lead me to have a well-grounded hope. I should like to have the amír's own views; Sooltan Máhomed Khán's I have, and, if I am not deceived, an inkling of those of
Runjeet Singh. Had we not had to pull the Khalsa's rein in Sinde, I should have said, that the adjustment of it amounted to a certainty; and I now believe that the drain which Pesháwer is upon his finances, his wish to please us, and other things combined, will, in the end, tend to adjustment.

"The non-arrival of the Persian elchee is amusing enough. I suppose he has had his coup de grace, for the ameer cannot surely put any reliance after such an exposure of Máhomed Hoosein's fabrications. We have no late news here of affairs to the west.

"Your letter to Captain Wade I perused, and sent on by the cossid from Ali Musjeed. I really do not comprehend Captain Wade's allusion to the state of affairs in Persia being favourable; my accounts, as I interpret them, speak to the contrary. I am glad the panic, from the contents of his letter, has been removed, and I am a good deal amused at what he says about the 'Governor-General and I have both been inculcating peace, &c.' Had I known such inculcation I need not have written, as I did, from Dera Ismael Khan; but I hope soon to read a lesson in propriá personá to Dost Máhomed Khân, and let him know what are and what are not the views of the British government, though it would indeed be gratifying to myself if I were better informed on them than I am. My last accounts from Calcutta are, in plain English, as follows: that Lord Auckland looks with great anxiety to hear from me in Cabool
after I have seen about me; the meaning of which is clear enough, that they are to act after I have reported. This looks like toasting our toes at Cabool for the winter."

From Chupreeal, on the 9th of September, Captain Burnes wrote: "I am glad to say that an important express has reached me since I last addressed you, which will not make me afraid to meet Dost Māhomed Khân, for I have it now in my power to be of service to him, but I shall not speculate at length on the subject now. I am very anxious to have the ameer's own views of his own affairs, for on them a good deal will depend. I need only tell you, in confidence, that the adjustment of Pesháwer is nearer than ever, if not mismanaged, and you well know how easy it is to do that, even without Afgháns, and their proverbial stupidity.

"I do certainly consider Dost Māhomed Khân has it in his power to become a great man, if he can resist the pressure from without (as the politicians say at home) of his own family, and act for himself.

"I have had my attention most especially called to the affairs of Candahar; and, more opportunely than I could have hoped for, I have just received a despatch from thence, old in date certainly, but full of particulars of the way the sirdárs went about their communications with Russia, which bear the stamp of truth, and confirm much of what Mr. M'Neil writes. My account of the el-
chee's revels coincide with your own; and in preparing my despatch I shall note the coincidences between the information. I imagine the elchee will not come to Cabool; but what think you of the sirdárs having sent other letters, and another envoy to Téhrán and the Russian minister?"

From Tézín Captain Burnes wrote, on the 16th of September: "The accounts from Candahar are really perplexing. The information you convey tallies well with what I have received; only that the Candahar sirdárs have, I hear, of themselves, detained Kumber Ali, and got him to write to the shâh, as they have themselves done, that Cabool is of no use to his Majesty, and Candahar is the ground to work upon!!! Tant mieux. In the same truth, Kohan Dil Khân writes me a more than friendly letter, and his brothers are equally amicable."

On the 18th of September Captain Burnes reached Bhút Khâk, where I paid him a visit, and remained with him the following day. Our conversation was nearly exclusively on political matters; and I must confess I augured very faintly of the success of his mission, either from his manner or from his opinion "that the Afghâns were to be treated as children," a remark that drew from me the reply, that he must not then expect them to behave as men. On the 20th of September I returned to the city, after breakfast, and Captain
NECESSITY OF FULL INSTRUCTIONS.

Burnes being met on the road by Māhomed Akbar Khān, was escorted with all honour to the presence of Dost Māhomed Khān.

I have not judged it necessary to make any comments upon the various extracts I have submitted from Captain Burnes's letters. If Captain Wade may be charged with doing too little, I think it may be conceited that Captain Burnes was inclined to do too much. What I conceived my duty had led me, as will have been seen, at the earliest period of my correspondence with Captain Burnes to press upon him the necessity of having clear instructions, and of being prepared to meet the proposals likely to be made to him. I had reasons to suspect that the then government of India was a weak government, and I was aware that missions are put forth in a loose manner. I also foresaw the evils which delay would excite with impatient people, and I could but know that in less than four months no answer from Calcutta to any communication could be received. It was therefore clearly proper, as well as essential to success, that Captain Burnes should come as well prepared as possible. I was, moreover, conscious of the jealousy of the political agent at Lúdíána, who had informed the authorities at Kâbal, through Abdúl Ghíás Khān, that he would have been a fitter person than Captain Burnes for the mission, and would have done more for them than he could do, on account of his
influence with Ranjit Singh. I also knew that Captain Wade could depend on the support of Mr. Secretary Macnaghten. On the other hand, Captain Burnes was agreeable to Lord Auckland, and had the privilege of constant communication with the private secretary, Mr. Colvin,—sufficient to protect him from evil influences, had he used it wisely.

In conformity to the request of Captain Burnes, I sent him a paper on the state of parties in Kâbal. I afterwards did more, and entered into a detail of the conflicting interests in Afghánistán, and the mode in which, in my opinion, they were to be approached and reconciled. When at Bombay, in 1841, I wrote to Sir Alexander Burnes at Kâbal, hoping he would not object to send me copies of these two documents. I sailed for England before his reply, if he made any, could have reached me, and since no letter of his has been forwarded to me. Nothing would have given me greater satisfaction than to have been enabled to publish these papers, for not only would they have shown my views and opinions, but I may fancy they would have established that the Afghân affairs were capable of settlement, and that the settlement was in our power at that time. My proposal was simply, that Pesháwer,—the assumption of which by Ranjit Singh had brought on all our evils,—should be restored to Súltân Máhomed Khân; in fact, that a mere act of justice should be done.
By this the chiefs of Kândahâr would be at once reconciled, while Dost Mâhomed Khan would have no alternative but to acquiesce; still, as to his exertions, in some measure, the restitution might be held due, I proposed that Súltân Mâhomed Khân should pay annually a sum, more or less, not exceeding a lákh of rupees, from his revenues, which I did not doubt he would gladly do, as the price of being relieved from Sikh control, and of the possession of the entire country. The Sikhs, having built a capacious and strong fortress at Pesháwer, I foresaw they might either propose to leave a garrison in it or wish to dismantle it. It appeared to me better that it should remain an Afghân bulwark; and as the expense in the construction was not considerable, and I was well aware that Súltân Mâhomed Khân had no funds, I submitted, that the government might advance the one or two lákhs which would be required, unless indeed the restored sirdâr should pay it off by instalments. To see that these arrangements were carried into effect and duly observed, I proposed that a superior agent should reside at Kâbal, and subordinate ones at Kândahâr and Pesháwer, as checks upon the conduct of the chiefs, and for the purposes of seeing what was going on, but without exercising any kind of interference in other matters.

I never once alluded to Persian and Russian intrigues; I hold them now ridiculous; I held them
so then; but while removing effectually the only causes which could make them of any import, I suggested (seeing, from the jealousy the Barâk Zai chiefs entertained of Kámrân, it would be imprudent that the agent at Kâbal should have anything to do with him or his affairs,) that Herât should be placed in correspondence with the envoy at Téhrân, and that an officer to that state should be furnished from the mission there.

