CHAPTER XXX.

The year in which Lord Auckland arrived in India was completed without the occurrence of any event sufficiently remarkable to require notice, and the first half of the ensuing year passed with equal tranquillity. The calm was then interrupted by some violent proceedings in that perpetual seat of trouble and disquiet, Oude. These were consequent upon the death of the King, of whom, it is not too much to say that, low as is the ordinary standard, whether of mind or morals, attained by Eastern princes, he fell far below it in both respects. One of the most profligate, he was at the same time one of the most weak. His crimes and his excesses were terminated by death on the 7th July, 1837. The British resident, Colonel Low, on learning that the life of the King was considered to be in danger, wrote without delay to the brigadier commanding in Oude, to have a thousand men in readiness to march at a moment's notice. Having despatched the order, the resident proceeded to the palace with two officers, one of them the residency surgeon. They found the King dead, and such precautions as were at the moment available were immediately
taken for guarding the palace and protecting the property which it contained. More effectually to provide for these purposes, a second order was despatched to the brigadier in command, requiring him to send off five companies in advance to the palace, and to bring down all the disposable troops, both infantry and artillery. In the meantime measures were taken for investing the successor recognized by the British government with the external ensigns of sovereignty. This prince was an uncle of the deceased King, and the grounds upon which he was supported by the British government were these. Saadut Ali, the grandfather of the monarch just departed, had ten sons, the eldest of whom, named Gazee-oo-deen Hyder, succeeded him. Gazee-oo-deen had only one son, Nusseer-oo-deen Hyder, the unhappy prince whose death had led to the necessity of making provision for the vacant throne. Nusseer-oo-deen had at one time acknowledged two sons, but he had subsequently disavowed them, and their pretensions were believed by the British authorities to be unfounded. The right of succession would, thereupon, have passed to the second of the sons of Saadut Ali; but he had died previously to Nusseer-oo-deen, and, by the Mahomedan law, the death of an heir before his right to succeed has accrued nullifies the claim of his children. No claim is transmissible through one who has himself never enjoyed possession of the thing claimed. The succession, therefore, passed to the third son of Saadut Ali, a prince named Nusceer-
ood-Dowlah, and he it was whom it was proposed to elevate to the vacant musnud. This intention was not carried into effect without a struggle. The resident apprehended that the Padshah Begum, or Queen Dowager, might attempt some movement in favour of one of the pretended sons, and he had despatched a message enjoining her to remain at her own residence, situate about four miles from the regal palace. The messenger found the Begum's followers ready to advance upon the city, and returned to communicate the intelligence to the resident, bringing with him a vakeel from the Begum, entreating that she might be permitted to see the corpse of the deceased sovereign. In the meantime the new King had been conducted to the palace, where he arrived about three o'clock on the morning of the 8th of July. He was a man advanced in years and in feeble health, and while he indulged in a short repose before entering upon the fatigue of being enthroned, the resident and his assistants retired to arrange the ceremonies with which the event was to be accompanied. Their conference was disturbed by the arrival of intelligence that the Begum's troops were approaching the city, and were close to one of the gates. They were quickly before it, and upon the refusal of Captain Paton, a British officer in attendance on the resident, to allow it to be opened, they resorted to the strength and sagacity of the elephant to effect an entrance for them. The first animal which made the attempt failed; a second, vigorously urged on by an
adroit driver, succeeded in dashing in one leaf of the gate, Captain Paton narrowly escaping being crushed by its fall. An opening being thus effected, the Begum's followers rushed in, Captain Paton being knocked down by them and made prisoner. After a few minutes spent in parley, the insurgents pushed on for the palace, which they entered. Further orders directing the advance of the British force had been prepared, but the Begum's followers having possession of the gates, both of the palace and the city, there was no opportunity of despatching them, and the resident with his few attendants were, for a short time, virtually prisoners. The pretender, who had arrived in company with the Begum, was formally seated on the throne. The resident, with some difficulty, obtained admission to the place where the ceremony was performed, and after some fruitless endeavours to persuade the Begum (who was present in a covered palanquin) of the utter hopelessness of the attempt in which she had engaged, he succeeded, by the aid of one of her servants, in escaping, together with his attendants. Captain Paton had previously been released from durance by a small party of the British force, detached for the purpose. The five advanced companies soon arrived, and were followed, after a short interval, by the remainder of the British force, with some guns. Communications between the parties now took place. They ended with an intimation from the resident, that if, within a quarter of an hour, the Begum did not surrender, and repair to
the place where he was standing with the guns, an attack would be commenced. The time expired, and the Begum did not avail herself of the opportunity offered for averting mischief. A fire of grape was then opened, and a party of British troops proceeded, by various ways, to effect an entrance into the building, in which the mock King, with the Begum and her followers, were acting their respective parts in the pageant of the court. The insurgents were soon dislodged, and the Begum, with the unhappy boy who had afforded the pretense for the disturbance, were made prisoners. Between thirty and forty of the Begum's followers were known to be killed or wounded during the assault, and the number of wounded was probably greater, since some in this situation may be supposed to have escaped. A few of the British sepoys suffered, but the resident had the satisfaction of finding that the new sovereign and his family were safe. No time was lost in giving to his title all the strength that it could derive from the display of his possession of the mus-nud (a point of great importance in Eastern states), and as soon as the hall could be cleared of the painful evidence of the recent affray afforded by the bodies of the slain, Nusseer-ood-Dowlah was solemnly placed on the throne which the pretender had scarcely quitted.

The outbreak, thus terminated, seems to have been, from the commencement to its conclusion, singularly ill-judged and hopeless. With a band of followers not considerable in point of number, and
who, it appears, might be regarded rather as an armed mob than a regular force, the Begum ventured to oppose the British government, whose force, though numerically weak at the time, was capable of being increased, within a very short period, to a degree of strength which would render successful resistance impossible. When in possession of the palace, the insurgents seem to have had no settled plan of action. They placed their puppet on the throne, and appear to have been content. The King was in their power, but they neither attempted to remove him beyond the reach of British aid, nor, what was perhaps more to be expected, did they seek to get rid of his claim by the sacrifice of his life. This, perhaps, was owing to fear rather than to any better feeling; for though they abstained from any attempt on the lives of the King and his attendants, they treated them with insult, and vented their hatred in swaggering, threatening language and actions. It is to be lamented that the British force was not at the first sufficiently strong to have overawed the insurgents, and deterred them from even entertaining a thought of resistance; but it appears that the whole British force in the city amounted to only two companies and a half, one company being employed as the treasury guard, half a company as the gaol guard, and the remaining company as the honorary guard of the resident. From the two former duties few men could of course be spared, and those that could be taken were required at other points where plunder was to be apprehended.
It seems extraordinary indeed, after allowing for all these circumstances, that the Begum's party should so readily have gained admission to the palace; but it is to be remarked, that the defence of the palace was in native hands, and it is probable that it was not merely want of courage, nor want of vigilance, nor want of military skill that led to the result. The following passage from a paper drawn up by the second-assistant to the resident may elucidate the matter:—"The smallness of the guard at that outer gate, there being no force placed on the outside of it, as the minister positively declares had been ordered by him, and as was actually done at several of the others which were passed by Lieutenant Shakespear on his road to the Nawaub Nuseer-oold-Dowlah; the supineness of many of the palace guards and servants; the persion of orders sent by the minister on different occasions; his declaration since, that there were many traitors in the palace—all tend strongly to induce the suspicion that the gate was left purposely unguarded to the attack of the Padshah Begum's troops. The latter, however, having once actually entered within the palace walls, could, from no position, have been so happily expelled with less loss to our own troops and more disgrace to themselves, than from the Burra-durree,* the scene both of their short-lived triumph and of their prompt and well-deserved punishment."

The residence of the Begum and the pretender to the throne, in Oude, being found likely to en-

* The hall where the enthronement took place.
danger the continuance of the public peace there, they were removed into the Company's territories; and this step put an end to all attempts to assail the authority of the ruling prince by force. His title, however, was impugned by Yemeen-oood-Dowlah, the eldest son of Shums-oood-Dowlah. The person last named was the second son of Saadut Ali, and the elder brother of Nusseer-oood-Dowlah, the prince whom the British government had recently placed on the musnad of Oude. Had Shums-oood-Dowlah survived his nephew, the deceased king, he would undoubtedly have been entitled to succeed to the throne; but, dying before him, he could convey no right to his children; the Mahometan law, as already explained, not admitting the doctrine of representation. Of this, no one, having even a slight acquaintance with the subject, is ignorant; yet Yemeen-oood-Dowlah set up a claim upon grounds which, though recognized as valid by the law of England and many other countries, are rejected by the interpreters of the code of Mahomet. It is but just, however, to state that, on an intimation that his claim was inadmissible, he acquiesced at once in the decision, and made no attempt to push his pretensions further. A new claimant thereupon arose in the person of one named Akbul-oood-Dowlah, alleged to be the second surviving son of Shums-oood-Dowlah, but calling himself the eldest. This personage, under European advice, proceeded to England, and there addressed the Court of Directors of the East-India Company. The folly of undertaking a long
voyage to assert a claim known to be absolutely and undoubtedly bad, and with a certainty of its being rejected, need not be dwelt upon. What profit the advisers of the claimant derived from the expedition cannot be known; but they were fully aware that none would accrue to the person on whose behalf they affected to act. Such occurrences are not, indeed, uncommon in the history of British India; and they will probably never cease altogether until native powers shall acquire sufficient acquaintance with the principles of British policy to prevent their becoming the dupes of unprincipled adventurers.

The origin of a very eventful series of operations should now, according to the order of time, be related; but, to avoid needlessly breaking the continuity of the narrative when begun, it is postponed for the purpose of directing attention to certain proceedings affecting the throne of Sattara, which strikingly illustrate the remarks called forth by the idle and ridiculous claim of Akbul-ood-Dowlah to the throne of Oude.

It will be recollected, that the Rajah of Sattara was the nominal head of the great Mahratta confederacy, but that, for a long period before that confederacy was broken, all power had passed from his hands into those of his usurping officers. When the Marquis of Hastings overthrew the Peshwa, and held at his own disposal the forfeited territories of that chief, he, with an unwise liberality, drew the Rajah of Sattara from the situation of a captive,
and restored to him much of the dignity and some of the power which he claimed to possess, but had never before obtained or exercised. Credulous, indeed, must be he who relies on the gratitude of native princes. The Marquis of Hastings professed so to rely, and, perhaps, he was sincere. In the case of the Rajah of Sattara the result was that which has so frequently occurred, and which might reasonably be looked for. The Rajah, at length, became suspected—inquiry took place; it was ascertained that, in contravention of the treaty to which he owed his power, he was habitually carrying on correspondence with various parties, some of whom were enemies of the British government—that he was fomenting hostilities against that government—and, further, it was alleged, and to the satisfaction of many proved, that he had attempted to seduce some native officers of that government from their allegiance. It was proved that he had, for a long course of years, carried on a correspondence with the Portuguese authorities at Goa, the object of which was to engage them in an alliance against the British government. Portugal was to furnish an army to recover for the Rajah the Mahratta territories, of which the confederacy had been dispossessed by the English; and when the task was completed, they were to receive a due reward in money or territory, or both. It is obvious that these designs were too wild, ridiculous, and extravagant to be entertained by the most ill-informed European; but they were
not beyond the belief of an Oriental prince, who indulged in follies which entitled him to be ranked among the weakest of his imbecile order.*

With Appa Sahid, the infamous ex-Rajah of Nagpore, the Rajah of Sattara appears for several years to have carried on a treacherous intercourse. The fact of his tampering with soldiers in the British service seems hardly more doubtful. Certain native officers in the Company's service professed to have received from a Brahmin communications indicative of a powerfully hostile feeling towards the British government. These communications being repeated, the officers reported them to their superiors, and were instructed by them as to the course they were to pursue. They were subsequently admitted to the presence of the Dewan, and, ultimately, it was said, to that of the Rajah himself, whose language, at the interview, was similar to that which had previously been held by the Dewan and the Brahmin. It cannot

* "That the Rajah's mind has become weak to an extraordinary degree is but too evident in his actions. He has lately formed a company of women, arming them with muskets, and even drilling them to the management of guns, cast and mounted expressly for the purpose. Women are also taught to manage elephants, to act as chobdars, massals, &c. Every designing gossain or faqueer, offering his services to propitiate the gods in favour of his wishes, is attended to; and, at this time, three sects of Brahmins are performing anaostan ceremonies, at a heavy expense, to secure the departure of a ghost supposed to haunt the palace, and for other objects equally absurd and contemptible."—Letter from Colonel Lodwick, resident, to Sir Robert Grant, governor of Bombay, 13th September, 1836.
be denied that upon the face of it much of the above statement is improbable, but though the opportunity was afforded him, the Rajah was unable to shake it; and the improbability is greatly lessened on recollecting the weak and wild character of the prince against whom the charge was made. Further, the difficulties of disbelief appear to be greater even than those of belief. Part of what was stated was certainly true; and though it has been alleged that the scheme was intended to advance the interests of the brother of the Rajah, at his expense, no reasonable hope of promoting such an end by such means could at the time have been entertained; indeed, the possibility of connecting them would have been almost inconceivable, and this view of the matter is more incredible than that which implicates the Rajah. But whether he were guilty or innocent of the last charge, he had unquestionably deprived himself of all claim to plead against the English government the obligations of the treaty under which he had exchanged the condition of a titled slave for the exercise of actual sovereignty; for the conditions of that treaty he had notoriously broken. Still, there was a disposition to view his cause with favour, and he might have preserved the power which he had abused, if he had not unhappily followed the example of other weak and infatuated Indian princes. He distrusted the British government, but he gave credit to the professions of certain European advisers; to them he committed himself and his interests, and it will be seen with what success. There was the best
disposition to treat him with kindness and indulgence. At the time when it became necessary to dispose of the Rajah's case, a new governor arrived at Bombay. He was a man who in former years, when employed as a servant of the Company in diplomatic duties, had established for himself the character of being eminently the friend of native princes and of the native community. No man ever enjoyed greater popularity in India than Sir James Carnac, who had now returned to take the chief place in the government of Bombay.* He arrived there on the 30th of May, and on the 19th of June he recorded a minute expressive of his opinion on the case of the Rajah of Sattara. This paper commenced with an avowal that the criminality of the Rajah had been clearly proved, and the governor then proceeded to inquire how, under the circumstances, the offender should be dealt with. Three modes of treating the case were pointed out: first, by subjecting the Rajah to a formal trial, and after inquiry made and sentence passed, visiting him with appropriate punishment; secondly, by proceeding in the mode by which wrongs between independent states are avenged—commencing hostilities, taking possession of the Rajah's territory, and acting as circumstances might justify under the right of conquest; thirdly, by bringing the Rajah to a sense

* It is said that intelligent natives who remembered the virtues of Major Carnac, when resident at Baroda, exclaimed, on hearing that he was returning in the higher character of governor of Bombay, "All will be well now."
of his errors by remonstrance, and then giving him amnesty for the past, in the hope that his future conduct might be more worthy of his station and his relation to the British government. To the adoption of the first course several objections existed. There was no ordinary tribunal to which the Rajah could be made amenable, and a special one must have been created for the purpose. Against such a tribunal, however constituted, clamour would be loud. "I know," said Sir James Carnac, "that from the civil and military services of India there would be no difficulty whatever in selecting commissioners who would perform their duty without regard to any thing but justice; but I need not add, that in the conduct of states, as of individuals, it is most important, not only to avoid wrong, but to make this avoidance apparent, and to place the character of the state for integrity and good faith beyond the possibility of question." Further, the competency of such a tribunal might have been plausibly questioned. By assuming the power of subjecting the Rajah to a legal trial, the British government would have placed him in the situation of a subject, whereas he had always been treated as a sovereign.

The position of the princes connected with the British government like the Rajah of Sattara is, indeed, anomalous, and perhaps incapable of being settled, with reference to the principles of national law, with any degree of precision. But, from the attempt to deal with the Rajah as with an ordinary subject, the minds of many honest and enlightened
men would have recoiled, and many more, neither honest nor enlightened, would have pretended to recoil from such a course. All, whose malignity against the British government had been inflamed by disappointments; all, whose hope of subsistence, or of wealth, might rest upon the exercise of their talent in taking advantage of the ignorance and feeding the prejudices of native princes, would have affected the horror of virtuous indignation, and have lent their voices to swell the chorus of pity for an injured prince, and of wrath against his powerful neighbour. It is, indeed, the part of wisdom to disregard such ebullitions (they being generally the product of self-interest, and not of even mistaken philanthropy), but it is also the part of wisdom to be careful not to afford to those who raise them a decent pretence. "This point," Sir James Carnac observed, "would, I fear, be taken up by all who have any feelings of hostility to the British government. We should be accused of degrading a sovereign from his acknowledged rank, of offering violence to his feelings and dignity, and of assuming a right of superiority to which we have no just claim. It is not necessary to ask whether these charges would be well or ill founded; it is sufficient that they would be made, and without necessity the British government ought not, in my judgment, to incur them." If a hostile course were inevitable, the governor declared that he should much prefer the second course—that of proceeding against the Rajah as a prince bound by treaty, but who, having
violated the conditions of the engagement, was at the mercy of the other party thereto, which party was at liberty to enforce its rights by war or otherwise. But the necessity for extreme measures he thought did not exist. The Rajah, he remarked, could not be regarded as a very formidable foe to the British empire, and those with whom he had been connected were as little formidable as himself. No results, it was observed, have followed, "except the transfer of money to agents and adventurers"—those standing curses to Indian princes. The Rajah had, indeed, as was stated in the minute, manifested great weakness and no inconsiderable portion of ingratitude; but it was added, "we have nothing to fear, and we can afford to act with generosity." Under the influence of these views, Sir James Carnac gave a decided preference to the mildest of the three courses of proceeding, and he suggested either that the resident should make a fitting representation to the Rajah, or that this duty should be discharged by the governor in person, the latter course being, in his judgment, more advisable. This being done, and the admonition duly received and responded to by the Rajah, it was intended that he should be frankly forgiven.

On the following day the governor recorded another minute, descriptive of the mode in which the intentions of the government towards the Rajah of Sattara should be carried into effect. The spirit in which it was proposed to deal with the offending Rajah may be understood from the following passage,
which occurs near the commencement of the minute:—"It will be inconsistent with our proposed amnesty for the past, to make any demand which can justly be regarded as a punishment; and under this impression I at once abandon the measure which appears to have been thought of by the government of the late Sir Robert Grant,* of requiring the Rajah to maintain a contingent of horse for the service of the British government. Our demands should be limited as much as possible, and should be confined only to those which will again place the Rajah in the precise situation intended by the treaty of September, 1819, and will insure the most efficient protection to all persons who have become obnoxious to him in consequence of the part they have taken in recent proceedings."
The views of Sir James Carnac were adopted by the other members of the Bombay government (though, as to the important question of how the Rajah should be treated, opposed to their own), and the governor-general in council having sanctioned the grant of amnesty to the Rajah, the proposed conditions of the grant, and the visit of the governor of Bombay to Sattara, Sir James Carnac set out with a sanguine hope of rescuing the Rajah from the dangerous position in which he had been placed by the evil counsels of designing men, and of restoring friendly relations between him and the British government. He arrived at Sattara on the

* Predecessor of Sir James Carnac, and whose death led to the appointment of the latter.
22nd of August, and on the 23rd had his first interview with the Rajah. He explained in firm but conciliatory language the position in which the Rajah stood, and the intentions of the British government towards him; and among much admirable advice, not the least valuable portion was that referred to in the following passage of the report made by Sir James Carnac to his council on the subject of this interview:—"I recalled to his recollection the warning long ago given to him by his friend, Mr. Elphinstone, against placing his trust and confidence in vakeels and low and intriguing agents, and earnestly urged him to discard from his councils the numerous agencies he had established."

The conditions of the intended amnesty had been embodied in a memorandum drawn up in the Mahrratta language for the information of the Rajah, and this was placed in his hands. This paper, after referring to the infractions of the existing treaty by the Rajah, declared the readiness of the British government entirely to overlook them on the conditions which follow—that the Rajah should now bind himself strictly and in good faith to act up to the articles of the treaty of 1819; that he should agree to certain specified arrangements affecting the interests of his brother; that he should dismiss from his councils and exclude from his territories an offensive and dangerous minister, who was named, and confirm a guarantee of safety given by the British government to certain parties. These were the whole of the conditions demanded from the Rajah.
—and these he rejected. No sacrifice was required—no penalty inflicted—but the Rajah, with a perverseness rarely equalled, spurned the friendship which was tendered him on terms neither burdensome nor dishonourable. He demanded in what particulars he had violated the treaty of 1819, and on the three points being stated—the intrigues with the Portuguese government at Goa, the holding treacherous intercourse with the ex-Rajah of Nagpore, and the tampering with the troops of the British government—he made no remark on either the first or third, thus tacitly admitting his guilt on those points. On the second, he took a course which would have been very proper in an advocate defending a client on legal and technical grounds, but which were scarcely consistent with a consciousness of innocence when adopted by a principal in a conference not partaking in any way of the nature of a legal inquiry. Some intercepted letters from the ex-Rajah of Nagpore to him being adverted to, he did not deny having been engaged in correspondence with that person, but dwelt upon the fact of no answers from him being produceable. A second interview took place, but with no better result. The Rajah declared that he had three times refused to sign the original treaty, which, whether true or not, was by no means inconsistent with probability. Evidence existed to shew that so far from being grateful for what the bounty of the British government had conferred on him, he was dissatisfied that he had not received more—that he had aspired to
restore the throne of Sevagee, and had affected the
title of King of the Hindoos, to which his paid ad-
vocates had openly asserted his claims, and had ac-
cussed the British government of injustice in not
recognizing them. That the indelibility of Mahratta
claims should have been seriously asserted amidst
the prostrate thrones, Mahometan and Hindoo,
whose fragments overspread Asia, is indeed calcu-
lated to excite astonishment, more especially when
those who undertake their maintenance are of
European birth and education. Native power,
though occasionally accompanied by a barbarian
magnificence, possesses little to captivate the ima-
gination even in its splendour, and little to excite
the feelings of the sentimentalist in its decline.
But of all the powers of India, that of the Mah-
rattas is the least calculated to call forth honest
sympathy; and a foreign apologist can scarcely be
listened to with patience, because it is scarcely pos-
sible that he should be believed to be sincere. If
the misguided princes of the East, who lavish large
sums in the purchase of European agency, were
aware of the precise value of that agency, they
would soon withhold their useless liberality, and re-
tain in their coffers the wealth which for the most
part they so dearly prize, but which, in such in-
stances, they dispense so foolishly.

The Rajah, after a short interval, signified a desire
again to visit the governor of Bombay; a third in-
terview was granted, and it was the last. The
obstinacy of the misguided prince led him still to
resist the terms offered him, although the main condition insisted on was only a promise of adherence to the treaty by which he was previously bound—the remaining articles being of comparatively trivial import. It was, however, in all probability, that first article, though it enforced no new obligation, that constituted the chief obstacle to an amicable conclusion of the dispute, for he observed—not to the governor, but to the resident—that by assenting to it, he should be reduced to the condition of a mamlutdar farmer, a manager of a district. Well might Sir James Carnac exclaim, "What, may I ask, was this, but a formal renunciation, and on the Rajah's part, of a most important condition of the existing treaty? And how is it possible for us to maintain friendly relations with a prince who so much mistakes his real position, and thinks so lightly of the obligations which he has contracted, and under which he holds his territories?"

According to his own statement, he must have regarded himself as a mere manager of a district under the treaty of 1819; for such was his view of the effect of the first article tendered to him in 1839, which only required him to signify his intention of adhering to the former treaty. His position, therefore, had never been that which he thought it ought to be; and this feeling will account for his intrigues, though it will not excuse them. He was destined to pay a severe penalty for the indulgence of his infatuated hopes, cherished, as they had been, by advisers far more culpable than himself. The governor
saw him no more after the interview which has been last noticed, but the resident, Colonel Ovans, waited on him to receive his final decision. That decision was confirmatory of his previous resolution, and the necessary result was, that the Rajah descended from the throne, and took up his residence within the British dominions; his brother being elevated to the place which he had quitted.

The Rajah was the victim of interested parasites, some of whom seduced him into acts indicative of hostile feelings to his British protectors, while others encouraged him to persevere in repelling the hand of forgiveness stretched out to save him, by making professions, which they knew to be false, of power to enable him to defy the local government, and by holding out expectations of success in such a course, which they knew to be fallacious. Of the amount of the money expended, in enriching these persons, no precise account can be given, but it must have been very large. The number of his agents was almost incredible. He had European agents and native agents—agents at Bombay—agents at Calcutta—agents in England; two missions having been dispatched thither. The local press was freely employed to revile the government and support the Rajah, and Englishmen did not hesitate to take the unhappy prince's money in payment for exertions directed against the interests of their own country, and the safety of its Indian dominions.*

* The plunder of the Rajah by agents of various kinds, and the deceptions practised on him by those persons, are largely illus-
The cause of the Rajah was taken up in England with much warmth, and without doubt from different motives—motives varying from those of the highest and most honourable character to those of the meanest and most despicable origin. But when the resources of argumentation were exhausted, it could not be shewn that the Rajah had not violated the treaty by which he held his throne. The only question that could with fairness be raised was, whether or not he should be forgiven. Upon this point, however, the advocates on both sides might have suspended discussion, for the Rajah obstinately refused to be forgiven. Sir James Carnac left England impressed with a desire to adopt the mildest of all practicable modes of dealing with the delinquent Rajah, and, it is reported and believed, armed with full authority to carry his views into effect. On arriving in India he recorded his intentions, and lost no time in seeking to fulfil them. He required nothing from the Rajah but that he should adhere to engagements concluded many years before, and the Rajah virtually renounced those engagements. The new governor of Bombay, it is to be observed,
stood alone in India, in maintaining that the Rajah had not offended beyond the reach of forgiveness, free, generous, and full. His position, in this respect, is thus described by himself:—"When, therefore, I became an advocate for a lenient course being adopted towards the Rajah, I was opposed to the opinions of the following high authorities: first, by the entire government of the late Sir Robert Grant, whose sentiments were adhered to by the government of my immediate predecessor, my present respected colleague, Mr. Farish: secondly, by the right honourable the governor-general of India, and this is the more important, because, in the first instance his lordship was disposed to view the Rajah of Sattara's conduct, as I did, as beneath serious notice, but was ultimately constrained to change this view by the irresistible weight of the evidence adduced against him: thirdly, by all the members composing the government of India. These high authorities* agreed in opinion that the charges were undeniably proved, and, although some variations are observable in their sentiments in regard to the precise mode in which the case should be finally disposed of, all concurred in thinking that the

* About the time of Sir James Carnac's arrival at Bombay, a letter was received at that presidency from the secretary to the government of India, transmitting copies of minutes of the latter government on the Sattara case, all concurring in the conclusion that the Rajah's guilt had been established, and that his offences were of so grave and serious a nature as to render his deposition and the annexation of his dominions to the British empire highly expedient and necessary, as an example to the whole of India.
RAJAH'S transgressions were too heinous to admit of their being overlooked and forgiven. I particularly notice these facts, for, although I do not apprehend that any one will doubt my sincerity, they are of themselves an ample guarantee that I must have earnestly and conscientiously endeavoured to succeed in my exertions on the Rajah's behalf, and that the failure, and his consequent downfall, are solely to be attributed to his own infatuation and perverse obstinacy, and to the pernicious counsels of interested and designing men."* Against all these authorities the new governor of Bombay had to maintain his own conviction, aided, as it is believed, by the warrant of the home authorities. He did maintain it, and was vanquished only by the perverseness of the man whom he was so anxious to protect.† The Rajah was, indeed, to a certain ex-

* Minute, 4th September, 1839.
† It was alleged that the Rajah was the victim of a conspiracy, but his real character and views had long been known to those who had possessed opportunities of observing them. Sir James Carnac, in the minute already quoted, says:—"I could adduce proof upon proof of the Rajah's ambition, and of the fact of his restlessness of intrigue being not unknown many years ago to the residents stationed at his court, which is conclusive against the supposition that the charges that have been under inquiry during the last three years are the fruit of an intrigue of the day against him. One more, however, will suffice. In a letter dated the 1st February, 1838, Colonel Ovans observes, Colonel Briggs, in his report to government dated the 1st January, 1827, refers to the ambitious feeling as likely to be the Rajah's ruin, in these remarkable and prophetic words:—'He is, however, tenacious of his prerogative, and will every day more and more resist our control. He has lately been flattered by those around him into an erroneous
tent misled by others, but his advisers did but minister to the evil dispositions of his own heart. His native advisers were labouring in their ordinary vocation—a very common one in Asia—that of practising on the weakness and credulity of the wealthy, in the hope of deriving advantage from their misguided bounty. But of the conduct of those Europeans, who excited hopes which they knew could not be gratified, and fostered feelings of enmity to the country of their birth, it is impossible to speak in terms of adequate severity. Happily, it is unnecessary to seek for fitting language—the indignant contempt which all honest minds must feel for such conduct will spring forth without a prompter.

We pass from the fortunes of a petty prince—the feeble representative of a robber dynasty, which rose from obscurity to grandeur, and then declined into insignificance with meteoric rapidity—to events of greater dignity and greater interest; events important in themselves and in their widely extended relations. To render the narrative intelligible, some estimate of his own importance, and he has already evinced strong inclinations to extend his connections beyond the limits prescribed by treaty. It will be fortunate, perhaps, for his highness, if events afford the government an early opportunity to give him timely warning of the danger he is incurring, or I should be very apprehensive that he may succeed in involving himself in secret communications with those who may at some future period provoke the resentment of government, when it is likely a development of a system of intrigue with his highness may take place, which will altogether shake our confidence, and may lead to his ultimate ruin.' "
reference to treaties and negotiations of earlier date will be requisite.

The safety of British India on the westward had frequently been an object of great anxiety to its rulers. The countries intervening between Persia and the Indus were inhabited by a rude and barbarous but withal a warlike population, well calculated by their predatory habits, their poverty, and their recklessness to excite the alarm of a comparatively opulent neighbour. India had more than once felt the evils of their visitations, and the Affghans were remembered as men whose trade was war, and whose constant divisions formed the only effectual check on their ambition and military taste. Some years before the termination of the eighteenth century, an Affghan chief, named Zemaun Shah, had begun to threaten the British frontier, and those threats were periodically repeated and withdrawn as circumstances dictated. The attention of the Marquis Wellesley was directed to this source of danger at an early period of the administration of that distinguished nobleman; and an attempt to invade India, which might have occasioned much both of trouble and expense, if nothing more, was foiled by exciting the alarm of Zemaun Shah for the safety of his own dominions. At this time danger to British India was apprehended from the machinations of the French; and to avert evil from either quarter, it was deemed desirable to draw Persia into a close alliance with the British government. This was effected. In 1801 a treaty was negotiated by Sir John Malcolm,
by which the Persian Shah engaged to exclude the French from settling in any part of his dominions, and to hold the Afghans in check in the event of their attempting to invade India.

The latter cause for apprehension was soon removed. Zemaun Shah was deposed, and, according to Asiatic custom, blinded, in the year in which the treaty with Persia was concluded, Zemaun Shah having treated in the same manner his elder brother, Hoomayon, whose throne he had usurped. The conqueror of Zemaun Shah, and author of his sufferings, was another brother, named Mahmood, who speedily found himself engaged in a contest for the throne with a fourth brother, named Shoojah-ool-Moolk, who finally triumphed; but, with unusual clemency, abstained from inflicting on the man whom he had vanquished the penalty of blindness. The country, however, continued torn by factions and divisions, and Shoojah-ool-Moolk tottered on his throne from the moment that he ascended it.

While Afghanistan was thus ceasing to be formidable, Persia was relaxing in her fidelity, and, finally, even the affectation of good faith was abandoned. The Persian sovereign, in 1806, sent a mission to Napoleon, then in the zenith of his power, and with all Europe, England excepted, prostrate at his feet. Two years afterwards a French mission arrived in Persia, with the avowed object of establishing such relations with that country as might aid the views which Napoleon had long
cherished, of striking a blow at the British power in India, and it was received with extraordinary marks of favour and distinction. Lord Minto, a watchful and excellent guardian of the great interests committed to his charge, thereupon prepared to counteract the designs of the French Emperor. The alliance of Persia had previously been sought to check Afghanistan, and oppose a barrier to France. A similar connection with Afghanistan was now meditated in order to oppose the combined efforts of France and Persia. Prudent in his policy, Lord Minto was also happy in the choice of an instrument for carrying it into effect. It was resolved to despatch a mission to Cabool, and the charge of it was intrusted to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, then a very young man, but since eminently distinguished by many important services.* Mr. Elphinstone was cordially received, and concluded a treaty with Shoojah-ool-Moolk, by which that prince bound himself to resist any attempts which might be made by the French and Persians to advance through his territories upon India.

While preparation was thus made to vanquish the enemy in Afghanistan, should they approach, measures to break the confederacy were not neglected. Endeavours were made, both from India and from home, to counteract the baleful influence which the French had acquired in Persia, and to detach that country from its inauspicious connection with Eng-

* As resident with the Peishwa, governor of Bombay, &c.
land's bitter and irreconcilable foe. Sir John Malcolm arrived at Bushire, commissioned by the governor-general of India, almost simultaneously with the arrival of Sir Harford Jones* in Persia, as pleni-potentiary direct from the British Crown. The former met with an uncourteous reception, was refused permission to proceed to the capital, and directed to communicate with inferior authorities. With this he declined to comply, and having remonstrated without success, he returned to Calcutta without effecting any thing, or enjoying an opportunity of effecting any thing. Sir Harford Jones met with better fortune. He advanced to Tehran, and entered into negotiations which terminated in the conclusion of a preliminary treaty, by which the Persian monarch declared all treaties and agreements which he had previously made with any of the powers of Europe null and void from the date of the articles then concluded; and that he would not permit any European force to pass through his country towards India. In the event of Persia being invaded by any European power, Great Britain was to furnish a military force, or, in lieu thereof, "a subsidy, with warlike ammunitions, such as guns, muskets, &c., and officers to the amount that may be to the advantage of both parties, for the expulsion of the force invading." The number of the forces to be furnished, or the amount of the subsidy and contribution of ammunition, were to be regulated by the definitive treaty to which that under notice was preliminary.

* Now Sir Harford Jones Bridges.
One immediate effect of the conclusion of the treaty was the dismissal of the French mission. A treaty based on this preliminary arrangement was subsequently entered into by Sir Gore Ouseley, but, the British government requiring certain changes, the treaty actually deserving the name of definitive was not concluded till November, 1814, when it received the signatures of Mr. Morier and Mr. Ellis, on the part of Great Britain.* In this treaty the renunciation of European alliances was somewhat modified, being confined to nations in a state of hostility with Great Britain. No individuals of such European nations entertaining a design of invading India, or being at enmity with Great Britain, were to be permitted to enter Persia; and if any European power should seek to invade India by way of Khorasan, Tataristan, Bokhara, Samarcand, or other routes, the King of Persia was, to the extent of his power, to engage the kings and governors of those countries to oppose such invasion, "either by the fear of his armies or by conciliatory measures." The King of Great Britain was not to interfere in disputes between the princes, nobles, and chiefs of Persia; and it was further considerably provided that, "if one of the contending parties should ever offer a province of Persia, with a view of obtaining assist-

* The poetical commencement of this treaty affords a perfect specimen of Persian taste in the construction of state papers:

"These happy leaves are a nosegay plucked from the thornless garden of concord, and tied by the hands of the plenipotentiaries of the two great states in the form of a definitive treaty, in which the articles of friendship and amity are blended."
dance, the English government shall not agree to such a proposal, nor, by adopting it, possess themselves of such part of Persia." It was laid down that the purpose of the treaty was strictly defensive—that it was concluded only for the purpose of repelling aggression—and that the word "aggression" was to mean an attack upon the territories of another state. This, with reference to the relative situation of Russia and Persia, formed a very proper introduction to the mention of the former country, and the mode of determining the respective limits of the two. This it was prescribed should be effected "according to the admission of Great Britain, Persia, and Russia." The amount of subsidy to be paid to Persia, if invaded from Europe, was fixed at two hundred thousand tomauns annually; but it was not to be paid if the war were provoked by any aggression on the part of Persia; and, as it was granted solely for military purposes, the English minister was to be satisfied of its being duly applied. The Persian government was to be at liberty to employ European officers to discipline its troops, provided such officers did not belong to nations at war or enmity with Great Britain. If any European power should be engaged in war with Persia while at peace with England, the latter state was to endeavour to establish a friendly understanding between the belligerents; but if unsuccessful, was to assist Persia with troops or money, in conformity with the preceding articles, for so long a time as that country should continue at war. The subsidy was to be paid early,
to enable the party entitled to receive it to adhere to what was stated to be "the custom of Persia," the practice of paying the troops six months in advance—a custom the prudence of which in general cases may be questioned, though its liberality cannot be denied, but which certainly differs widely from the ordinary custom of Asiatic states, that being, not to pay their troops "six months in advance," but to suffer the pay to remain many months in arrear. The treaty contained two articles relating to Afghanistan. By one, the Persian sovereign engaged to send an army against the Afghans, should that people be at war with the British government, the expense to be defrayed by that government—the extent of assistance, mode of affording it, and manner of payment, to be arranged when the occasion might arise. By the other article, the British were restrained from interfering in the case of war between the Afghans and Persians, except their mediation should be solicited by both parties. Further, it was stipulated that, if any "Persian subject of distinction, shewing signs of hostility and rebellion, should take refuge in the British dominions, the English government, on receiving an intimation from that of Persia, should (in the nervous language of the treaty) "turn him out" of the country, and if he should refuse to leave it, arrest and send him to Persia. If, previously to the arrival of the fugitive, the British government should be aware of the wish of the Persian authorities that the stranger should not be received, his entrance was to be prohibited, and if the
prohibition were disregarded, the penalty denounced against disobedience in the former case was to be incurred. The obligations of this article were declared to be reciprocal. In the last place came an article providing that the British government should assist Persia with ships and troops in the Gulf, if required, and if convenient and practicable; the expenses of such ships and troops being defrayed by Persia, and the ships being restricted to certain ports, to be specified, for their anchorage. Such was the treaty which, after five years of negotiation, was concluded. It remained in force, without alteration, till 1828, when the court of Persia found itself in the condition not uncommon with Oriental states, pressed by demands which it knew not how to meet, and ready to sacrifice prospective advantage for present relief. Persia had been engaged in a disastrous war with Russia, and had been amerced by the latter power in a heavy fine. The British government had felt inconvenience from the article of the treaty by which they were bound to afford military or pecuniary aid to Persia when engaged in war, and this appeared a fitting opportunity to get rid of it. An overture for that purpose was made, and the Persian prince, in consideration of receiving a sum of money to aid in discharging the claim of Russia, reluctantly consented to annul the fourth article of the treaty under which the obligation of the British government arose, as well as the preceding article which related to the boundaries of Russia and Persia, and gave Great Britain a voice in determining them.
A few years more rolled on, during which Persia became gradually weaker, and Russia gained a proportionate increase of strength. Indeed, the rise and extension of the Russian empire are among the most remarkable facts of modern times, or even of any time. The foundations of that empire were laid by Peter the Great as late as the conclusion of the seventeenth century. Before this time Muscovy was a petty principedom, obscure as it was barbarous, and not recognized as a member of the community of civilized and Christian states in the west. Since that period, the course of the Muscovite power has been, with occasional interruptions, a career of aggression and conquest. The Czar Peter was a man of extraordinary energy, and as unscrupulous as he was energetic. In every direction he sought the means of extending his territory, wealth, and power. Of his wars with Sweden and Turkey it is foreign to the purpose of this work to speak; but his designs upon Persia and eventually upon the trade of India—for beyond the possession of its trade even the sanguine mind of the Czar could at that period hardly have speculated—require some notice. Peter sent an embassy to Persia, and secured a monopoly of the export of silk from that country. The Persian dominions were then falling into ruin under an imbecile ruler, and Peter thought the opportunity favourable for obtaining territorial as well as commercial advantages. Under the pretence of assisting the Shah against some rebel subjects, he entered the country, seized some of its most desirable districts,
and retained possession in spite of the attempts of the Persians to regain them. Having achieved this measure of success, he returned in triumph to Moscow. The Sultan of Persia was now a prisoner in the hands of the Afghans. Peter undertook to relieve him, and, in consideration of this service, obtained a formal cession of the provinces which he had conquered, as well as of several others. The treaty was not ratified by the sovereign of Persia, but Peter, notwithstanding, held it good so far as it gave him a title to keep possession of the provinces thereby ceded to him, though he entirely passed over that portion of the treaty which imposed on him, as the consideration for what he gained, the duty of rescuing the Shah from the hands of his enemies. The situation of Persia was now wretched in the extreme. The Afghans were in possession of one portion, the Russians of another, and the Turks of a third, when Peter died. But this event brought no change to the fortunes of the unhappy country, for after his death the Russian and Turkish governments proceeded coolly to settle the boundaries of their own dominions, as well as of those of the Persian monarch, without calling the last-named power to any part in the discussion or decision of the matter.

The next step taken by Russia was remarkable. The rulers of that country had been unable to establish their authority in certain provinces which they claimed under the treaty which the Shah had disavowed. They now transferred their right to those provinces, such as it was, to the head of the Afghan
invaders whom the Russians were bound to expel, and as the condition of the territorial cession made to them, and in consideration of the sacrifice, if it can be so called, they obtained the concurrence of the Afghans in their retention of the remainder. But the designs of Russia soon afterwards received a considerable check. Nadar Shah arose, expelled the Afghans from Persia, and became its monarch. He claimed the whole of the ancient possessions of Persia, and Russia, not deeming it prudent to contest his claim, quietly abandoned all territory south of the Caucasus. But a dominion which rests on the personal character of the sovereign is necessarily unstable, and the death of Nadar Shah opened again the field for the exercise of Russian ambition. Rival princes of Georgia, an old dependency of Persia, sought the assistance of Russia, and though none was afforded, a series of proceedings of singularly insidious character followed, which ultimately led to the absorption of that province into the leviathan empire. The success of Russia against Turkey enabled her to command the Caspian Sea; this afforded additional means for fulfilling the designs long entertained against Persia; and those who have learned with what perseverance Russia pursues its schemes of aggression will believe that they were not neglected.

The eighteenth century closed upon the publication of an ukase of the sovereign of Russia,* formally annexing to his empire the province of

* The lunatic Emperor Paul.
Georgia, which had been for some time under the protection of his predecessors. The spirit which animated the Russian government when that protection was first afforded—which indeed has never ceased to animate it, and never will cease till the unwieldy fabric of the empire shall fall to pieces—was evinced in the instructions given to the officer by whom the province was brought under the yoke.* Unlimited authority was given to him to receive the submission of any nations that might desire to become subject to Russia, and certain countries were named† as peculiarly fit to be admitted to this privilege, which countries, like Georgia, were dependencies of Persia. The annexation of Georgia, by the Emperor Paul, was in defiance of a settlement of the crown of that country solemnly made by his immediate predecessor, the Empress Catharine.‡ But a scrupulous regard to obligations, however stringent, has never been numbered among the weaknesses of Russian rulers; and an imperial ukase is held to be able to effect any thing within the limits of physical possibility. Moral considerations enter not into the calculations of the statesmen who wield the semi-barbarous power of Russia. Paul soon afterwards met his death—in the manner common to his race.§ His

* Prince Potemkin.
† Badkoo and Derbend.
‡ By the treaty which brought Georgia under the protection of Russia, the Empress stipulated for herself and her successors that she would maintain the reigning prince, his heirs and posterity, on the throne.
§ That a Russian prince should die a natural death might by the superstitious be regarded as an alarming portent.
successor, Alexander, confirmed the Georgian ukase, and proceeded in an amiable spirit of filial piety to carry out the views of his parent, by adding Mingrelia to the imperial possessions.

The Russians and Persians were soon to come into actual conflict, but it was not the long series of aggression already noted which was the immediate occasion of it. The conflict could not fail to come sooner or later, but it was precipitated by the conduct of a rebellious vassal of the Persian King, who held the government of Erivan. The Shah advancing with an army to reduce this person to obedience, the latter solicited the aid of a Russian force, which was promptly afforded him. At this time, it is to be observed, Russia and Persia were at peace; but this circumstance formed no impediment to the grant of the required assistance, seeing that it was attended by the prospect of aggrandizement, the rebel having promised to deliver up to the Russians the fortress which he commanded. Before arriving at Erivan, the Russian army met and defeated that of the Shah; but on reaching the place, the surrender of which was looked to as the fruit of their victory, it was found that from some cause the rebel governor had altered his mind. He refused to admit the friends whose visit he had solicited, and they, being unable to maintain the siege, were compelled to retire. This was in 1804, and the war thus commenced by the Russians, without any provocation but the lust of conquest, continued to be carried on in a desultory manner and with variable success till
1814. It was during its continuance that the diplomatic contest for the friendship of Persia took place between the English and French, and ended in the triumph of the latter. These ten years of sluggish war in the East were productive of great events in Europe: Napoleon, having brought to his feet every European power but one, gave law to the entire continent. Could he have been satisfied with what he had attained,—enough it might have been supposed to satisfy any measure of ambition, he might have died in possession of the vast power which his sword had won, and have transmitted it to a successor of his own race. But it was not sufficient that Spain should be a dependent kingdom unless its nominal ruler were of the family of its actual sovereign, and to effect this, Napoleon resorted to a paltry stratagem, the perpetration of which was not only a great crime, but, according to the code of political morality then prevalent in France, that which is much worse, a great blunder. The treacherous abduction of the royal family of Spain, the attempt to force the brother of Napoleon on the people, the resistance called forth, the aid afforded by Great Britain, and the brilliant results which followed, shook the new imperial throne to its foundations; and to crown all, Napoleon, in an evil hour for himself, projected the invasion of Russia. The terrible details of the failure of that attempt need not here be repeated. Napoleon, bereft of one of the finest armies ever collected, fled towards the seat of his government, which a few months before he had
quitte with burning expectations of fresh victories and further conquests. He had marched to Russia through the territories of obsequious friends and dependents. He found that his return was to be made through the country of enemies. All Europe was now arrayed against him. He was hunted homeward like a common foe of mankind, and though on some occasions he made a stand worthy of his military reputation, victory, when it attended him, was but the prelude to retreat. At length he entered France, and so did his pursuers, and in that capital where he had defied all earthly—perhaps it would not be too much to add all heavenly power—he divested himself of that crown which he a few years before had compelled the reluctant representative of the once mighty, but now fallen, Romish hierarchy to place upon his head. It is needless to follow him through the few months of feverish excitement which followed, or the years of comparative solitude which he subsequently passed on a remote rock in the Southern Ocean. Napoleon has no claim to notice here, except in as far as the wars which he kindled in Europe withdrew the attention of Russia from any vigorous prosecution of her designs upon Persia. These wars account for the feeble, lingering, and indecisive character of her measures in advancing those designs, and the restoration of general peace accounts for the suspension of them. The course of European politics had brought Great Britain into close alliance with Russia, and on this ground, as well as, it may be
presumed, from a desire to prevent the addition to
the Russian empire of the whole dominions of
Persia, the British ambassador in the latter country
interposed his good offices to establish the relations
of peace. It was indeed an extraordinary fact, that
Great Britain should be subsidizing an ally for the
purpose of maintaining war with another ally of the
country furnishing the subsidy. By the treaty thus
brought about, Persia surrendered to Russia a vast
extent of territory, and engaged to maintain no navy
on the Caspian. The conduct of the negotiation
was highly characteristic of Russian policy. The
basis proposed in the treaty was that known in
diplomatic language as the "uti possidetis." This
would have given to the Russians the right to a district
which for special reasons the Persian government
were most anxious to rescue from their grasp. The
Persian plenipotentiary accordingly declined to ac-
cept the basis unless Talish were excepted. The
Russian negotiator declared that his instructions
did not allow him to vary or modify the basis; but
to induce the other party to accept of it without
qualification, he promised to procure from his court
the restitution of the disputed district as an act of
grace and favour. The bait was taken, the treaty
was signed,—the Persian government then looked
for the fulfilment of the Russian plenipotentiary's
promise, but it is needless to say that they looked
in vain. The British ambassador at St. Peters-
burgh remonstrated; his remonstrances produced all
the effect that might be expected, and no more.
From this time an uneasy state of feeling continued to exist between Russia and Persia, until, after the lapse of some years, it terminated in open war, a war most disastrous to Persia—that country being compelled to purchase peace by the sacrifice of further portions of territory to a great extent. Having gained thus much by war, the Russian government, according to its accustomed mode, resorted to the use of the more insidious and not less efficient modes of aggrandizement afforded by the arts of intrigue. The advances of Russia have ever been like those of the tiger—wary, crouching, and cowardly, until the moment arrives for making the fatal spring. With peace and friendship on the lips of her emissaries and bland smiles on their countenances, Russia has succeeded but too often in disarming apprehension and discouraging precaution, until the obvious certainty of her objects left no place for apprehension, and precaution was no longer availing. Having laid down her arms for a season, every effort was made to establish the influence of Russia within Persia and beyond it, and her counsels were not less fatal than her sword.

Those counsels became an object of alarm to Great Britain, and most justly. Imbecile or traitorous must be that government which slumbers when Russia is approaching the border of any of its provinces, even though the approach be slow, and the distance between the invader and the object of his desire, as yet, great. Who that had seen the Russian empire as left by Peter the First could
have anticipated its present extent? Who could have imagined that, after being deprived of the talent and energy of its founder, it should yet continue to roll on increasing with every variation of political events, and spreading its baleful influence even where its actual power was still unfelt? A writer who has bestowed much attention on the subject thus speaks of Russia, and the effects of its ambition:—

“A reference to the map will shew that Russia has advanced her frontier in every direction, and even the Caspian Sea, which appeared to present an impediment to her progress, she has turned to advantage by appropriating it to herself. It will be seen that the plains of Tartary have excited her cupidity, while the civilized states of Europe and Asia have been dismembered to augment her dominions. Not content with this, she has crossed into America, and there disputes, in direct violation of her engagements to England, the right of our merchants to navigate the rivers that debouche on its western coast. It will be seen that the acquisitions she has made from Sweden are greater than what remains of that ancient kingdom; that her acquisitions from Poland are as large as the whole Austrian empire; that the territory she has wrested from Turkey in Europe is equal to the dominions of Prussia, exclusive of her Rhenish provinces; and that her acquisitions from Turkey in Asia are equal in extent to all the smaller states of Germany, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, Belgium, and Holland, taken together; that the country she has conquered
from Persia is about the size of England; that her acquisitions in Tartary have an area equal to Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain; and that the territory she has acquired within the last sixty-four years (since 1772) is greater in extent and importance than the whole empire she had in Europe before that time. These are facts," continues the same writer, "which rest on no doubtful evidence, yet they are such as may well startle every thinking man who has not previously reflected upon them, and such as no one who desires to reason on the present state of Europe or Asia ought to disregard. Every portion of these vast acquisitions, except perhaps that in Tartary, has been obtained in opposition to the views, the wishes, and the interests of England. The dismemberment of Sweden, the partition of Poland, the conquest of the Turkish provinces and of those dismembered from Persia, have all been injurious to British interests; and though some of them found favour for a time, and for a price given at Vienna and Berlin, even the kingdoms that have shared her spoliations can now regard them with no other feeling than alarm. The power and resources of Russia lie in the countries to the west of the Volga, not in the wilds of Siberia, and her empire in Europe has been nearly doubled in little more than half a century. In sixty-four years she has advanced her frontier eight hundred and fifty miles towards Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, and Paris; she has approached four hundred and fifty miles nearer to Constantinople; she has
possessed herself of the capital of Poland, and has advanced to within a few miles of the capital of Sweden, from which, when Peter the First mounted the throne, her frontier was distant three hundred miles. Since that time she has stretched herself forward about one thousand miles towards India and the same distance towards the capital of Persia. The regiment that is now stationed at her farthest frontier post, on the western shore of the Caspian, has as great a distance to march back to Moscow as onward to Attock on the Indus, and is actually farther from St. Petersburgh than from Lahore, the capital of the Seiks. The battalions of the Russian imperial guard that invaded Persia found, at the termination of the war, that they were as near to Herat as to the banks of the Don, that they had already accomplished half the distance from their capital to Delhi, and that therefore from their camp in Persia they had as great a distance to march back to St. Petersburgh as onward to the capital of Hindostan. Meanwhile, the ‘Moscow Gazette’ threatens to dictate at Calcutta the next peace with England, and Russia never ceases to urge the Persian government to accept from it, free of all cost, officers to discipline its troops, and arms and artillery for its soldiers, at the same time that her own battalions are ready to march into Persia whenever the Shah, to whom their services are freely offered, can be induced to require their assistance.”*

This is a true picture of the progress and policy of Russia, and no country can view with indifference the advance of the frontier of that nation to its own. Apart from the interests of any particular people, the overgrown tyranny of Russia must be regarded as inimical to the best interests of the human race. When Rome gradually advanced its conquests till its power overshadowed the larger part of the known world, the position of the conquered was not one of unmixed evil. It is true that nations lost independence, and princes crowns, but the conquerors were for the most part far more enlightened and civilized than those whom they subdued; and in communicating to their tributary provinces a portion of the advantages enjoyed by themselves they made some compensation for the evils which they inflicted. When the barbarian hordes of the north overran the fair provinces which the trembling sceptre of Rome was no longer able to control, the irruption was attended with circumstances which relieve the picture of some of its darker shades. The idolatrous victors embraced the purer religion of the people whom they despoiled, and laid the foundations of a state of society which has rivalled the brighter days of Roman grandeur, and far surpassed those of its decline. But the inroads of Russia are destitute of any countervailing good to check the mass of evil with which they are attended. The Russians bestow on their victims nothing but chains, and receive from them nothing but the ordinary rewards of tyranny and injustice—the
smothered hate which chains only can keep from bursting into open hostility. The progress of Russian domination or influence is the progress of barbarism. The wide-spreading tyranny of Napoleon was as unfavourable to moral and intellectual elevation as to civil freedom; but it would be gross injustice to compare it with that of Russia. The French possessed literature, and were proud of it; and if the fine arts had not flourished with them, it was, at least, not for want of cultivation. France, too, had some recollections calculated to soften the madness of revolutionary anarchy and gild the shackles of imperial despotism. While the remembrance of her ancient chivalry endured, France had something to remind her whence she had fallen, and to warn her to retrace her steps. Russia has no recollections but of dungeons and whips—of public outrage and secret crime. Its common people have ever been the basest of slaves, and its palaces the abodes of sanguinary violence and unblushing licentiousness. Russia has no literature; and though its rulers have long sought to attach men of science to their chariot-wheels, it has been only that they might use them as instruments to rivet more closely the fetters of tyranny. Where Russian aggression is triumphant, the result is something more than a mere change of government—it is a reduction of the unhappy people who fall beneath its yoke to the lowest state of degradation in which man can exist.

To what extent the incubus of Russian supremacy is destined to overspread the civilized world it
is not possible to calculate; but all sagacious and prudent statesmen will watch its movements with the deepest anxiety. At the time under notice, the Persian government was altogether in the hands of that of Russia, and the intrigues of the latter to extend its influence beyond Persia, in the direction of India, were notorious. Some brief explanation of the circumstances of the intervening country will here be necessary.

Mention has been made of a prince named Shoojah-oool-Moolk as having succeeded, in opposition to his brother, Mahmood, in establishing himself on the throne of Afghanistan, and who ruled, or professed to rule, that country when it was visited by the British mission under Mr. Elphinstone. Shortly after the departure of that mission, Shoojah was compelled to yield to the better fortune of Mahmood, who escaped from confinement, and asserted his claim in arms. The defeated Shoojah fled to Lahore, where Runjeet Singh received him cordially, plundered him unscrupulously, and evinced a strong desire to retain possession of his person. Shoojah, after a time, escaped into the British dominions, where he was received in a manner becoming the character of the government.

But Mahmood was not to enjoy without molestation the throne which he had regained, or rather which had been regained for him. He mainly owed his success to a chief named Futteh Khan, of whom, on account probably of the services which he had rendered, Kamram the son of Mahmood, a
man of dark and cruel character, became jealous. The vindictive prince recommended that Futteh Khan should be arrested and deprived of sight. Mahmood, with the measure of gratitude common to Oriental despots, complied with his son's request. The chief was subjected to the infliction suggested, and subsequently was murdered with circumstances of atrocious cruelty. Such occurrences are frequent in the East, but though frequent, they arouse the natural feelings of human nature, and those by whom they are perpetrated often find that they have prepared a severe, perhaps a bloody, retribution for themselves. Futteh Khan left behind those who were not slow to avenge his death; who probably, indeed, were glad of a pretext for shaking off their allegiance to an ungrateful lord. A revolution, effected by the brothers of the murdered minister, deprived Mahmood of the larger portion of his dominions, and drove him to Herat, where he succeeded in maintaining his authority over a limited extent of territory. There he died, leaving his diminished power to his heir, Kamram, the guilty author of the sufferings and death of Futteh Khan, and the subsequent ill-fortune which attended the house and throne of Mahmood. The dominions alienated by the revolution were divided among the brothers of Futteh Khan, one of whom, Dost Mahomed Khan, the most able and active among them, reigned in Kabool. A part of the country was held in a sort of common sovereignty by other brothers residing at Kandahar. Shah Shoojah, twice, unsuc-
cessfully attempted to recover the throne from which Mahmood had been expelled; but Runjeet Singh succeeded in wresting Peshawur from the grasp of the rebel chiefs, and annexing it to his own dominions.

This dismemberment was not the only one to be apprehended. Persia, encouraged by Russia, preferred certain claims, and prepared to maintain them. The nature and even the extent of these claims were somewhat vague. They seem to have rested partly on pretensions originating in the conquests of Nadar Shah, partly on the payment of tribute to Persia on certain occasions by Kamram, the ruler of Herat, and partly on certain engagements entered into by that prince while the prince-royal of Persia had been employed in reducing Khorasan to obedience. Upon these latter grounds the Persian claims would have been limited to Herat and its dependencies, but according to the first they extended to Kandahar and Ghuznee. With reference to the dependency of Persia upon Russia, it was obviously not for the interest of Great Britain that these claims should be pressed to any, even the smallest, extent. The danger is clearly stated in a memorandum drawn up in the month of January, 1836, by Mr. Ellis, the British minister in Persia, for the information of his government:—"The Shah of Persia lays claim to the sovereignty of Afghanistan, as far as Ghuznee, and is fully determined to attempt the conquest of Herat in the spring. Unfortunately, the conduct of
Kamram Meerza, in violating the engagements entered into with his royal highness the late Abbas Meerza, and in permitting his Vizier, Yah-Mahomed Khan, to occupy part of Seistan, has given the Shah a full justification for commencing hostilities. The success of the Shah in the undertaking is anxiously wished for by Russia, and their minister here does not fail to press it on to early execution. The motive cannot be mistaken. Herat once annexed to Persia may become, according to the commercial treaty, the residence of a Russian consular agent, who would from thence push his researches and communications, avowed and secret, throughout Affghanistan. Indeed, in the present state of the relations between Persia and Russia, it cannot be denied that the progress of the former in Affghanistan is tantamount to the advance of the latter, and ought to receive every opposition from the British government that the obligations of public faith will permit; but while the British government is free to assist Persia in the assertion of her sovereign pretensions in Affghanistan, Great Britain is precluded by the ninth article of the existing treaty from interfering between the Persians and the Affghans, unless called upon to do so by both parties; and, therefore, as long as the treaty remains in force, the British government must submit to the approach of Russian influence, through the instrumentality of Persian conquests, to the very frontier of our Indian empire.”* War between Persia and

* Correspondence relating to Persia and Affghanistan presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty.
Herat followed, under the auspices of Russia, and the anxiety of the British authorities was consequently increased. Russia, indeed, affected to disclaim the share imputed to it in originating the war, and copies of despatches from the Russian minister in Persia to his government were furnished to discredit the report. But despatches are framed with various objects:—There are despatches framed to inform, and despatches framed to mislead; despatches to be kept secret, and despatches to be publicly paraded. Russian diplomatists are adepts in all the mysteries of their craft, creditable and otherwise; and, in all cases in which their statements are questionable, it will be the safer course to judge of the truth from circumstances. In this case circumstances sufficiently indicated what were the views of the Russian government. While its ministers were manufacturing show despatches to disarm the jealousy of England, they were not only inciting Persia to war with Herat, but actually engaging in the contest and aiding its prolongation by advances of money.

To counteract these efforts became a matter of pressing importance, and the practicability of converting eastern Afghanistan into a barrier for the defence of British India—a project previously entertained by Lord Minto—began to be seriously considered. With a view of effecting this object, or at least of ascertaining whether or not it could be effected, a mission, professedly commercial, was in September, 1837, dispatched from India under Captain Alexander Burnes, who had some previous
acquaintance with the country and its rulers. When Captain Burnes arrived at Kabool, in the exercise of his functions, he found Persian and Russian intrigue actively at work in Afghanistan. Communications were passing between Kandahar and Persia, and further, between the chiefs of the former place and the Russian ambassador at the Persian court. These latter communications, it is said, originated with a fugitive from Herat, who, at Tehran, became the guest of the Russian ambassador. This person possessing some influence with the Kandahar chiefs, suggested to them that it would be for their advantage to address the representative of the autocrat. It is stated, that they did to the effect of expressing a strong desire to enter into a friendly connection with Russia; of representing their grievances, more especially the occupation of Peshawur by Runjeet Singh, and of soliciting pecuniary assistance to enable them to expel the invader. It is needless to say, that the ambassador did not afford them the required aid, but he expressed great joy at the receipt of the communication, treated the messenger who brought it with extraordinary distinction, and dispatched a courteous answer with the usual Oriental accompaniment of presents. The epistolary favours of the Russian ambassador* were not confined to Kandahar. He addressed a letter to Dost Mahomed Khan, the chief of Kabool, and this appears to have been unsolicited.† Dost Mahomed

* The title of this indefatigable functionary was the Count Simonich.

† Dost Mahomed had some time before dispatched a messenger to Russia by way of Bokhara.
had sent a messenger to the Shah of Persia, for the purpose, as it appears, of asking assistance against Runjeet Singh, whose occupation of Peshawur was, by all the brothers, regarded with extreme aversion. It does not seem that any overture was made to the Russian ambassador, but this did not prevent that personage from expressing his sympathy with Dost Mahomed. "The Russian ambassador, who is always with the Shah," writes the servant of the chief of Kabool, "has sent you a letter, which I inclose. The substance of his verbal message to you is, that if the Shah does every thing you want, so much the better; and, if not, the Russian government will furnish you with every thing wanting. The object of the Russian elchee* by this message is, to have a road to the English, and for this they are very anxious. He is waiting for your answer, and I am sure he will serve you."† The road to the English which the Russians wished to have was, of course, a road to India. True it is, that this is only a representation of the views of Russia at second hand; but for what object did the ambassador of that country, who was "always with the Shah," seek intercourse with the chiefs of Afghanistan? The object of the British govern ment was obvious and was fair. They sought to establish political influence in that country for the purpose of protecting their Indian possessions. But Russia had no similar object, and could have none.

* Envoy.
† Correspondence relating to Afghanistan laid before Parliament. No. 6.
No one apprehended that the English ever entertained any design of invading Russia from India through Afghanistan and Persia. The objects of the two governments who were thus contending for influence were altogether different; with one it was defence, with the other aggression.

A new agent soon appeared in the field, in the person of a Russian emissary,* who came to Kabool armed with credentials from the Count Simonich, the Russian ambassador at Tehran, and recommended by a letter from the Shah. The communications made by this person were justly characterized by Captain Burnes, to whom they were reported from two distinct but trustworthy sources, as "of a startling nature." He informed the chieftain, at whose court he appeared, that he was commissioned to express the sincere sympathy of the Russian government with the difficulties under which Dost Mahomed laboured; that they were willing to assist in repelling Runjeet Singh, would furnish a sum of money for the purpose, and renew it annually, expecting in return the chieftain's good offices. Even the means of remittance were adverted to, the Russian government undertaking to convey the treasure to Bokhara, whence Dost Mahomed was expected to find his own means of transit.† It is

* The name of this person was Vickovich.
† According to a statement made by one of the Sirdars of Kandahar to an English officer, Captain Leach, this Russian agent enriched his communications by affirming that, though the English had preceded the Russians for some generations in
not necessary to believe that there was any intention of sending the money thus proffered. The promise would answer the purpose for a while, and in the meantime there was opportunity for considering of some new device.

At Kandahar the combined intrigues of Russia and Persia succeeded in effecting the conclusion of a treaty with the Sirdars, which provided for the transfer to those rulers of the territory of Herat. It is true that it was yet unconquered, but this fact appears to have been no obstacle to the success of the negotiation. The treaty was guaranteed by Count Simonich in the following high-sounding terms: "I, who am the minister plenipotentiary of the exalted government of Russia, will be guarantee that neither on the part of his majesty the Shah of Persia, nor on the part of the powerful Sirdars, shall there occur any deviation from, or violation of, this entire treaty and these agreements."

While Russian influence was thus in the ascendant, the British mission to the Persian court was subjected to such treatment as compelled its chief, Mr. McNeill, to withdraw. At Bushire and other places, the servants of the British government were exposed to insult and violence, and the continuance of friendly relations between Great Britain and Persia becoming daily more uncertain, it was expedient civilization, the latter had now arisen from their sleep, and were seeking for foreign possessions and alliances; and that the English were not a military nation, but merely the merchants of Europe.
to make a demonstration in the Gulph; and, accordingly, the island of Karak was occupied by a British force.

Captain Burnes continued at Kabool, but his labours did not prosper. Dost Mahomed Khan was, obviously, playing off the British and Russian missions against each other, and endeavouring to ascertain from which party he could procure the best terms. The Russians had, clearly, the advantage in one respect—its agents did not scruple to promise any thing and every thing that Dost Mahomed desired. The servants of the British government were more scrupulous; and, being able to promise nothing but that which it was intended to perform, they stood in a position very unfavourable to success as compared to that of their rivals. The recovery of Peshawur was a great object of desire to Dost Mahomed. Vickovich, the Russian agent, promised that his government should interfere, for the purpose of gratifying him. Captain Burnes could make no such promise; and Lord Auckland, in a letter to the chief of Kabool, distinctly intimated that the restoration of Peshawur was not to be expected. This seems to have given the finishing stroke to the hope of conducting the negotiation to a successful issue; it was protracted for some time longer, but it was evident that nothing was to be looked for from its continuance, and, finally, Captain Burnes left the country.

The influence of Russia had thus defeated British policy in Affghanistan as well as in Persia.
Captain Burnes had, some time before his departure, formed and expressed very decided opinions on the progress of Russian influence in Afghanistan, and the consequent danger to the British government. On one occasion he addressed to the governor-general the following remarks:—"Having thus laid before your lordship these strong demonstrations on the part of Russia to interest herself in the affairs of the country, it will not, I feel satisfied, be presumptuous to state my most deliberate conviction, that much more vigorous proceedings than the government might wish or contemplate are necessary to counteract Russian or Persian intrigue in this quarter than have been hitherto exhibited. By one class of politicians, every thing regarding the designs of Russia in this quarter has been treated with disbelief. By another, the little which has transpired has excited immediate, and, in consequence, what may be termed groundless alarm. For the last six or seven years I have had my attention directed to these countries, and I profess myself to be one of those who do believe that Russia entertains the design of extending her influence to the eastward, and between her dominions and India. With her commercial operations, she has invariably spread the report that her designs were ulterior, and the language of her agents has lately been, that, as the affairs of Turkey and Persia are adjusted, she sought an extension of her influence in Toorkistan and Kabool. Such reports would deserve little credence if unsupported by facts; but assisted by them, they
gather high importance, and exhibit views which, but for the greatest vigilance, might have eluded notice for years to come. There being, therefore, facts before us in the transactions passing at Kabool, it seems impossible, with any regard to our safety, to look on longer in silence. If Russia does not entertain inimical feelings directly to the British in India, she avows that she wishes for the good offices of the chiefs on our frontier, and promises them her own in return; so that it is useless to conceal from ourselves that evils must flow from such connections. It is, indeed, casting before us a challenge. It is a true maxim, that prevention is better than cure, and we now have both in our hands. We might certainly wish to delay a while longer before acting; but it is now in our power, by the extended and immediate exercise of our already established influence, to counteract every design injurious to us."* At a later period Captain Burnes wrote: "With reference to Russia, her proceedings are open to so much remark, after Count Nesselrode's disavowals, that I presume she must either disavow Captain Vickovich and Mr. Goutté† as her emissaries, or be made responsible for their proceedings. I have only again to repeat my most deliberate conviction, founded on much reflection, regarding the passing events in Central Asia, that consequences of the most serious nature must in the end flow from them, unless the British

* Letter to Lord Auckland, 23rd December, 1837.
† Another Russian agent, instrumental in effecting the treaty with Kandahar.
government applies a prompt, active, and decided counteraction. I do not offer these as opinions founded on the periodical publications of all Europe (though the coincidence of sentiment in all parties does not want its weight), but as formed on the scene of their intrigues, and it is my duty, as a public servant, earnestly to state them to my superiors."*

The above remarks require little comment; but there are two or three passages upon which observation may not be thrown away. In adverting to the effect of Russian intrigue upon two different classes of politicians, Captain Burnes says that, upon one, "the little which has transpired has excited immediate, and, in consequence, what may be termed groundless alarm." The meaning of the writer appears to be, that the alarm was groundless, so far as it assumed that the apprehended danger was immediate. This is perfectly true in respect of any incipient indication of Russian policy. In the pursuit of their ambitious course, the rulers of Muscovy have committed few blunders, and rarely any resulting from imprudent haste. Reasonable vigilance would usually have been sufficient to counteract their designs, but reasonable vigilance has too often been wanting. Insatiable ambition is without doubt the leading characteristic of the Russian despotism—an intense hatred of freedom in any shape is another, scarcely inferior—a constant endeavour to win opinions and adherents, by bribes, by flattery, and every other available mode, forms a

* Letter to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., 30th April, 1838.
third; and to these must be added a degree of wariness rarely exercised either in public or private affairs. Russia is patient, that she may be secure.