While perfectly aware that the occupation of Pesháwer was unprofitable, and the constant source of alarm and inquietude to Ranjit Singh, and satisfied that he would relinquish it, if solicited by the Indian government as a favour to do so, I had not hoped that he would voluntarily come forward, and express a desire to be eased of it. As he did, it was only by the mismanagement which Captain Burnes, in his letter from Chapríâl, deprecated, that our relations with the Afghân states were not placed on as fair a footing as it was needful they should be; for my experience had brought me to the decided opinion that any strict alliance with powers so constituted would prove only productive of mischief and embarrassment, while I still thought that British influence might be usefully exerted in preserving the integrity of the several states, and putting their rulers on their good behaviour.

Another unexpected piece of good fortune happened about this time, inasmuch as Kámrân, in vol. III., 2 a
his intercourse with Mr. M'Neil, consented to acknowledge the independence of the Bárak Zai chiefs, in return for being secured against the attacks of Persia, so that nothing was wanting to the success of Captain Burnes's mission but his own ability to avail himself of so great and unexpectedly concurring advantages.
CHAPTER XIX.

Captain Burnes’s conversations.—His humility.—Visit of Mírza Samí Khán.—Resolutions of the amír and his advisers.—Their disclosure.—My dissent.—The nawab’s opinion.—Nature of the question.—Captain Burnes’s notice of proposals.—Recommendations to Lord Auckland.—Unnecessary alarms of Persia.—Captain Burnes’s delusion as to the amír.—Captain Burnes’s neglect.—Dispute on prerogative.—Arrival of Vektávich.—His suspicious credentials.—Dismay of Captain Burnes.—His imprudent admissions.—Hússén Alí.—Opinions at Kábal.—Replies of Government.—Despatch of Lieut. Leech to Kándahár.—Rejection of Dost Máhomed Khán’s proposals.—Perplexing state of the mission.—Absence of nawáb.—Rage of Dost Máhomed Khán.—Unpleasant stay in Kábal.—Letter from the Chairman of the Court of Directors.—Interview with Mírza Samí Khán.—His remarks.—Intimation to quit Kábal.—Darbár conversations.—Determination to leave.—Proposals to seize Captain Burnes.—Assault on my house.—Good-will of the inhabitants.—Parting interview with Mírza Samí Khán.—Remarks on the mission.—The Afgánistán correspondence.—Delusive intelligence and reports.—Object of Vektávich.—His reply to Dost Máhomed Khán.—His return to Kándahár.—Abú Khán.—Hájí Hússén Alí Khán, the Persian ambassador.

The day after Captain Burnes’s arrival he placed before me the official documents relating to his mission. I observed, after reading the instructions, so called, that they were really none at all. He replied, that Dr. Lord on joining him at Haidarabád had made the same remark.
Captain Burnes repeatedly saw the amír; and his conversations were not of the most prudent kind, at least as I thought, for I considered it very unadvisable to excite expectations not likely to be realized, and to instruct a man, disposed to be sanguine enough, how essential his alliance was to the British government. The amír and Mírza Samí Khán were satisfied to listen to Captain Burnes; and did not explain their pretensions; alleging, that after his long journey a few days repose was required; their objects being to ascertain the temper and habits of the envoy, as well as to agree amongst themselves on the terms to be proposed to him.

The amír had every reason to exult in the humility of his new guest, who never addressed him but with his hands closed, in the attitude of supplication, or without prefacing his remarks with "Gharíb náwâz," your humble petitioner, which acquired for him in Kâbal the sobriquet of Gharíb Nawâz. My friends used jocularly to tell me, I might as well leave; and the amír himself was well pleased to find Captain Burnes more compliant and obsequious than I had been. The Nawâb Jabár Khán, however, took the liberty of remonstrating with the envoy, and pointed out to him, that an agent of the British government had no occasion to fear, and that he might possibly repent having assumed so submissive a tone.

Nothing could be more certain than that British reputation was highly considered in Kâbal; and it
was supposed that a British mission would be conducted with a certain degree of decorum. It excited universal surprise to witness the contrary; and that the revels of Kamber Ali at Kândahâr were surpassed by the amîr’s new guests at Kabal. The amîr, while receiving continual reports of what was going on, forbad any notice to be taken, rejoicing perhaps that the envoy’s intrigues were of any other than a political nature, and well satisfied that the mission should disappoint public expectation.

Mirza Samî Khân observing how matters stood, honoured me with a visit at my house, the first he had ever made me; and after a few long-winded observations, proposed that I should imitate the example of my illustrious superiors, and fill my house with black-eyed damsels. I observed, that my house was hardly large enough, and he said that I should have Shâhzâda Ashraf’s house, near the amîr’s palace. I then asked, where the damsels were to come from; and he replied, I might select any I pleased, and he would take care I should have them. I told him, his charity exceeded all praise, but I thought it better to go on quietly in my old way,—and he dropped the subject. I related to the nawâb and others what had passed, and we had a good laugh at the mirza’s expense, though all agreed it was well that one of us should refrain from committing himself, as strange things were likely to happen. The subject of the intercourse with Captain Burnes naturally occupied the atten-
tion of the amír and his friends; and Mírza Samí Khán and Mírza Imâm Verdí were selected to conduct it. The next step was to consider the terms for proposal to the British government; and these being resolved on, I was favoured by a visit from the two mirzas. They reminded me of the solicitude I had shown that the reception of the mission should be honourable and becoming, and appealing to me that they had done all that was required, entreated, in return, that I would support their interests. I had only to reply that, by representation to Captain Burnes, and I could do no more, I would support them, if I could with a clear conscience do so; and I prayed them, for the sake of impossible or unlikely advantages, not to neglect what was in their power to gain. They then revealed the proposal they had agreed upon, which was, that Pesháwer was to be made over to the amír, as the sine qua non of any understanding with the British government. I at once told them, that Captain Burnes might do as he pleased, but that I should dissuade him from listening to any such terms. Mírza Samí Khán was now anxious to show me that his proposition originated with Mírza Imâm Verdí, and not with himself, and made the latter say so, who maintained that such an arrangement was only due as a consequence of the victory at Jamrúd. I set my face entirely against the proposal, and regretted that they should have determined upon it; and they left me, Mírza Samí Khán
always exculpating himself from the charge of having originated it.

The Nawâb Jabâr Khân strongly pressed upon Captain Burnes the necessity of firmly rejecting the proposal about to be made to him, on which so much depended. I did the same, in the most forcible manner I could; and showed him how Mîrza Samî Khân, anticipating his rejection, was ready to excuse himself as being the author of it, and to cast its blame upon Mîrza Imâm Verdí; or, in fact, that the proposal was not expected to be received. I submitted to Captain Burnes that his course was a very clear one. The pleasure of Ranjit Singh to give up Peshâwer afforded the opportunity of settling the Afghan question in a manner which could not have been looked for. It might be made to benefit the brothers at Kândahâr and Peshâwer equally with Dost Mâhomed Khân, and the British government would, at all events, have done its duty to them, and have fulfilled its wish to benefit the Afghan nation. Captain Burnes urged that Dost Mâhomed Khân's pleasure might not be consulted, were Peshâwer made over to Súltân Mâhomed Khân. I replied, that I believed it would whatever he might say to the contrary, but if not, let the arrangement be made without him; he would soon crave to be admitted a party to it, as he would not venture to avow interests in opposition to those of all his countrymen, and could not afford to stand in the
light of a proscribed person. Captain Burnes did not intimate what course he would pursue; but in due time the interview with him and the mírzas took place. After it was over I received a note from him, which will at all events prove he was not taken by surprise.

"I have had Mirza Samee and Imam Verdee with me since breakfast, and they have just made known to me what you wrote, and I shall tell you my answer when we meet you in the evening."

Before the evening came I had learned, from rumour, what the answer had been, and a more unfortunate one could not have been made. It had spread over the city, and become the talk of the bazár; and an expression of the envoy's, that Ranjit Singh would be so delighted when he heard the amír's proposal that he would fire a shelyek, or salvo of artillery, was repeated by every one in ridicule.

When I saw Captain Burnes he explained, that the mírzas had proposed, in return for the cession of Pesháwer to the amír, that one of the latter's sons should reside at Lahore with the máhárájá as a hostage for his father's good behaviour. He said, that he was so astonished that he made the mírzas thrice repeat what they had said, to be sure there was no mistake; and that, satisfied there was none, he had told them all would be settled as they wished. I could only express my fears that the worst results would follow.
By this stroke the chiefs of Kândahâr, who had suffered Kamber Ali to depart, began, in self-defence, to renew their correspondence with Persia. The Nawáb Jabâr Khán, and principals of the Súní party at Kâbal, ceased to interest themselves in the success of the mission, and either seldom visited the darbár, or, when there never talked on business. No person of any respectability or character ever called on Captain Burnes, and the mission was left to follow up its irregular career, and to sink into contempt.

Captain Burnes, as soon as he reached Kâbal, had intimated to Lord Auckland the advisability of making the offer to Dost Máhomed Khán of guaranteeing to him the possession of Peshâwer on the death of Ranjit Singh; he had now to forward his new proposals. In less than three months, under any circumstances, replies could not be expected. Dost Máhomed Khán, for the moment supposing that Captain Burnes would not approve the proposal unless certain it would be acted upon, was satisfied; but the restlessness of the Kândahâr sirdârs a little disturbed the leisure which Captain Burnes had gained. The correspondence with them led to an offer by him to supply them with three lâkhs of rupees to repel any attack from Persia. I remonstrated as much as I could against this offer, and Captain Burnes finally apprised me he had made it, observing, “Masson, I have gone the whole hog.”
It may be right to notice that, in the absence of special instructions for his guidance, Captain Burnes considered it was the intention of government that he should do what seemed to him best, when, if he chanced to do what was thought proper, he would receive unbounded applause; if the contrary, he would be wigged. Agreeably to his purpose of magnifying the danger to be apprehended from Persia, and of attaching importance to transactions at Kândahâr, he contemplated the despatch of Lieutenant Leech, one of his assistants, to that place. I opposed the measure, thinking that, unless matters were settled at Kâbal, it would only increase embarrassment. I moreover felt certain it must be totally at variance with Dost Máhomed Khân's wishes, an immaterial point, if any benefit were to accrue from it; still, what might be attended to, when, as I clearly saw, evil was likely to arise from it. Captain Burnes most positively affirmed that the amîr was consenting, or that Mirza Samî Khân so assured him, which made me suspect that the amîr and his mirza might be pleased to witness the farther complication such a visit would occasion. There was some delay, however, in the departure of Lieutenant Leech.

I had from the beginning cautioned Captain Burnes not to be deceived by Dost Máhomed Khân. He argued, "Oh, Masson, he is so shrewd—he talks so sensibly." I admitted that he could do all that; still he was to be taken care off. I had no better
success than had the nawâb, who alike endeavoured to persuade him that Dost Mâhomed Khân was anything but an angel. From my knowledge of the amîr, I could smile at receiving such notes as this: "I never had so kind a reception—he is everything to us!"—"All went nobly on last night; he was quite pleased," &c. A very little time, however, sufficed to permit the growth of doubts in the amîr's mind, whether the confidence of Captain Burnes as regarded Peshâver would be shared in by his superiors at Calcutta, and he began to pay him much less attention and respect, and Mîrza Samî Khân ceased to call upon him so frequently and so regularly as before. Indeed the conduct of the mission was often discussed in the darbâr, and many expressed their opinions that the amîr had deceived himself. Still, the infatuation of the envoy seemed as strong as ever; and he was apparently secure in the conviction that government would not fail to adopt his recommendations. On one occasion, Dost Mâhomed Khân being told he did wrong to expect Peshâver from Captain Burnes, Mîrza Samî, present, said, he would step over to him and ask. He represented to Captain Burnes that certain monâfikân, disaffected persons, had said, the amîr reposed foolishly on his promises. The envoy replied: "Only wait till Lord Auckland's letter arrives, and, by the grace of God, the faces of the monâfikân shall be blackened." With this answer the mîrza returned in great glee to the darbâr.
Conscious that Dost Máhomed Khán's proposition would not be supported by the government, and equally aware that its rejection would give rise to violent anger and disappointment, I much strove to induce Captain Burnes to urge upon government the advantage of ascertaining exactly Ranjit Singh's wishes as to Pesháwer, that we might be prepared to meet the storm we had to encounter at Kábal by counter-propositions. Not suspecting that government would object to his recommendation, Captain Burnes did not think this necessary, and neglected it for a long time, and until too late. He was in correspondence with Captain Wade, but it was of a kind rather to delay than to promote business. In a note to me Captain Burnes writes: "Here are all—You'll see Wade has got it again from government for 'commenting' on my letters. I am astonished at his not having told Ranjit Singh a word of what has passed here. No wonder he is surprised."

That the mábárájá was surprised is beyond doubt, for with his news-writers at Kábal he could not but be aware of Captain Burnes's intercourse with the amír, and of what had passed between them, for that was known to every pumpkin-seller in the bázár. He in consequence addressed a letter to the envoy, warning him that the Afghâns were interested and bad people, and that Dost Máhomed Khán was a very wicked man, and a liar, but that Súltân Máhomed Khán was in the sirkár's service, and had
been useful to him. I thought the purport of this letter was very plain, but Captain Burnes showed it to the amír on the idea that it was intended to be shown to him, and informed the máhárájá he had done so. I ventured to predict Ranjit Singh would not again address him, nor did he.

Captain Burnes, in place of urging upon Captain Wade the necessity of ascertaining the máhárájá's wishes, entered into a discussion about "prerogative,"—a note I have will explain its origin. "Read you ever such insolence. The man talks of prerogative!" Captain Wade had declared, that to comment on Captain Burnes's despatches was his prerogative. Captain Burnes retorted, that prerogative was only enjoyed by kings; and Captain Wade answered, that he was mistaken, and sent him the meaning of the word from Johnson's Dictionary! Two months were wasted in this very profitable discussion.

On the 19th of December Lieutenant Vektavich reached Kâbal, and rather suddenly, for we had scarcely heard of his arrival at Kândahár when he made his appearance. The sirdárs of that place were willing to have detained him, but he threw his papers on the ground, and menaced them with the Emperor of Russia's vengeance should they do so; when, finding they had a very different kind of a person than Kamber Alí to deal with, they permitted him to proceed. His arrival at Killa Kází was announced to the amír, and some one
was sent to inquire his rank, that his reception might be regulated. He replied, that he was no elchí, but a messenger, or bearer of letters. Count Nesselrode has since made him a commercial envoy; if so, it was entirely unknown to himself, or denied by him. Mírza Samí Khan inquired of the amír, where he should be lodged, and receiving a very careless reply, again submitted that it was proper he should be informed. The amír said, "lodge him with Máhomed Hússén at the nawâb's, and there will be two lútías, or buffoons, together." The mírza had difficulty to get a better reply, but it was finally settled that the mírza himself should look after him, as, under his eye he could hold no improper communications.

The sirdârs of Kândahár had written to the amír that they did not know what to make of the Cossack, or of the letter he had with him, which wanted signature and seal. Múlla Rashíd did the same, but also sent a show-letter, published in page 7 of the Correspondence relating to Afghânistán, which, for want of something better, has found a place there, although it explains, in the postscript, its object to "rouse the mind of Alexander Burnes."