The passage next to be noticed would seem deficient in the good sense to be expected in a person intrusted with such important duties as was Captain Burnes, unless taken as purely hypothetical, not as referring to a state of things which could for a moment be deemed to have actual existence. "If," says the writer, "Russia does not entertain inimical feelings directly to the British in India, she avows that she wishes for the good offices of the chiefs on our frontier and promises them her own in return." Now for what purpose, except for one inimical to the interests of Great Britain in India, could Russia desire the good offices of a set of barbarous chiefs ruling a barren, ill-cultivated, and uncivilized country on the British frontier, and tender her own in return? What has Russia to hope or to fear from such persons, if Britain's rich possessions in India be put out of the question? If a notorious robber be found lurking about a place where great treasure is deposited, endeavouring by all the means in his power to ingratiate himself with the people around it, and to excite their feelings against the party to whom the treasure belongs, it would evince the possession of a most unusual measure of charity to acquit him of all evil design, and to believe his protestations that he had no view to the exercise of his vocation. What business had Russia in Afghanistan?—what was the object of her emissaries there?
These are questions which could not be satisfactorily answered, and accordingly the Russian government took another course, which will immediately be noticed. Captain Burnes observed, that Russia must either disavow her emissaries or be made responsible for their proceedings. She chose the former course—Vickovich, the agent, who was so active at Kabool, was, upon representations made from the British government, recalled. Count Simonich, who had taken the lead in directing the war against Herat, and had guaranteed the treaty for its transfer to Kandahar, was recalled—or, according to the soft rendering of the Russian government, his period of service had expired, it happening most opportunely that when the remonstrance of Great Britain was received, another officer had been previously appointed to supersede the count—and the Emperor refused to confirm the guarantee which had been given to the treaty with Kandahar. Such has ever been the conduct of Russia when not sufficiently strong to carry her purposes with a high hand; her agents are thrown over, and their master, with an affectation of libelled innocence, declares that they have acted contrary to his wishes, and pours forth much virtuous sentiment on the duties of nations towards each other, and his own exemplary respect for the rights of other powers.

The British minister in Persia, Mr. McNeill, an able and indefatigable servant of the government which he served, had constantly pointed out the injurious tendency of the course taken by Count Simonich.
What was the conduct of the Russian ministry? They denied that Count Simonich had acted as was imputed, and alleged that the British minister was misled. This allegation was refuted. Other expedients were then resorted to and persevered in as long as they were tenable; when all resources of this nature were exhausted, the ambassador was withdrawn under arrangements pretended to have been made some months before. The cool audacity which characterizes Russian diplomacy is perhaps one of the elements of its success.

Agents sometimes exceed their instructions, and Russian agents may err in this way as well as others; but in all cases where excess occurs, it is on the side which the agents believe will be agreeable to their employers. The nature of the instructions given, if not their precise extent and limitations, may always be inferred from the conduct of those who have received them. But further,—instructions, especially such as are dictated from St. Petersburgh, are often meant to convey more than meets the eye of an ordinary reader. When produced, they may appear harmless, though designed to be far otherwise, or they may be illustrated by hints and intimations which never see the light. The reputation of Russia warrants the indulgence of every surmise that falls within the range of possibility in explaining the conduct of its diplomats—excepting, indeed, one too extravagant for belief—that of its having acted in good faith. In the proceedings of Count Simonich there is one proof that what he did
was with the approbation of his government, which is too striking to be overlooked. He not only gave counsel to Persia, but he advanced money, and it is to be presumed that neither his personal love of Persia nor his personal hatred of England was strong enough to induce him to disburse his own funds for the purpose of assisting one and injuring the other. The money, it cannot be doubted, was that of his master the Emperor; and though, as events turned out, it was not spent judiciously, it must be believed to have been spent in accordance with the positive instructions or understood wishes of him to whom it belonged.

The Russian government, in accordance with its usual policy, was feeling its way to the frontier of British India. Its ministers knew full well that time, and much time, was necessary to enable them to pass or even to approach it; but the object was to be kept steadily in view as one of which the realization, though distant, was to be looked for with confidence. To this object all their measures with regard to the intervening countries were directed. There were not wanting those who affected to doubt of it—perhaps there were not wanting some who actually entertained the doubt, for the will, as all experience shews, has a powerful influence upon the belief. But the views of Russia were scarcely concealed, for Count Simonich talked publicly of the probable effect in India of the news of the capture of Herat, and avowed his opinion that it could not fail to cause disturbances among the Maho-
metans of that country.* Such discourses were addressed to Persian ears, and intended to produce impressions calculated to advance the interests of Russia. The reputation of good fortune is powerful everywhere, but peculiarly powerful in the East. At this time the interests of Russia appeared to be advancing and those of Great Britain to be on the decline, and though the impression that such was the fact received occasionally some slight check, the general current of events was calculated to encourage it. This was circumstantially pointed out by Mr. McNeill. Adverting to the proceedings of the Russian agent Vickovich to the eastward of Persia, he says, "The hope of receiving the submission of all Afghanistan will be a very strong inducement to the Shah to persevere in the enterprise in which he is engaged.† At the same time it may be feared that the disappointment which the Herat government must experience on learning that Kabool and Kandahar are to all appearance combined with Persia and Russia against it, and that even an unsuccessful assault has not forced the Shah to raise the siege, may depress the spirit of the gallant defenders of Herat, and lead them to submit to Persia. That submission would now certainly be followed, if it has not been preceded, by the submission of both Kabool and Kandahar. On the other hand, the arrival of even the small force which has occupied

* Letter of Mr. McNeill to Lord Palmerston, 1837. Correspondence laid before Parliament.
† The siege of Herat.
Karrack has caused a great sensation all over Persia. The intelligence of that event must already have arrived in camp, direct from Shiraz, and the loss sustained by the Persian army in the assault, especially the loss of its most efficient and bravest officers, may, perhaps, prepare the Shah to attend to what Colonel Stoddart is instructed to state to him; but I am not sanguine in hoping for this result; the failure of the missions from the Indian government to Kabool and Kandahar, and the success of the Russian negotiations with the chiefs on our very frontier, must give the Shah a more exalted opinion than even he has hitherto entertained of the superior power of Russia as compared with that of England. He sees an unknown captain of Cossacks from the banks of the Volga or the Elba ride up to Kabool without pomp or retinue, and he sees him apparently driving out of Afghanistan the agent of the governor-general of India, and that agent Captain Burnes, who enjoys a reputation as high and as extensive as any officer who could have been employed upon that duty.”

Shortly afterwards Mr. McNeill expressed himself thus:—“At this moment the united influence of Persia and Russia would appear to be established in all the Afghān dominions with the single exception of Herat; and the existence of that influence in those countries, viewed in conjunction with the course which these powers have recently been pur-

* Letter from Mr. McNeill to Lord Palmerston, 31st July, 1838.—Correspondence.
suing and the measures that have resulted from their joint diplomatic exertions, is so obviously incompatible with the tranquillity of India, and even with its security, that no measures can be more unequivocally measures of self-defence than those which the British government is called upon to adopt, for the purpose of counteracting the evils with which India is threatened. Persia has no provocation to complain of. The course pursued by the British government towards this government has been one of uniform friendship and forbearance; and it appears to me that it would be an inefficient as well as a hazardous and costly line of policy to adopt, were the British government any longer to permit Persia, under the shelter of her treaty with England, to open the way to India for another and far more formidable power.”*

To check the approach of that “more formidable power,” the British government sought to establish such relations with the ruling powers at Kabool and Kandahar as should be sufficient for the purpose; but the attempt failed—the “captain of Cossacks” was too strong for the English functionary with whom he was brought in opposition, and Russian influence was obviously predominant in those states as well as in Persia. The question, then, to be decided was, shall those countries be calmly given up to the enemies of England, or shall some other means of establishing British influence in them be

* Letter from Mr. McNeill to Lord Palmerston, 3rd August, 1838.—Correspondence.
resorted to? The government of India determined on the latter course; and as the most obvious method of promoting the end in view, resolved to lend to the expelled Afghan prince, Shoojah-oool-Moolk, its aid in another attempt to regain his throne. In judging of this most important measure, as of all of similar character, two questions occur —was it just?—and if just, was it expedient?

The tenure of sovereign power in the East is for the most part so fragile and insecure, that far less attention is due to hereditary right than might properly be required in Europe. Usurpation is so common, and meets such ready acquiescence, that the possession of actual sovereignty is generally regarded as a sufficient title, if the person in possession be strong enough to maintain it by the only conclusive argument—that of the sword. The family of Futtch Khan, who had usurped the sovereignty of the greater part of Afghanistan, had no very respectable title to boast; neither could their thrones be regarded as possessing any unusual degree of stability. Yet they were treated by the British Indian government as the rulers of the country which they had appropriated; and as the English were not bound, like knights of old, to enter the lists of mortal combat in defence of all who had been deprived of their rights, they were justified in recognizing the authorities (such as they were) which were found in existence without any very nice inquiry as to their origin. They did thus recognize them, and sought to establish relations of friendship and alliance.
Their overtures being rejected, there was no obligation to continue to profess respect for a very bad title, or to abstain from aiding any one who had a better in seeking to give it effect. Shoojah-ool-Moolk had a better title, for he was a member of the family formerly ruling in Afghanistan, and recently expelled by a violent revolution. No one can say that he had not a right to enforce his claim; and if this be so, those who aided him could not be wrong unless they were involved in some special obligation, which precluded them from lawfully affording him assistance. The English were under no such obligation, for the reigning chiefs of Kabool and Kandahar, when the opportunity offered, had declined to bring them within the operation of any. It cannot be urged that the British government in India is precluded from interfering in disputes relating to the possession of sovereign authority in other countries, for it is certain that the governments of Europe do interfere on such subjects, and that in our own times many instances of such interference have occurred. Fervently is it hoped that in all cases where interference takes place those who exercise it have due regard to the question of right; but it cannot be supposed that in any case they altogether overlook their own interest in the success of the cause which they espouse; and it is not too much to believe that a regard to this is generally the chief motive for interfering. The British government thought it for their interest to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan for the support
of Shoojah-ool-Moolk; but it must not be disguised that his claim to the throne was not indisputable. Mahmood, who like himself had been expelled, was his elder brother; he left a son, who was reigning at Herat, and as Mahmood had been in actual possession of the throne, the title of his son Kamram was valid. As against Kamram, therefore, the title of Shoojah was not unassailable; but in states which would feel it derogatory to be compared with the wild and lawless tribes of Afghanistan, such occurrences as the preference of a younger to an elder branch of the royal house occasionally take place. In France, a prince who has been thus preferred sits calmly on the throne, and is acknowledged by every state in Europe as the lawful monarch of the country over which he bears rule. In Russia, too, which pretends to be a civilized state, the ordinary rule of succession was departed from when its last emperor Alexander perished childless. The brother next in age was summarily set aside (for every thing is summary in Russia, even the deaths of its sovereigns), and a younger brother substituted. As the title of Louis Philippe was good against all but the elder branch of his house—as the title of Nicholas was good against all but Constantine, so was that of Shoojah-ool-Moolk against every one but Kamram, and the British government were not called upon to support a prince who suffered his claim to slumber, and appeared to acquiesce in the diminution to which his dominions had been subjected. If character were admitted as an element
of choice, that of Kamram, it may be observed, was by no means calculated to attract. But whether or not the claim of Shoojah was valid against Kamram, was not the question to be settled—it was good against the adventurers who had possessed themselves of the larger part of Afghanistan, and that was enough.

There was no injustice, then, in dispossessing the usurping rulers of Afghanistan in favour of a member of the House which they had supplanted. The British government was not indeed bound to dispossess them, but neither was it bound to abstain from aiding any attempt for that purpose made by a party armed with a better title; but there is yet a question whether existing relations with other countries did not restrain them. The only country with regard to which this can be pretended was Persia, and the only article in the treaty with that country on which any such pretence can be founded, is that which provided that, in case of war between the Affghans and Persians, the English government should not interfere with either party, unless its mediation to effect a peace should be solicited by both. The invasion of Afghanistan in favour of Shah Shoojah has been seriously charged as a breach of this article; but if the circumstances existing when the treaty was concluded be considered together with those which prevailed when the alleged breach of it took place, it will be seen that the charge cannot be maintained. When the article was drawn, Afghanistan was one state, under the
government of Shoojah-ool-Moolk. It was now divided into a number of separate states, there being one government at Herat, another at Kandahar, a third at Kabool, and there had been a fourth at Peshawur. Now, how shall an article drawn with reference to the former state of Afghanistan be applied to a state so different as that subsequently prevailing? Persia was at war with Herat; but Herat was not the whole of Afghanistan. The rulers of Kabool and Kandahar were not at war with Persia, but were ready, if sufficiently bribed, to cooperate with her and Russia against Herat and the British nation. Further, the restriction from interference could not extend beyond that to which it was limited. The Persians not being at war with Kandahar or Kabool, the British government were not restrained from interfering with those states. But there was another article in the treaty which deserves to be adverted to. If the English were at war with the Affghans, the same general term being used, his Persian Majesty was bound to send an army against the latter “in such force and manner as might be concerted with the English government,” by whom the army was to be paid. If the Persian monarch had been called upon to fulfil this condition by marching an army against Kandahar and Kabool, would he have complied? He might have alleged, indeed, that the state of things was altogether altered since the conclusion of the treaty, and that the article referred to was no longer applicable. This would have been true; but if true against the English, it was not less true against the Persians. There was one part of the
treaty, of the breach of which by Persia the English might justly complain: it was the following:—

"Should any of the European powers wish to invade India by the road of Kharism, Tartaristan, Bokhara, Samarcand, or other routes, his Persian Majesty engages to induce the kings and governors of those countries to oppose such invasion as much as is in his power, either by the fear of his arms or by conciliatory measures.” The remarkable terms employed in this article cannot escape observation. Persia was not merely to resist any actual attempt to invade India, but was to discourage to the extent of her power even the wish. The Sovereign of Persia and his ministers knew full well what was “the wish” of Russia—they knew to what object Russian counsels were directed, and whither they were tending; yet they resisted them not, but gave to them all encouragement. So hostile, indeed, had been the deportment even of Persia itself, that the British government had been compelled to employ force in defence of its interests and honour, and in protection of the officers which it employed. Persia had cast off England, an honest and friendly power, and taken refuge with the power which sought but to oppress and enslave her—to employ her as an instrument for its own purposes, and when they were answered, to draw her within the baleful girdle which encompasses the dominions of the Czar.

Persia indeed has sometimes claimed supremacy over the whole of Affghanistan, but the claim is ridiculous; and it is altogether untenable with re-
ference to the treaty with England which recognizes the Affghans as a separate nation, with whom the Persians might be at war, not as dependents whose resistance would be rebellion.

The question of breach of treaty in its moral bearing was ably discussed by Mr. McNeill in one of his official communications to the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. Adverting to the treaty between Persia and Kandahar, then in process of negotiation, and to the possible fall of Herat, he says, "I therefore continue to be of opinion that the fall of Herat would destroy our position in Afghanistan, and place all, or nearly all, that country under the influence or authority of Russia and Persia. I need not repeat to your lordship my opinion as to the effect which such a state of things would necessarily have on the internal tranquillity and security of British India; and I cannot conceive that any treaty can bind us to permit the prosecution of schemes which threaten the stability of the British empire in the East. The evidence of concert between Persia and Russia for purposes injurious to British interests is unequivocal, and the magnitude of the evil with which we are threatened is, in my estimation, immense, and such as no power in alliance with Great Britain can have a right to aid in producing. Our connection with Persia has for its real and avowed original object to give additional security to India, and it has been maintained for the purpose of protecting us against designs of the only power which threatened to dis-
turb us in that quarter; but if the proceedings of Persia in concert with that very power are directed to the destruction of the security and tranquillity which it was the sole object of the alliance with Persia to maintain, and if they obviously tend to promote and facilitate the designs which the alliance was intended to counteract, I confess I cannot believe that we are still bound to act up to the letter of a treaty, the spirit of which has been so flagrantly violated.”* 

It may be granted that the British government had a right to support the claims of Shah Shoojah to the throne of Affghanistan, but the question whether it were wise or prudent to exercise the right remains. Into this question, however, it is not proposed here to enter at length. It may be more fitly determined after pursuing the progress of events. It may be observed, however, that the general tenor of the information received by Lord Auckland led to the conclusion that the power of Dost Mahomed Khan rested on very insecure foundations; that his capital had been the seat of broils and commotions; that his brothers were prepared to combine for the overthrow of his authority, and that the reports afloat of his popularity as well as of the efficiency of his army were greatly exaggerated. In regard to the probability of Shah Shoojah’s success, the governor-general was under the belief that his failure was lamented by the Aff-

* Letter from Mr. McNeill to Lord Palmerston, 11th April, 1838.—Correspondence.
ghan people, and that a strong feeling in his favour existed among all classes. "The British government," said one of those on whose information that government acted,* "could employ interference without offending half-a-dozen individuals. Shah Shoojah under their auspices would not even encounter opposition; and the Ameer,† and his friends, if he have any, must yield to his terms or become fugitives." Another presumed recommendation of Shah Shoojah was this—pointed out by the same authority. "No slight advantage, were Shah Shoojah at the head of government here,‡ would be, that from his residence among Europeans he would view their intercourse in these countries without jealousy, which cannot be expected from the present rulers but after a long period and until better acquaintance may remove their distrust." Further, it was stated that the numbers of the Barakzees—the tribe to which the rulers of Kabool and Kandahar belonged—had been much overrated, and that the rest of the Dooranees would be indignant at seeing the power of the British government exerted to establish the supreme control of the Barakzees over the whole country: that such an act would be to injure the reputation of the British government among a people tenacious of independence,

* Mr. Masson, a British subject and a deserter from its service, who had passed much time in Afghanistan, and was believed to be well acquainted not only with the country, but with the habits and inclination of the people.
† Dost Mahomed Khan.
‡ In Afghanistan.
and yet alive to the preservation of hereditary honours and ancient institutions. Another point, suggested by a distinguished servant of the British government, Captain Wade, and which indeed was too obvious to escape notice, was a consideration of the views of an ally, Runjeet Singh; Captain Wade said, "Considering the feelings of hostility with which the Maharajah views Dost Mahomed, and that he is now scarcely restrained from prosecuting the war against the Ameer, his highness will not, in my opinion, be persuaded to abandon his hostile designs on Kabool without desiring to obtain terms of submission from its chief, to which the British government would not wish to become a party. From these and other motives, Runjeet Singh would be brought with difficulty, I think, to acknowledge the elevation of Dost Mahomed Khan to the sovereignty of the Affghans; while, should the consolidation of that people become a measure of indispensable necessity to the establishment of security on the frontier of the Indus, the elevation of Shah Shoojah would only be in fulfilment of the compact which was formerly made with him and would exact no new concessions."

The prudential part of the question may be briefly stated as follows:—the attempt to establish friendly relations with Dost Mahomed Khan, the

* The information and reasoning which determined the course of the British government will be found in the Parliamentary Papers, No. 5. The extract of a letter from Captain Wade to the governor-general, of which part is above quoted, and another part abstracted, commences at page 19 and ends page 22.
actual ruler of the chief state of Affghanistan, had failed. The expelled prince was ready to enter into terms of alliance with the British government, and it was said, whether accurately or not, that in addition to the sanction of a better title than his rival possessed, he had also the recommendation of a greater degree of popularity. Besides this, if Shah Shoojah were restored to the throne, the claims of Runjeet Singh to a part of Affghanistan would form no bar to accommodation. Were Dost Mahomed to be maintained by the British government, the arbitration of his differences with Runjeet Singh would be difficult,—indeed, to all appearance, impossible. On these grounds the government acted.

To facilitate the objects of the meditated expedition, a tripartite treaty was concluded, the parties thereto being the British government of India, the head of the Seik state, Runjeet Singh, and the prince, who was once more, under the auspices of the great European power of Asia, about to attempt the conquest of his lost dominions, the Shah Shoojah. This treaty was partially the same with one concluded several years before,* between Runjeet Singh and Shoojah-ool-Moolk, the execution of the provisions of which had been suspended, "for certain reasons," as was delicately, though somewhat indefinitely, intimated in the preamble of the new treaty. To notice the chief stipulations of this treaty will be sufficient. One of the most important parts of it was a disclaimer, by Shah Shoojah, on behalf of himself, his heirs, and successors, of the territories on either

* In 1834.
bank of the river Indus, then possessed by Runjeet Singh. These, including Peshawur and its dependencies, were "considered to be the property and to form the estate of the Maharajah;" the Shah solemnly declared, "that he neither had, nor would have, any concern with them;" but that they belonged "to the Maharajah and his posterity from generation to generation."

The prejudices of the Seiks were propitiated by a stipulation, to the effect that, when the armies of the two states (Afghanistan and Lahore) should be assembled at the same place, the slaughter of kine should not be permitted. The treaty contained some commercial provisions, some stipulations as to presents and points of ceremony, others relating to the assistance to be afforded by the allies to each other, to the payment of subsidies in consideration of military aid, and to the division of booty. Shah Shoojah renounced all claims, territorial and pecuniary, upon Sinde, on condition of receiving a sum to be determined under the mediation of the British government; he bound himself to abstain from molesting his nephew, the ruler of Herat, to refrain from entering into negotiations with any foreign state without the knowledge and consent of the British and Seik governments, and to oppose, by force of arms, to the utmost of his ability, any person having a desire to invade either the Seik or the British dominions. This treaty was signed at Lahore, on the 26th June, 1838.

To place one of the parties to the treaty in the
position to which he aspired, and to which his right was recognized by the other parties, was a task yet to be performed. The military preparations consequent on the diplomatic arrangements concluded by the three powers were on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the objects in view. Bengal and Bombay were each to furnish a portion of the British force, and the command of the whole was to be intrusted to Sir Henry Fane, commander-in-chief in India. From Bengal were provided two troops of horse and three companies of foot artillery, the whole under the command of Brigadier Graham. The Bengal cavalry brigade, under Brigadier Arnold, was formed of the 16th lancers and the 2nd and 3rd light cavalry. One division of infantry, comprehending three brigades (1st, 2nd, and 3rd), were commanded by Sir Willoughby Cotton; another, consisting of two brigades (4th and 5th), by Major-General Duncan. The first brigade was composed of her Majesty's 13th light infantry and of the 16th and 48th native infantry; it was under Brigadier Sale. The second brigade, commanded by Major-General Nott, contained the 2nd, 31st, 42nd, and 43rd regiments of native infantry. The third, under Brigadier Dennis, comprehended the Buffs and the 2nd and 27th native infantry. The fourth brigade, composed of the Bengal European regiment and the 35th and 37th native infantry, was placed under Brigadier Roberts; and the fifth, comprising the 5th, 28th, and 53rd regiments of native infantry, under Brigadier Worsley. An engineer department, under
Captain George Thomson, was provided, together with two companies of sappers and miners, native soldiers, with European non-commissioned officers. The equipment of this force was completed by a siege train of four 18-pounders, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars, with two spare howitzers, one a 24, the other a 12-pounder.

The Bombay force under Sir John Keane, the commander-in-chief at that presidency, consisted of two troops of horse, and two companies of foot artillery under Brigadier Stephenson; a brigade of cavalry, composed of two squadrons of her Majesty's 4th light dragoons and 1st Bombay light cavalry, under Brigadier Scott; and a body of infantry, consisting of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th, and of the 1st, 5th, 19th, and 23rd native regiments, under the command of Major-General Willshire. The Poona auxiliary horse were to accompany this force, which also brought into the field an engineer department, a detachment of sappers and miners, and a siege train consisting of two 18-pounders and four 9-pounders.

Law has its fictions, and so has statesmanship. The force of which a detailed account has been given, though, in fact, intended for the conquest and occupation of Afghanistan, was regarded only as an auxiliary force aiding the operations of the Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk at the head of his own troops. Under the sanction of the British government, an army had, indeed, been raised, ostensibly for the service of the Shah; and this, as a point of decorum,
was to be regarded as the chief instrument by which he was to regain possession of his dominions. The Shah’s army consisted of a troop of native horse artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and five of infantry. Major-General Simpson, of the Bengal army, was appointed to the command of this force, for which a staff and commissariat were duly organized, a military chest established, and satisfactorily provided.

The whole of the above force was to advance by Kandahar on Kabool. Another force, assembled in Peshawur, was to advance on Kabool by way of the Khyber Pass. This was called the Shazada’s army, Timur, the son of Shoojah, having the nominal command. It consisted of about 4,800 men, artillery, infantry, and cavalry, obtained from various sources—British sepoys and adventurers raised for the occasion partly regular, partly irregular, and armed with almost every conceivable variety of offensive and defensive weapon—sword, shield, matchlock, musket, and rifle. With this force acted the Seik contingent of 6,000 men, under General Ventura.* The whole of this combined force was under the command of Colonel Wade. Another Seik force, under one of Runjeet’s native officers, was posted on the frontier of Peshawur, as an army of observation.

The views of the British government were solemnly enunciated in a proclamation issued by the governor-general from Simla, under date of the 1st

* One of Runjeet Singh’s French officers.
October. This paper commenced with a declaration that his lordship having, with the concurrence of the supreme council, directed the assemblage of a British force for service across the Indus, he deemed it proper to publish an exposition of the reasons which had led to the measure. His lordship, accordingly, proceeded to advert to various events which had produced this step;—to the treaties entered into by the British government with the Ameers of Sinde, the Nawaubi of Bhawlpore and the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, with a view to opening the navigation of the Indus; to the commercial mission of Captain Burnes to Kabool; to the disputes between Dost Mahomed Khan and Runjeet Singh, and the offer of British mediation; to the attack of the Persians upon Herat, and to the intrigues to extend to the banks of the Indus, and even beyond it, the influence of Persia (for the proclamation was silent as to the arm by which Persia was propelled); to the unsuccessful termination of Captain Burnes's mission, the preference shewn by Dost Mahomed Khan to a Persian over a British alliance, and his hostile feelings towards the Anglo-Indian government; to the affront offered by the court of Persia to the British minister, and to the results which had followed; to the ill-feelings manifested by the chiefs of Kandahar towards the British government, and to the assistance which they had extended to Persia in the operations against Herat. In the crisis which had arisen, it was added, that the governor-general had felt the
importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards the territories under his administration; and this led to the introduction of the name of Shah Shoojah, as "a monarch who, when in power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British government; and who, on his empire being usurped by its present rulers, had found an honourable asylum in the British dominions." The disunion prevailing among the Barakzee chiefs* was noticed, as well as their alleged unpopularity and their consequent unfitness to become useful allies to the British government. Notwithstanding this, it was pointed out that so long as they refrained from proceedings injurious to its security, their authority was acknowledged and respected; but, it was observed, that a different policy was now more than justified by the conduct of those chiefs, and was indeed indispensable to the safety of the British dominions. "The welfare of our possessions in the East," continued the governor-general, "requires that we should have on our western frontier an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement.” From these premises it was inferred to be just, politic, and necessary, on the part of the British

* Dost Mahomed Khan and his brothers.
government, to espouse the cause of Shah Shoojah, "whose popularity," moreover, "throughout Afganistan" was stated to have "been proved to" the governor-general "by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities." The negotiation with Runjeet Singh, the conclusion of the tripartite treaty, and the effects of that treaty, were then noticed. "Various points," it was declared, "have been adjusted which had been the subjects of discussion between the British government and his highness the Maharajah (Runjeet Singh); the identity of whose interests with those of the Honourable Company has now been made apparent to all the surrounding states. A guaranteed independence will upon favourable conditions be tendered to the Ameers of Sinde, and the integrity of Herat in the possession of its present ruler will be fully respected; while by the measures completed, or in progress, it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British government will gain their proper footing among the nations of central Asia; that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India, and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment." The means by which these objects were to be achieved were then propounded. The relative positions ostensibly assigned to the raw levies of Shah Shoojah, and the fine army by which they were to be accompanied, have been already intimated; the passage in
which they were determined ran thus: “His Majesty Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The governor-general confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents; and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn.” The declaration concluded with earnest professions of moderation and liberality, and of the desire of the British government to promote the welfare of Afghanistan and of its people without exception. Contemporaneously with the issue of this declaration, Mr. William Hay M’Naghten was appointed envoy and minister on the part of the government of India at the court of Shoojah-ool-Moolk; and political appointments under Mr. M’Naghten were bestowed upon Captain Burnes, Lieutenant D. E. Todd, Lieutenant E. Pottinger, Lieutenant B. Leech, and Mr. P. B. Lord, a medical officer.

The force destined to reseat Shah Shoojah on his throne—or, according to the official version of its duties, to aid the Shah’s troops in effecting that object—was to be called “the army of the Indus.”* By the end of November, the whole of the Bengal division was encamped in the neighbourhood of Ferozepore; and here a series of interviews took place

* This designation has not unjustly been said to be rather “à la Napoleon.”
between the governor-general and the "Lion of the Punjab," Runjeet Singh.* Matters, however, of more importance than processions, exhibitions of dancing-girls, or even show-inspections of troops, occupied some portion of the time and thoughts of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief. The Persians had raised the siege of Herat, and the intelligence of this fact led to a change in the amount of preparation for invading Afghanistan from the eastward. Less strength than had been assigned for the object was now deemed sufficient, and orders were issued directing that a part only of the force assembled at Ferozepore should go forward—that part to consist of the cavalry, one troop of horse artillery, one battery of nine-pounders, and the artillery of the park; the sappers and miners, and three brigades of infantry. The remainder of the troops were to await further orders at Ferozepore. The selection of the

* These meetings were marked by a great display of magnificence on both sides. A very picturesque account of them will be found in the Asiatic Journal for March, 1839. Runjeet Singh seems to have indulged on these occasions to his heart's delight in potations of a fiery spirit distilled in the country; but which, although the "Lion" unceasingly imbibed copious draughts of it for forty years, is too potent for a European constitution to bear, for even a very brief period. Captain Havelock says, "the hardest drinker in the British camp could not indulge in it for six successive nights." Narrative of War in Afghanistan, vol. i. page 78. Runjeet Singh did not enjoy perfect "impunity," for, to his fondness for this stimulant he owed, perhaps, the origin, certainly the aggravation, of the paralytic affection under which he laboured.
troops to be employed in the expedition against Afghanistan had been made by Sir Henry Fane with reference to the results of his personal inspection. Where all were thus eminently fitted for the destined service, it was difficult to determine what portion should be left behind. The solution was intrusted to chance; lots were cast, and the fortune of marching onward fell to the following portions of the army:—the first, second, and fourth brigades of infantry, the second troop, second brigade of horse artillery, the camel battery of nine-pounders. The disappointment of the remainder was soothed by the most flattering expressions of approbation from the commander-in-chief. A further change affecting this distinguished officer resulted from the receipt of the intelligence respecting Herat. The health of Sir Henry Fane was rapidly failing, the ordinary influence of an Indian climate having accelerated the effects of a long career of active military service. He was about to proceed to Europe when the expedition against Afghanistan was resolved upon; and in taking the command of it, he sacrificed to a sense of duty the gratification of a strong desire for an immediate return to his own country. The change of circumstances had rendered his retirement practicable without discredit, and he availed himself of the opportunity to seek that restoration of health which, in an Asiatic climate, he could not hope for.*

* Sir Henry Fane was induced subsequently to continue somewhat longer with the Bengal force; he did not resume the actual
It was accordingly resolved that the command of the advancing detachment should be assumed by Sir Willoughby Cotton; and that, on the junction of the Bombay division, the chief command should devolve on Sir John Keane.*

Early in December the army of Shah Shoojah moved from Ferozepore, the privilege of precedence being thus given to the force which, according to official statement, was to be the principal arm by which the conquest of Affghanistan was to be effected. The Bengal division of the British army marched a few days afterwards.

On the 16th of January the Shah’s army arrived on the banks of the Indus, followed after a very short interval by the Bengal column. The march of the British force was performed with little loss except of camels; great numbers of these useful animals having been attacked by disease, attributed to change of forage combined with fatigue. The Shah’s army was equally fortunate, with the exception of some desertions: a very brief experience of the habits of a soldier’s life being found in many instances sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the newly enlisted warriors of which that army was

command, but accompanied it in the capacity of commander-in-chief in India. He quitted the force on the banks of the Indus in February, 1839, and died at St. Michael’s, 24th of March, 1840, on his passage home.

* The halt of a part of the Bengal force at Ferozepore led to some other changes: Brigadier Graham, who was to command the artillery, remained behind, and that part which advanced was in consequence commanded by Major Pew.
composed. The Shah's army crossed the river in boats; and though but few craft could be obtained for the service, the passage, through the good management of the officers superintending it, was effected in less than seven days. The British force was to take possession of Bukkur under a convention concluded by Captain Burnes with the Ameer; but some delay took place, partly in consequence of the non-arrival of the ratification of the convention by the governor-general, partly from the habits of systematic evasion common to Eastern princes. The keys were at length obtained, but deceit was yet apprehended; and in the prow of one of the vessels conveying the party about to take possession was placed a quantity of powder deemed sufficient to blow in the great gate.* It was, however, not required; neither resistance nor further evasion was attempted, and the British force marched into Bukkur as calmly as they would have performed an ordinary evolution on parade.

The advance of the Bengal column towards the point where it was intended to act was here arrested by intelligence relative to the situation of the Bombay force, and the course of the negotiations in Sinde conducted by Captain Pottinger. This intelligence appeared to render it expedient that the march of the column should be turned towards

* The fortress of Bukkur is situated on an island in the Indus, between the towns of Roece on the eastern bank, and Sukkur on the western—the eastern channel, being that which separates it from Roece, and by which the British force approached, is about four hundred yards in width.
Hyderabad in Lower Sinde, and it accordingly moved in that direction; but its progress was checked by further information intimating that a change of circumstances had rendered its approach towards Hyderabad unnecessary.* The column accordingly returned to Bukkur, where preparations had been made for crossing the Indus. This was effected by a bridge of boats, over which the troops, baggage, buxies, and cattle were passed without a single accident. Previously to this event the army

* According to Captain Havelock, this latter information was extremely unwelcome. He says, "At this period the spirits of every soldier in the Bengal contingent were buoyant and high; before us lay Hyderabad—it was known to contain the accumulated wealth of the most affluent as well as powerful of the branches of the Talpore family, amounting in specie, jewels and other valuables, and ingots of gold, to eight crores of Scindian rupees well told, or not less than eight millions sterling. Such a prize is not often in a century—even in India—presented to the grasp of a British army."—Narrative, vol. i. page 151. A few pages afterwards he says, "In a moment all our visions of glory and booty were dispelled—it was announced to us that the Ameers were at length brought to a sense of their impending danger, and that, compelled to comprehend that a few days would, according to every calculation of human prudence, deprive them at once of their independence, their capital, and the accumulated treasures of years, they had accepted unreservedly all the conditions of the treaty laid before them by Colonel Pottinger."—Page 155. "Vainly repining, therefore, at the change in events which had given this small sum [ten lacs] to the state, instead of endowing the army with eight crores, its officers and men, with light purses and heavy hearts, turned their backs on Hyderabad, from which they had hoped never to recede until they had made its treasure their own, and put to a stern proof that Beloche valour which had so loudly vaunted its power to arrest their further progress; and fix on the banks of the Indus the war which they had set out resolved to carry into the centre of Afghanistan."—Page 157.
of Shah Shoojah had advanced to Shikarpoor, whence a detachment was dispatched to take possession of Larkana, a place of some importance, being a great mart for rice, and also the depot for the artillery of the Ameers of Sinde.

On the 20th of February the head of the Bengal column was at Shikarpoor. Up to this time the army distinguished as that of Shah Shoojah maintained the place to which it was entitled in virtue of being considered the principal force by which the exiled King was to assert his title to reign in Afghanistan,—it had taken the lead, being followed at a convenient distance by the Bengal force, regarded as an auxiliary. Subsequently, however, the order of march was changed—the British troops led, the Shah’s army followed.* On the 10th of March the head-quarters were at Dadur, a town situate near the entrance to the Bolan Pass; through this the column marched to Quetta, where it arrived on the 26th.

It will now be convenient to revert to the Bombay force, the composition of which has already been detailed.† The facilities afforded by the opportunity of water transport were resorted to, and the force

* The following is Major Hough’s account of the change, and it cannot be deemed that it is quite satisfactory:—“Though his Majesty took the lead up to Shikarpoor, it was desired that the British troops should move in advance, being better able to cope with an enemy. Had any check been given to the contingent, raised but recently, it might have been serious; and, besides, we should have been deprived of the best of the little forage we expected, and we had more cattle to provide for.”

† See page 155.
sailed from Bombay in November, 1838, and its disembarkation was effected in the vicinity of Vikkur, in the same month. The Ameers of Sinde were to have made preparations for providing camels and supplies, but they had made none. In consequence the army was detained at Vikkur until the 24th of December, when it commenced its march for Tatta, at which place Sir John Keane arrived on the 28th. Here the army was further detained for a considerable period.

Nominally in the territory of a friendly power, the British force in Sinde experienced little of active friendship. The Ameers of Sinde had always manifested great disinclination to the formation of any intimate connection with the British government; but as a more fitting opportunity will occur for inquiring into the questions at issue between the parties, attention will not in this place be distracted from the main purpose of the narrative. It will suffice to state, that differences existed, and that great difficulty was found in arranging them. The existence of these differences had occasioned the Bengal army to deviate from their direct route for the purpose of approaching Hyderabad, and the accommodation which was effected occasioned its return. The dread created by the vicinity of two British armies undoubtedly led to the pacific conclusion which terminated a series of proceedings in which the extreme verge of hostility was approached. The Bombay army advanced through Sinde; and
on the 4th of March was officially declared to have become part of the "army of the Indus."

Previously to this, a reserve force under Brigadier Valiant had been dispatched from Bombay to Sinde; it was composed of her Majesty's 40th foot, a body of native infantry about two thousand two hundred strong, consisting of the 2nd grenadiers and the 22nd and 26th Bombay regiments, a detail of pioneers, and a detachment of artillery. At the desire of Colonel Pottinger, Sir Frederick Maitland, the naval commander-in-chief in India, proceeded to Kurrachee in her Majesty's ship *Wellesley*, having on board the 40th and the detachment of artillery. He arrived at that place on the evening of the 1st of February, and was there joined by the *Berenice* steamer and the *Euphrates*, having on board the 2nd grenadiers native infantry. The fort was summoned, and a quarter of an hour allowed to the commandant to decide his course. Upon his declining to surrender, five companies of the 40th were landed, and a position taken up by them in the rear of the fortress. The broadside of the *Wellesley* was brought to bear on the opposite face at a distance of eight or nine hundred yards, and these preparations having been made, a second summons was sent to the commandant. A second refusal followed, and the discharge of a gun from the fortress announced, apparently, the intention of those within to make a defence. The fire of the *Wellesley* was
immediately opened, and with such effect, that in less than an hour the entire face against which it was directed was a heap of ruins. The troops who had been landed then entered the breach and took possession of the fort without resistance. It turned out that the garrison consisted of only twenty men, and these had fled, seeking shelter under the cliffs on the opposite side to that at which the British party entered; they were all made prisoners. The fort being occupied, the authorities of the town were required to give up military possession of it to the British, and with this demand they thought it prudent to comply without any delay. The capture of Kurrachee took place on the 2nd of February, at which time the final course of the Ameers was altogether matter of doubt, and it had certainly some effect in aiding the negotiations in progress at Hydrabad.

The Bombay column of the "army of the Indus" pursued its march to Dadur, and eventually took the same route to Afghanistan that had been pursued by the Bengal force. On the 16th of April, Sir John Keane, commander-in-chief, established his head-quarters at Quetta, with the advance column—that of Bengal—the Bombay column being several marches in the rear. The advance of neither column was marked by events worthy of being dwelt upon. Both portions of the army suffered great privations for want of adequate supplies; both were subjected to great inconveniences from the deficiency of beasts of burden; both were continually annoyed by rob-
bers—a large portion of the population among which they were moving having no occupation but plunder. These persons pursued their trade up to the very verge of the encampments of the British force, and, though the punishment of death was in some cases summarily inflicted, no effect seems thereby to have been produced on the associates of those who suffered. Indeed, it was not probable that any should be produced—they would regard the loss of life as an accident common to their profession—a contingency inseparable from the exercise of it.

The dangerous and difficult Kojuk Pass was traversed in succession by the two columns, and on the 20th of April the head-quarters were at Kandahar. The Bombay column arrived at that place on the 7th of May. The city was occupied without opposition, the Sirdars having taken alarm and fled. On the 8th Shah Shoojah was solemnly enthroned. The united British army of Bengal and Bombay was drawn up in line in front of the city, to the extent of seven thousand five hundred men. A platform was erected to answer the purpose of a musnud, to which the Shah proceeded on horseback, through a line of troops of his own contingent. On his approaching the British lines, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and on his passing down the line there was a general salute, accompanied by the lowering of colours in honour of his Majesty. On his ascending the throne a salvo was discharged from a hundred and one pieces of artillery. Sir
John Keane and the other principal authorities then offered nuzzurs; care being taken that the number of coins presented should in every case be an uneven one, this circumstance being an omen of good luck. Finally, the "army of the Indus" marched round in review order in front of the throne, and thus the ceremony concluded.

The march to Kandahar was a great military triumph, though no enemy, deserving the name, had been encountered, but it was attended by great suffering and great loss. "It must be confessed," says Captain Havelock, "that hitherto our task has been escorting, not campaigning, but this pacific duty has been performed under arduous circumstances; and the exposure to the vicissitudes of climate, the fatigue, and the deficiency of food and water, which tried the strength and resolution of our troops between Quetta and Kandahar, as well as the active hostility of the predatory tribes, ought never to be despised as military difficulties. How gladly would our army have exchanged them for the most determined opposition of the Afghans in the field! How often did our officers long for a battle to raise the sinking spirits of the soldier and make him feel that he was not labouring and suffering in vain."

Some conception of the privations endured may be formed from the recital of a few facts. When the Bengal column reached Kandahar, the troops, European and native camp followers, and mustered establishments, had been for periods varying from

* Narrative, vol. i. pages 332, 333.
twenty-eight to forty-eight days on diminished rations. Money allowances to meet the deficiency had been made to the natives, both combatant and non-combatant, but there was scarcely an opportunity of expending them, for provisions were not to be procured. The sufferings of the army for want of water were still less endurable. Referring to a part of the period during which the Bengal column were subjected to the above severe privations in regard to food, Captain Havelock says, "The plain on which our camp is now pitched is not, like the level of Siriab, watered by deep and well-supplied kahreezes,* carrying coolness and the promise of fertility down their slopes. A small cut through which we found water, flowing from a spring-head in the mountains, has alone supplied us with the useful element since first we advanced to this point. This little channel, the Kandahar sirdars have caused to be dammed up near its source in the hills, and behold two bold brigades and the levy of the Shah reduced to the greatest straits. Horses, already half-starved for want of grain and good grass, were throughout the day panting in all the agonies of thirst; and in the evening a few drops of water could not be obtained even to mix the medicines of the sick in our hospitals, or to supply them with the refreshment and comfort of a few spoonfuls of tea. All ranks have been taught to understand to-day, how little prized when plentiful, how outrageously de-

* Subterranean aqueducts.
manded when scarce, is that bounteous provision for the wants of God's creatures, water! Weary of the delays which had kept us so long at Dundi Goolacee, we moved forward on the 21st* into the plains which we had surveyed from the summit of the Kojuk Pass, recognizing all the distinctive peaks of the scattered hills which we had observed from that commanding height. We saw them now magnified as we approached them, and casting a dark shade over the plains which they overhung. Anxious looks were from time to time cast towards these green eminences, and their bases were carefully searched for any small streams which might supply the urgent wants of a thirsting force.” The search, it appears, was vain, and Captain Havelock thus continues:—“It was not very pleasant to discover that this day, too, we must depend for a supply of the indispensable element on the stream of a small and imperfect kahreez. Its water was brackish, and flowed scantily and sluggishly. Thousands of brass *lotas* and leathern buckets were soon dipped into the little channel; and though proper regulations were promptly established, one-half of the force had not been watered before the scarcity commenced. Soon diluted mud alone could be obtained, and whole regiments, under a burning sun, with parched lips, sighed for night to cool them, and then for morning, that they might move on to a happier spot. The troops were buoyed up towards evening with fallacious hopes of the waters of a spring, actually

* April, 1839.
discovered in the hills, being brought down to their relief into the plains; but up to the hour of early march no stream had begun to flow into the dry bed of a nullah,* on which many were gazing in hope. The sufferings of the soldiers, both European and native, were for some hours so great as nearly to tempt some for a moment to forget the restraints of discipline; and never do its principles achieve a greater triumph than when troops are seen obedient and respectful, and trying to be cheerful, under this form of privation. At Killa Puttoollah, officers of the highest rank were brought to acknowledge the value of this simple element. This was no time for the luxurious ablutions which, under the sun of Central Asia, preserve health and restore strength; no time to waste a single drop of the precious fluid on any bodily comfort, or for any purpose but preparing food or slaking a raging thirst; and thousands felt this day that all the gifts of that God, whose public praise and ordinances were forgotten on this Sabbath of unwilling penance, would have been worthless to man, if in his anger he had withheld the often despised blessing of water. The kindness and consideration with which some officers of no low rank shared the little portion of the much coveted fluid which they could obtain with the privates around them, was creditable to their humanity, and ought to have won the confidence and affections of those whom they commanded.”† On the following day, the

* Artificial water-course.
† Narrative, vol. i. pp. 319—322.
column, after marching ten miles, was compelled to proceed further, from an apprehension of the want of water. Captain Havelock thus describes its progress:—"Forward the brigade moved, to finish a second march of ten miles, their horses dropping from drought and exhaustion as they toiled on, and leaving in the mountain passes melancholy traces of this day's sufferings and perseverance. When the cavalry had thus got over five miles, in the course of which British dragoons and native troopers were seen eagerly sharing with their chargers muddy and fetid water drawn from puddles at the side of the road, the very sight of which would, in Hindostan, have equally sickened all to whom it was offered; they struck into a by-road on their left, and winding their way by a narrow path through an opening in the undulating eminences, found themselves towards evening on the banks of a plentiful stream. The rush of unbridled indulgence of the troops and their horses into its waters, after all the privations of the morning, may fairly be described as uncontrollable. What moderation was to be expected from man or beast breaking forth from the restraints of a two days' unwilling abstinence?"*

* Narrative, vol. i. pp. 323, 324. Referring to this occurrence, Major Hough says (note on page 92 of Narrative), "those who were present describe the scene as most appalling. The moment the horses saw the water, they made a sudden rush into the river as if mad; both men and horses drank till they nearly burst themselves. Officers declare that their tongues cleaved to the roofs of their mouths. The water was very brackish, which induced them to drink the more."

Major Hough concludes with the observation, "no officer present ever witnessed such a scene of distress."
These sufferings were endured by men, not fresh from a state of repose or of ordinary exertion, but worn with the fatigues of a march of many hundred miles, parts of which lay through tracts of great difficulty. They had been subjected, also, to fatigues far exceeding the ordinary measure of military labour, in proof of which, the march through the Kojuk Pass may be referred to. Through a portion of this defile, the battery and field train of the army had to be dragged up and lowered down by human agency, the situation rendering impracticable the employment of beasts for the purpose. The duty was consequently performed by parties of European infantry. When to the pressure of consuming hunger, maddening thirst, and the most exhausting fatigue, is added the irritating annoyance of constant alarm and frequent attacks from hordes of cowardly robbers, it will be obvious that the march of the British force, though unmarked by any conflict deserving the name of an action, made a far severer demand upon the spirits and soldierly qualities of those by whom it was performed, than many a brilliant campaign, the events of which glow in the page of the historian, and are embalmed in traditional recollections. The task was not accomplished without great sacrifices. The loss of beasts, especially, was enormous. Useful and valuable baggage was in some cases abandoned from the deficiency of camels for its transport; those patient and enduring animals having perished in incredible numbers. The loss of horses was unusually great. The Bengal army lost not fewer than three hundred
and fifty—nearly one-seventh of the entire number employed. The Bombay column was rather more fortunate, but the loss, notwithstanding, was considerable.*

At Kandahar the army enjoyed a brief interval of comparative rest; but beyond this, little cessation of its difficulties was experienced. Provisions still continued scarce, and robberies were as frequent as before. Some reasons for doubting the alleged popularity of Shah Shoojah had by this time begun to manifest themselves. No alacrity was shewn in joining his standard, though he was now by virtue of the British arms in possession of one of the chief cities of Afghanistan, and was about to march upon the other with the best prospects of success. It was the custom of the princes of Afghanistan, when they required the services of a clan, to send a supply of money, ostensibly for "shoeing the horses"—actually to provide all necessaries; to do which, in most cases, without such aid, would have been neither within the power nor consonant to the will of the parties to whom the appeal was made. In conformity with this custom, Shah Shoojah sent ten thousand rupees to the Ghiljije chiefs,† in the hope of inducing them to join him. The aid, in accordance with established precedent, was accompanied by a copy of the Koran, on which

* Hough’s Narrative, p. 102. Outram’s Rough Notes, p. 89.
† The Ghiljije tribe is one of the most powerful in Afghanistan, and, after the Dooranees and the Eusufzais, probably the most numerous.
the chiefs were expected to swear allegiance to the Shah; and this ceremony, combined with the retention by them of the book, would have been a pledge of adherence to the royal cause. This pledge, however, the Shah was not destined to receive, nor was the withholding it the only disappointment connected with the transaction; for while the chiefs returned the book, they did not feel the necessity of acting in the same manner with regard to the money. The latter they kept, though they refused the pledge which it was intended to purchase.

From Kandahar a detachment was sent to take possession of Giriskh, a fort on the Helmund, situate about seventy-five miles distant. The duty was performed without any difficulty except that opposed by the river, which at that period of the year* is deep and rapid. It was crossed by means of rafts composed of empty casks, and the fort having been evacuated by the hostile authorities, the British party had nothing to do but to place Shah Shoojah’s garrison in possession. This was accomplished, and the party returned to Kandahar after a very brief absence. The British army was detained there, chiefly by the difficulty of procuring supplies, till the 27th of June: on that day an event occurred which, though not known to Shah Shoojah or his allies till some weeks afterwards, might have altogether changed the aspect of affairs in Afghanistan. This was the death of the Seik ruler, Runjeet Singh. His army was at that time employed in

* May.
Peshawur, in support of the objects of the Tripartite treaty. His death, whenever it might occur, was expected to lead to much change and great confusion; and it was to be apprehended that, happening at so critical a period, the event might have placed Shah Shoojah and his British ally in a most embarrassing position. Of the imminence of the danger they were, however, ignorant, though it was known that the "Lion of the Punjab" was seriously ill.

The march towards Kabool was commenced under circumstances not the most auspicious. A large convoy of grain furnished by the Lohani merchants* had been brought in safely, and this would

* The Lohanis are a large migratory tribe, extensively engaged in commerce, which they carry on under circumstances of romantic interest. In the winter their families and bulky property, together with their herds, which are very extensive, are left under charge of a force sufficient for their protection in the daman or border, an extensive district, stretching between the Suliman mountains and the Indus. The rest of the tribe travel to collect merchandize suited to the markets which they propose to visit, in search of which they sometimes proceed as far as Bombay and Calcutta. On the return of spring they rendezvous at Drabund, and thence advance to dispose of their goods in Central Asia and Afghanistan. The country which they have to traverse is little suited to the peaceful pursuit of commerce, being haunted by predatory tribes, through whom the Lohanis have to fight their way at the Goolairee Pass, across the Suliman mountains, which is their ordinary route. The Lohani people are at once a pastoral, a mercantile, and a warlike race; and their habits appear to be unchanged from the time of the Sultan Baber, who, in his memoirs, boasts of having plundered them.

The convoy of grain procured by these shepherd-warrior-merchants for the British force was not unvisited by difficulty and danger. The convoy encountered much resistance in the Bolan and Kojuk Passes (by which in this instance the Lohanis had
have enabled the army to march with full rations; but the Lohanis refused to accompany the army, and no means for the conveyance of the grain could be obtained. The consequence was, that this supply proceeded), and many persons belonging to it were wounded. The whole of the party were armed, and the leader, Surwar Khan, is represented as a most determined man. His mode of dealing seems to indicate that such was the case. His own account of it was as follows:—If he were plundered, or even if he were refused grain at any place, he took means without delay to inflict summary and signal punishment. He unloaded and piled his goods, and leaving a competent guard to protect them, advanced with the rest of his followers upon the village from which the offence had been received, which was forthwith attacked, and all its inhabitants who failed to find safety in flight being put to the sword, the wrath of the irritated Lohanis was finally appeased by the complete demolition of their place of abode. This achieved, the leader and his men reloaded their beasts and pursued their course.

The safe arrival at Kandahar of the convoy intended for the use of the British army there seems to have been endangered from causes other than the attacks of the predatory hordes by which the road was infested; and had not a party of local horse been dispatched to look out for it, there is reason to believe that its destination would have been changed. Some emissaries of Dost Mahomed Khan had secretly joined the convoy between Quetta and Kandahar, and had endeavoured to persuade the Lohani chief to carry his merchandize to Kabool for the benefit of their master. They had succeeded in corrupting many of the inferior persons employed, and would, perhaps, have carried their purpose, had they not been narrowly watched. One of these emissaries was seized and brought prisoner to the British camp. The zeal and vigilance manifested on this occasion by the ressaldar of the local horse, named Uzeem Khan, was so striking, that he was specially sent for by the commander-in-chief, who, after in adequate terms acknowledging his services, presented him with a beautiful pair of English pistols in token of his approbation. —See Hough's Narrative, pp. 126, 127.
—for the arrival of which the troops had been for some time detained—was obliged to be left in Kandahar, and the troops and followers to march on half rations.

Little occurred worthy of notice until the arrival of the army, on the 20th July, at Nannee, situated ten miles from Ghuznee. Here preparations were made for the attack of the latter place, which proved a fortress of considerable strength, and was the residence of one of Dost Mahomed's sons, who dwelt there in the capacity of governor. The army marched from Nannee early on the morning of the 21st in three columns. On the advance arriving within a short distance of the fortress, it was perceived that preparations were made for stopping its progress. The men engaged in this work were, however, soon drawn from the open ground into the outworks, and the British horse artillery guns being brought up, a fire was commenced on the fort, with shrapnells and shot, at the distance of about seven hundred yards. This movement appears to have been introduced for no other object but to ascertain the extent and power of the enemy's fire, which was forthwith opened, and caused some casualties among the British troops before they were withdrawn from its reach.

The appearance of Ghuznee seems to have unpleasantly surprised those who were to direct the force of the British arms against it. It had been represented as very weak, and as completely com-
manded from the adjacent hills.* Further, those who professed to have a deep knowledge of the most secret springs of action among the Afghans, reiterated the most positive assurances that neither Kabool nor Ghuznee would be defended, and these assurances seem to have received implicit belief.† In consequence, a small battering train, which had been dragged at an enormous cost several hundred miles to Kandahar, was left there, it being very desirable, on account of the scarcity of cattle, to reduce as far as practicable the demand for their labour. The impressions, however, afforded by the aspect of Ghuznee did not correspond with those derived from the reports received at Kandahar. "We were very much surprised," says the chief engineer of the army of the Indus, Captain Thomson, "to find a high rampart in good repair, built on a scarped mound about thirty-five feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a fausse braye and a wet ditch. The irregular figure of the enceinte gave a good flanking fire, whilst the height of the citadel covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills to the north, rendering it nugatory. In addition to this, the towers at the angles had been enlarged; screen walls had been built before the gates; the ditch cleared out and filled with water (stated to be unfordable), and an outwork

* Memoranda of the engineers' operations before Ghuznee in July, 1839.
built on the right bank of the river, so as to command the bed of it.”* Such was the impression made by the first near view of the fortress of Ghuznee. “The works,” Captain Thomson adds, “were evidently much stronger than we had been led to anticipate, and such as our army could not venture to attack in a regular manner with the means at our disposal. We had no battering train, and to attack Ghuznee in form a much larger train would be required than the army ever possessed. The great height of the parapet above the plain (sixty or seventy feet), with the wet ditch, were insurmountable obstacles to an attack merely by mining or escalading.”†

A nephew of Dost Mahomed Khan had quitted Ghuznee, and taken refuge with the British force as it approached the place, and he afforded some information highly valuable to those who proposed to attack it. The knowledge thus acquired was improved by a careful and minute reconnaissance. The engineers, with an escort, went round the works, approaching as near as it was practicable to find cover. The garrison were aware of these proceedings, and kept up a hot fire on the officers whenever they were obliged to shew themselves. The fortifications were ascertained to be of about equal strength in every part. There were several gates, but all excepting one, called the Kabool gate, because opening on the face of the fortress in the direction of that city, had, it was reported, been closed

* Memoranda ut supra. † Ibid.
by the erection of walls across them.* This gate was deemed by the engineer officers the only eligible point for attack; the advantages which it presented were thus stated by Captain Thomson:—"The road up to the gate was clear—the bridge over the ditch was unbroken—there were good positions for the artillery within three hundred and fifty yards of the walls on both sides of the road, and we had information that the gateway was not built up, a reinforcement from Kabool being expected." The result of the observation of the engineers, therefore, was a report to the commander-in-chief, "that if he decided on the immediate attack of Ghuznee, the only feasible mode of attack, and the only one which held out a prospect of success, was a dash at the Kabool gateway, blowing the gate open by bags of powder."†

The army, on arriving before Ghuznee, had encamped on the southern side of the fortress. The report of the engineers, and the determination of the commander-in-chief to act upon its suggestions, rendered a change of position necessary, and the force had not been encamped above three hours when it received orders again to march. It moved from the ground first taken up, in the afternoon, in two columns. The march was rendered somewhat circuitous by the necessity of keeping beyond the range of the guns of the fortress. The troops were wearied

* Major Hough seems to doubt whether any of these gates were thus closed.—See Narrative, p. 189.
† Memoranda ut supra.
by the march of the morning, and there were some
difficulties to be overcome, among them the passage
of the river Logur, as well as several small water-
courses; a lofty range of heights, lying to the north-
west of the place and opposite to the guns of the
citadel, lay in the route of one column; the ascent
was attended with great labour, and some peril—and
this accomplished, the descent was scarcely less
laborious and dangerous. When the regiments of
the first division had surmounted all these difficulties,
and arrived at their ground, which was not until
long after nightfall, the baggage and camp followers
were still far in the rear, and the troops were,
consequently, obliged to pass the interval which
yet remained before the light of morning could be
expected, in a state of famishing and shivering des-
titution. They had neither tents nor rations, and
were thus sentenced for some hours to hunger and
a bivouac. Shots were occasionally fired from the
fortress, but they produced no damage, and seemed
to have no object but that of shewing to those
without the fortress that those within were awake.
Lights were displayed from the citadel, and these
seemed to be answered by the kindling of fires in
the surrounding country. Conjecture on the mean-
ing of these signals offered food for meditation to
the weary but sleepless occupants of the British
lines.

The situation of the besiegers through this
comfortless night is thus depicted by one of them-
selves:—"It was known that Mahomed Ufzul
Khan, another son of the Ameer of Kabool, had marched down from the capital with the view of de-blockading Ghuznee, and was now close to us. The forces of the Ghiljies, Abdoolruhman and Gool Moohummud, were in the field at no great distance. A party, also, of fanatics from the Sooluman Kheils, who had taken arms when a religious war had, as a last resource, been proclaimed by the tottering Barukzyes, now occupied the heights to the eastward of the valley in which the fortress stands. Reflections on these circumstances and on our want of a battering train, the glimmering of the lights on the hostile battlements and in the plains, and the chill of the night air, effectually chased away slumber until day broke on the 22nd.”*


On such a movement as that described in the text, and of the reasons by which it might be justified, the judgment of military men must be far preferable to that of a non-professional inquirer. The following note from the work of Major Hough (p. 169) will therefore be interesting:—"Captain Outram says, it was confidently stated that Dost Mahomed Khan himself marched on the 16th (of July). The distance is eighty-eight miles (we made seven marches), and by regular marches he would have reached Ghuznee on the 22nd (next day), and as this day (21st) he would have been within one march, and would have heard the firing, he would, it was to be supposed, push on; so that there was a great object in not delaying in changing ground. As in 1834, Dost Mahomed had moved from Kabool to defend Kandahar against the Shah, the presumptions were in favour of his march to Ghuznee. We knew from Dost Mahomed’s own nephew that two of the three gates were blocked up; and it was argued by some that the sudden movement to the Kabool gate, which was said not to be built up, would put the enemy on their guard, and cause that gate also to be secured; whereas, by a march in the morning, it
The first employment of the welcome dawn was to rescue the baggage, camp followers, and sick, from the various points to which they had been led in the bewilderment of a night march over unknown ground, and to bring them to the place selected for encampment. It was mid-day before the whole of the baggage reached the camp.* The commander-in-chief and the engineers made another reconnoissance on this day, and the result of their observations tended to confirm the resolutions previously taken. The day was enlivened by the descent from the hills of some fanatical opponents of Shah Shoojah, with the intention of attacking his camp. They were charged by the Shah's cavalry, and driven back. Captain Outram, at the head of a party of the Shah's infantry, followed them into their fastnesses, and succeeded in capturing many prisoners, and even the holy banner of green and white, under which the horde had been brought together.†

would not appear so suspicious. The movement was a delicate one, being a march in two columns by two different routes; for it involved a night march for the rear and much of the baggage, if not for the troops, as we were not to march till four in the afternoon, and the route for both columns could not be well known. The march in two columns would, it was concluded, expedite the movements; but then there were two columns of baggage to protect, and we could not protect that of the column on the right. The march of the baggage at all that night was inconvenient, and we gained no time by it."


† The conclusion of this affair is painful to relate. "The Shah's troopers," says Captain Havelock, "decapitated some of the slain, and brought their heads in triumph into the camp; a
The requisite orders for the attack on Ghuznee were circulated among the commanding officers in barbarous practice, too nearly akin to the customs of our opponents, and unworthy of imitation by the soldiers of a King acting as the ally in the field of the British." But this instance of barbarism, which justly calls forth the indignation of Captain Have-lock, was not the worst. The prisoners taken were fifty or sixty in number. The whole, or part of them, were brought into the presence of the Shah, for what purpose is not distinctly apparent. According to some accounts, the Shah reproached them in violent language; but whether this were so or not, it is admitted on all hands that the prisoners, under the influence of fanaticism, and possibly also of grosser stimulants, reviled the prince with great bitterness. One of them drew a dagger and stabbed one of Shah Shoojah's attendants in the royal presence—the whole party were thereupon put to death; but the circumstances of the catastrophe, as given in different statements, are marked by great and irreconcilable variations; all that can be done is to give the different statements as delivered by respectable authorities. Captain Havelock says—"The most audacious of them [the prisoners], after repeated warnings to desist from their traitorous invectives, were carried out and beheaded by the royal executioners."—Narrative, vol. ii. p. 69. Captain Outram dismisses the matter very briefly, as well as very vaguely. After relating that one of the prisoners stabbed a servant of the King in the open durbar, he continues—"an offence for which the whole are said to have atoned with their lives."—Rough Notes, p. 112. Dr. Kennedy's account is not much more positive, though far more circumstantial. The most important features of his statement are the following:—"The King, it is said, forthwith ordered the whole party, upwards of sixty in number, to be put to death.

* * * A British officer of the Bombay column was said to have accidentally witnessed the destruction of these miserable creatures, and his statement, as it reached me, was that they were huddled together, pinioned, some sitting, some lying on the ground, some standing, and four or five executioners armed with heavy Afghan knives—a something betwixt a sword and a dagger, the shape of a carving-knife, two feet long in the blade, broad, and heavy,—were very coolly, and in no sort of hurry, hacking and hewing at their necks, one after the other, till all were be-
the evening, and so much of them communicated to
the troops as was necessary to enable them to perform
an account very different from those of Captain Havelock and Dr.
Kennedy, though it may not be inconsistent with the very general
language employed by Captain Outram. It is as follows:—
"With regard to the prisoners taken on the 22nd of July, on the
day of the attack on Shah Shoojah's camp, twenty-five of the
followers of the father-in-law of Dost Mahomed, who was killed,
were brought to the King (I believe next day), who offered to
pardon them. One of them was very abusive to the King, and
stabbed one of his own servants, who was standing behind him;
upon which his Majesty's attendants rushed on these people, and
killed them, but this was by no order from Shah Shoojah.” In a
note, Major Hough adds—"This was the statement given by an
officer, a relation of the envoy and minister.”—Narrative, p. 218.
Thus stands the case:—The accounts are various and conflicting,
they all rest ultimately on anonymous authority, and even the
channels through which they reached the reporters are not
named. All that can be depended upon is, that a number of
persons were put to death; but whether these were a part only, or
the whole of those taken, whether their number did not exceed
twenty-five or amounted to sixty or more, whether the execu-
tion was the consequence of the deliberate orders of the Shah,
or of the excited passions of his adherents, acting without author-
ity,—all these points are left in doubt. If Shah Shoojah
ordered or connived at the murder, a foul stain is thereby brought
on his character. The man who had made an attempt on the
life of the Shah's attendant might justly have been punished, but
the slaughter in cold blood of the whole, or a part, of the other
prisoners, cannot be regarded but with feelings of abhorrence.
Shah Shoojah was not in a position that could justify the inflic-
tion of the extreme penalty for treason. He had re-entered the
dominions in which, since his expulsion, a new generation had
grown up, and he had formally assumed the sovereignty, but he
had yet much to win, or rather his British ally had much to win
for him. In relation to this dark transaction, there is one ground
of satisfaction to an English inquirer—there is no evidence to
shew that it was countenanced by any British authority.
what was required.* The various parties of the British force destined to take part in the attack were in position before daylight. The night was stormy, and loud gusts of wind tended to deprive the besieged of the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the movements of their assailants from the noise with which they were inevitably attended. Within the fort a dead calm prevailed, not a shot was fired, and some suspicion was entertained that the place had been evacuated.

When all were in position, the attention of the enemy was partially diverted by a false attack. The British batteries opened, and were answered from the fortress. In the meantime, the explosion party were preparing themselves for the assault, which it was anticipated would put the British force in possession of the place. The party consisted of Captain Peat, of the Bombay engineers; Lieutenants Durand and Mc Cleod, Bengal engineers; three serjeants, and eighteen men of the sappers. The

* The alacrity and noble spirit displayed by the troops, even under circumstances which might have excused some lack of these qualities, are vouched for by all who witnessed their conduct. Major Hough says:—"All the sick in hospital capable of doing any duty were put on the inferior camp guards: it was found difficult to keep the men in hospital; they all desired to go."—Narrative, p. 176. Dr. Kennedy says:—"On visiting the hospital tents of her Majesty’s 2nd and 17th regiments, I was surprised to find them cleared of sick—the gallant fellows had all but risen in mutiny on their surgeons, and insisted upon joining their comrades."—Narrative, vol. ii. p. 46.
charge ordinarily recommended to be employed for blowing open gates is sixty to one hundred and twenty pounds of powder, but as it was apprehended that the enemy might have taken alarm at the approach of the British army to that side of the place on which the Kabool gate was situated, and might thereupon have strengthened the gate,* the charge was increased to three hundred pounds. The movements of the explosion party were discerned from the ramparts, but the enemy did not penetrate their precise object. Blue lights were thrown up to afford them a better opportunity of ascertaining what was in progress, but being burned from the top of the parapet instead of being thrown into the passage below, they afforded little assistance to those who employed them. Had they been thrown over, it would, in the opinion of Captain Peat, have been impossible to place the powder. As it was, the besieged were content with firing from loop-holes upon the explosion party, and those by which they were protected, and these random operations produced little effect. The powder accordingly was placed, the hose laid, and the train fired. The gate was instantly blown away, together with a considerable part of the roof of the square building in which it was placed. Captain Peat was struck down and stunned, but recovering almost immediately, had the gratification of finding that the operation of which he had been the acting conductor had entirely

* It is said that some attempts had been made to prop up the gate with beams of timber.
succeeded. The batteries poured their fire into the works, and the bugle sounded for the assaulting column to push on. It was commanded by Brigadier Sale, and consisted of her Majesty’s 2nd, Major Carruthers; 13th, Major Fraser; 17th, Lieutenant Colonel Croker; and the Bengal European regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Orchard. The advance, under Lieutenant Colonel Dennie, entered the gateway, followed by the remainder of the column. A series of desperate struggles took place within the gateway* and town, and several

* The difficulties encountered in the gateway are thus described by Colonel Dennie himself. The passage forms part of a letter from which an extract appeared in the Asiatic Journal for October, 1842.—“The most trying and critical part of the affair was when I found myself in the dark vault of the gateway; the blue lights the enemy had thrown down became, by the time we ascended the mound or camp, extinguished, and we were involved in total darkness. As friend could not be distinguished from foe, and firing whilst mixed up with these ruffians would have been destruction to us, I forbade it with all my energies, and nothing was done but by the feel. The clashing of the sabre and musket, and sensible sounds of the blows and stabs—the cries and groans of those suffering and trampled upon, to one in cold blood would have been very horrid; but sense with me was occupied in trying to find the gate. Neither to the front nor to the left, nor even long to the right could I perceive one ray of light; but at last, groping and feeling the wall, I discovered to the right hand, high up, a gleam of sky or stars, and found a dense mass of Afghans still closed up the outlet, and obscured the sight so desired. Then it was I ordered a volley from the leading section, and the effect was complete; down fell the obstacles before us, and a crushing fire kept up incessantly by ordering ‘loaded men to the front’ as fast as the leading sections gave their volley, brought up, fired, while those in turn were covered, and reloaded. We had no time to practise street-firing; but instinct or impulse supplied the place.
officers, amongst whom was Brigadier Sale,* were wounded. As soon as the storming party had well entered the centre square, the enemy made a general rush, some for the citadel, some for the houses, from

When fairly inside I increased my front, got all into their places that were on their legs, gave the three cheers ordered (as the signal of our having won the gate), and pushed on at the charge into the body of the place, driving before us a mighty crowd, who shewed us the road by the way they took.”