The letter, dated 23rd December, 1837, from Captain Burnes to Lord Auckland, recording the former's views and recommendations, and of which extracts are given in page 9 and 10 of the Correspondence, is too curious a document for me to
pass over in silence, particularly as I must state, once for all, that Captain Burnes never showed me any of his despatches to government at the time they were sent, the reason I knew to be that I should have protested against them. On the other hand, all despatches from the government, and even private letters from India and England, were sent to me as soon as received. This explanation is necessary with respect to this letter, No. 6. The reports of Vektavich's conversations with the amír are absolutely false. Captain Burnes gives them on the authority of two sources, both of whom were instructed by Mírza Samí Khán to delude him, the object being, like that of Múlla Rashíd, to "rouse the mind of Alexander Burnes."

The arrival of Vektavich completely overpowered the British envoy, and he abandoned himself to despair. He bound his head with wet towels and handkerchiefs, and took to the smelling-bottle. It was humiliating to witness such an exhibition, and the ridicule to which it gave rise. The amír called on the disconcerted envoy, and Mírza Samí Khán brought over the letter said to be from the emperor, for both of them had suspicions, in common with the Kândahár sirdárs, that it might not be genuine, and so they told Captain Burnes, who, however, at once assured them it was genuine, and that there could be no doubt of it. After this imprudent admission, the amír was at liberty to play off the Russian and the Imperial letter. The latter, however, was
left with Captain Burnes to be copied. I unhesitatingly expressed my opinion that the letter was a fabrication, as far as the emperor was concerned, but that it was very probably got up in the Persian camp before Herát, because without some such document Vektavich would not have dared to show himself in Afghânistân. Captain Burnes pointed out to me the large exterior seal on the envelope, on which were the Russian arms. I sent for a loaf of Russian sugar from the bâzar, at the bottom of which we found precisely the same kind of seal. Captain Burnes shrugged his shoulders, elevated his eyebrows, and rolled his tongue round his cheek, but he had done the evil in not allowing the amír and Mírza Samí Khán the benefit of their own doubts. Count Nesselrode, in acknowledging the mission of Vektavich, may be supposed to have adopted this letter, although he does not expressly do so; I still, however, believe it to have been a fabrication, while admitting the Russian minister's dexterity in relinquishing projects he never entertained. It may be further remarked of this document, that it was not written by the count at the emperor's command, but purported to be from the emperor himself, another proof, in my estimation, that it was not genuine,—however, on that very account well calculated to deceive Dost Máhomed Khán. The arrival of Vektavich with his letter astonished the amír, particularly as he was unconscious of having written a letter to Russia, and for
the moment did not remember Hússén Alí, and he required to be told that he was the son of Bájí Múr-wáří. He then observed I gave him no letters, and Mírza Samí Khán explained that he had written one, and claimed to himself much credit for having procured the amír the honour of a reply from the emperor. Whether the amír believed his mírza or not, I cannot tell.

It was known that Hússén Alí had accompanied Vektavich from Bokhára to Orenburg. His non-appearance with the Cossack officer was considered in Kábal badly accounted for by the pretence stated of his being sick at Moscow, and the general opinion was, that Vektavich had murdered him—and this I state not wishing to belie Vektavich, but to show the little respect in which he and his mission were held by all, alas! but the British envoy—Vektavich indeed had a musket with him which was known to have belonged to Hússén Alí.

The reception of Vektavich was not such as he had reason to boast of, and in the house of Mírza Samí Khán he resided, in fact, under surveillance.

Replies to Captain Burnes' letters, and to his proposals to the government had begun to arrive. The government was then in possession of sobriety of judgment and honourable feeling, from which it since so strangely wandered. To the proposal that a promise should be made to the amír, of Pesháwer on the death of Ranjit Singh, the reply was dignified and
proper, deprecating the delicacy of speculating on the death of an individual. To the proposal to elevate Dost Māhomed Khān to great dignity and power, the reply was, wisely, that it was not the policy of the government to establish a great Māhomedan kingdom in that quarter.

Immediately after the arrival of Vektavich, Lieutenant Leech was sent to Kândahâr; he was furnished with no instructions, for none could be given to him; his presence was to create what is so vaguely termed a moral influence. I entirely disapproved his mission, but Captain Burnes persisted it was with the pleasure of the amîr, which I, nevertheless, could not believe. There can be no doubt that Lieutenant Leech signalized himself at Kândahâr. With his method of establishing a moral influence I have nothing to do, but a note to me from Captain Burnes may throw a little light on his political proceedings. "Here is a letter from Leech. He has done I think quite right to advise Meher Dil to come here and to raise Ghazees—and I am glad to see he knows our footing with Persia so well." In the evening when I saw Captain Burnes I told him that I thought Leech had done quite wrong, and suspecting it might be so, in his despatches to government he suppressed all that had been written about the Ghazees, or so he informed me.

At length a reply was received from government to the despatch of Captain Burnes reporting
the offer of a sum of money,—three lakhs of rupees—to Kândahár for the purpose of repelling Persia. The Governor-general in the strongest terms expressed his regret and disappointment, and directed Captain Burnes to rescind his offer which, as very correctly stated, involved the grave questions of peace and war. The despatch was a very long one, and a letter from the private secretary apprised Captain Burnes that it was specially dictated by the Governor-general. His lordship here omitted to do what was farther necessary—to recall the envoy whose acts had the tendency to commit and embarrass the government. The folly of sending such a man as Captain Burnes without the fullest and clearest instructions, was now shown, and to do him justice, he observed that had a similar exposition of the government views been furnished to him in the first instance, he would never have committed himself. Recovering a little from the alarm it occasioned him, he still affected to believe his own judgment of affairs the right one, although it now became his painful task to undo all he had done, and to destroy all the expectations he had so unhappily raised in the bosom of the amír. He made a curious remark on this occasion to me, that it was strange that Lord Auckland, the Nawáb Jabár Khân and myself, held the same opinions on Afghan affairs, never I suspect conceiting that we might be right and he wrong.

The proposal to give Pesháwer to the amír, Ran-
jit Singh receiving in return one of his sons, had never been made to the māhārājā, Captain Wade denouncing it, and I am sorry to say, justly, as “insidious”—the government thought so too. Captain Wade, however, had not ascertained the māhārājā’s intentions as regarded Peshāwer, and when directed by the government to learn them, was obliged to report that the rājās had returned to Lahore, and his influence was set aside. The māhārājā’s wishes were, therefore, never known, and we had no means of softening the disappointment of the amīr, which any arrangement about the disputed territory might have enabled us to do.

Captain Burnes, as soon as he perceived a crisis had come on, asked where that old fool the nawāb was. He was at Tatang, where Captain Burnes a month before had sent him. The nawāb had a long time before sent his family there, but waited in Kābal until his lordship’s replies should arrive. Captain Burnes was sometimes told that he kept the nawāb from his ladies, which he took ill, and insisted that the nawāb should go down to them. I saw the old gentleman before leaving, and he laughingly said that Sekander had turned him out of Kābal. He asked me what I thought of affairs, and I put the question to him. He said they were ganda or rotten. I observed, I fear so, and bantered him on getting so nicely out of the way. He promised that whenever the despatches from government reached, he would, on being informed, be in Kābal.
the day after. Captain Burnes now sent an express for the nawâb, who immediately returned to the city, after which he communicated to the amír, the contents of the letters he had received, at the same time delivering a letter to the amír's address from the Governor-general.

The conduct of Captain Burnes in this state of things was, in my opinion, neither the correct nor the judicious one. That he had approved the proposals of the amír there can be no doubt; instead, therefore, of acknowledging his own error in having done so, he adopted the strange course of calling the amír to task for having made them. A very pretty interview necessarily passed, which a note from him to me written immediately after, will, perhaps, show. "It is impossible to write all, and for me to come to you or you to me before dinner might show our funk. I gave it fearfully and left him in a furious rage, but not a word was forgotten of which I prepared for him. He gave the old story — no benefit — no one cares for a falling nation — I offered my wares for sale, and you would not buy."