The entry of the main column was retarded in consequence of misinformation as to the success of the advance; but the mistake was soon rectified, and the onward march of the column resumed.

* The following account of the circumstances under which this distinguished officer received his wound is given by Captain Havelock:—“One of their number, rushing over the fallen timbers, brought down Brigadier Sale by a cut on the face with his sharp shum-sheer (Asiatic sabre). The Affghan repeated his blow as his opponent was falling, but the pummel, not the edge of his sword, this time took effect, though with stunning violence. He lost his footing, however, in the effort, and Briton and Affgan rolled together among the fractured timbers. Thus situated, the first care of the brigadier was to master the weapon of his adversary; he snatched at it, but one of his fingers met the edge of the trenchant blade. He quickly withdrew his wounded hand and adroitly replaced it on that of his adversary, so as to keep fast the hilt of his shum-sheer. But he had an active and powerful opponent, and was himself faint from loss of blood. Captain Kershaw, of the 13th, aide-de-camp to Brigadier Baumgardt, happened, in the mêlée, to approach the scene of conflict; the wounded leader recognized and called to him for aid: Kershaw passed his drawn sabre through the body of the Affghan; but still the desperado continued to struggle with frantic violence. At length, in the fierce grapple, the brigadier for a moment got uppermost. Still retaining the weapon of his enemy in his left hand, he dealt him, with his right, a cut from his own sabre, which cleft his skull from the crown to the eyebrows. The Mahomedan once shouted ‘Ue, Ullah!’ (Oh, God!) and never spoke or moved again.”—Narrative, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.
which those who gained possession of them kept up an annoying fire on the British force below. To the attack of the citadel her Majesty's 13th and 17th regiments moved, the latter leading. This was the residence of the governor. There, the female members of the principal families had been collected, and there, too, was the magazine and granary. A strong resistance was expected, but none was offered. The 17th, on arriving at the gates, forced its way in, followed closely by the 13th; and, while those below were watching for the effects of the heavy fire which it was anticipated would be poured on the assailants, the feeling of anxiety was suddenly exchanged for that of gratified astonishment, by the display of the colours of the two regiments on the top of the upper fort. The garrison had abandoned their guns and fled in all directions, casting themselves down, in some instances, from immense heights, in the hope of effecting their escape. The firing from the houses was kept up for some time after the capture of the citadel. Some fanatical Afghans, who had succeeded in picking off men from the parties employed in clearing the streets, obstinately refused quarter, and when escape was impossible, voluntarily rushed on death, consoled by reflecting that they died fighting the battle of the faith, and with the well-aimed shots which had sent so many infidels to their eternal home yet ringing in their ears. The reserve, under Sir Willoughby Cotton, which had entered immediately after the storming party, succeeded in clearing
many of the houses which had afforded shelter to combatants of this description.

Hyder Khan, the governor, had been led by the false attack away from the point where the real danger lay. On learning that the British troops were entering from an opposite direction, he rode back, but it was only to find that all was lost. He succeeded in reaching the citadel, though not without being exposed to some peril: a bayonet passed through the waistband of his dress, and his horse rearing, he was in danger of falling, the result of which would have been instant death; but he recovered himself, and finally surrendered to two officers of the Bengal army.*

"In sieges and stormings," observed Sir John Keane, in a general order issued after the capture of Ghuznee, "it does not fall to the lot of cavalry to bear the same conspicuous part as the two other arms of the profession." On this occasion, indeed, the employment of the cavalry, in the only duty for which it was fitted, was delayed by the apprehension of an attack on the British camp, or on the rear of the storming party. It was thought that Dost Mahommed Khan might march to the relief of Ghuznee, and one of his sons, Meer Ufzul Khan, with a force of five thousand horse, was actually in the immediate neighbourhood. It appears that he heard the firing, and waited only for daylight to learn the state of affairs in Ghuznee. Daylight came, and by its aid

* Captain A. W. Taylor, of the 1st European regiment, and Captain G. A. Macgregor, of the artillery.
the British flag was seen waving on the summit of the fortress. Meer Ufzul Khan, thereupon, made his way back to Kabool with all speed, abandoning his elephants and the whole of his baggage. The same light which warned the Afghan commander to withdraw, shewed to the British general that no reason existed for restraining his cavalry from pursuing the fugitives.

The loss of the enemy in the operations at Ghuznee does not appear susceptible of being estimated with any reasonable confidence of approaching accuracy; but it was undoubtedly great.* That of the British was comparatively small, amounting only to one hundred and ninety-one officers and men killed, wounded, and missing. In the first class, that of killed, not a single officer was included, but several were desperately wounded. Among those who suffered most were Major Warren, of the 1st Bengal European regiment, and Lieutenant Hazlewood, of the same.

A few days of repose followed the storming of Ghuznee, and during the interval, Nawaub Jubbur

* Upwards of five hundred were killed within the walls. About fifteen hundred prisoners were made, but with few exceptions they were released, it being (it is supposed) inconvenient to keep them. Some were Hindoos, found in the outworks, who declared that they had been pressed into the service. The chief gunner was a native of Hindostan. He succeeded in making his escape, but subsequently came in and gave the following naïve account of his feelings on the occasion:—"As soon as I heard the explosion, I knew the gates were blown open, and that you would storm the fort and take it without escalade, and I thought it time to be off."—Hough's Narrative.
Khan, brother of Dost Mahomed, arrived at the British camp with an overture for accommodation. The proposal was, that Shoojah should be acknowledged as the sovereign, but that Dost Mahomed should be his vizier. The answer on the part of the allies was, that Dost Mahomed would be provided for, but that he could not be retained in Afghanistan as vizier, nor be permitted to reside there at all, but must proceed to India. To this condition it was replied, that Dost Mahomed would not on any terms consent, and the negotiation ended.

On the 30th of July the army began to move towards Kabool. On its approach, Dost Mahomed, like his brothers at Kandahar, fled,* and on the 7th of August, the Shah, under the protection of the British force, made his public entry into his capital. It was graced by all the marks of honour which the British authorities could offer, and was deficient in

* His flight was soon known in the British camp, and a part of Shah Shoojah's force dispatched in pursuit of him, with a small detachment from that of the British, under Captain Outram. Had this officer been enabled to give effect to his own views, the fugitive chief would speedily have been overtaken; but the Shah's officer had no desire for such a result, and contrived effectually to avert it. This person was Hadjee Khan Kakur. He had raised himself from the rank of a dealer in melons to that of a powerful chief, and was notorious for the versatility and insincerity which had marked his career. He had tendered his allegiance to Shah Shoojah, when the fortunes of that prince appeared rising, and by him he had been nominated Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, defender of the state. Miserable must be the condition of a state defended as Hadjee Khan Kakur on this occasion defended the throne of his master Shah Shoojah.
nothing but the congratulations of the people over whom the restored King was to reign.* He however appeared to have felt himself secure, either in the affections of his subjects or the strength of his allies, and he proceeded to exercise one of the functions of royalty in European fashion, by instituting an order of knighthood, framed on the model of the British Order of the Bath. To the honour of this institution the officers of the "Army of the Indus" were to be liberally admitted, as well as a few distinguished civil functionaries, the latter being selected by Mr. Macnaghten, envoy and minister, and the former by Sir John Keane.†

* The reception of the Afghan monarch by the citizens of his capital seems to have been of a very sober character. "None cried, 'God bless him!'" All reports are to this effect. Major Hough says: "The people were very orderly; there were immense crowds; every place in the town was filled with them. As the King advanced they stood up, and when he passed on they reseated themselves. This was the only demonstration of joy exhibited on the occasion."—Narrative, p. 251. Captain Havelock's testimony is quite reconcilable with this:—"We did not hear, on this occasion, within the walls of Kabool, the noisy acclamations of a British or an Athenian mob; but the expression of countenances indicated ready acquiescence, or something more, in the new state of things."—Narrative, vol. ii. p. 118. Dr. Kennedy in the main concurs:—"If the Kandaharies cast loaves of bread and flowers before his Majesty, I can honestly say, that the Kaboolies did not fling him either a crust or a nosegay, nor shout a single welcome that reached my hearing: a sullen, surly submission to what could not be helped, and an eager determination to make the most that could be made of existing circumstances, and turn them to account, appeared to be the general feeling entertained, without much attempt at disguise, by the good citizens of Kabool."—Narrative, vol. ii. p. 83.

† The new institute of chivalry was called the Dooranee
On the 3rd of September the force under Colonel Wade* arrived at Kabool. It had moved from Peshawur in May, on Colonel Wade receiving intelligence of the march of the British army from Kandahar for Ghuznee and Kabool. It proceeded through the Khyber Pass, where the chief obstacle to its progress was the fort of Ali Musjid. Possession of this was obstinately contested for a time; but the advancing force having occupied some hills which commanded the fort, the garrison abandoned it. This acquisition was purchased at the expense of about a hundred and eighty killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy is believed to have been of less amount. "In such a warfare," says Major Hough, † "the enemy, from a perfect knowledge of

Order. It seems that there was a scarcity of stars for the investiture of the knights, and that only three could receive these badges of companionship, the remainder being obliged to be content with a few gracious words from the Shah, promising that the stars should be forwarded to them at a future time. The apportionment of glory among the military did not in all cases give satisfaction. Among the discontented was the death-defying leader of the forlorn hope at Ghuznee, concerning whom Major Hough has the following note (Narrative, p. 264): "Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, C.B., had commanded a brigade at one period of the campaign. He entered the army on the 28th October, 1801. As major, he was wounded on the 15th December, 1824, in one of the many attacks on the stockades during the Burmese war. This officer led 'the advance' at the storm of Ghuznee, 23rd July, 1839. He declined the third class of the order, being already a C.B. Except four, Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie had been much longer in the army than those honoured with the second class of the order."

* See page 156.
† Narrative, p. 234.
every nook and corner, and every rock near their position, would lose less than the attacking party.” The defence of Ali Musjid being provided for, Colonel Wade pursued his course to Jelalabad, of which he took possession, and then, without encountering further opposition, to Cabool.

About the time of the arrival of the Shazada’s army at Kabool, those by whom the Shah had been restored to his throne were warned that though this object was achieved, they were yet practically in an enemy’s country. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry, of the 37th Bengal native infantry, was marching in charge of a treasure convoy from Kandahar to Kabool; on arriving at a place called Hyder Kheil, about thirty-five miles beyond Ghuznee, he strolled up some hills in the vicinity of his encampment accompanied by two other officers, and followed at some distance by an orderly havildar and two sepoys. The officers, who, with singular imprudence, had wandered forth unarmed, were suddenly attacked by a party of a freebooting tribe called Kojuks; they retreated towards their camp, which two of them succeeded in reaching, but Colonel Henry fell mortally wounded. The havildar and sepoys were not slow in advancing to protect their commander, but the numbers opposed to them rendered their services of no avail, and the havildar was severely wounded. Some weeks afterwards the party of Kojuks were attacked by a force under Major Maclaren, the British commander at Ghuznee, at Kolalo, a village about thirty-two miles distant from that place. The freebooters were
found posted at the base of some rocky heights, up which they fled after receiving the fire of the British party. They were pursued, and though they made an obstinate defence—making the best use of the vantage ground, and plying their matchlocks with great assiduity and perseverance—the whole force were either killed or made prisoners. The spoil afforded ample evidence of the activity and success with which the vanquished Kojuks carried on their predatory occupation at the expense of the British army.

Notwithstanding this and many other indications of the general prevalence of hostile feelings, it was deemed safe to withdraw from Afghanistan the larger part of the force which had seated Shah Shoojah on its throne. A part of the Bengal force was to remain under the command of General Nott and Colonel Sale; the remainder, with the commander-in-chief, were to march homeward, and the whole of the Bombay column were to take the same course. The march of the latter was soon distinguished by an important achievement undertaken to avenge a series of injuries committed several months before.

During the advance of the army of the Indus, in the spring, Mehrab Khan, the ruler of Kelat, a Beloochee state, while professing friendly feelings towards the British government, had employed all the means and influence at his disposal in counteracting their views and impeding the progress of their arms. Of the acts of plunder and outrage by which the advancing army was inconvenienced,
Mehrab Khan was a prime instigator; and his influence over the predatory tribes being great, his power of inciting to mischief made a fearful addition to the difficulties with which that army had to contend. His offences had been passed over till the establishment of Shah Shoojah in Kabool, partly, as it seems, from a hope of making him instrumental to the procurement of supplies; but his treachery remaining unabated and his hostility unsubdued, it was resolved to visit his crimes by deposition, and to elevate a relation to the throne from which he was to be removed. The task of effecting this change was assigned to Major-General Willshire, who, on arriving at Quetta, marched in the direction of Kelat with a brigade composed of two Queen's regiments and one of native infantry, two guns of the Bombay horse artillery, four of the Shah's, and a detail of engineers. On approaching Kelat the brigade was attacked by a body of horse, and skirmishing continued till the British force arrived in sight of the place. It then appeared that three heights on the N.W. face of the fort were covered with infantry, with five guns in position, protected by small parapet walls. Captain Pew, chief engineer, reported that nothing could be expected till possession of these heights had changed hands. Major Willshire immediately determined on storming them. Three columns of attack were formed, commanded respectively by Major Carruthers, of the Queen's 2nd, Lieutenant-Colonel Croker, of the Queen's 17th, and Major Wilson, of the 31st Bengal light infantry,
the whole under the command of Brigadier Baum-
gardt. A hill was allotted to each column, and
the artillery under Brigadier Stephenson having
opened fire on the enemy, the troops moved forward
under its cover and commenced ascending. Before
they reached the summits the enemy had yielded to
the fire of the artillery and fled; having made an
effort to carry off their guns, in which, however,
they failed. Conceiving it possible that an entry
might be gained by closely following the fugitives
from the heights, General Willshire directed a rush
for the purpose, but the attempt was defeated, the
gate being closed before the assailants could reach
it. Four companies which had been detached under
Major Pennycuick, of her Majesty’s 17th, to occupy
some gardens in the vicinity of the place, were now
brought up and dispersed wherever shelter could be
found, to await the result of the operations of the
artillery. These were directed towards opening a
way for them. Two guns from the heights were
poured against the defences above the gate, two
others were turned against the gate itself; the
remaining two were sent round by the road leading
up to the gate, to aid in its demolition. The fire of
the last two was not commenced till within two
hundred yards of the object at which it was directed;
and after a few rounds, one-half of the gate was
knocked in. This being perceived by General Will-
shire, he rode forward pointing to the gate, thereby
intimating that it was open—a signal no sooner
perceived than obeyed by the prompt rush of the
troops from their cover to the breach. The companies under Major Pennycuick, being the nearest to the gate, were first in; they were closely followed by the storming columns, the whole entering under a heavy fire from the works and the interior; the enemy making a most obstinate resistance and disputing every inch of ground.

A company of her Majesty's 17th regiment was now detached with a body of native infantry to secure the heights near which the southern angle of the fortress is situated, and intercept the escape of the garrison from that side. The heights were rapidly carried, and the united detachment then rushed on to the gate on that side, driving a party of the enemy before them, who succeeded in closing the gate, but had not time to secure it. It was, therefore, speedily burst open, and a second entrance thus effected. The party by whom this had been performed were here joined by two companies from the reserve of the 17th, and two of the Shah's guns which had proceeded by another route. The guns were intended to blow open the gate, but that operation being unnecessary, they were immediately placed in position to bear on the citadel, which still remained in possession of the enemy. The infantry party uniting with those who had carried the gate, the whole proceeded through the town towards the still resisting citadel. An entrance therein was at length found, but the conflict did not terminate with the capture of the gate. The enemy continued to fight with desperate valour, and resistance was pro-
tracted long after it could be available in regard to the possession of the place. Vast numbers of the enemy were destroyed; and among the slain was Mehrab Khan, whose death was far more creditable than had been his life. He fell at the head of his people, sword in hand;—he had lived a robber, but he died as a soldier; and though the issue of the combat, in which he was laid low, transferred his stronghold into the hands of strangers, it must, in justice, be admitted, that it was not ingloriously maintained. The British standard waved in triumph over the loftiest towers of Kelat, but it was not planted there without a struggle, which conferred honour on those who resisted, as well as on those who aided its elevation.

It is supposed that about four hundred of the garrison were killed. Several hundred prisoners were taken:* a few of those, deemed likely to be dangerous, if at large, being retained in confinement, and the remainder liberated. The loss on the side of the British was heavy—especially so, with reference to the fact that a considerable portion of Major Willshire's force was not engaged, and to the shortness of the contest; not quite an hour having elapsed from the formation of the columns for attack to the period when the troops were within the fort. Thirty-two officers and men were killed, and a hundred and seven wounded.

That part of the British army which was returning under Sir John Keane met with little that would

* Captain Outram says (2,000) two thousand.
afford interest in the recital, though its difficulties from the loss of camels and similar disasters were scarcely inferior to those which attended its advance. The wild tribes, moreover, who dwell in the vicinity of the Khyber Pass, caused some annoyance. These men had long been accustomed to sell their forbearance for money. They had been subsidized both by the Dooranee princes and by Dost Mahomed Khan, and they were to have been subsidized by Shah Shoojah. Some misapprehension and delay, however, arose; and a meeting which was meditated between Colonel Wade and the Khyberee chiefs, from some cause, never took place. The tribes constantly sought to revenge themselves on the British force, and in some instances succeeded in carrying off considerable plunder. A party, returning from escorting a convoy of provisions to Ali Musjid, was attacked, several hundred camels carried off, and, with atrocious cruelty, maimed, to prevent their being made serviceable if recovered. A regiment of Seiks accompanied the British party on this occasion, but they manifested little of the lion-like character claimed by their chiefs. As soon as the attack commenced, they ran, and, says Major Hough, "never stopt till they got out of the Pass." Their flight threw the whole party into confusion. Another party, a few days afterwards, dispatched to convoy ammunition to Ali Musjid, was, in like manner, attacked on its return, but made a good defence, and drove off the enemy. Terms of agreement were subsequently settled by Lieutenant
Mackeson, but immediately afterwards broken by the Khyberees by an attack made upon a detachment marching from Jelalabad, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler, of the Bengal native infantry. This attack was characterized by great treachery, as the Khyberees manifested indications of friendly feelings up to the moment of commencing it. The British troops behaved admirably, and repulsed the assailants: the manner in which the bayonet was used by some sepoys of the 37th native infantry, who had scarcely passed the period of boyhood, was spoken of in terms of admiration by their officers. Ultimately terms were made with the barbarous hordes, by the personal interference of Mr. Macnaghten.

A general order, dated the 2nd of January, 1840, announced the breaking up of the "army of the Indus;" and this will be a fitting opportunity for noticing the honours bestowed on those engaged in the expedition to Afghanistan. In addition to the thanks of parliament and of the East-India Company, the governor-general, Lord Auckland, received from the favour of the sovereign an advanced step in the peerage, being created Earl of Auckland. Sir John Keane was created a peer, and the bounty of parliament added to the grace of the Crown, by the grant of a pension of two thousand pounds a year to the general and his two next heirs male. Mr. Macnaghten and Colonel Henry Pottinger were created baronets; Colonel Wade obtained the honour of knighthood; Sir Willoughby Cotton re-
ceived the Grand Cross of the Bath; General Will-
shire, Colonel Thackwell, and Colonel Sale were
made knights commanders; and Colonels J. Scott,
Persse, Croker, and R. Macdonald, companions of that
order; while, by an extensive grant of brevet rank,
the merits of several other officers were recognized.*

The constitution of the army of the Indus was
formally dissolved, and the services of many of its
officers who had enjoyed opportunities of distin-
guishing themselves had been acknowledged. Shah
Shoojah had taken his seat on the throne of Afgha-
istan, and the functions of government, as far as they
were exercised at all, were carried on in his name.
But there was a vast amount of dissatisfaction pre-
vailing in the widely extended territories which the
Shah aspired to rule; and though the bayonets of
his European allies had driven into exile the chiefs
who previously claimed sovereignty at Kandahar
and Kabool, there were spirits in every part of the
country ready, at any moment that seemed to pro-
mise a chance of success, or even without this temp-
tation, to manifest their dislike to the restored
prince, and their determination not to submit to his
sway. In one instance of this nature occurring early
in 1840, the British arms sustained a reverse. A
refractory chief, named Syud Hoshien, had taken

* Major Hough points out, apparently with surprise, that
Colonel Dennie, notwithstanding his long service (thirty-eight
years), his distinguished military character, and his gallant con-
duct in the campaign, which led to the bestowal of these honours
and rewards, was altogether passed over in the distribution of
them.
up his abode in a fort named Pishoot, situated about fifty miles from Jelalabad; to dislodge him, Lieutenant Colonel Orchard was dispatched with a force consisting of a wing of the 39th Bengal native infantry, eighty men of one of the Company's European regiments, twenty sappers, a troop of cavalry, a regiment of the Shah's infantry, and another of that prince's cavalry, with three guns. The march was performed amidst torrents of rain. On the morning of the 18th of January, the guns and troops having been brought into position at an early hour, the attack commenced. After two hours' firing, a practicable breach being made on each side of the gate, Lieutenant Pigou, with a small party of Europeans and sepoys, advanced and entered. By some mistake, the bugler with the party sounded an advance, and, in consequence, the storming column rushed on. It appeared, however, that there was an inner gate; the ardour of the stormers was thereupon checked by an unlooked-for order to stop and seek for cover. An attempt was then made to blow open the inner gate, but the powder, having become wet from the continued rain, would not explode; and, moreover, its quality is said to have been so bad, that had it been dry, there was but little chance of its being effective.

Another attempt to blow open the gate was made, with no better success, and the second failure

* It was of country manufacture, and is described by a correspondent of one of the Indian newspapers as little better than powdered charcoal.
decided the question of prolonging the attack. The stock of ammunition was exhausted, and the inner gate still mocked the efforts made for its destruction. The troops had been for several hours exposed to a deluge of rain, and to a harassing fire from the fort—it was obviously useless to subject them further to these annoyances, and they were accordingly withdrawn. The attack had thus failed to drive the garrison from the fort, but it was not without effect in terrifying them, for they withdrew soon after its discontinuance, not only from Pishoot, but also from another fort in the vicinity, conveying with them, there is reason to believe, every thing of value, for nothing was found in the places evacuated but some very small stores of grain and gunpowder. The officers and men engaged in this unfortunate attack manifested the greatest zeal and gallantry under circumstances perhaps more discouraging than the ordinary accompaniments of an assault. The loss was considerable, and the ill success of the attempt shewed but too clearly that the reduction of the fort had been undertaken with insufficient means. Captain Abbott seems to have done all that was practicable with his few guns, of no great calibre, and his worthless powder; but with materials so inadequate to the work to be performed, courage, coolness, and military skill were alike unavailing.

A.D. 1840. In March it became necessary to attack a mud fort, in the vicinity of Bamian, belonging to a petty chief of the Huzareh tribe. The necessity
originated in one of those apparently unaccountable changes in the feeling of the people, or rather in their manifestation of it, of which so many instances occurred. The British commissariat had for some time been accustomed to obtain supplies from the valley in which the fort is situate, and apparently these were furnished with perfect good-will. Suddenly and unexpectedly, the conduct of the Huzarehs changed, and an application at one of their forts for a small quantity of grain was met, not only with a refusal to sell any, but with defiance, threats, and even personal outrage. Explanation was required, but not obtained, and, in consequence, a small party, under Captain Garbett, was detached to seek, by force, that redress which remonstrance had failed to procure. The fort selected for attack was situated between four and five hundred yards from the base of a table-land, the summit of which was crowned by men armed with matchlocks, who kept up a hot fire on the troops below. Unfortunately the gate of the fort was immediately opposite to this elevated land, so that the British party, in assaulting, were exposed to a fire both in front and rear; to add to their perils, a third fire was commenced from some heights on their left. They had only two guns; one of these was brought to bear on the gate, the other opened a fire of shrapnels and round shot on the table-land, which was soon cleared, while a charge of infantry and cavalry up the heights on the left produced the like effect in that quarter. In the meantime Lieutenant Mackenzie had succeeded
in breaking down the gate. A party, headed by Lieutenant Broadfoot, entered, and the fort was soon carried. The garrison, however, retreated to the tower, whither the assailants followed them, making repeated attempts to force their way in, but without success. As a last resource, the tower was fired at the base, but this failed to drive out its inmates, and all the men were either burned or suffocated. The women and children were saved, having been removed to a spot where the fire had not penetrated when the captors entered. This affair was of small importance, but it deserves record, both as marking the spirit of the people with whom the British force had to contend, and as reflecting great credit on the small party by whom the achievement was gained.

Further illustration of the degree of repose likely to be enjoyed by Shah Shoojah and his ally was afforded by an outbreak of the Ghiljies. This event was not very remarkable: the Ghiljies had ever been a wild and lawless tribe, yielding steady obedience to no ruler or dynasty, and, consequently, no deep reverence for the restored King was to be looked for from them. It was, however, requisite to impose some check upon their lawless movements, if the authority of Shah Shoojah was to be anything more than nominal. A party of cavalry, under Captain Taylor, of the European regiment, and Captain Walker, of the 4th horse, were dispatched for the purpose. These were subsequently joined by a detachment of infantry and cavalry, under
Captain Codrington, and, at a later period, by a regiment of the Shah's infantry and four guns of the horse artillery, under Captain W. Anderson, of the Bengal artillery. On the 16th of May, the combined force encountered and defeated a large body of the insurgents. Another expedition dispatched from Kabool, under Colonel Wallace, was equally successful. Several forts, the strongholds of the troublesome chiefs, were blown up; and if the tribe were not thus converted into good and peaceable subjects, they were, at least, awed into acquiescence, while their powers of resistance were considerably impaired.

In another quarter the British arms met with a fearful misfortune. Lieutenant Walpole Clark, a young officer of distinguished zeal and bravery, left the fort of Kahun, which had been occupied by the English, for the purpose of procuring supplies, having with him a small party of infantry, a few horse, and about five hundred camels. While halting for rest and refreshment, he was attacked by the Beloochees in vast numbers, and his party, almost to a man, cut off. It has been said that the unhappy result was caused by the commander of the devoted party persisting in halting his men in a position of extreme danger, in opposition to better advice. How far this was the fact can never be known; but whatever might be the degree of error committed in this respect, it was not aggravated by any lack of spirit when the danger burst; for Lieutenant Clark maintained to the last the character which he had
previously established. He shared the fate which overwhelmed those whom he led.

Another disaster shortly followed in the re-capture of the fortress of Kelat. The British government had given to this place a new chief, a descendant of an elder branch of the house of which the deceased ruler, Mehrab Khan, was a member. Either from deficiency of force, or from an undue confidence, the defence of the place had been intrusted to this chief and a garrison of the country. A British officer, Lieutenant Loveday, was, indeed, there with a few sepoys, but the number was utterly insufficient for the defence of the place; more especially as, in addition to the danger without, there was far more from treachery within. An attempt was made to carry the place by escalade, the assailants being helped up by their friends in the garrison. The opportune appearance of a small party of sepoys frustrated the success of this project. Several of the enemy were brought down, and some of those who were aiding their entrance justly shared their fate. This state of things was protracted for several days, when all hope of defending the place with such a garrison was given up, and the chief capitulated. Lieutenant Loveday was made prisoner, and subsequently murdered.

Pressing hard upon this calamity came another more heavy. The destruction of Lieutenant Clark and his party, who was proceeding to procure supplies for Kahun, had rendered it necessary that some means should be found to meet the approaching
deficiency which was to be apprehended there.* For this purpose, Major Clibborn was dispatched on the 12th of August with a convoy from Sukkur. His

* The noble spirit in which this place was defended by the commandant, Captain Brown, 50th native infantry, is illustrated by an extract from a private letter written by him, which appeared in the Asiatic Journal, December, 1840. "My situation," he writes, "is not an enviable one, but far from perilous; for though I have the whole of this tribe against me, and a report of another—the Kojuks—about to join them, I feel confident, with God's blessing, of being able to hold my post against them till I obtain relief. I have been strengthening myself in every possible way, with ditches, double walls, stakes, and palisades. My walls, nine hundred yards, are far too extensive for the number of men I have, so that I have strengthened a small inner fort to fall back on, in the event of being overpowered by superior numbers." In the following passage Captain Brown adds his testimony to that of many officers who had preceded him in bearing witness to the military qualities of the sepoy:—"Do not think me presumptuous, but the fact is, I have reason to think much higher of the sepoys than some writers in the papers appear to do; particularly I have every confidence in the pluck of the old regiment; the conduct of the men has been and continues most admirable." The severity of the duty appears from another passage in the letter:—"At night every man is on duty, and each division and man has a particular post; every follower, likewise, falls in with a thick club in his hands. The men are in excellent spirits, but we have had enough of it:—working parties all day and duty every night, and ninety-seven out of one hundred and fifty covered with ulcers." A gratifying illustration of native courage and coolness displayed in the teeth of superior numbers, of a force not to be resisted by infantry except in compact bodies, closes the extract:—"This morning I had the pleasure of promoting two sepoys on the spot for bravery. They were out with ten or twelve camel men close outside the fort, cutting forage, when fifteen horsemen rode at them. Instead of bolting they coolly pulled up, let drive right into the horsemen's faces, knocking one over; the rest made off—thereby saving the camel men, who otherwise must have been cut up."
force consisted of about five hundred men, rank and file (including thirty-four artillerymen), three guns, two hundred irregular horse, and twenty pioneers. On the 29th they encamped at the mouth of the Nufoosk Pass, in which Lieutenant Clark and his party met destruction. In the morning they commenced the ascent, which was rendered oppressively laborious from being performed under the heat of a burning sun. A halt of a few hours then took place to rest the cattle. The men obtained little or no repose, being under arms the greater part of the night—a precaution rendered necessary by the enemy continuing to fire into the camp. On the following day the march was resumed over a road presenting, in an almost constant recurrence of ruts and ravines, a series of obstacles to the passage of the guns, which required unceasing exertion on the part of the sepoys to surmount. A march of six miles brought the force to ground convenient for encamping; but the guides reported that there was no water, and there was, apparently, no choice but to suffer both men and cattle to perish from thirst, or to carry the Pass of Nufoosk, which was environed by hordes of the enemy. The latter was resolved upon, and preparations were made for storming the Pass. The movement to attack commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, when the flank companies of the first and second grenadiers, led by Captain Raitt, of the former regiment, moved forward to storm the height, supported by the remaining companies of the 1st regiment, and by fifty volunteers of
the Poona horse, under Lieutenant Loch. The road up the face of the mountain, at all times difficult, had been rendered still more so by the enemy. In some places it had been altogether destroyed, in others it had been surmounted with thorn bushes. The enemy from above kept up a heavy fire, which told fearfully; but, notwithstanding, a ridge at the head of the pass was gained. At this moment a dense mass rose on the crest of the mountain, and almost overwhelmed the stormers with discharges of musketry and showers of stones. Major Clibborn now deemed it necessary to recall the advance companies to the support of the guns and colours, when a large body of several hundred of the enemy rushed down the mountain, "yelling and howling," as they are described in a private account, like "beasts of the forest." A temporary confusion ensued in the British ranks, but it was soon overcome. The troops performed their duty with their wonted steadiness and alacrity, and the enemy were repulsed with severe slaughter. The loss on the part of the British was severe; several officers fell, and among them Captain Raitt, the leader of the storming party.

A scene followed more terrible than the conflict which preceded it. The heat was intense; the labours which the troops had undergone, sufficient to subdue the physical powers of the strongest among them. The thirst produced by the combined
influence of heat and fatigue, in some instances increased by loss of blood, was overpowering—but no water was to be had. The cries of the wounded and the dying for relief, which water, and that alone, could afford, were aggravated into shrieks of despair and frenzy. A guide reported that water was procurable at a nullah* a short distance off, and all the animals that could be mustered for the duty were dispatched to bring a supply of the greedily-desired luxury, escorted by a party of irregular horse. But the hope, which, for a time, supported the spirits of the sufferers, proved fallacious: not only did the information of the guides prove false, but the guides themselves turned out to be treacherous. They conducted the water-party to a place where they were surrounded by the Beloochees, and killed, with the exception of a few, who cut their way through and bore to their perishing companions the fearful intelligence of the failure of their mission, and the destruction of the greater part of those who had proceeded on it. What now was to be done? The enemy had been beaten back with severe loss, but the pass was yet in their possession; and the heaps of the dead which they had left on the field scarcely affected their strength, though the repulse they had received might have damped their spirit. They yet numbered several thousands, and for a few hundred fainting men to fight their way through such a force, over ground almost impassable when without a foe, was obviously hopeless. Further,

* Artificial water-course.
could success have been hoped for, neither the stores nor the guns could have been carried forward, for the gun-horses had been sent for water and had never returned, while the camel-drivers and dooly-bearers, with an Oriental instinct of disaster, had fled, plundering the commissaries of all they could carry away. There was nothing left, therefore, but to relinquish the hope of throwing supplies into Kahun, and to fall back. Even this step, the only one practicable, involved a vast sacrifice. The safe return of the men was all that the most sanguine could hope for: guns, stores, camp equipage, all were to be abandoned, for the means of transporting them did not exist, even had no enemy been watching the movements of the devoted party. The guns were spiked, and the melancholy march in re-gression commenced. "We moved off," says Major Clibborn, "with as much quietness as the frantic state of the men would permit:"—a line pregnant with fearful meaning. At the Pass of Surtaf, the retreating force was attacked, and the small remnant of baggage which circumstances had allowed to be removed fell into the hands of the enemy, who here, also, slaughtered many of the camp followers. Pursuing their way without food to sustain their failing strength, or water to quench their burning thirst, or tents to afford shelter from the scorching sun, the force was unable to halt till it reached the town of Poolajee, whence it was not long before it departed. In the brief period that intervened, it had lost a hundred and seventy-nine
men killed (ninety-two more being wounded), together with all its artillery, ammunition, stores, and beasts of burden. "Excepting its arms and colours," says the official account, "the detachment is completely disorganized." Victorious over those who had opposed its progress, it arrived at Poolajee with all the disastrous indications of defeat. "We beat the enemy," wrote one of the sufferers, "but heat and thirst killed us."

* * Asiatic Journal, December, 1840, p. 263. The writer of the letter from which the above passage is extracted renders full justice to the conduct of the leader of this unhappy expedition. He says: "Major Clibborn's conduct was capital; coolness itself." The causes of this disaster were investigated by a military commission, who reported "that the remote and original cause of the disaster rested with Lord Keane, his excellency having reduced the number of troops, and crippled the commissariat, to such a degree, that the former were not able to occupy the posts in sufficient force to protect themselves, much less to act offensively, should such a measure become necessary; and the latter, from want of means, were prohibited the possibility of furnishing the supplies absolutely requisite for their support. Owing to the above causes," continues the report of the commission, "the month of May had arrived before even the small detachment under Captain Brown was established at Kahun, although Major-General Sir Thomas Willshire had determined that a force of double the strength should be sent early in March." The report proceeds to cast blame on a great number of other officers, including Major Clibborn; but it would be impossible to discuss the multiplicity of points thereby raised, except at a length which would become tedious. With regard to Major Clibborn, however, it ought to be observed that the censure of the commission was hasty, and not warranted by a comprehensive view of all the facts of the case. This appeared from the admission made when the subject was reconsidered under the orders of the government.

The fate of the commission was singular and unfortunate.
Of the conduct of Major Clibborn, it is impossible to speak too highly. He yielded, indeed, to diffi-

The government disapproved of the revised report, and removed the president, Major-General G. R. Brooks, from the command of the field force in Upper Sinde, and the next senior member, Brigadier Valliant, from the command of his brigade. This was not a usual proceeding; as the functions of the commission were of a quasi judicial character, they could hardly be held accountable to any authority for their exercise of them, unless it could be proved that they had acted corruptly. A court of law, civil or military, may decide erroneously, and erroneous decisions are sometimes made. Such decisions may be set aside by superior authority, but to inflict punishment for simple error of judgment would, in ordinary cases, be considered harsh. When a commis-

One point in the public notification of the government on the subject seems open to discussion. It is said to be obvious, "that Lord Keane, having left India in March, 1840," could "in no way be held responsible for the result of military operations undertaken five months subsequent to his departure from the country." It may, however, be argued, that if the result of those operations were at all influenced by his arrangements, or neglect of arrangements, he might justly be held responsible to the extent by which it was so affected.

Major Clibborn undoubtedly merited from government an honourable testimony to his conduct, and it was given most amply in the following terms:—"On a final review of the whole of these proceedings, the honourable the governor in council has the highest gratification in thus publicly recording his opinion that Major Clibborn, and the officers and troops under his command, have well performed their duty to government, and that they are fully entitled to his strong and unqualified acknowledgments for their conspicuous gallantry and zealous devotion to the service, under circumstances of almost unparalleled difficulty and suffering,
culties, but they were difficulties which no degree of energy or skill could, under the circumstances in which he was placed, have surmounted.

In other quarters, the state of affairs presented but an unpromising aspect. British officers were continually engaged in suppressing outbreaks of a spirit of resistance towards the Shah, caused frequently by the demands of the prince for tribute. Their efforts were usually successful, but the necessity for them indicated but too clearly that the Shah was supported on the throne, not by his own strength, but by that of his allies. Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler was thus engaged in Wuzerence Valley, and late in the month of August, a small fort situated therein was very brilliantly carried by a party under his command. In Kohistan a refractory disposition was also manifested, and Sir Robert Sale was dispatched to suppress it. The point against which his force was to be directed was a fort, or rather cluster of forts, named Tootumdurra, held by a chief reluctant to acknowledge the supremacy of the Shah. On arriving in front of the place, he found the enemy posted in a very strong position. But the arrangements of Sir Robert Sale originating in causes beyond human control. * * * * The views taken by this government of these proceedings, as now promulgated, have met the full concurrence and approbation of the right honourable the governor-general of India in council; and that high authority cordially joins with this government in the sense which it entertains, as above expressed, of the fortitude and gallantry of Major Clibborn, and of the officers and troops under his command, in the action of Nufoosk."
were so masterly, that a very short time sufficed to put the enemy to flight, and to transfer possession of the forts to the supporters of the Shah. The capture was effected almost without loss; but Captain Edward Conolly,* of the 6th light cavalry, who had joined as a volunteer, was shot through the heart in advancing on the village.

An attempt upon another stronghold, made a few days afterwards, was less successful. A breach, believed to be practicable, having been made, a storming party proceeded to ascend. They reached the crest of the breach, and for some time maintained themselves there; but the resistance was so determined, that it was found impracticable to force an entrance, and the party were necessarily withdrawn. The garrison, however, were not disposed again to measure their strength with that of their assailants; the fort was evacuated a few hours after the cessation of the attack, and the British took possession of it.

Previously to the event last noticed, Colonel Dennie had added one more to the triumphs of the British arms. Dost Mahomed Khan, after various wanderings, had succeeded in establishing an alliance with the Usbegs, under the Walli of Kooloon, by whose aid he hoped to regain the position from which he had been expelled by the British arms exerted in favour of his rival, Shah Shoojah. The army of Dost Mahomed and the Walli were advancing upon Bamian, and Colonel Dennie marched

* Brother to the unfortunate officer detained in Bokara.
to its relief. He arrived there on the 14th of September, and before preparing to meet the enemy he had occasion to perform a disagreeable duty, by disarming an Afghan corps, whose fidelity was something more than questionable. On the 17th he received information that bodies of cavalry were entering the valley,* and on the following morning he learned that they had attacked a friendly village. He had intended to allow of their further advance before attacking them, but the circumstance last mentioned induced him to change his course, and to give them an immediate check. He had been led to believe that the number of those who had entered the valley did not exceed a few hundreds. Under this belief he had taken with him only one-third of the force at his disposal, and he was greatly surprised to find himself in front of an army estimated at six thousand strong. This was an embarrassing situation. "To have sent back for reinforcements," says Colonel Dennie in his despatch, "would have caused delay and given confidence to the enemy. It would have checked the proud feeling that animated the party with me, and gave assurance of success."† He accordingly resolved to engage with the apparently

* The Valley of Bamian lies on the route from Kabool to Toorkistan. It lies just within Affghanistan, and is generally regarded as the boundary between the mountains of Hindoo Koosh on the east, and the Huzareh group on the west. It has become celebrated from the remarkable relics of antiquity which it contains.

† Colonel Dennie seems to have acted in the spirit of a distinguished naval authority, who said, "An officer can seldom do wrong in laying his ship alongside that of the enemy."
inadequate force which had accompanied him. It consisted of something more than two hundred of the 35th native infantry, two hundred and fifty of the Shah's infantry, three hundred native cavalry, and a detail of artillery, with two field-pieces. The confidence of the commander was justified by the event. The enemy had got possession of a chain of forts reaching to the mouth of the defile by which they had entered, but they made a miserable defence. At each of the forts they exhibited a show of making a stand with their main body—their wings crowning the heights. The latter were dislodged with some loss, and finally the whole force fled in a confused mass to the gorge of the pass. Cavalry were ordered in pursuit, who followed the fugitives about four miles up the defile, cutting down many of them and scattering the rest in all directions—numbers throwing away their arms, and creeping up the hills for safety.

The result of this attempt to invade Afghanistan seems to have prepared the way for a dissolution of the alliance between Dost Mahomed and the Walli of Kooloon. A little diplomacy completed the separation, and Dost Mahomed was again thrown on his own resources. In this emergency he sought to effect a junction with his son, Mahomed Ufzul Khan, and, in prosecution of the design, moved towards the Ghorbund Pass, and took possession of some small forts. Sir Robert Sale, on becoming acquainted with this movement, broke up his camp and marched to Purwan. The forts and villages were evacuated at
his approach, and on reaching Purwan, the British infantry ascended the hill overlooking the pass and valley, and cleared it of the enemy, who deserted one position after another, and ultimately fled in the direction of the Punchshir Valley. All circumstances went prosperously and honourably for the British arms but one. The progress of the infantry was greatly retarded by the guns, the road being very unfavourable for the passage of artillery, and it was deemed expedient to send forward the cavalry to overtake the fugitives, whose pace was far too rapid to allow any other species of force to come up with them. The 2nd Bengal cavalry had preceded the column about a mile, when a body of the enemy’s horse, supposed to be led by Dost Mahomed in person, came down a hill to attack them. They were forthwith formed into line, and led on to charge by Captains Fraser and Ponsonby, who commanded the two squadrons. The officers pushed on in perfect confidence that their men would perform their duty; but they found themselves in the midst of the enemy, unsupported by their troopers. They cut their way out, being both severely wounded, and then had the mortification of seeing their men flying before the enemy. In this unhappy affair Lieutenant Crispin, adjutant of the regiment, was killed, vainly attempting to bring the men to action. Dr. Lord, distinguished as a man of science as well as a diplomatist, was also killed in this affair, as was Lieutenant Broadfoot, an engineer officer, who accompanied the advance. The officers were unusually exposed to
danger from the defection of the men, and they suffered proportionately. Various motives have been assigned for the scandalous defection of the regiment, but the probable conjecture is, that their conduct was the result of sheer cowardice—a contagious quality, which, like its opposite, rapidly

* It has been suggested that the religious views of the troopers would lead them to dislike supporting a Christian against a Mahometan power; but this feeling, if it existed, could not be universal, for some of them were Hindoos; and it might be asked, why should this feeling have been so strong on this particular occasion, while it was inoperative on so many others? Again, it was said that the regiment was dissatisfied because one of its number had been executed by order of Lord Keane, without due inquiry. There does not appear any ground for the charge. It was brought forward in the House of Commons, and there denied by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India (Sir John Hobhouse), whose contradiction was not met by the production of any evidence of the alleged fact. The circumstances out of which the charge arose appear to have been these:—

On the advance from Ghuznee to Kabool, some marauding was committed. The inhabitants of a village, threatened with a visitation of this kind, implored the protection of the commander-in-chief, who ordered the provost-martial to place videttes round some fields of corn, which it was apprehended would be the object of attack. The orders given were to fire, in the first instance, over the heads of the persons entering the fields; but at all events to protect the crops. Some soldiers of the 2nd cavalry, who went to the place to plunder, were fired on by the guard, and one man wounded; the case took an unfavourable turn, and the wounded man died. The truth therefore appears to be, that a man in the act of robbing was shot, but without any intention of killing him, or of doing more than protecting the property attacked, and that the casualty was the result of a general order. Thus explained, it is clear that there is nothing in the transaction to reflect any discredit on Lord Keane.
communicates itself to those around whenever it makes its appearance. The circumstances well warranted the infliction of the heaviest punishment, and the displeasure of the government which these traitors professed to serve was intimated in the most signal manner. The wretched troopers were not subjected to any corporal sufferings, but the regiment, whose name they had made a by-word of reproach, was struck out of the list of the Bengal army. The native officers and privates present on the day of disgrace were dismissed the service and rendered incapable of ever re-entering or being employed in any way under government; the remainder to be drafted into other cavalry regiments. The dismissal of the degraded officers and men was carried into effect with all the marks of ignominy usual on such occasions.

But, though marked by this scandalous instance of defection, the battle of Purwan was not only honourable to the British arms, but important in its consequences. Dost Mahomed galloped from the field of battle, and surrendered himself to the power with which he had no longer the means of contending. The circumstances of his surrender have somewhat of the character of romance. The British Envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, was returning from a ride of pleasure, when, within a few yards of his residence, a single horseman presented himself, anxiously inquiring for the representative of the British government. Having been satisfied as to the iden-
tity of the person whom he sought, he announced that Dost Mahomed Khan had arrived, and claimed the minister's protection. The chieftain himself then appeared, alighted from his horse, and presented his sword. The sword was returned, the chief invited to remount his horse, and the envoy and the dethroned prince rode on together as though on an excursion for exercise or amusement. On reaching the place where the Envoy resided, a tent was pitched for Dost Mahomed, who appeared very calmly to reconcile himself to his fate.

The month of November, 1840, opened auspiciously for the British arms. The battle of Purwan, which led to the surrender of Dost Mahomed, was fought on the first of that month; on the third the surrender took place, and on the same day General Nott re-occupied Kelat, which had been abandoned by its garrison. On that day, also, Major Boscawen defeated the army of Nasir Khan, son of the ex-chief of Kelat, who had a few days before received an impressive lesson from Captain Watkins, in command at Dadur. On the 1st December an action of a decided character was fought. Nasir Khan, who occupied a strong position near Kotree, was attacked by a force under Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, consisting of about nine hundred Bombay native infantry of the 2nd grenadiers, the 21st and 25th regiments, commanded respectively by Captains Boyd, Ennis, and Teasdale; sixty irregular horse, under Lieutenant Smith, and two guns, under Lieutenant Pruen. The attack took place as soon
as daylight dawned, and the enemy were completely taken by surprise. So great, indeed, was the surprise of their chief, that he made his escape upon the first alarm, accompanied by only two followers. His chiefs shewed more spirit, and made a long and desperate defence; but the disposition of the British force was so judicious, and the spirit which pervaded it so good, that the efforts at resistance, strenuous as they were, were unavailing. Five hundred of the troops of Nasir Khan yielded up their lives in the cause of their fugitive master; and in the number of the slain were four powerful chiefs. The principal commander, named Meer Bohun, with six others, surrendered themselves prisoners, but not until those whose confidence they had sought to sustain were in irretrievable flight. The whole of the enemy's baggage and a large quantity of arms fell into the hands of the victors. The conduct of those by whom this gallant action was won was fitly characterized by their commander, whose testimony is thus given in a very soldierly field-order, issued on the day after the engagement:—“The lieutenant-colonel now concludes with saying that he never wishes to lead braver men into the field, for braver could not be found.”

In narrating the gratifying events of this period, the retreat of Captain Brown, the gallant defender of Kahun, must not be passed over. It was effected by arrangements with the Beloochees, through whom he passed unmolested. It is not improbable that the loss which they suffered at Noofoosk had its
effect in giving security to this arrangement; and thus, though the expedition under Major Clibbon failed of its immediate object and was attended by circumstances of extreme disaster, it might yet, indirectly, be instrumental to the security of the garrison of Kahun. Captain Brown arrived at Pooilagee on the 1st of October.*

* The overture for an arrangement, by which the British garrison of Kahun were to have safe conduct, came from the Beloochees. It was at first regarded as treacherous; but after the disaster which befell the force under Major Clibbon, there seemed little choice but to embrace it. The subsequent progress of the negotiation is thus described, on the authority of the gallant commander of the garrison:—"On the 23rd (September) a message was received from Dodah (Belochee chief), that he would agree to any terms if the fort were evacuated. Captain Brown replied as follows:—‘Dodah Murree, I'll give back your fort on conditions, viz.: that you give me personal security for my safe arrival in the plains; if not, I will remain here two months longer, having provisions for that time.’ The deputation returned, reporting that on receiving the communication, the whole of the chiefs had assembled together, and, after some consideration, took a solemn oath on the Koran that if Captain B. would leave the fort in three days they would protect him from all opposition down to the plains; ending by saying, that 'whatever his wishes were should be their law.' Two hours afterwards, a cossid brought a letter from Dodah himself, containing an agreement on oath to Captain B.'s proposal. He said he would send his nephew to pay his respects to him, and to see the agreement conformed to by all his people. The agreement was ratified by Captain Brown, not without suspicion of treachery. The same suspicion invaded Dodah at their interview. The negotiation was thus carried on:—'Wishing at once,' says Captain Brown, 'to see whether it was to be 'treachery or no treachery,' I, with Erskine and four native officers, met him about a mile from the fort. I never saw a man in such a fright in my life; although he had thirty horsemen armed to the teeth, and there were only six of us, he retreated twice before he would venture near us. He thought from our coming alone there must be
The opening of the year 1841 commenced less auspiciously. The Kojuks had been accustomed to treachery, that some men were hidden somewhere; even after we had met, he had his horse all ready close by for a start. Down we all sat in a circle—a wild scene. His followers appeared to be exceedingly well armed, and all fine, stout-built men. After compliments, &c., the nephew began to talk very reasonably. He expressed a hope 'that there would now be a lasting peace between his tribe and the British; that they had only fought at the Noofoosk Pass, to save their country and their lives; that it was the least they could do when they had the fate of Bejah Khan staring them in the face; that they had never killed any of our people after the fight, and that all the prisoners had been clothed, fed, and set free.' He concluded by saying that 'he should remain near the fort till we left, to prevent any disturbance between his people and mine, and that he would furnish me with trustworthy guides down.' There was not the slightest appearance of treachery.' Thus ended this most interesting conference. It will not, I think, be easily forgotten by either Erskine or myself; so much depended on it—the good of ourselves and the whole of the detachment. We found these Belochees the most civil and polite of men. The confidence we placed in their word, by meeting them in the way we did, seemed to please them much; and from our having been deadly enemies for five long months, we became in one hour the best of friends. No doubt their joy was just as great in getting rid of us as ours was in gaining our freedom.'—*Asiatic Journal*, December, 1841.

The testimony borne by Captain Brown to the conduct of his men during their painful confinement within the walls of Kahun is most decisive. The following passage is well entitled to notice:—

"Treat sepoys kindly, and I do not think they will ever fail at the push: nearly fourteen years of uninterrupted regimental duty, I think, entitles me to give an opinion on this point, and that before formed is now fully confirmed. An old acquaintance of mine, Sheer Beo Bheg Boogtee, who had acted as guide to us through these hills last year, paid me a visit. I had had the means of shewing him some kindness. During the campaign he had been taken prisoner, and plundered of many head of cattle; and I having obtained his release, and clothed him, he has followed me like a shadow ever since."
pay tribute to the sovereigns of Afghanistan whenever those princes were enabled to enforce payment. Shah Shoojah wished to revive the custom; but the tribe, with the spirit invariably prevalent in the East, determined to withhold compliance until it should be extorted by arms. The chief place of the Kojuk country is Sebee, and against this a force under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, of the 3rd Bombay cavalry, was, in February, 1841, dispatched to give effect to the Shah’s demands. The force consisted of Colonel Wilson’s regiment of cavalry, some local horse, a wing of the 20th Bombay native infantry, two hundred of the 2nd grenadiers, and a troop of horse artillery. The place to be attacked was strong, and the matériel for a siege found by Colonel Wilson inefficient. The attack was, however, made and supported with much gallantry, but it altogether failed, and the loss in British officers was serious with reference to the object to be gained. Colonel Wilson was mortally wounded, Lieutenant Falconer of the 2nd grenadiers, and Lieutenant Creed, of the artillery, killed. The latter officer was shot through the heart while, with a small party of steady followers, vainly attempting to turn the fortune of the day. The Kojuks pursued on this occasion the course—not unusual—of defending a fortified place with desperation, and then seeking safety in flight. In the morning Sebee was found abandoned.

In the north, affairs were somewhat more prosperous, though there the intervention of military force to uphold the house of Shah Shoojah was
also required. It was deemed necessary to coerce a tribe inhabiting the Nazeem Valley, and thither a considerable force was dispatched under Brigadier Shelton. It was composed of her Majesty's 44th regiment, the 27th Bengal native infantry, a troop of horse artillery, a detachment of sappers and miners, and a considerable body of the Shah's force of various descriptions. The valley, which was the object of attack, was thickly studded with small forts; these were attacked in succession and carried; but success was dimmed by the loss of two valuable officers, Captain Douglas, assistant adjutant general, a volunteer, and Lieutenant Pigou, a highly meritorious engineer officer, who was blown away by the premature explosion of a bag of powder applied to the gate of one of the forts.

Further illustration of the difficulty of establishing Shah Shoojah on his throne, and maintaining him there, was afforded by the continued disturbances created by the Ghiljje tribe, and the constant necessity of armed interference on the part of the British forces to suppress them. Early in May a fort near Khelat-i-Ghiljje became an object of contention. It was taken by the English after some resistance, the gate being blown open with bags of powder, an operation which, after the success which attended it at Ghuznee, seems to have been a favourite one. On the 29th of the same month, a detachment under Captain Wymer, marching from Kandahar to Khelat-i-Ghilzie, in charge of a convoy, was attacked at Eelme by a body of Ghiljies,
amounting, at the commencement of the engagement, to two thousand five hundred, but swelled, by reinforcements, to upwards of five thousand before its termination. On intelligence of the meditated attack reaching the commanding officer, he placed his small force in the position which he deemed most favourable for receiving the enemy; it being, as he observes, impracticable, "from the paucity of troops and the magnitude of the convoy, for him to act otherwise than on the defensive."* The British force consisted only of four companies of the 38th regiment of Bengal native infantry, a wing of the Shah's cavalry, a small party of sappers and miners, and two guns of the horse artillery. On the first appearance of the enemy, which was in one dense mass, the two guns were opened on them with great precision and effect, whereupon the Ghiljies formed into three distinct columns in order to make a simultaneous attack on the right, left, and centre of the British. The attack was met with admirable coolness and gallantry; the enemy was permitted to approach within a short distance, when the fire of the infantry line was poured upon them with such effect as to indicate the necessity for a change of operations. The enemy's force was again consolidated, his right and centre columns uniting, with the left resting upon and lining the banks of the Turnak river, near which the engagement took place. This change rendered necessary a corre-

* Despatch from Lieutenant-Colonel Wymer to Captain Grant, officiating assistant adjutant-general. 31st May, 1841.
sponding one in the position of the British detachment, which was made with great steadiness, though under an annoying fire, and an interruption occasioned, it is believed by an impression entertained on the part of the enemy that their antagonists were about to retreat. Under this impression, a large body of infantry, armed with swords, rushed upon the 38th, uttering a loud shout, and anticipating the speedy discomfiture of those whom they assailed; but they had the mortification to find that they were mistaken, and the reception which they met with soon convinced them that the field was not yet in their possession. From this time the combined efforts of the enemy were devoted in succession to all points, but without their gaining a single advantage; and after continuing the fight between four and five hours, they withdrew from a contest in which they had been worsted in every attempt which they had made to shake the security of the British position. By daybreak they had moved beyond the range of any intelligence which Colonel Wymer could procure. The conduct of the 38th native infantry, on this occasion, was most exemplary, and in some instances under circumstances where the habitual obedience of the soldier is severely tested. At one time, when they were exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy, it became necessary that they should refrain from returning it, and an order to that effect was obeyed with the most rigid exactness; not a shot was discharged till the men were commanded again to commence firing.
Obedience like this is among the best fruits of military discipline. The loss of the British was small; that of the enemy considerable, but its amount could not be estimated with any degree of precision, as many of the killed and wounded, lying at a distance from the British position, were carried off under cover of the night.

A large body of Ghiljies and others, amounting, it is said, to six thousand, was defeated on the 2nd of July by Captain Woodburn, commanding a field detachment on the Helmund. The value of the services of Captain Woodburn, and of the British officers and men, on this occasion, is greatly enhanced by a consideration of the very indifferent instruments with which they had to work. The whole force was furnished from the levies of the Shah, and a portion at least of it could not be trusted. With an effective force the enemy might have been pursued and dispersed, but prudence forbade any attempt of the kind under the circumstances which existed. Captain Woodburn, in his report of the affair, says: "In both a military and political point of view, it would be of the greatest importance to follow up and disperse the rebels, but with reference to their numbers, and the notoriously disaffected state of the country, I do not consider that I should be justified in moving after them, with a weak regiment of infantry, two guns, and with cavalry in which every confidence cannot be placed."

* Letter from Captain Woodburn to Captain Polwhele, major of brigade, 5th July, 1841.
Success followed the British arms in various engagements of smaller or greater importance with the same enemy. In the beginning of August, a body of Ghiljies were routed by some regular and irregular cavalry, commanded respectively by Lieut. Bazett and Captain Walker, and forming part of a detachment encamped in the Karrootoo Valley, under Lieut.-Colonel R. E. Chambers. Later in the same month, Captain John Griffin, commanding a field detachment in Zemindawur, attacked and dispersed a body of about five thousand, near Klishwura. They were headed by two chiefs, named Akram Khan and Akhtar Khan, the latter having commanded the Ghiljies when they were defeated, in July, by Captain Woodburn. On this occasion the enemy, in an attempt to form into columns, were broken and thrown into utter confusion by a charge made by Captain Hart, with a regiment of the Shah's cavalry, who do not appear previously to have enjoyed a very good reputation. A similar regiment had been placed on rear-guard duty, under Lieutenant Golding, but the success of their companions inspired them with a desire to take part in the engagement. They were indulged by being permitted to join in the pursuit, and behaved well. The force of the British, though not small, was not exclusively of the best description as to men, and it was inferior in numbers to that of the enemy. The 2nd regiment of Bengal native infantry were engaged; the remainder of the force employed belonged to the army of the Shah Shoojah. It numbered thirteen
hundred and fifty bayonets, eight hundred sabres, and four six-pounders.

The month of September passed in a manner generally tranquil. Little of an opposite character occurred, excepting in the Zoormut Valley, whither a small force had proceeded to enforce payment of the Shah's tribute. Another object proposed in the employment of this force was the seizure of some persons hostile to the government, who it was stated had taken refuge in a fort in that country. The fort was represented as being very weak, and further it was believed that no defence would be attempted. On both points expectation was disappointed. The fort was defended, and it was so strong that the means possessed by the British officer in command, Captain Hay, were altogether insufficient for its reduction. Instead of being permitted to occupy it without resistance, as had been anticipated, the Shah's troops were fired upon: a few shots were fired in return, but without making any impression on the walls within which the enemy were sheltered from attack. A force better provided with materials for destruction was subsequently dispatched, and the fort, with others in the vicinity, rased.

At the close of September, the country generally exhibited greater appearance of tranquillity than it had manifested at any former time since the entry of Shah Shoojah under the auspices of his British ally. It was now in a perfect state of peace. Such a state had never been known in Afghanistan, and the surface was so smooth, that the belief that Shah
Shojaiah was firmly seated on the throne seems to have been entertained; not indeed so firmly as to forbid all exhibition of occasional outbreaks of opposition, but to such an extent as to lead to a persuasion that he might be left in a great degree to himself—that the British troops might at an early period be altogether withdrawn, and that the European adviser, by whose counsels the Shah had been guided from the outset of the expedition, might without any further delay be relieved from his onerous duties. Sir James Carnac had resigned the government of Bombay: Sir William Macnaghten had been appointed to the office, and proposed, on the 28th of October, to surrender his charge in Affghanistan to Captain Sir Alexander Burnes, and depart to take possession of his new office. Before the arrival of that day, a great change had taken place in the aspect of affairs.

Revolt and intestine war were certainly not to be regarded as events of improbable occurrence in the newly established kingdom of Affghanistan; with or without reasonable cause, they were to be looked for, at least, for a considerable time. The beginning of the month of October was marked by the departure from the court of Shah Shojaiah of some chiefs of considerable power and influence. Their first act was the plunder of a caravan—an exploit perfectly in accordance with the prevailing code of morals in Affghanistan. Humzee Khan, a man of high rank, was dispatched after the fugitives, to induce them to return by the promise of redress of any real grievances; but his mission was attended with ex-
actly the degree of success that might have been looked for, from a fact which does not appear at the time to have been known to the British Envoy, but which he soon afterwards learned. Humzee Khan was himself the chief instigator of the hostile movement which he was dispatched to check.

The ostensible reasons for the defection of the Ghiljie chiefs were two—the first being the reduction of certain allowances which they had received for services rendered in keeping in some degree of order the predatory tribes frequenting the passes. The reduction was defended upon the two grounds of necessity and justice. The government of Calcutta had made many and heavy complaints of the expense of the proceedings in Affghanistan, and had urged the necessity of Shah Shoojah ceasing to rely on his ally for pecuniary support; the difficulties of collecting tribute were great; to borrow, the ordinary resource of Eastern princes, was, in the circumstances of Affghanistan, not easily practicable; and there seemed no course open but to diminish in some way the charges of the government. The particular head of charge selected for reduction was that which was made up of the allowances above noticed. The point was delicate, and the prospects of success not very promising—for those who unwillingly paid a reduced amount of tribute were not likely to give a very cheerful assent to the payment of an enhanced amount. Financial pressure was, undoubtedly, the chief motive which led the British authorities to acquiesce in the reduction. With regard to Shah
Shoojah and his native advisers, it is not necessary to resort to the existence of such pressure for a motive. The Eastern principle of wringing from a dependent as much as possible, and of never observing an engagement if it be practicable to break it, with advantage, are quite sufficient to account for their approval of the plan. It has, however, been intimated that the plea of necessity was supported on another, grounded on a sense of justice. It was said that, in consequence of a reduction in the price of grain, the reduced allowances were substantially greater than the chiefs received from Dost Mahomed for services similar to those for which they were now to be paid by Shah Shoojah, but this was not an argument likely to satisfy those who claimed the allowances; nor, in truth, could the inferior advantages derived by these chiefs under an agreement made with one man be very reasonably alleged as a ground for setting aside a different agreement made with another. Shah Shoojah would have been justified in refusing at first to give more than his predecessor; but if he did agree to give more, he was bound to fulfil his engagement.

The second ground of discontent put forth by the dissatisfied chiefs was, that they were required to be responsible for robberies by the eastern Ghiljies, wherever such robberies might be committed. This might be oppressive; but here the remark suggested by the conduct of the Shah seems applicable to his insurgent chiefs. If the responsibility of which they complained formed part of the contract into
which they entered, their reflections on its inconveniences came too late.

Other causes have been assigned, and they, without doubt, aided in precipitating insurrection at this particular time. The great chiefs saw that their independence would be affected and their power shaken by the new order of things. They had never known any but a state of anarchy, and they dreaded any other. Personally, Shah Shoojah seems to have been unpopular, but any one who required obedience from the wild and reckless chiefs of Afghanistan would have been unpopular also. But further, the Afghan chiefs and people were Mahometans, inflamed with all the burning bigotry which scorches the bosoms of the sincere and zealous followers of the pseudo Prophet, abhorring Christians more than the most dangerous beasts that prowl for midnight prey, or the most noxious reptiles that find shelter in the jungle, and extending their hatred to a prince whom they saw enthroned amid the bayonets of a people professing the religion which they so much detested. All these feelings were, undoubtedly, at work, to counteract British authority and influence in Afghanistan. How much of each entered into any one outburst cannot be determined. Private interest, personal vanity, fanatical excitement, were alike enlisted against the British and the Shah. In a long course of years, if a strong government could have been maintained, their influence might have been crushed, but time and a vigorous arm were both requisite for the task.
The mission of the perfidious minister, Humzee Khan, having failed, more efficient means of dealing with the insurgent chiefs were resorted to in the employment of a military force commanded by Sir Robert Sale, which was marching to Jelalabad, preparatory to its return to India. The first task to be performed was the forcing the pass of Khoord Kabool, which the disaffected chiefs had occupied. They here held a strong position, their main body being posted behind a breastwork near the middle of the pass, while parties occupied the surrounding heights. While the attention of the enemy was partially diverted by an assault upon another point, the troops destined for the chief attack, which was to be directed against the enemy's front, entered the gorge of the valley. The advanced guard consisted of two companies of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, the flank companies of the 35th Bengal native infantry, a detachment of pioneers and two guns. The remainder of the two regiments of infantry formed the main body. As the British force approached, it was discovered that the enemy were withdrawing from their position in the valley, and occupying the rocky ridges of the mountains on both sides. They opened a well-directed fire, and in an early stage of the action Sir Robert Sale was wounded, and compelled to leave the field. He had previously directed two companies of the 13th, and one of the 35th, to ascend the precipitous heights for the purpose of clearing them. Colonel Dennie, who assumed the command on Sir Robert Sale being disabled, brought up the main column
and guns to the enemy's breastwork in the valley, and, finding it evacuated, pushed them forward to the extremity of the pass opposite to that by which they had entered, where he took up an excellent position under cover of the walls of a fort which, though deserted, was of some strength. In the meantime, the skirmishers on the heights had ably performed their work of clearing them of the enemy. The native infantry remained at the fort, which had been taken up; the European force returned to their encampment at Boothauk. As they marched back, some parties of the enemy occasionally shewed themselves, and some loss was sustained in repelling their attacks. While the force under Sir Robert Sale was thus divided, they were exposed to several night attacks, in one of which the 38th suffered severely, many men and one officer, Lieutenant Jenkins, having fallen in the conflict. Later in the month of October, Sir Robert Sale, having been reinforced, marched in the direction of Tazeen, the force feeling its way cautiously through the defiles, occupying the hills on its flanks with skirmishers, and leaving parties for the protection of its baggage and rear at selected points. No enemy was seen till the advance and main body had halted in the Valley of Tazeen. From this valley another stretches out in a south-easterly direction, and on the sides and summits of the mountains, inclosing the latter, were observed bodies of the enemy; while another portion of their force prepared to dispute the posses-
sion of a small conical hill which partly closes the entrance to the branching valley, and thus to bar the approach of the British force to a fortified spot called Mahomed Ufzul's fort, of which the insurgents had possession. They were, however, driven from the hill by the advanced guard under Colonel Monteith. The fort was then assailed, and after a feeble defence abandoned. Sir Robert Sale intended to establish here a dépôt for his sick and wounded, and to adopt the place as a point d'appui; but the enemy continuing to occupy a nearly circular range of heights, and even occasionally to descend from them, it became necessary to dislodge them from those parts of the mountains from which they were able to command the British position, and inflict considerable annoyance, especially by night. This led to a series of skirmishes, which ended in the British commander completely accomplishing his object.

While the force of Sir Robert Sale occupied this position, a further attempt to terminate, by negotiation, the disputes with the disobedient chiefs was made under the auspices of Captain Macgregor. He was received by them with a profusion of pacific professions, and an agreement was concluded, but without a shadow of intention on the part of the chiefs to adhere to any part of it. In proof of this, they continued to harass the British detachment under Sir Robert Sale on its departure from Tazeen. The most serious annoyance received was on the 29th of October, on marching from Jug-
duluk in the direction of Gundamuck. Some loss in men was here sustained, and a very considerable one in baggage and camp equipage; but the detachment succeeded in gallantly forcing its way, though the difficulties of the ground, surrounded by terrific mountains, were almost insuperable. The labours encountered by the detachment, and the spirit in which they were sustained, will be best illustrated by quoting the language of its distinguished commander, who thus speaks of his men:—“Since leaving Kabool, they have been kept constantly on the alert by attacks by night and day; from the time of their arrival at Tazeen they have invariably bivouacked, and the safety of our positions has only been secured by unremitting labour, throwing up intrenchments, and very severe outpost duty; whilst each succeeding morning has brought its affair with a bold and active enemy, eminently skilful in the species of warfare to which their attempts have been confined, and armed with jezails, which have enabled them to annoy us at a range at which they could only be reached by our artillery. Though compelled, by the effects of my late wound, to witness these conflicts from a dooly, I must bear my unequivocal testimony to the gallantry of officers and men on every occasion of contact with the enemy, and, especially in scaling the tremendous heights above Jugduluk.”*

At Gundamuck the difficulties of Sir Robert

* Letter from Sir Robert Sale to Captain Grant, 30th October, 1841.
Sale began to thicken, and amidst a variety of gloomy intelligence which reached him from various quarters, he learned that Jelalabad was menaced by the enemy from the direction of Lughman. To secure the possession of that important place, he resolved to march upon it forthwith. He entered it on the 12th of November, having sustained considerable annoyance from plunderers. A party of these, who had the imprudence to follow the rear guard under Colonel Dennie into the plain, were sent abruptly back to the heights by a brilliant charge of cavalry, headed by Captain Oldfield and Lieutenant Mayne, before whom more than a hundred of the marauders fell.