I may observe that Captain Burnes had not been a month in Kâbal before Dost Mâhomèd Khân began to look upon him with very slight respect, and the remarks he made could scarcely be concealed from Captain Burnes. The latter alike grew to think less amiably of the amír, and used frequently to appeal to me as a witness that his opinions had
changed. God knows both the nawâb and myself had abundantly cautioned him to be on his guard from the very first. His present violent behaviour had consequently something very annoying to the amîr, who in truth hardly deserved such rude treatment in this instance, which the nawâb also lamented, while wishing Captain Burnes had commenced his negotiations in a firmer tone.

From this period Captain Burnes' residence in Kâbal had become more disagreeable than before; and I do not doubt but he would have retired, had not Doctor Lord and Lieutenant Wood been some time previously sent to Kûndûz, and the latter officer had gone thence to Badakshân. It is certain he ought to have left Kâbal, for his presence was only productive of increased mischief and disgrace,—although he justified his stay to government by the common-place plea of moral effect. Dost Mâ-homed Khân was very uneasy, and even at times so undecided, that he once signified he was willing to accede to whatever the government wished,—another time Mirza Samî Khân proposed that the throat of Vektavich should be cut, and again promised to renounce connexion and intercourse with the west if assured of protection against Persia. I would not vouch that these offers were sincerely made, but they were made. Captain Burnes would listen to nothing,—one of his notes to me may explain why. "This brings the ameer to ask in what way he has not met the wishes of government. I
might have asked in return in what way has he? but I am sick of the matter, and visited him for three hours and never touched on business. Why should I?—Vektavich is here, and has no intention of moving,—the good ameer declines all preliminaries for peace with Ranjit Singh, and writes to Candahár, and also tells me that he has no hope from our government,—but enough.”

Captain Burnes did not cease to press on the attention of government the danger from Persia and Russia; and his desire for action was admirably seconded by letters he received from England. I have a note in which is written, “I send you a letter to read from the chairman of the directors, who in truth wishes to walk on. I wish they would be moved who are nearer.” This letter from the chairman was certainly a singular one, for it announced no less than a determination to take the Panjâb, Captain Burnes being promised the conduct of the expedition. Sir John Hobhouse, in his speech to the House of Commons on the 23rd June, 1842, states that a despatch to Lord Auckland “at the end of October, 1838, instructed his lordship in council to pursue very nearly the same course, which it afterwards appeared he had adopted without knowing our opinions.” It appears, therefore, his lordship did not pursue quite the course recommended by Sir John Hobhouse and the Secret Committee, and it is not impossible the slight error was made of marching to Kâbal instead of to La-
hore,—at least, such may be inferred from this letter of the chairman, who was one of the Secret Committee. This letter was sent by Captain Burnes to Lord Auckland through the private secretary, Mr. Colvin, and came back with the expression of his lordship's approval.

My intercourse with the Amír and Mírza Samí Khán had ceased altogether, the latter, seeing the bad turn affairs had taken, now wished to see me. Captain Burnes recommended me to call on him. I was with him nearly the whole day. He commenced by setting forth that his relative, Mírza Jáfar Khán, had purchased land, had built castles, had planted orchards and vineyards, and wished to keep them,—and left me to apply the meaning of what he said. I observed that I thought I understood it, that every one desired to keep his own, which I believed was so exactly what our government wished, that I was surprised there should have been any misunderstanding on the matter. The mírza agreed that I was right. He then, with reference to the negotiations with Captain Burnes, urged that I must have known better, and I pointed out that he was well aware of my opinions from the first. I had dissuaded him from making obnoxious proposals, and Captain Burnes from listening to them. More was out of my power. He asked how could Captain Burnes, unauthorised, sanction the proposal, and how could so great a government as that of India depute a "hillah mirdem," frivolous man, as
he had proved to be? I replied that the govern­ment had sent him, believing him to be the person who would be most acceptable to them, and I prayed Mírza Samí not to allow any presumed defect in Captain Burnes' manner to make him lose sight of that officer's good intentions, for, however he had erred, and I regretted he had done so, it was still in the wish to serve them that he had incurred the displeasure of government. He next alluded to the despatch of Lieutenant Leech to Kândahâr, and said the amír was much pleased with me for having remonstrated against it. I urged that Captain Burnes constantly assured me that the amír was delighted at his going. The mírza said on the contrary, but that they assented, lest Captain Burnes should take it ill. I then remarked that here was the cause of all our evil,—you say what you do not mean; but, unluckily, Captain Burnes has not had sufficient experience of you to know it, and he takes you at your word, but again you are to blame and not he. But what a ghúl to send! remarked the mírza. He then mentioned the despatch of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood to Kúndúz, and said they did not go to cure Máhomed Morád Beg's brother's eye, but to visit Badakshân; and further, that Badrodín had received a letter from Mírza Badía telling him that Dr. Lord, instead of curing the diseased eye, had put the sound one out. Lieu­tenant Vektavich and his letter were discussed, the document being displayed before us. I persisted
that I had little faith in it, explaining for what reasons, and most certainly the mirza was as little credulous as I was. He inquired whether the Russians would do such a thing as to send a fabricated letter. I at once exonerated the Emperor, but thought it very likely Goutte and such people would. This led me to explain to him that any hope of benefiting by a collision between England and Russia was ridiculous; for not only did friendly relations exist between the two states, but should differences arise they would be adjusted in Europe, not in Kâbal. We talked a long time about Herât and Persia, and I endeavoured to convince him that it was nonsensical to have any apprehension from Máhomed Shâh, for he could never dream of coming into Afgânîstân unless positively invited, which, again, were any of the chiefs there to do, the mass of the people would reject both them and him. If by any infatuation, contrary to all probability, he should advance, it would only be to be lúted, or plundered. The question of Pesháwer was then broached, and he said that if it were given to Súltân Máhomed Khân, it would be right to recompense the amír for having maintained him and his adherents in exile. I did not tell him that I had recommended a sum annually to be given to the amír on this very account, but contented myself by observing the amír had a claim on that head to consideration.—He then said that many of Sultân Máhomed Khân's old servants now in the amír's service
would leave it; I remarked that it would be better they should, the amír’s finances would be eased, and at Kâbal they would only do harm by their intrigues. I spoke in the most unreserved manner of the danger of their position, and repeated to him what I had before told him on more than one occasion, that the present state of affairs in Kâbal could not endure, and that the government, embarrassed as it was, must fall to pieces unless supported by the aid and countenance the British government in deputing Captain Burnes had tendered. Mírza Samí Khân did not deny the truth of this, but he asked, “To what are we to agree?” No question could be more perplexing. My reply was, “By heavens! I know no more than you, but I am certain you will not be required to agree to anything hurtful,” and then added, “We must agree to everything without knowing what, and then we shall find out.” Before we separated, it was arranged that Mírza Samí Khân, who had discontinued his visits to Captain Burnes, should call on him the next day, and I was to attend. The next day I heard nothing more, but on the following I was sent for. Mírza Samí Khân was disgusted at Captain Burnes’ declamation, and I must confess I was no less so. It was clear enough it was no longer wished to settle matters.

Both the amír and Mírza Samí Khân had intimated to Captain Burnes that business was over, but that he might, if he chose, remain a month or so at Kâbal, which was understood, by every one but
himself, as a wish he should leave, but it was not convenient to do so until Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood returned.