Jelalabad was found invested on every side by hordes of enemies. The defences were weak, but Sir Robert Sale proceeded with characteristic vigour to improve them. In the meantime the enemy were active. They burned down a cantonment raised by the English at great expense in the preceding year, and under cover of trees and old buildings, kept up a fire of musketry against the walls at a short range, by which some loss was suffered. To get rid of this continued source of annoyance, a sortie was made on the 14th of November by a party under Lieutenant Colonel Monteith. The attempt was entirely successful, and a body of at least five thousand men were utterly dispersed by a force consisting of three hundred men of her Majesty's 13th, three hundred of the 35th Bengal native infantry, a hundred sappers and miners, two hundred
of the Khyber corps, a squadron of the 5th light cavalry, a few irregular horse, and three guns.

It was obvious that, though the enemy was dispersed for a time, their speedy and frequent return was to be expected; it was not less obvious that no early relief was to be looked for by the British force in Jelalabad. To diminish the consumption of provisions as far as was practicable was, under these circumstances, an indispensable measure of precaution; and with a view to this object, Sir Robert Sale proceeded to dismiss from the place the women and children, whose presence could only be embarrassing to the garrison, and dangerous to themselves, and all the male population, excepting shopkeepers, whose continued residence was to be desired. This clearance not only reduced the number of claimants for food, but had the effect of purging the city of suspicious characters, of whom there were many. The repose that followed the dispersion of the enemy was employed in carrying on the improvements in the defences with redoubled vigour. "We have availed ourselves of the pause," said Sir Robert Sale, "to put the walls into a state of defence, which will, I trust, enable us to defy the efforts of any Asiatic force, unaided by siege artillery."* Yet was there enough in the circumstances in which the brave garrison of Jelalabad was placed to have justified some shadow of despondency, had its noble commander been capable of entertaining such a

feeling. "Two regiments, and the corps of sappers," he writes, "do not more than suffice to man these extensive walls, and great efforts are required of us. We need succours in every way; troops, treasure, provisions, and ammunition now, and a siege train, to enable us to retrieve things by active operations on the conclusion of the winter."* Thus did this eminent officer look forward through months of anxiety, destitution, and suffering, with feelings tinged with hopefulness, to the period when he trusted to be again able to take the field in vindication of his country's honour.

Before reaching Jelalabad, Sir Robert Sale had learned that all was not well at Kabool. While engaged in preparing for the defence of the former place, he received a summons to march the troops under his command immediately to the capital. This task he declined to attempt, and it would be unjust to give his reasons in any other than his own simple, lucid, and forcible language. "I beg to represent that the whole of my camp equipage has been destroyed; that the wounded and sick have increased to upwards of three hundred; that there is no longer a single depot of provisions on the route, and the carriage of the force is not sufficient to bring on one day's rations with it. I have, at the same time, positive information that the whole country is in arms, and ready to oppose us in the defiles between this city and Cabool, while my am-

munition is insufficient for more than two such contests as I should assuredly have to sustain for six days at least. With my present means I could not force the passes of either Jugduluk or Khoord Cabool; and even if the débris of my brigade did reach Cabool, I am given to understand that I should find the troops now garrisoning it without the means of subsistence. Under these circumstances, a regard for the honour and interest of our government compels me to adhere to my plan already formed of putting this place into a state of defence, and holding it, if possible, until the Cabool force falls back upon me, or succours arrive from Peshawur or India.”* Personally, Sir Robert Sale must have wished to have been at Kabool, for his wife and daughter were there and exposed to danger; but he could not sacrifice an army to the gratification of his personal feelings.

There was, indeed, a fearful need of further military assistance at Kabool; but before entering into the particulars of the necessity, it will be convenient to state the positions of the forces of the allied powers in the vicinity of that place. The force at and near Kabool, in the beginning of October, had consisted of her Majesty’s 13th and 44th foot, the 5th, 35th, 37th, and 54th Bengal native infantry, the 5th Bengal light cavalry, a company of foot and a troop of horse artillery, two regiments of the Shah’s infantry, a mountain train of artillery, with some others belonging to the Shah, and some

cavalry, both Hindostanee and Afghani, forming part also of the Shah’s force. The Queen’s 13th, the 35th and 37th Bengal native infantry, a squadron of the 5th cavalry, and some details of artillery and sappers, constituted the force of Sir Robert Sale; but the 37th had not gone forward with the rest of the force to Gumamuck, and subsequently to Jelalabad, but had been left in position at Khoord Kabool to keep open the communication. The force which remained at Kabool was divided between the Bala Hissar, the royal residence, which overlooked the town, and the cantonments, lying about three miles from it. Some British officers resided within the town, and parts of the commissariat establishments were within its walls. Much of this arrangement appears to have been injudicious, but there seems to have been an almost unanimous determination to shut the ears against all intimations of danger, and indulge in a luxurious dream of safety equal to that enjoyed within the Mahratta ditch.

A.D. 1841. The morning of the 2nd November dissipated the spell—it broke with signals of violence and alarm. The city was in a state of commotion; the shops were plundered, the houses of the British officers attacked, and their servants everywhere insulted and threatened. Among the first of the houses assaulted were those of Sir Alexander Burnes and of Captain Johnston, paymaster of the Shah’s forces. It is believed, that had the former officer acted with decision, the outbreak might have been at once checked; but Sir Alexander Burnes forbade
his guard to fire on the insurgents,* and preferred trying the effect of addressing to them a speech. What were the arguments by which he sought to soothe into calmness the excited passions of desperate men can never be known, for his powers of moral suasion failed, and he perished in a parade of magnanimous forbearance. With him fell his brother, Lieutenant Burnes, of the Bombay army, and Lieutenant William Broadfoot, of the Bengal European regiment—an officer whom all reports unite in eulogizing, and whose life was dearly paid for by his assailants, six of whom met destruction from his hand before it was paralyzed by death. The sepoys who formed the guard of Sir Alexander Burnes and of the treasury fought nobly, so soon as they were permitted to fight, and manifested the firmness and fidelity which the native soldier has so often displayed in the cause of the government whose "salt he eats;" but they were overpowered by the numbers which unthrifty delay had permitted to accumulate, and with their lives they surrendered their trust. The Shah’s treasury, as well as the residence of Sir Alexander Burnes, were plundered; every man, woman, and child found in either massacred; and, finally, the buildings fired. The whole city was now in a state of insurrection, and it was dangerous for an European countenance to be anywhere visible. Some British officers were wounded, and others very narrowly escaped. Captain Sturt, of the engineers, was assailed in the precincts of the palace, and

stabbed in three places by a young man whose dress indicated respectability of position, and who immediately escaped into an adjacent building, the gates of which, as soon as he had passed them, were closed. Captain Laurence, military secretary to the British Envoy, while riding to deliver a message to the Shah, was attacked by an Afghan of ferocious appearance, who aimed at him a furious blow. The officer avoided it, and putting spurs to his horse, escaped the fate which had that morning overtaken some of his brethren in arms; he was immediately afterwards fired on by a considerable body of the insurgents, but succeeded in reaching the palace in safety.

While such events were in progress, it cannot be supposed that the authorities, either native or British, were altogether inactive. The Shah dispatched one of his sons with some Afghan retainers, a Hindostane corps in his service called Campbell's regiment, and two guns, to check the insurrectionary movement; but this force was beaten back by the insurgents, and it was not without difficulty that they succeeded in bringing off their guns. Early in the day an order had been dispatched to Brigadier Shelton, who commanded a force encamped at a place called Seeah Sung, a short distance from the capital, to march a part of his troops to the Bala Hissar, or royal citadel, where the Shah resided, and the remainder into the British cantonment. Orders were likewise forwarded for the return of the 37th Bengal native infantry, who were posted
at Khoord Kabool. Brigadier Shelton's force arrived, but, as it appears, to little purpose: "the day," says an officer on the spot, "was suffered to pass without any thing being done demonstrative of British energy and power."* Early on the morning of the 3rd, the troops from Khoord Kabool arrived under the command of Major Griffiths, having had to fight their way for the whole distance with a body of several thousand Ghilzies who hung upon them. They, nevertheless, succeeded in preserving nearly the whole of their baggage, as well as in bringing in all their wounded, and they arrived at Kabool in as perfect order as if the march "had been a mere parade movement."† But, though thus reinforced, nothing decisive seems to have been attempted, and this day passed much like the preceding one. A few desultory efforts were made, but no connected or sustained plan either for attack or defence appears to have existed. In consequence the insurgents gradually gathered strength, and obtained possession of post after post in quick succession. A tower occupied by Captain Trevor, of the 5th cavalry, a fort within musket-shot of it, used partly as a storehouse by the Shah's commissariat, partly as a residence for Brigadier Anquetil, and a house at a short distance from the fort inhabited by Captain Troup,

† Lady Sale's Journal, p. 45.

Lieut. Eyre says, "A more orderly march was never made under such trying circumstances, and it reflects the highest credit upon Major Griffiths and all concerned."—Military Operations, p. 35.
brigade major of the Shah's forces, were all defensible posts, and were for a time defended. They were lost for want of ammunition, for a fresh supply of which, pressing application was made, but without effect. A considerable number of chiefs who remained faithful to the cause of the allies had proceeded to the house held by Captain Trevor with a tender of assistance. That they were sincere is placed beyond question by two facts. One of the chiefs offered his son as a hostage for his good faith, and actually placed him in the hands of the British officer; and further, when all hope was lost from the non-arrival of assistance, several of the party escorted Captain Trevor and his family to the British cantonments. Neither Brigadier Anquetil nor Captain Troup was present at the fort and house which they respectively occupied, and the task of defending the fort fell to Captain Mackenzie. He held it till he had not a shot to fire, and then cut his way through the enemy to the British lines, which he reached, though not without being wounded.*

* Captain Mackenzie described his adventures on this occasion in a letter to Lieutenant Eyre, published by the latter officer in his account of the military operations at Kabool, and the account is so lively and graphic, that a portion of it may properly be quoted, for the sake of the vivid impression which it gives of the incidents of a retreat by night through a country occupied by an enemy. "Before we had proceeded half a mile, the rear missed the advance, upon whom a post of the enemy had begun to fire. All my regulars had crept ahead with the Juzailchees, and I found myself alone with a chuprassee and two suwars, in the midst of a helpless and wailing crowd of women and children. Riding on by myself, along a narrow lane, to try and pick out the road, I found myself
It is not easy—perhaps it never will be practicable—to ascertain precisely the causes of the unfortunate want of energy which at this time pervaded the counsels and movements of the British. The chief military command was held by General Elphinstone, an officer of high character, but considerably advanced in years, and severely shaken by disease. The same apathy which had led to the loss of the tower and fort on the 3rd of November continued suddenly surrounded by a party of Affghans, whom at first I took to be own Juzailchees, and spoke to them as such. They quickly undeceived me, however, by crying out 'Feringhee hooz,' 'here is a European,' and attacking me with swords and knives. Spurring my horse violently, I wheeled round, cutting from right to left, for I fortunately had my own sword drawn previous to the surprise. My blows, by God's mercy, parried the greater part of theirs, and I was lucky enough to cut off the hand of my most outrageous assailant. In short, after a desperate struggle, during which I received two slight sabre cuts, and a blow on the back of my head, from a fellow whose sword turned in his hand, which knocked me half off my horse, I escaped out of the crush, passing unhurt through two volleys of musketry from the whole picket, which, by that time, had become alarmed, and had turned out. They pursued me, but I soon distanced them, crossing several fields at speed, and gaining a road which I perceived led round the western end of the Shah's garden. Proceeding cautiously along, to my horror I perceived my path again blocked up by a dense body of Affghans. Retreat was impossible; so putting my trust in God, I charged into the midst of them, hoping that the weight of my horse would clear my way for me, and reserving my sword cuts for my last struggle. It was well that I did so, for by the time that I had knocked over some twenty fellows, I found that they were my own Juzailchees. If you ever experienced sudden relief from a hideous nightmare, you may imagine my feelings for the moment. With these worthies, after wandering about for some time, and passing unchallenged by a sleepy post of the enemy, I reached the cantonments.
to reign on the 4th, and with similar disastrous results. Ensign Warren, of the 5th Bengal native infantry, who, with a small force, occupied the fort of the British commissariat, reported that he was pressed by the enemy, and that, unless reinforced, he could not long hold out. On the possession or the loss of this fort depended the solution of the question whether the British army at Kabool should be fed or starved; yet, strange as it must appear, the answer to Ensign Warren’s communication was the despatch of a small force to assist him in evacuating a place which it was so essential to retain. The attempt to reach the fort failed, as did another subsequently made, and both were attended by severe loss. In the meantime, intelligence of the intention of abandoning the fort having reached Captain Boyd, the chief commissariat officer of the British army, he hastened, in conjunction with Captain Johnson, who held the same situation in the army of the Shah, to lay before the general the fatal consequences that must result from such a step, representing that the place contained supplies of grain, rum, medicine, clothing, and other stores, of the value of four lacs of rupees—that the immense loss which would be sustained by the abandonment of them was not the worst effect to be apprehended, but that such an act would greatly add to the confidence of the enemy, while it would involve the almost certain destruction of the whole British force, there not being within the cantonments a stock of provisions equal to more than two days’ consump-
tion, while no hope could be entertained, under the circumstances that existed, of procuring supplies elsewhere. The representation was too powerful to be resisted, though it cannot but excite surprise that it should have been required, and it was determined to direct the commander of the commissariat fort to persist in its defence. A further communication from that officer announced that his difficulties increased—that the enemy were preparing for an attack, and were, as he believed, engaged in mining one of the towers—that the temper of his garrison was bad—that some of his men had made their escape over the wall, and that, with reference to all circumstances, he could not maintain himself many hours unless reinforced. The answer to this communication was, that he should be reinforced by two o'clock in the morning.

The gate of the commissariat fort was commanded by another fort called Mahomed Shureef's, and the possession of this latter fort was, consequently, deemed requisite to ensure success to any attempt to relieve the former. Some information as to its means of defence was obviously desirable, and a man was dispatched to gather such as hasty observation might furnish. On his return, he reported that about twenty men were seated without Mahomed Shureef's fort, smoking and talking; but, from what he could learn, the force within was very small, and unable to resist a sudden attack. The tidings brought by this messenger produced no result but a determination to send another, who,
returning, corroborated the report of his predecessor. Still nothing was done—consultation and discussion consumed the hours, albeit at best too few, which remained for affording effectual succour to Ensign Warren, and saving from the grasp of the enemy his incalculably valuable charge. At last it was resolved that in the morning a detachment should be sent off; but, just as it was on the point of marching, news was received that Ensign Warren had arrived in cantonments with his garrison, having abandoned the fort, and by consequence surrendered all the means of subsistence on which the army could rely. The enemy had set fire to the gate, and the garrison were led out through a hole in the wall. This was a blow at the British cause in Kabul before which it reeled. The train was fired, and an explosion could not be far distant which might be expected to involve in common ruin those who had entered Afghanistan in pride and triumph, to change its rulers and its laws, and him who owed to their arms a diadem which now trembled on his brow. “It no sooner,” says Lieutenant Eyre, “became generally known that the commissariat fort, upon which we were dependent for supplies, had been abandoned, than one universal feeling of indignation pervaded the garrison; nor can I describe the impatience of the troops, but especially the native portion, to be led out for its recapture—a feeling that was by no means diminished by their seeing the Afghans crossing and recrossing the road between the commissariat fort and the gate of the Shah
Bagh, laden with the provisions on which had depended our ability to make a protracted defence."* Well, indeed, might indignation and impatience prevail; and so strongly were they expressed, that at last it was resolved to make an attempt against Mahomed Shureef's fort, the practicability of capturing which had occasioned so much solemn discussion, during which all the stores were lost. Two guns, under Lieutenant Eyre, were to open a fire on the fort, under cover of which a party, under Major Swaine, was to advance and blow open the gate with a bag of powder. The guns opened their fire, and continued it until their supply of ammunition was nearly exhausted; but, from some cause, the party which was to force the gate remained still, without attempting to perform their allotted task, and the whole were recalled into cantonments. "Thus," remarks Lieutenant Eyre, "the enemy† enjoyed their triumph undiminished, and great was the rage of the sepoys of the 37th native infantry, who had evinced the utmost eagerness to be led out, at this disappointment of their hopes."‡

† Military Operations in Kabool, p. 59.
‡ This movement against Mahomed Shureef's fort vividly recalls to the mind the feat performed by the King of France and his army of forty thousand, immortalized in a familiar distich. Lieutenant Eyre appears to lay the blame on the officer in command of the storming party. He says:—"Major Swayne, instead of rushing forward with his men, as had been agreed, had in the meantime remained stationary, under cover of the wall by the road side. The general, who was watching our proceedings from the gateway, observing that the gun-ammunition was running short, and that the troops had failed to take advantage of the best
On the following day another attempt was made upon the embarrassing fort, which would seem to have been erected for no other purpose but to confuse the counsels and baffle the efforts of the British force. At an early hour three iron nine-pounders were brought to bear upon the north-east bastion, and two howitzers upon the contiguous curtain. The firing was maintained for about two hours, during which the artillerymen were exposed to the fire of the enemy’s sharp-shooters stationed on a couple of high towers which completely commanded the battery. A practicable breach being effected, a storming party, consisting of three companies, one of her Majesty’s 44th, one of the 5th native infantry, and one of the 37th native infantry, marched forward and speedily carried the place. The death-throe of this redoubtable fort was far less violent than might have been expected from the degree of tenacity attributed to it. About one hundred and fifty men succeeded in planting the British flag upon it; but it is to be lamented that the gallant officer, Ensign Raban, of the Queen’s 44th, who first waved it on the summit of the breach, was shot through the heart while in the act of thus displaying the signal of his country’s triumph.

The cavalry pursued the fugitives from the place, opportunity for advancing, recalled us into cantonments.” Lady Sale, no incompetent military critic, though of the gentler sex, seems, on the other hand, to attribute the chief blame to the general. She says:—“The troops retired by order of General Elphinstone, to my no small surprise, for the enemy had begun to run out from a broken bastion; but when they found our people retreating, they took courage, and no more left the fort.”
and the hills were speedily covered with the enemy's horse issuing forth for their protection. A severe encounter took place, but the enemy threw out such vast numbers that no serious impression could be made on them, and as the day closed, both parties retired from the conflict.

For some days after this affair, shot and shells were thrown from the Bala Hissar into the town, but with little effect, beyond the alarm which they were calculated to create. Plans were suggested for recapturing the commissariat fort, and so much of the stores as yet remained in it; but they were suggested only, not acted upon.*

The enemy appeared on the heights in great numbers, and with great boldness, and little was done or attempted that was calculated to check this feeling in them. The very debilitated state of General Elphinstone's health, at this time, rendered it necessary that he should have the assistance of a coadjutor, possessed of greater bodily vigour, and

* In the lively and interesting narrative of Lady Sale, the following passage occurs:—"Paton [assistant quartermaster-general] and Bellow [deputy assistant quartermaster-general] meet in council with Sturt [her son-in-law, and chief officer of engineers], at nine, most evenings, at our house. To-day [6th November] arrangements were made for carrying the Shah's garden and the commissariat fort by daybreak, every thing being so clearly explained, that even I understood it as well as hemming the handkerchief I was making. * * * Plans were sketched, and all the minutiae written out, so that the general might have no questions to ask. It is now midnight, and no reply has been sent from him, though an answer was to have come to say whether the work should be done or not." From subsequent passages in the journal, it seems that the general hesitated—then approved the plan—then abandoned it.
accordingly Brigadier Shelton, the officer second in command, was called from the Bala Hissar to cantonments. His presence was followed by increased activity; but the credit of the change appears to be due to Sir William Macnaghten, towards whom it is a bare act of justice to state, that whatever of promptitude and energy was displayed in the higher departments of affairs at Kabool, during these unhappy scenes, seems traceable to him. The enemy had taken possession of some forts, one of which, called the Rika Bashee fort, was situated directly opposite an inclosure, known as the Mission Compound, at the north-east angle of the British cantonments, and within musket-shot of the works.* Into these they poured their fire, and a party of sharp-shooters, who found cover among some ruins in the vicinity, picked off with deadly certainty the British artillerymen while engaged in working their guns. Sir William Macnaghten strongly urged the necessity of dislodging the enemy from this post, but would probably not have succeeded in obtaining the consent of the military authorities to the task being attempted, had he not offered to take on himself the entire responsibility of the act. Thereupon the general ordered a force to be provided to storm the fort. It consisted of the Queen's 44th regiment, the 37th native infantry, two horse artillery guns, one mountain-train gun, and a considerable body of native forces. Captain Bellew undertook to blow open the main gate, but from acci-

* Eyre's Military Operations in Kabool.
dent or error he missed it, and instead, blew in the wicket gate at the side, affording an aperture of such small dimensions that not more than two or three men could enter abreast, and these were compelled to stoop. Under these disadvantages, a handful of the assailants got in; among these were Colonel Mackerell, of her Majesty's 44th; Lieutenant Cadett, of the same regiment; Lieutenant Hawtrey, of the 37th Bengal native infantry, and Lieutenant Bird, of the Shah's force. Though the number of those who had passed the gate was small, it was sufficient to spread dismay among the garrison, who, not doubting that the whole British force would follow, rushed, in consternation, through a gate on the side of the fort opposite to that which had been carried. Unhappily, at this moment a charge of cavalry round the corner of the fort spread panic among the troops before the gate; they turned, and it became, says one of the narrators of the event, "a scene of sauve qui peut." The officers in vain exerted themselves to bring back the men to their duty; and when Major Scott, of the 44th, after resorting without effect to command, expostulation, and entreaty, called on volunteers to follow him, the call was answered by only a single private.* All would now have been lost but for the iron perseverance of Brigadier Shelton, who, amidst the hot fire of the

* The name of this man, which well deserves record, was Stuart or Steward, for it is given differently by different narrators. It is gratifying to know that, on the report of his fidelity reaching the ears of Sir William Macnaghten, he was, at the entreaty of the envoy, promoted serjeant.
accordingly Brigadier Shelton, the officer second in command, was called from the Bala Hissar to cantonments. His presence was followed by increased activity; but the credit of the change appears to be due to Sir William Macnaghten, towards whom it is a bare act of justice to state, that whatever of promptitude and energy was displayed in the higher departments of affairs at Kabool, during these unhappy scenes, seems traceable to him. The enemy had taken possession of some forts, one of which, called the Rika Bashee fort, was situated directly opposite an inclosure, known as the Mission Compound, at the north-east angle of the British cantonments, and within musket-shot of the works.* Into these they poured their fire, and a party of sharp-shooters, who found cover among some ruins in the vicinity, picked off with deadly certainty the British artillerymen while engaged in working their guns. Sir William Macnaghten strongly urged the necessity of dislodging the enemy from this post, but would probably not have succeeded in obtaining the consent of the military authorities to the task being attempted, had he not offered to take on himself the entire responsibility of the act. Thereupon the general ordered a force to be provided to storm the fort. It consisted of the Queen's 44th regiment, the 37th native infantry, two horse artillery guns, one mountain-train gun, and a considerable body of native forces. Captain Bellew undertook to blow open the main gate, but from acci-

* Eyre's Military Operations in Kabool.
dent or error he missed it, and instead, blew in the wicket gate at the side, affording an aperture of such small dimensions that not more than two or three men could enter abreast, and these were compelled to stoop. Under these disadvantages, a handful of the assailants got in; among these were Colonel Mackerell, of her Majesty's 44th; Lieutenant Cadett, of the same regiment; Lieutenant Hawtrey, of the 37th Bengal native infantry, and Lieutenant Bird, of the Shah's force. Though the number of those who had passed the gate was small, it was sufficient to spread dismay among the garrison, who, not doubting that the whole British force would follow, rushed, in consternation, through a gate on the side of the fort opposite to that which had been carried. Unhappily, at this moment a charge of cavalry round the corner of the fort spread panic among the troops before the gate; they turned, and it became, says one of the narrators of the event, "a scene of sauve qui peut." The officers in vain exerted themselves to bring back the men to their duty; and when Major Scott, of the 44th, after resorting without effect to command, expostulation, and entreaty, called on volunteers to follow him, the call was answered by only a single private.* All would now have been lost but for the iron perseverance of Brigadier Shelton, who, amidst the hot fire of the

* The name of this man, which well deserves record, was Stuart or Steward, for it is given differently by different narrators. It is gratifying to know that, on the report of his fidelity reaching the ears of Sir William Macnaghten, he was, at the entreaty of the envoy, promoted serjeant.
enemy and the wild rush of the recreant troops, stood firm and unmoved—striving, by the exercise of his authority, and still more by his animating example, to save the British name from the disgrace impending over it. He at last succeeded in rallying the men, who advanced once more to the attack, and once more wavered, although now the fire of the guns from the cantonments, and a demonstration on the part of the British cavalry, had checked the career of the Afghan horse. But the hesitation was overcome by the energy of the brigadier. The assailants pressed forward, and the fort was won.

The situation of the small British party who had entered the fort, and remained within it while their comrades were shrinking from their duty without, was a subject of intense and painful interest. Lieutenants Cadett and Hawtry had returned, to endeavour to bring up the men, but the fate of the rest was to be ascertained. The little band, it appears, on finding themselves deserted, had hastily shut the gate through which the greater part of the garrison had escaped, and secured the chain with a bayonet. The unhappy circumstances, however, prevailing on the opposite side, encouraged the enemy to return, which they did in considerable numbers; and having succeeded in removing the bayonet, the gate was re-opened, and the foe rushed in. Their fury was exercised without restraint upon Colonel Mackerell, whom they hacked in a frightful manner. Lieutenant Bird, with two sepoys of the 37th, found shelter in a stable, which they
barricaded. One of the sepoys was killed, but Lieutenant Bird and the other defended themselves for a considerable period—maintaining a fire which knocked down all who ventured to approach their retreat, with a precision proportioned to the closeness of the combat. In this way more than thirty of the enemy met their death; and when the fort was gained, the gallant pair were found by their companions unharmed. The rescue, indeed, was at the last moment, for the ammunition of the besieged combatants was reduced to a stock of five cartridges.

The loss of the British on this occasion amounted to two hundred killed and wounded. Captain McCrae, of the 44th, was cut down in the gateway on the first rush, and Captain Westmacott, of the 37th, was shot while engaged in skirmishing without. The fate of Colonel Mackerell has already been mentioned.

Several adjacent forts were, on the fall of Rika Bashee, abandoned by the enemy. In one some grain was found—a most welcome discovery. No time was lost in beginning to transport it to a safer spot, but there was not time to remove the whole before nightfall. A guard was applied for to protect the remainder, but refused; and in the morning, as might have been anticipated, it was gone.

On the 13th November, the enemy again appearing in great force on the heights, and firing into the British cantonments, a force was sent out to disperse them. This movement, like the attack on the Rika
Bashee fort, was suggested by Sir William Macnaghten, who, on this occasion also, was required to take upon himself the entire responsibility attached to it. There was another and more lamentable point of resemblance between the two occasions. On both, the infantry, European and native, manifested an unsteadiness not to be expected. The fortune of the day, however, was with the British, and a gun was taken from the enemy. Another might have been captured, but it was protected by a hot fire from a body of Afghan infantry, and the 44th could not be prevailed upon to incur the danger attendant on carrying it off. The fear of the Europeans was shared by the native troops. The capture of the gun being thus frustrated, Lieutenant Eyre, with the horse artillery gunner, descended into the ravine where it lay, and spiked it.

The feeble hold which Shah Shoojah and his allies had on Kabool was manifested simultaneously in almost every part of the country. About the middle of November, Major Pottinger, political agent in Kohistan, accompanied by Lieutenant Haughton, adjutant of a Goorka regiment in the Shah's service, and a single soldier of that regiment, arrived in Kabool, after undergoing extraordinary hardships, and encountering great danger in effecting a safe retreat from the scene of his official functions. His fort in Lughman had been attacked, his assistant, Lieutenant Rattray, murdered, and himself forced to withdraw to Charekar. There, however, he found no permanent resting-place.
Charekar was closely invested by the enemy—the British outposts attacked, and in succession carried. In defending them, Captain Codrington, the officer in command, was killed, and Major Pottinger wounded. The garrison at Charekar suffered fearfully from want of water; it being necessary after a time to dispense this prime necessary of existence in quantities equal only to half a wine-glass for each man, and finally the supply failed altogether. Desertion had been for some time going on, and open mutiny followed. On Lieutenant Haughton attempting to seize two deserters, who had returned apparently for the purpose of persuading their comrades to follow their example, he was cut down by a jemadar of artillery, who repeated the blow while the officer lay on the ground, and then rushed out, followed by nearly all the Mahometans in the place. The troops who remained were completely disorganized; and from this post, also, it became necessary to retreat. Proceeding towards Kabool, the toils and perils of the road were so dispiriting, that all the fugitives dropt off excepting the single soldier who, as already mentioned, arrived with the two officers at the British cantonments, where, says Lieut. Eyre, "they were received by their brethren in arms as men risen from the dead." Other officers exposed to similar dangers were less fortunate. Doctor Grant, a surgeon, who, like many members of his profession in India, had honourably distinguished himself by services not falling within the routine of his proper duties, departed with Major Pottinger and Lieu-
tenant Haughton from Charekar; but shortly afterwards disappeared, from what cause was unknown; and two officers stationed at a fort in Kohistan, about twelve miles from Kabool, Lieutenant Maule and Lieutenant Whelan, after being deserted by their men, were barbarously murdered.

The chapter of disasters was further swelled by the surprise and destruction of a detachment proceeding under the command of Captain Woodburn, of the Shah's service, from Ghuznee to Kabool. At Gundamuck, the force left by Sir Robert Sale on his departure fell rapidly into disorder; the larger portion deserted to the enemy, and the rest refused to remain at Gundamuck; with them the officer in charge, Captain Burn, was compelled to retire to Jelalabad, leaving two guns and much baggage behind them. At Pesh Boolak, between the Khyber Pass and Jelalabad, Captain Ferris, of the Shah's service, found himself surrounded by the enemy, destitute of ammunition, and in danger of being abandoned by his troops. Some of them had gone over the walls, but were cut up by the enemy; and the fear of meeting the same fate was believed to be the chief motive by which the rest were deterred from following their example. Having no prospect of relief, he resolved to make an attempt to cut his way through the enemy, and he succeeded; but the abandonment of the fort involved the loss of treasure to the amount of thirty-eight thousand rupees, as well as some stores and private property.

At Kabool, the state of affairs remained for a
period of several days almost unchanged in any respect. The same indecision and inactivity which had heretofore prevailed in the British cantonments continued to exist; and the enemy appear not to have been without a due share of the same unmilitary qualities. Nothing was done or attempted on either side. On the 22nd of November both parties seemed suddenly roused to the recollection that they were in the position of belligerents. A village called Behmauroo, from which the English drew some supplies, was occupied by the enemy; and Major Swayne, of the 5th native infantry, was dispatched, with a small force of horse and foot, and one gun, to dispossess them. A second gun was afterwards ordered to his support. The village was to have been stormed, but no attempt was made to carry this intention into effect. The officer in command, according to Lieutenant Eyre, "would neither go forward nor retire,"* but continued for several hours to maintain a useless fire on the houses in the village; the infantry of the party being under cover, but the cavalry and artillery exposed to the fire of the enemy without the opportunity of effecting any object of importance adequate to the risk incurred and the loss sustained. In the evening Brigadier Shelton joined them, with a reinforcement under Colonel Oliver, but no more daring or decisive course was the result; and, finally, in the language of Lady Sale, "The troops returned, having done nothing."† It was resolved on the 23rd to repair

the error of the preceding day, as far as reparation can be said to be practicable in cases where the loss sustained is not so much in physical or material strength as in confidence and character. At two o’clock in the morning, Brigadier Shelton marched out with seventeen companies of infantry,* consisting of five of Her Majesty’s 44th, under Captain Leighton, six of the 5th native infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver, six of the 37th native infantry, under Major Kershaw, of Her Majesty’s 13th; one hundred sappers, under Lieutenant Laing; one squadron of the 5th light cavalry, under Captain Bold; one squadron of irregular horse, under Lieutenant Walker; a hundred men of the corps known as Anderson’s horse, and a single gun. The gun was with great difficulty got to its position on a knoll, commanding an inclosure in the village, which, from the fires perceived in it, was judged to be the principal bivouac of the enemy. The gun, as soon as practicable, opened, and the enemy, in some alarm, retreated from the open space to the shelter afforded by the houses and towers, from whence they kept up a sharp fire of juzails. The brigadier was strongly urged to storm the village under cover of the darkness (there being no moon), and before the enemy had time to recover from the panic into which they had been thrown; but the opportunity was suffered to pass without profit.

* Lady Sale calls them “weak companies;” and adds, “I believe many of them did not muster above forty men.”—Journal, p. 122.
"Both officers and men," says Lady Sale, "were most anxious to be led against the village, to take it by storm, but the brigadier would not hear of it."* At length, as day dawned, the caution of the commander gave way. The fire from the village had slackened, and, it was believed, from the failure of ammunition. Parties of the enemy were observed hurrying away, and, according to the belief of Lieutenant Eyre, not above forty men remained in the place. A storming party was formed under Major Swayne: but mischance frustrated the effects of a movement too long postponed. The officer commanding the storming party missed his way, and instead of arriving at the principal gate, which was now open, he came to a small wicket which was barricaded, and believing himself unable to force it, he withdrew his men under cover;† where they remained until recalled. In the meantime vast numbers of the enemy issued from the city, and covered a hill immediately opposite to that occupied by the British force, and separated from it only by a narrow gorge.

* Journal, p. 122.
† Different representations are made as to the practicability of Major Swayne's forcing this wicket. Lieutenant Eyre seems to acquit the officer of blame upon this point, observing that he "arrived at a small kirkhee, or wicket, which was barricaded, and which he had no means of forcing, so that he was obliged to cover his men and himself as well as he could."—Military Operations, page 117. Lady Sale's account is somewhat less favourable. She, after narrating the arrival of Major Swayne at the wicket, thus continues: "which (the wicket) he reported himself unable to force, though this was afterwards done by a few men pulling it down with their hands and kicking at it."—Journal, p. 123.
Lieutenant Walker, with his irregular horse, had been dispatched to cut off the fugitives from the city, but the plain was now swept by hordes of cavalry, who evidently designed to perform the same duty with regard to Lieutenant Walker. He was therefore recalled. The abandonment of the attempt to storm had afforded opportunity for throwing reinforcements into the village as well as supplies of ammunition, and thus the purpose for which the troops had marched out of cantonments was irreparably frustrated. Major Kershaw, with three companies of the 37th, being left in the position first taken by the British force, the brigadier marched with the remainder of the troops, and his gun, to oppose the enemy on the opposite height. Here his disposition of his force is stated by military authorities to have been singularly injudicious. Skirmishers were brought forward to the brow of the hill: the rest of the infantry were formed into two squares, supported by his cavalry, but the whole exposed to the fire of the enemy, which was delivered from behind hillocks and other defences. But worse even than defective generalship was the sunken spirit of the men. The skirmishers could with difficulty be kept to their posts, and when a daring party of the enemy descended the gorge, and availing themselves of such cover as they could find, crept gradually up the hill on which the British force was posted, they gave way. Rewards, of an amount magnificent in the eyes of a private soldier, were offered for the capture of the enemy's flag, but in vain. The endea-
vour to lead to a charge was fruitless, as though the appeal had been made to men of wood. Several officers advanced to the front, and pelted the enemy with stones, the men looking on.* The enemy made a dash at the British gun, and the cavalry were ordered to charge for its protection, but neither the command nor the example of their officers could induce them to stir.† The gun was captured, the artillery-men fighting gallantly in defence of it, though unsupported, and two of them were killed. The first square of the British infantry was now in flight. The second kept its position, and in its rear the flying troops were with some difficulty rallied by their officers. The reappearance of firmness was not without effect upon the enemy's party, whose ardour was further diminished by a casualty which had befallen one of their chiefs, and abandoning the gun, they made off with the limber and horses. The conflict was renewed, and for some time maintained; but a second attack from the enemy similar to that which not long before had caused the British in-

* The names of these brave leaders of men unworthy to be commanded by them must not be passed over. They were Captains Mackintosh, Mackenzie, Troup, and Leighton, and Lieutenant Laing. The officers first and last named were killed on this ill-fated day.