This delay brought about many unpleasant circumstances and discussions. Some of the people, who had kept aloof since the arrival of the mission, one evening ventured to ask the amír what he was doing with Sekander. He replied that he did not know. He had told him to go, but he stayed; he was ignorant for what object. They suggested he should send for me. He said he would, and if satisfied with what I said, he would throw himself on the government. Two messages were brought to me that the amír was in the humour to have a conversation with me, and informing Captain Burnes, I remained at home, supposing I might be sent for. It did not happen so; when the darbár was over, interested persons contrived to draw his attention to other things, and it was forgotten. I could have seen him at any time, but refrained from troubling him, for I well knew, however I might be able to bring him to think reasonably, Captain Burnes would spoil what would be done.

Some indelicate exposures, affecting some of the suite of Captain Burnes, probably accelerated his departure, for suddenly he determined to move without waiting for the arrival of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood, who were on the road to join him. I never knew the exact reason for the pre-
cipitancy, and thought, as he had waited so long, he might have remained another two or three days for his companions.

The contempt into which the mission had fallen, indeed, prompted certain persons to propose to the amír the seizure and spoil of the envoy, and while proffering to commit the deed they had repeated the fátíha in his presence. The amír did not sanction the measure, although he did not rebuke the proposers. A very general report spread over the country, that Captain Burnes was to be made a victim, but I understood the intention, never perhaps entertained by the amír, was abandoned; indeed, at that time, it would have been perilous in the extreme to have attempted such a thing, and there were plenty of us in Kâbal to have made it recoil on those who imagined it.

I had, during my residence at Kâbal, been favoured with many attacks on my house, the last I experienced about this time. I was sitting alone in my room with the door open, and had just time to close it against a party coming up the stairs. In their flight they fell one over the other, and then over some water-jars at the bottom of the staircase. After leaving Kâbal, I became informed of two of the men employed on this occasion, although such knowledge did not enlighten me as to their employers.

When it was known in Kâbal that we were about to leave, there was a wish on the part of
many of the inhabitants to present me with an address, which I declined; it was suggested it might serve me with the government, but I protested against any favour from the government to be gained by such an instrument.

I was wholly unprepared for so abrupt a departure as we made; three of my servants were in the Kohistân, and unable to have my effects packed, I was compelled to distribute more than half of them to my neighbours. On the 26th of April Captain Burnes preceded me to Bhút Khâk, and I followed him. On the morning of the 27th, Mírza Samí Khân, who had come to the camp, asked Captain Burnes if it were possible to renew negotiations. He was told it was not. He then came and embraced me, and seemed quite surprised to learn I was going, saying he had hoped I would remain, that there was no occasion for me to leave, that no one was angry with me, that I had lived many years with them in credit, and that nothing could happen to lessen me in estimation, and so forth. I had only to say I was sorry to leave in such a manner, but, as they thought proper to reject Burnes, I had no option. We then mounted our horses, Captain Burnes saying to me, "Your leaving them, Masson, is 'the unkindest cut of all.'"

Thus closed a mission, one of the most extraordinary ever sent forth by a government, whether as to the singular manner in which it was conducted, or as to the results. There was undoubt-
edly great blame on all sides. The government had furnished no instructions, apparently confiding in the discretion of a man who had none. Captain Burnes I always thought was very wrong in not having insisted upon being provided with them; his vanity and presumption led him, perhaps, to despise them, or even to rejoice that they had been omitted—his best excuse for the series of blunders he committed. Dost Mâhomed Khân and his friends were, I think, most to be pitied. They had, indeed, shown the cloven foot, but it was the general opinion in Kâbal, and was mine, that had they been properly treated, they would have done as much as could have been hoped from them.

Of this mission a very inadequate idea would be formed from the printed correspondence—in truth, scarcely any at all. It is deplorable to read the worthless evidence there adduced, and the erroneous impressions of the deluded envoy. The intelligence from Kândahâr, so frequently cited, was from the communications of one Mâhomed Tâhîr, a servant to Mohan Lâll, and these were, clearly enough, written at the dictation of Meher Dîl Khân himself, to "rouse the mind of Sekander Burnes." The communication, enclosure No. 28, dated 19th July, 1838, is from a Frenchman named Carron, in Kâbal. The sad manner in which Captain Burnes misrepresented facts, I cannot better show than by allusion to No. 13, a letter to Mr. Macnaghten, page 14, in which my name happens to be mentioned.
He states that he has more grounds for believing that Captain Vektavich, the Russian agent at Kâbal, is charged with letters for Runjeet Singh, &c., &c. "In the course of yesterday, Mr. Masson was informed that the Russian agent had letters for the Máhárájáh, and the purport of them was to the effect, that if his highness did not withdraw from Pesháwer, the Russian government would compel him." Now I never was informed that Vektavich had letters for Ranjit Singh, but I was informed that, at the amír's request, he was going to write letters; and that Captain Burnes knew more than this may be doubted from the following note to me. "V—— has agreed to write to Runjeet Sing and tell him the amír is under R——n protection, also to Allard!" I, moreover, at the time remarked to him, why should not Vektavich write? what does he care to whom he writes, or what he writes? certainly attaching no importance to anything he wrote. I was, therefore, surprised to find my authority quoted in his letter. I have another singular note, with respect to Vektavich, which may be worth while giving, as exemplifying the plan on which Captain Burnes fed the alarm of the government. He had just seen the amír, and writes, "I will tell you all when we meet, but the most astounding intelligence I had given me by him on the Russian's authority was, that Russia had sent four thousand men to the east of the Caspian, to keep the Toorkmans in check while the
The shâh attacked Herat.” This report went to government without any remark that it was utterly unfounded. That it must be false I pointed out, saying that Vektavich was sent to tell lies, that he kept himself in Kâbal by telling lies; still it was more than pity that Captain Burnes should be deceived, or that he should lend himself to deceive the government. On fifty occasions I had to protest against the delusive intelligence he forwarded without explanation; his excuse, indeed, was that he merely sent reports as he received them, and was not responsible for their truth; yet on some of these very items of intelligence, which the most arrant blockhead in Kâbal would have rejected as fallacious, and which no one, I venture to say, would have dared to make to me, a government of India and a British ministry justify the monstrous policy they followed, nor feel ashamed to impose them upon the ignorance of a British parliament, and to stultify the nation as to the character of their wanton proceedings!

We left Vektavich in Kâbal. I had always thought his object was merely to see what Captain Burnes was doing—that he achieved more was owing to the folly of Captain Burnes himself. As soon as the mission disappeared, Vektavich had no longer a motive in staying, and he thought of returning, which, luckily for him, the arrival of Meher Dîl Khân from Kândahâr enabled him to do. Dost Máhomed Khân asked him for the money he had
promised; he very properly replied he was no banker who carried money about with him;—that the amir must send his envoys with him to the Persian camp where they would get it. Had not the Kandahár Sírdár been at Kábal, the chance was that Vektavich might in reality have had his throat cut. As it was the amir despatched one Abu Khán, Bárak Zai, with Vektavich, and he, as will be seen in enclosure No. 38, page 32 of the Correspondence, accompanied him to Kândahár, and then “disappeared.” In the same enclosure, No. 38, the name of Hájí Hússén Alí Khán figures as the Persian ambassador; this was the same man who at Calcutta presented forged credentials from Dost Máhomed Khán. Do governments deserve contempt or pity for being influenced by the movements of such impostors and scoundrels?
CHAPTER XX.

Progress to Pesháwer.—Captain Burnes summoned to Lahore.—Letter of Captain Burnes.—Reply of government.— Unsatisfactory employment.—Letters of Captain Burnes.—Letter of Mr. Macnaghten.—My recommendations.—Plans of the government.—Their development.—Mr. Macnaghten volunteers his services.—His career and fate.—Jew.—Dr. Lord’s Russian spy.—Captain Burnes’ representations to Lord Auckland.—Mr. Colvin’s note.—My submission.—Offensive communications.—Resignation of service.—Excursion.—Journey to Lahore and Ferozpúr.—Passage down the river.—Mr. Macnaghten’s letter.—Interview with Sir Alexander Burnes.—Lord Auckland’s offers.—Captain Burnes’ insincerity.—Dr. Lord’s account.—Sir Alexander Burnes’ account.—Application of Mr. Macnaghten.—Squabbles.—Conclusion.

From Kâbal we were escorted to Jelálabád by Náźír Alí Mâhoméed, and thence on jâlas, or floats, we descended the river to Pesháwer. Here we were soon after joined by the Kúndúz party, and Captain Burnes received orders to proceed to an interview with Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, deputed on a mission to Máhárájá Ranjit Singh. It may have been collected that I was by no means satisfied with the relation in which I stood to the government of India—indeed, on the arrival of Cap-
tain Burnes at Kâbal, I represented to him that I thought there was no longer occasion for me to continue in hopeless and unprofitable employment. He, however, had addressed a letter to government which I may be excused inserting, and prayed me to await the result.

" Cabool, 9th October, 1837.

" Sir,

" Before proceeding further with my communications on the state of affairs in this quarter, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-general in Council, the great aid and cordial assistance which I have derived from Mr. Masson, not only since my arrival here, but from his constant correspondence since I left Bombay.

" If I shall be fortunate enough to merit the approbation of his lordship in council, for what may be accomplished here, I feel that I shall owe much to Mr. Masson, whose high literary attainments, long residence in this country, and accurate knowledge of people and events, afford me, at every step, the means of coming to a judgment more correct than, in an abrupt transition to Cabool, I could have possibly formed.

" I discharge, therefore, a pleasing task, in acknowledging the assistance which I receive from Mr. Masson, and while I do so, it is also my duty to state, that I by no means wish the Right Honour-
able the Governor-general in council, to consider Mr. Masson as responsible for the opinions and views which I may take up and report to government.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

Signed,

"ALEX. BURNES.

"On a mission to Cabool."

"To W. H. M’Naghten, Esq.

"Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William."

This letter was noticed in a despatch from the secretary, not to Captain Burnes, but to Captain Wade, in the following manner:—

"The Governor-general has derived much satisfaction from the high testimony borne by yourself and Captain Burnes, to the praiseworthy manner in which Mr. Masson has conducted the duties entrusted to him, and Captain Burnes will be requested to furnish to him copies of your letters, and to intimate to that gentleman the high sense which is entertained by the Governor-general of his faithful and valuable services."

As Captain Burnes was now alone, and it was easy to foresee the mission would be involved in difficulties, I judged it delicate to remain with him until it was brought to an end, otherwise I certainly should have forwarded my resignation at this time. Now that we had reached Pesháwer I again brought the matter to Captain Burnes’ notice, and he again prayed
me to stay there, while he would represent my case to Lord Auckland at Simla, and settle everything, so that I should be compelled to be satisfied. I consented to remain at Pesháwer, because I had no wish to see any persons belonging to the government, for my opinions of many of them had long been made up; I also well knew that there were difficulties which Captain Burnes, perhaps, did not foresee, but which I suspected were not to be got over; moreover I had determined on the course to adopt, simply that of advancing no pretensions, but if still neglected, and kept in a position where I could not be useful, to clear myself from embarrassment by quitting a service which had long been disagreeable to me, and which I felt to be dishonourable besides.

Captain Burnes had reasonable anxiety that his conduct in the late mission might be called into question. The French officers at Pesháwer also expressed solicitude for him. He was soon relieved from any apprehension on that account.

In a letter from Hássan Avdál of 2nd of June, 1838, he enclosed me one from Mr. Macnaghten, and wrote, "I suppose it is a counterpart of my own to ascertain your sentiments of what is to be done to counteract the policy of Dost Máhommed Khán. They shall have my sentiments sharp enough, and as for Sikh rule in Cabool it will never do. What theirs are I do not know, but you may guess from Wade's note to me which I enclose. It is unique—
Why he infers you were to stay at Pesháwer I know not."

On the 4th, or two days after, he wrote from Rawal Pindi,—"They wish to have all our opinions, but their determination to act is clear. I have a letter by Lord Auckland's desire from Mr. Colvin this morning, telling me to repair to Adeena-naggar, where I shall be fully and confidentially informed of his lordship's views in the present crisis. I am also told, that 'the Governor-general is quite satisfied that you have done all that could be done to ensure success at Cabool, notwithstanding the failure of our negotiations.' He (his lordship) is perfectly assured also, that you will now apply yourself to the fulfilment of any new part that may be assigned to you with the same assiduity and ardent zeal which you have always manifested in the discharge of public duty.—*My inference from all this is that Shah Shooja is immediately to be put forward.*"

The letter of Mr. Macnaghten is much too curious to be omitted, Captain Wade's unique note I regret to have lost, or perhaps I returned it.

"Camp in the Panjáb, May 23, 1838.

"*My dear Sir,*

"You will have heard that I am proceeding on a mission to Runjeet Singh; and as at my interview with his highness it is probable that the question of his relations with the Afghâns will come on the *tapis,* I am naturally desirous of obtaining the
opinion of the best-informed men with respect to them. Would you oblige me, therefore, by stating what means of counteraction to the policy of Dost Máhomed Khán you would recommend for adoption, and whether you think that the Sikhs, using any (and what?) instrument of Afghán agency, could establish themselves in Caboul. In giving your opinion as to what should be done in the present crisis, you will not, of course, view the question as one affecting the Sikhs and Afgháns alone, but as one materially connected with our own interests. I should be glad to be favoured with your reply as soon as convenient. Perhaps you had better direct it to the care of Captains Wade or Burnes, in the camp of the Máhárájáh.

"I am, my dear sir,

"Very truly yours

Signed, " W. H. MACNAGHTEN."

"To C. Masson, Esq."

Mr. Macnaghten as before noted, had been deputed on a mission. It might be supposed from this letter that he did not know why he had been deputed, or farther than he was sent to arrange something, whatever it might be, at his own discretion. Lord Auckland's missions seem to have been much of the same character.

In reply to Mr. Macnaghten, I deprecated the extravagant notion of establishing the Sikhs in
Kâbal, and as the lesser evil recommended the establishment of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, aware that the government had determined upon action of some kind, and never dreaming that an army of twenty thousand men was to be employed to effect an object which could have been readily accomplished without a British soldier, simply by sending the Shâh to Pesháwer under a proper understanding with the Máhárájá.

That government at this time contemplated no employment of its arms, a subsequent letter from Captain Burnes of 21st of June, may perhaps show. It was from Lahore, after he had seen Mr. Macnaghten. "Public affairs here are in an advanced state, and I consider our relations with the Panjab on the verge of being materially altered, and Shooja ool Moolk close on ascending the throne of his ancestors. You may remember the treaty between the Shâh and Runjeet. That is the base of everything, and it only now remains to be settled whether he is to go by Peshawer or by Candahar to his throne. A son at Peshawer to demonstrate there, and the Shah himself at Shikarpore seems the favoured scheme here, but this is not yet settled. The Shah is to have an agent on our part with him, English officers and English money; but it is not yet settled if he is to have any of our troops. I am clear for a regiment or two; but there seems to be some fear of objections to the thing on the part of
Runjeet Sing. The treaty to be formed is tripartite, and the Sinde orange is to be squeezed. How much I know not, but very much I hope."

In the same letter Captain Burnes wrote, "I have had the satisfaction of being told that I was sent to do impossible things at Cabool, so all my labour that did not succeed was not expected to succeed! Politics are a queer science."

In a very short time it became developed that a large armament was to accompany the Shâh, and Sir Henry Fane was flattered with having the direction of it, while Captain Burnes was soothed with the notion of being associated with his excellency as commissioner. Councils of all kinds were held at Simla, until the expedition was fairly determined upon, when Mr. Secretary Macnaghten volunteered his services for the occasion on the ground that Captain Burnes could hardly be depended upon in so important an affair. This was no doubt true, although the unfortunate secretary was the last man in India who should have put himself forward. He saw I fear the opportunity of gratifying his ambition and vanity, and either over-estimated his ability or fancied that he had an easy task before him. The retreat of the Persians from Herât, in fact, had rendered an expedition unnecessary; but the army had been assembled, the appointments had been made, and it was necessary the new envoy and minister should parade through Afghânistân. I need not allude to the subsequent career of that
functionary or to his miserable end. It would tempt one to exclaim,

"Grand Dieu! tes jugements sont pleins d'équité."

I remained at Pesháwer throughout the hot and rainy seasons, in a bad state of health. Major Tod passed through on his journey from Herát to Simla, and with him came the Jew described by Dr. Lord as a Russian spy, and who of course appropriately appears in the Afgáhn correspondence, pages 18 and 21. This man lived the few days he stayed at Pesháwer at my quarters. A pedlar by trade, he and his visitors were so noisy in making their bargains that I was obliged on account of my head to have him removed to the opposite side of the garden. He had a plan of Jerusalem with him and I should judge was not perfectly sane. That such a man could be conceived a Russian spy was certainly ridiculous. He went towards Káshmír with a káfíla and I gave him five or ten rupees to help him on his journey. The French officers assisted him in like manner. When Captain Burnes saw Lord Auck­land at Simla he conversed with him on my affairs, and reported to me the substance of his lordship's remarks. They were unmeaning enough, but stated my services were too valuable to be dispensed with, while omitting to do what would be only just to place me in a fair position. Captain Burnes also stated my claims to assistant's allowances during the Kábal mission. His lordship admitted they were
valid, but said the benefit had better be prospective. Captain Burnes when apprising me of all this sent me a note from Mr. Colvin to himself, which as he said would explain itself. "You may write to Mr. Masson to say that Lord Auckland is really sensible of his merits, and would wish to consult his convenience and feelings as much as he with propriety can. While the present crisis lasts, his services are too valuable to his country to admit of his being detached to a distance. He will remain, probably, so long as the rains last at Pesháwer, but when the Sháh proceeds in force towards Shikárpúr he will have to move down to that quarter to join the principal political officer employed. When the object of the expedition shall have been attained, Lord Auckland will gladly consider what arrangement can be made so as best to meet his views."

Most assuredly this communication did not satisfy me, for it settled nothing; however, I offered no opposition, and expressed to Captain Burnes that I was content to go on—resting on the assurance he had given me that Dr. Lord, who had been appointed to proceed to Pesháwer, was coming to relieve me. I had scarcely signified my consent, when I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, directing me to forward my correspondence, under cover to Captain Wade. This might have surprised me for more than one reason, but I had soon more cause for surprise in another letter from Mr. Macnaghten, informing me of Dr.
MY RESIGNATION.

Lord’s mission, and calling upon me to afford him every aid in my power.

I now found that it was Mr. Macnaghten’s pleasure that I should remain at Pesháwer, and that he had set aside the decision of Lord Auckland and the private secretary. I now felt privileged to follow my own inclinations; I, therefore, awaited the arrival of Dr. Lord, and did assist him as far as information and counsel could assist such a man—and then forwarded my resignation to government, in a manner that it might be known I was in earnest. Released from the thraldom in which I had been kept since 1835, I then made an excursion to Shâh Báz Gharí in the Yusef Zai districts, to recover some Bactro-pálí inscriptions on a rock there, and was successful, returning with both copies and impressions on calico. From Pesháwer I next crossed the Indus, and proceeded to Lahore, from whence I reached Ferozpur on the same day that Lord Auckland crossed the Satlej on a visit to Ranjit Singh. I had the satisfaction to be again amongst my countrymen in the British camp, where I remained until it broke up, and the army marched towards Bahâwalpúr and Sínd, when I sailed down the river in the fleet with Sir Henry Fane.

While at Ferozpur, I would on no consideration see any of the politicals, for I was abundantly surfeited with them. However, when there I received the official acceptance of my resignation, which I
introduce here because it has been latterly put forth that I was dismissed the service. I did not take the trouble to contradict the falsehood,—it was unnecessary.

(Pol. Dept.)

TO C. MASSON, ESQ. PESHAWER.

"SIR,

"I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 16th ultimo, tendering your resignation of the service of the government of India.

"In reply, I am directed to acquaint you, that in compliance with your wish, the Governor-general has been pleased to accept your resignation.

"I have the honour to be,

"SIR,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"Sd. W. H. MACNAGHTEN."

Secretary to Governor of India,
with the Gov.-general.

Camp, at Ferozepore, the 30th November, 1838.

After passing Bahâwalpûr, where Sir Henry Fane had an interview with Bahâwal Khân, we reached the frontier of Sind, where I again saw Sir Alexander Burnes. He informed me that Mr. Colvin
had written to him at Lord Auckland's request, to use his influence with me to remain in the service, and to offer me my own terms. Mr. Colvin's letter had been sent to Sir John Keane, therefore I did not see it. I had much conversation with Sir Alexander Burnes, and, observing that he had become fully acquainted with my views, he promised to frame a letter to Mr. Colvin, which he would send for my approval. We had also much discourse on the state of affairs. I had previously learned from Dr. Lord a strange account of the mode in which the amiable Lord Auckland had been driven into measures which his better judgment disapproved, and how he was obliged to yield to the assaults of certain females, aides-de-camp and secretaries; and now I questioned Sir Alexander on the part he had taken, particularly as regarded the useless expedition. He replied that it was arranged before he reached Simla, and that when he arrived Torrens and Colvin came running to him and prayed him to say nothing to unsettle his lordship; that they had all the trouble in the world to get him into the business, and that even now he would be glad of any pretence to retire from it.

Sir Alexander Burnes sent me his proposed letter to Mr. Colvin, and I was compelled to regret in return, that I had given him the trouble to write it.

At Bakkar I learned from Sir Alexander Burnes, that Mr. Macnaghten, who had reached Shikárpúr,
finding himself entirely at fault, had written to him to send me over directly. Sir Alexander spared me any trouble on this occasion, for he answered the envoy and minister, and without my knowledge. There were sad squabbles here between these two leading politicals, and I was very well pleased to have nothing to do with either of them.

I accompanied Sir Henry Fane to the mouth of the Indus, where he found a vessel to take him on to Bombay, and I returned to Tatta, for the purpose of seeing Colonel, now Sir Henry Pottinger. With this gentleman I forwarded to England a work, the appearance of which was in some manner prevented. In an altered form I now submit it to the public, reserving the portion on subjects, unnoticed in these volumes, it may be, for future publication.

THE END.
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SYSTEM OF ORTHOGRAPHY EMPLOYED.

a  a, as in above, abode, &c.
á a, as in flat, mat, &c.
â a, as in fall, hall, &c.
e  e, as in met, set, &c.
é a, as in mate, fate, &c.
i  i, as in fir, sir, &c.
í ee, as in meet, feet, &c.
o  o, as in open, over, &c.
ú oo, as in poor, boor, &c.
ai i, as in bite, mite, &c.

The consonants have the sounds they ordinarily express in English.