† In naming the cavalry officers thus honourably distinguished from their cowardly followers, it is gratifying to find several natives among the gallant band. It consisted of Captains Bott and Collyer, of the 5th light cavalry; Lieutenant Wallace, of the irregular horse; Russular, Ishmael Khan, Jemadar Syud, Mahomed Syud, and Muzee Museer Beg, of Anderson's horse.
fantry, European and native alike, to turn in disgraceful flight, was made by the enemy with the same result. No effort could recall the men into action, nor even prevail on them to retire in order. They ran in the most outrageous confusion, pursued by the enemy, who destroyed them in vast numbers. The gun, for which on its rescue fresh horses and limber were procured, was overturned and lost; the wounded were for the most part left on the field, to be hacked and hewed by the weapons of their ferocious enemy, and nothing was wanting to render disaster complete and overwhelming. A fire opened on the pursuers by part of the Shah's force, a charge made by Lieutenant Hardyman, with a fresh troop of cavalry, and the extraordinary conduct of one of the Afghan chiefs, who, in the heat of pursuit, suddenly halted and led off his followers, favoured the progress of the flying; but for the help thus afforded, scarcely one of those who went forth to capture the village of Behmauroo would have returned. Lieutenant Walker, while charging with Lieutenant Hardyman, at the head of a few of his horsemen whom he had rallied, received a mortal wound. Colonel Oliver, Captain Mackintosh, and Lieutenant Laing, were also left dead on the field. The three companies of the 37th native infantry, who remained with Major Kershaw, do not seem to have manifested any portion of that craven spirit which unhappily pervaded the rest of the British force. They were hard pressed throughout the day, and
were among the last to leave the hill. One company returned with a naick* and two privates only.†

A result so fatal, and withal so dishonourable, as that which beset the movement of Brigadier Shelton, cannot be passed over without some attempt to trace its causes; and the views of Lieutenant Eyre upon this subject appear to be countenanced by probability, as well as by the agreement of competent judges. He says, "No less than six great errors must present themselves even to the most unpractised military eye, each of which contributed in no slight degree to the defeat of our troops, opposed as they were by overwhelming numbers."

The first and greatest of these mistakes, according to the opinion of the authority quoted, was the taking out a single gun. It appears that a General Order, issued under the government of the Marquis of Hastings, forbade less than two guns being taken into the field under any circumstances, or on any pretence whatever, where a second was available. Brigadier Shelton, it is stated, had intended to take another gun, but it was disabled, and was twice specially reported as incapable of being got ready for use before twelve o'clock on the disastrous day when the British, eight hours before midday, moved to defeat, destruction, and disgrace. The single gun was served by men worthy of the country whose honour they maintained, but their fire was

* Corporal.  † Lady Sale's Journal, p. 131.
constantly interrupted, as, after a time, the vent became so hot that it was impossible to continue it. The second error is the very obvious one of neglecting to take advantage of the temporary panic produced in the enemy, by storming the village before they had time to recover from it. "Had," says Lieutenant Eyre, "a storming party been led to the attack, under cover of the darkness, which would have nullified the advantage they," the defenders, "possessed, in being under cover, the place must inevitably have fallen into our hands, and thus would the principal object of the sally have been gained, and a good line of retreat secured for our troops in case of necessity." The third error enumerated by the writer above quoted, was the neglect of raising defences for the protection of the British troops on the hill; and this error he pronounces "so manifest as to be quite unaccountable." A party of sappers had accompanied the force for the purpose of forming a breastwork, but their services were not called into requisition, though it is said the expediency of resorting to them was specially pointed out at the time when the enemy were crowning the opposite height with multitudinous numbers, after the attack on the village had failed.* The good effects of raising

* "Shortly after this, it was suggested to raise a sunya, or stone breastwork, for the protection of the troops, wholly exposed to the distant fire of the enemy's juzails, but this proposition was not acted on."—Eyre, p. 118. It is not distinctly stated to whom this suggestion was offered, but it must be presumed that it was to the brigadier.
such a defence would not have been limited to the
protection of the men, important as was this object;
it would have enhanced the difficulties of the enemy
in advancing, and have given confidence not only to
those within the work, but also to those beyond it,
from the knowledge that, if hard pressed, they could
fall back upon a place of safety. Why such a pre-
caution was neglected, it is now impossible to ex-
plain. The fourth error adverted to by Lieutenant
Eyre, was the extraordinary step of forming the
infantry into squares. The value of such a forma-
tion, when the object is to resist an attack by horse-
men, is well understood. "All," says Lieutenant
Eyre, "have heard of the British squares at Water-
loo, which defied the repeated desperate onsets of
Napoleon's choicest cavalry. At Behmauroo we
formed squares to resist the distant fire of infantry,
thus presenting a solid mass against the aim of,
perhaps, the best marksmen in the world, the said
squares being securely perched on the summit of a
steep and narrow ridge, up which no cavalry could
charge with effect." It thus appears that the men
were disposed in the manner best adapted to oppose
cavalry, there being no chance or possibility of any
cavalry being brought against them, and, at the
same time, in the manner best adapted to admit of
their being picked off, in the largest numbers, by
the species of force actually engaged against them.
The astonishment expressed by the critic, whose
views are here followed, is heightened, as well it
might be, by the reflection that the officer who
thus disposed his men had enjoyed, in his younger days, "the benefit of Peninsular experience." The disposition of the cavalry is mentioned by Lieutenant Eyre as the fifth of the great errors committed; this force, instead of being in the place where they might have been useful in protecting the line of communication with cantonments, and further have been able to advance readily to any point where their services would have been required, being hemmed in between bodies of infantry, and "exposed for several hours to a destructive fire from the enemy's juzails, on ground where, even under the most favourable circumstances, they could not have acted with effect." The arrangement seems to have been erroneous from the beginning, and at the disastrous close of the day the error became frightfully apparent, horse and foot being mixed up together in a way which increased the confusion, and rendered it irretrievable—it being alike impracticable, under such circumstances, either to rally the men, or to withdraw them in good order. The sixth and last error of this fatal day was the prolongation of the fight when nothing could be gained but some addition of loss and discredit to the vast mass of both previously accumulated. Lieutenant Eyre's judgment upon this point shall be given in his own words. "Shortly after our regaining possession of the gun, one of the brigadier's staff, Captain Mackenzie, feeling convinced that, from the temper of the troops, and from the impossibility of rectifying the false position
in which the force was placed, not only was success beyond hope, but that defeat, in its most disastrous shape, was fast approaching, proposed to the brigadier to endeavour to effect a retreat while it was yet in his power to do so with comparative impunity. His reply was, 'Oh no! we will hold the hill some time longer!' At that time, even if the slaughter of the soldiers, the loss of officers, the evident panic in our ranks, and the worse than false nature of our position, had not been sufficient to open all eyes as to the impossibility even of partial success (for the real object of the expedition, viz. the possession of the village of Behmauroo, had been, as it were, abandoned from the very first), the weakness and exhaustion of both men and horses, who were not only worn out by bodily fatigue, but suffering grievously from extreme thirst, and the debility attendant on long fasting, ought to have banished all idea of further delaying a movement in which alone lay the slightest chance of preserving to their country lives, by the eventual sacrifice of which, not even the only solace to the soldier in the hour of misfortune, the consciousness of unimpaired honour, was likely to be gained."* The simple facts of the case appear to be these. The troops marched out to capture the village of Behmauroo, and the object might have been achieved, but the opportunity was suffered to pass, and then the fight was

* Military Operations in Kabool. Lieutenant Eyre's statement of the six errors, noticed in the text, extends from page 127 to page 131.
continued with no prospect but that of retreat before the enemy sooner or later, in good or in bad order as might happen, and seemingly without any purpose but the gratification of mere wilfulness. Nothing apparently could be worse than the military arrangements of the day, excepting it were the temper of part of the troops engaged. The deficiency of manhood in the latter completed the disasters which had their origin in the blunders of the former. It is beyond doubt that the troops could feel but little confidence in their leader, who, amidst an abundant display of personal courage, manifested no other quality of a good general; but for English soldiers to turn when called upon to advance is happily so rare an occurrence, that even with the partially extenuating circumstances above mentioned, the fact is calculated to inspire as much of astonishment as of disgust.* Instances of individual heroism there were, but with reference to all the occurrences of the day, he to whom his country's honour is dear must wish it were possible that all recollection of it could be obliterated.

The character of the British arms in Kabool was

* Lady Sale makes a statement which, if she were not misinformed, casts upon the brigadier an imputation worse than that of the loss of the battle. She says (pp. 131, 132), "Shelton tries to lay all the blame on the Sipahees (sepoys). He says they are timid, and that makes the Europeans timid also; but he has been told some home truths. On asking Captain Troup if he did not think that the 44th had behaved nobly, that officer plainly told him that he considered that all had behaved shamefully."
now low indeed, and no chance of safety for either civil or military seemed to exist but in negotiation. Sir William Macnaghten had repeatedly urged the military authorities to make some demonstration worthy of their country, and when they had yielded a reluctant consent, they had generally thrown on him the responsibility of the experiment. They appear now to have been not less strenuous in recommending him to negotiate than he had previously been in urging them to fight. The Kabool chiefs also manifesting an inclination for an exercise of diplomacy, a series of negotiations commenced, and was continued through many days. Any high degree of precision in relating the particulars of these negotiations being unattainable, it would be idle to enter into them at length. It is said that the proposals of the Affghans were, in the first instance, of such a nature as to call forth an unqualified and indignant rejection from the British envoy. Proposals more moderate and reasonable were subsequently submitted by him, and received by the chiefs with apparently a sincere desire for an amicable arrangement, the only exception to the seeming prevalence to such a feeling being furnished by Mahomed Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed Khan. The conditions were afterwards modified in various ways. At one time Shah Shoojah was to descend from the throne; at another he was to be maintained on condition of his daughters forming matrimonial engagements with some of the chiefs in opposition to his government, and of his aban-
CHAP. XXX.
donning some offensive manifestations of pride which had given great offence. The Shah seems to have vacillated not less than his enemies; he consented to retain the sovereignty on the conditions specified, and afterwards withdrew his consent, thus leaving the negotiators to revert to the original terms. It mattered little, however, what terms were profess-
edly adopted, for it was evident that the chiefs meant to observe none, but to avail themselves of every opportunity which might offer to counteract the British authorities by trick and fraud, exercises of ingenuity, which, in Affghan estimation, mark the highest triumph of human intellect. While these diplomatic proceedings were in progress, the British troops were suffering great privations, and had in prospect still greater. Various plans were suggested for their retreat without asking the aid or the permission of the Affghans, but all were beset with dangers and difficulties so great as to ensure their rejection. Under the terms of the convention, the British were entirely to evacuate Affghanistan, surrendering the fortresses which they still held therein, and their march was to be facilitated by a supply of beasts of burden, to be furnished by the Affghans. These, however, were not pro-
vided, and almost every day brought some new experiment on the patience of the British envoy. Affecting distrust, or perhaps really feeling it from consciousness that they were themselves unworthy of trust, the Affghan chiefs demanded the delivery of the guns and ammunition of the British force.
This was conceded, and an officer was sent to select such as might appear to be the most desirable.* Hostages were required and given. The Afghans demanded that Brigadier Shelton should be one, but, as Lieutenant Eyre states, the brigadier "having expressed a decided objection to undertake the duty," the demand was not insisted on. But it was not in the diplomacy of this unhappy period that the British name met with its deepest humiliation. While negotiations, ever shifting and never ending, were in progress, the countrymen of Clive, and Laurence, and Coote, and Lake, and Wellesley, were miserably throwing away that military character which those great men had raised, and which had been far more efficacious in raising and maintaining the British empire in the East than all other agencies of human origin.

The English in India, while pursuing a career on the whole of unparalleled brilliancy, had yet received occasional checks; they had sustained reverses, but down to this miserable epoch they had met them like men. Now, the spirit which had borne the British standard triumphant through so many fields of carnage—which had so often planted it on the summit of the breach choked with the bodies of those who had fallen in the attempt to

* This zealous officer displayed far more avidity of acquisition than judgment in choosing those articles which were most likely to be useful to those whom he served. He packed and carried away a large pile of eight-inch shells, which, in the hands of the chiefs, would be mere lumber, the mortars for throwing them being at Jelalabad.
bear it thither—the spirit displayed by the officer
who, marching to the relief of Trichinopoly,
entered it in triumph, supported by two of his
men, because unable to support himself;* by the
disabled and suffering man, and his array of sick
and wounded, whose unexpected appearance at
Mulwagul turned the fortune of the day, and saved
a British force from destruction; † and by the
humble serjeant who, with a handful of men, main-
tained, against an overwhelming force, a miserable
fort till it crumbled around him into a shapeless
heap of rubbish ‡—that spirit seemed to have
departed from the British soldier in Kabool. The
rich heritage of glory bequeathed to him by his
predecessors in arms—the fruit of toils and strug-
gles innumerable in every part of the world—was
forgotten or despised, and a mean regard for per-
sonal safety, which tended to defeat itself, usurped
the place of the noble and unshrinking endur-
ance which had so long been classed among the
prominent characteristics of his countrymen.

The defence of Mahomed Shereef's fort, which
seemed destined to be a never-ending source of an-
noyance and discredit, furnished occasion for a display
of pusillanimity far more disgraceful than the blun-
ders which preceded its capture. The enemy were
very desirous of regaining possession, and resorted to
various modes of attack for the purpose. In imita-
tion of the English, they attempted to blow open

* See vol. i. p. 271. † See vol. i. pp. 562, 563.
‡ See vol. i. pp. 566, 567.
the gate with powder, but of the proper management of this operation they seem to have been entirely ignorant; the powder exploded, but the gate was unharmed. They next commenced mining one of the towers, but Lieutenant Sturt, under cover of the night, entered their mine and blew it up. The garrison were so much alarmed by these attempts, that they were not deemed trustworthy, and a change was consequently made. The new garrison consisted of one company of the Queen's 44th, under Lieutenant Gray, and one company of the 37th Bengal infantry, under Lieutenant Hawtrey. In order to destroy the enemy's mine, it had been necessary to open a passage near the walls, and this opening was, when the work was performed, secured by barricading. Through this defence, a party of the enemy, who had crept up, discharged a few shots, and Lieutenant Gray was slightly wounded. He proceeded to cantonments to get his wound dressed, and the men of the 44th, immediately on his departure, prepared for flight. Lieutenant Hawtrey used every possible exertion to withhold them, but in vain; they precipitated themselves over the walls, and were soon followed by the sepoys of the 37th, who previously were disposed to stand to their duty. Two of the latter body, indeed, were left dead in the fort, but not a man of the 44th. The enemy of course took possession of the fort. The bazaar village was garrisoned by a party of the 44th, who, on observing the flight of their comrades from Mahomed Shereef's
fort, were about to follow their example, but were stopped by their officers. After this manifestation, a guard of sepoys was stationed at the entrance of the bazaar, with orders to prevent the departure of any Europeans on duty there, and on the following day the European garrison was withdrawn, and a company of the 37th native infantry put in their place. "This," says Lieutenant Eyre, "being the weakest point of our defences, had hitherto been protected entirely by parties of her Majesty's 44th, which post of honour they were now considered unworthy to retain."*

* Military Operations, p. 143. The observations made by Lieutenant Eyre in defence of the freedom with which he has reported this and similar facts may be quoted in justification of the adoption of the same course in the present work. "In the course of this narrative I have been compelled, by stern truth, to note down facts nearly affecting the honour and interests of a British regiment. It may, or rather I fear it must, inevitably happen that my unreserved statements of the Kabool occurrences will prove unacceptable to many whose private or public feelings are interested in glossing over or suppressing the numerous errors committed, and censures deservedly incurred, but my heart tells me that no paltry motives of rivalry or malice influence my pen; rather a sincere and honest desire to benefit the public service by pointing out the rocks on which our reputation was wrecked, the means by which our honour was sullied, and our Indian empire endangered, as a warning to future actors in similar scenes. In a word, I believe that more good is likely to ensue from the publication of the whole unmitigated truth, than from a mere garbled statement of it. A kingdom has been lost,—an army slain; and surely if I can shew that had we been but true to ourselves, and had vigorous measures been adopted, the result might have been widely different, I shall have written an instructive lesson to rulers and subjects, to generals and armies, and shall not have incurred in vain the disapprobation of the self-interested
Days passed away, the British in cantonments having continually before them the prospect of starvation; a result averted only by temporary supplies, of the continuance of which no reasonable confidence could be entertained. In homely, but expressive phraseology, they were literally supported "from hand to mouth." The restraints of discipline gradually pressed more and more lightly, till at last they were scarcely felt. With a view to the approaching necessity for retreat, when the magazine would inevitably become a prey to the enemy, the general had ordered some ammunition to be distributed to certain camp-followers, and commanding officers were directed to indent for new arms and accoutrements, in exchange for such as were old or damaged. But little attention was now paid to the letter of orders, and it is stated, that many officers in command of companies rested content with sending their men to the magazine, to help themselves at pleasure; the stores, in the absence of any building proper for their reception, being placed under the trees of an orchard, in charge of a small guard. The consequence was, a scene of confusion and plunder, soldiers and camp-followers indiscriminately or the proud. It is notorious, that the 44th foot had been for a long time previous to these occurrences in a state of woeful deterioration. I firmly believe that in this, and in every other respect, they stood alone as a regiment of that noble army whose glorious deeds in all quarters of the globe have formed with those of the British navy the foundation of our national pride, and have supplied for ages to come a theme of wonder and admiration."—Pp. 143 to 145.
rushing to the spot, and each man carrying off what his fancy suggested as desirable for him to possess. Some officers exerted themselves to check the tumult and protect the property, but for some time their authority was openly defied. The semblance of order was ultimately restored, and the larger portion of the misappropriated articles recovered; but the incident afforded a lamentable indication of the relaxation of those ties which withhold a body of soldiery from degenerating into a disorderly mass of armed adventurers.

The negotiations having arrived at a stage when, if they were to be regarded as sincere or binding, effect might be given to the stipulations agreed upon, the British troops in the Bala Hissar marched out to join their brethren in cantonments. But the Afghan chiefs still held back from the execution of the provisions to which they had bound themselves. The British force was entirely at their mercy. The enemy were in possession of all the forts which commanded the cantonments, and the distress, for want of provisions and forage, which prevailed was extreme. Further to aggravate the sufferings of the unhappy force, the winter became intensely cold, and a heavy fall of snow covered the ground.

At this moment, when difficulties, multifarious and seemingly insurmountable, surrounded the British force; with fierce enemies, or pretended, but treacherous, friends without the cantonments, and a perishing mass within; when to remain or to fly seemed alike fraught with destruction; when the
troops had lost all energy, and when no conceivable amount of energy appeared equal to the occasion; when the access of hope on every side seemed barred—a proposal was suddenly made to the British envoy, to which, unhappily, his embarrassments induced him to lend a willing ear. It came from Akbar Khan, and was to this effect: that Ameen-oollah Khan, one of the most influential of the opposing chiefs, and believed to be one of the most hostile, should be seized, and become prisoner; that Mahomed Khan's fort and the Bala Hissar should be reoccupied by the British troops, who were to remain in the country some months longer, and then to evacuate it in a friendly manner; Shah Shoojah to retain the sovereignty, but Akbar Khan to be named his vizier, and, in addition to that office, to receive pecuniary reward to an enormous amount. In one respect the proposal went further than has been stated. To imprison the chief most active in his opposition to Shah Shoojah was, in Afghan eyes, but little, and the envoy was assured that, for a sum of money, the head of his enemy should be laid at his feet. The answer of Sir William Macnaghten was such as became the representative of the government with whose interests he was intrusted; he intimated that it was neither his custom, nor that of his country, to give a price for blood.

Looking at the proposal with the coolness which time and distance and the absence of anxiety allow, it appears too monstrous to pass, even with a novice
in diplomacy, still less could it be expected to succeed with one so experienced in the ways of men, and so familiar with the wiles of eastern policy, as was Sir William Macnaghten. It came, however, at a moment when almost any change seemed a relief from the harrowing troubles which had pressed so overwhelmingly on his mind, and it should be remembered, also, that, extravagant as were the suggestions offered to him, the history of the East affords multitudinous instances of the severance of apparent friends, and the union of avowed enemies, in no wise more strange and unaccountable than those which were involved in this overture. But, whatever the degree of plausibility which the proposal may bear to different minds, Sir William Macnaghten eagerly, as it seems, embraced it; excepting, however, let it be repeated, that part which involved the infamy and guilt of assassination. His consent having been secured to the outline of the plan, it was suggested that a conference, for the purpose of arranging the details, should take place between him and Akbar Khan. The place selected for the interview was the plain, and thither, about noon on the 23rd of September, Sir William Macnaghten proceeded, accompanied by Captains Laurence, Trevor, and Mackenzie. He had requested that the general would have two regiments and two guns ready for secret service, and the existence of a feeling that the experiment he was about to make was attended with danger was indicated by his desiring that the garrison might be kept on the alert, and
the walls strongly manned. It does not appear, however, that much regard was paid to his wishes on this point; for, on leaving the cantonments, he expressed disappointment at the paucity of men on the ramparts and the apparent weakness of the garrison, remarking to his companions, with not less of justice than of bitterness, that it was "of a piece with the military arrangements throughout the siege."

The troops required to carry out the objects of the proposed agreement were not in readiness, and a letter from the general, remonstrating against their being thus employed, was dispatched to the envoy after he had taken his departure, and which consequently he never received. On approaching the place of meeting, the small escort which had accompanied the envoy halted, and he advanced with the three officers to the selected spot, which was partially screened from view from the cantonments by some small hillocks. Akbar Khan soon afterwards appeared, with some other chiefs, among whom was the brother of the man proposed to be seized and imprisoned. A carpet was spread, and the conference began. It had not long continued, when a number of men, heavily armed, gradually drew near, and seemed to be forming a circle round the spot. This was noticed by Captain Laurence, who suggested that, as the conference was of a secret nature, they should be ordered to a distance. Akbar Khan answered, that it was of no importance, for that they were all in the secret. Immediately after-
wards, he exclaimed, "Seize! seize!" and the envoy and his three companions were immediately pinioned from behind, deprived of their swords, and carried off prisoners. Captain Trevor was speedily put to death, and the same fate befell Sir William Macnaghten, who, it is reported and generally believed, was shot by Akbar Khan with a pistol, one of a pair just before presented by the envoy to the ruthless chief. The bodies of the murdered men were exposed to the indignities and outrages with which eastern revenge is wont to visit the remains of fallen foes, and were paraded through the streets of the city in barbaric triumph. The hand of Sir William Macnaghten was exhibited in savage derision at the window of the place in which the two surviving prisoners were confined.

Much animadversion has been passed on the conduct of Sir William Macnaghten in the business which terminated so fatally for himself. Of imprudence, it is impossible to acquit him. He, indeed, appears to have been aware that on this ground he was without justification. Being warned by one of his companions that the scheme was dangerous, and that treachery might be meditated, he at once admitted the danger, and declared that he had no confidence in the insurgent chiefs, but added—"At any rate, I would rather suffer an hundred deaths than live the last six weeks over again."* The undertaking, then, was the last resource of a man

* Letter from Captain Laurence to Major Pottinger, 10th May, 1842.
who entertained little hope of its success, but saw no means of escape by any other way. Still, if he could not altogether decline the danger, some preparation might have been made for meeting it. The military authorities slumbered in cantonments; but a larger and more efficient escort than that which actually accompanied him ought to have been provided, and the envoy and his immediate attendants should not have been separated from it by so great a distance as that which was permitted to intervene. With a more adequate force, and one prepared to perform its duty,* the lives of the European functionaries might have been sacrificed in the melée that must have ensued upon any attempt at resistance, but a chance of escape would have been afforded them.

An excessive display of confidence may, in a few instances, have succeeded in dealing with the people of the East; but where success has followed, there is reason to believe that they have been overawed rather than flattered; and the interests of an empire are of too much importance to be risked

* The troops forming the envoy's small escort characteristically ran away as soon as danger became apparent, with the exception of one man, who was immediately cut down. Some apology for their conduct may be found in the smallness of their number. They were only sixteen, and this number was more than Sir William Macnaghten had proposed to take. But, before he left the cantonments, he seems to have become aware of the error, and the remainder of the body-guard were ordered to follow. They did follow, but had only proceeded a short distance from the gate, when learning the state of affairs, they suddenly faced about and galloped back.
on an idle display of feeling which can rarely be sincere.

But beyond the charge of imprudence, which is but too well sustained, there seems no ground for impugning the conduct of the British envoy on this occasion. The imputation of bad faith is ridiculous. The chiefs had agreed to certain conditions, not one of which they had ever performed, or, as it would appear, ever intended to perform. All to which the representative of the British government had in return bound himself was consequently at an end, and he was in the same position as that in which he stood before any negotiation commenced. In this state of things he received an overture from one of the chiefs, proposing, on certain conditions, to give up another, whose power of doing mischief was greatly dreaded, and he consented to discuss the proposal.

Whether or not Akbar Khan, had he been sincere, were justified in betraying his coadjutor Ameen-oollah Khan, is not the question. It is no unusual practice to employ the services of one actor in a conspiracy to circumvent the rest; and whatever might be the ties existing between Akbar Khan and the man whom he proposed to seize and make prisoner, Sir William Macnaghten cannot be regarded as at the time under any engagement to either. As a question of morality, no imputation can lie against the character of Sir William Macnaghten for accepting the insidious proposal which was meant to lure him to destruction. As a question of pru-
dence, he cannot escape blame, unless the distracting circumstances in which he was placed may plead his excuse.*

It will naturally be supposed that the events last related were sufficient to rouse the British military authorities from the torpor which had so long oppressed them; that some effort, worthy of the country that gave them birth, the service to which they belonged, and the character which they had to maintain, would have been made to rescue from captivity, if they still lived, the victims of Akbar Khan's treachery, or to inflict just retribution if that treachery had been consummated by assassination. And what was done? Let the question be answered by Lieutenant Eyre, an eye-witness. His testimony is, that the intelligence brought, "instead of rousing our leaders to instant action, seemed to paralyze their faculties; and although it was evident that our envoy had been basely entrapped, if not actually murdered before our very gate, and though

* The quick perception and sound sense of Lady Sale have determined the question in a manner which may satisfy all who are not admirers of native treachery. "We must hold in mind, that although we have performed all promises made on our part, given up our waggons, ammunition, forts, &c., the treaty had never been signed by the chiefs, nor had they fulfilled a single condition which had been specified verbally, beyond giving us grain in small quantities. The sequitur is, that the envoy was perfectly justified, as far as keeping good faith went, in entering into any arrangement by which the condition of the troops could be ameliorated, and the honour of our country be ensured. He only erred in supposing it possible that Akbar Khan, proverbially the most treacherous of all his countrymen, could be sincere."—Journal, p. 199.
even now crowds of Affghans, horse and foot, were seen passing and repassing to and fro in hostile array between Mahomed's fort and the place of meeting, not a gun was opened upon them; not a soldier was stirred from his post; no sortie was apparently even thought of; treachery was allowed to triumph in open day; the murder of a British envoy was perpetrated in the face and within musket-shot of a British army; and not only was no effort made to avenge the dastardly deed, but the body was left lying on the plain, to be mangled and insulted, and finally carried off to be paraded in the public market by a ruffianly mob of fanatical barbarians."* And thus low was British spirit sunk, and thus was British honour tarnished, and thus were a knot of obscure barbarians suffered to revel in successful treachery, and defy the arms of that power before which the choicest troops of Europe had given way!

And now the onward progress of humiliation was rapid and fearful indeed. Insult followed hard upon treachery, in the transmission from the chieftains, upon whose hands the blood of Sir William Macnaghten and Captain Trevor was yet fresh, of a new treaty for the acceptance of those into whose hands the management of the interests of the British government might have passed. It contained the same articles as the previous treaty, with the addition of three others:—1st. That the British force should leave behind all their guns excepting six: 2nd. That they should give up all their treasure:

and, 3rd. That the hostages already held by the Afghan should be exchanged for married men, with their wives and families. Some demur arose as to the acceptance of this treaty. Major Eldred Pottinger, who had consented, at the urgent request of the general, to act as political agent, objected, and a council was summoned to consider his objections. It consisted of General Elphinstone, Brigadiers Shelton and Anquetil, Colonel Chambers, Captain Bellew, and Captain Grant. To these officers Major Pottinger opened his views, avowing his conviction that no confidence could be placed in any treaty formed with the Afghans, and that to bind the government of India by engagements to evacuate the country, to restore the deposed ameer, and to pay a sum amounting to fourteen lacs of rupees—for this formed part of the arrangement—was inconsistent with the claims of public duty. Entertaining these opinions, the only honourable course, in his judgment, was either to hold out to the last at Kabool, or to endeavour to force a way to Jelalabad. Major Pottinger appears to have found no support in the council. One and all declared that neither branch of the alternatives suggested was practicable, and that it would be better to pay any sum of money than to prolong hostilities. It was resolved, therefore, to accede to the demands of the enemy; and had they been ten times more unreasonable, and a hundred times more humiliating, probably the same determination would have been adopted. Bills were given for the vast ransom re-
required, under the pretence, indeed, of affording protection, but still a difficulty remained. The hostages demanded could not be furnished. A circular was addressed to the married officers, offering considerable personal advantages to those willing to risk the safety of their wives and families by allowing them to be detained, but nearly all refused. A magniloquent answer was therefore given upon this point, to the effect that "it was contrary to the usages of war to give up ladies as hostages, and that the general could not consent to an arrangement which would brand him with perpetual disgrace in his own country."* It was not stated to the chiefs that, unusual and disgraceful as was the surrender required, an attempt to obtain the means of making it had been resorted to and had failed. The enemy were not inexorable—the bills on the government of India had probably softened them—they agreed to receive hostages of the sterner sex; and the requisite number being provided, this ground of difficulty was removed. Captains Drummond, Walsh, Warburton, and Webb, were accepted, and proceeded to join Captains Conolly and Airey, who were already in the keeping of the Afghans. Captains Laurence and Mackenzie, who had been seized with Sir William Macnaghten, were permitted to return, as was also Captain Skinner, who was previously in the power of the enemy.

The sick and wounded of the British force it was arranged should not accompany their companions

on the approaching march from Kabool. They were to be left in care of the chiefs, and in furtherance of this design they were conveyed into the Bala Hissar. The movement of the rest was delayed under various pretences till the 6th of January, when, in the language of Lieutenant Eyre, "the fatal morning dawned which was to witness the departure of the Kabool force from the cantonments in which it had sustained a two months' siege, to encounter the miseries of a winter march through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty, where every mountain defile, if obstinately defended by a determined enemy, must inevitably prove the grave of hundreds."* The circumstances under which the march commenced are thus described by the same author:—"Dreary indeed was the scene over which with drooping spirits and dismal forebodings we had to bend our unwilling steps. Deep snow covered every inch of mountain and plain with one unspotted sheet of dazzling white, and so intensely bitter was the cold as to penetrate and defy the defences of the warmest clothing."† Sad and suffering issued from the British cantonments the mingled mass of Europeans and Asiatics, of combatants and non-combatants, of men of various climes, creeds, complexion, and habits; part of them peculiarly unfitted to endure the hardships of a rigorous climate, which hardships, however, had to be shared by them in common with some whose sex ordinarily exempts them from participating in

† Ibid.
such scenes, and others whose tender age might well entitle them to the like privilege. The number of the fugitive crowd was large; about four thousand five hundred fighting men,* and not less than twelve thousand followers, besides women and children. The advance were in motion at nine o'clock in the morning, and from that hour till the evening the throng continued to pass through the gates of the cantonments, which were immediately occupied by hordes of fanatical Afghans, "rending the air with their exulting cries, and committing every kind of atrocity." A fire of juzails was opened on the retiring troops, and Lieutenant Hardyman, of the 5th light cavalry, with about fifty rank and file, fell victims to it. The cantonments were no sooner cleared than all order was lost; troops, camp-followers, and baggage, public and private, became intermingled in one disorderly mass, and confusion, universal and inextricable, prevailed. Thus was the march commenced. The shadows of night overtook the fugitives while still pursuing their weary course, but its darkness was relieved by the blaze which

* The strength of the force, as far as it could be ascertained, is given by Lieutenant Eyre as follows:—one troop of horse artillery, 90; H.M.'s 44th foot, 600; = 690 Europeans. 5th regiment of light cavalry, two squadrons, 260; 5th Shah's irregular ditto (Anderson's), 500; Skinner's horse, one ressala, 70; 4th irregular ditto, one ditto, 70; mission escort, or body-guard, 70; = 970 cavalry. 5th native infantry, 700; 37th ditto, 600; 54th ditto, 650; 6th Shah's infantry, 600; sappers and miners, 20; Shah's ditto, 240; half the mountain-train, 30; = 2,840. Total, 4,500. Six horse-artillery guns; three mountain-train ditto.
rose above the British residency and other buildings which the enemy had fired upon taking possession of the cantonments. Many sepoys and camp-followers, unable to contend longer with their misery, lay down to wait, in silent despair, the approach of the relief from earthly suffering which death, at no distant period, must bring; and of those who struggled forward, some perished before the morning dawn. The provision for encampment was miserably deficient; here, as on the march, all was disorder and destitution. Thousands of wretched men were unable to obtain either shelter, fire, or food; the snow was their only bed, and to many it proved the bed of death.

The morrow brought no alleviation of suffering; it brought only the agony of consciousness in exchange for the oblivion of slumber. The march was resumed in a different order from that pursued on the preceding day, "if that," says Lieutenant Eyre, "could be called order which consisted of a mingled mob of soldiers, camp-followers, and baggage-cattle, preserving not even the faintest resemblance of that regularity and discipline on which depended our only chance of escape from the danger which threatened us."* One of the Shah's regiments had disappeared, and was believed to have returned to Kabool. The rest of the force proceeded, numerous small bodies of Afghans, horse and foot, hanging on its flanks, and moving in a parallel direction with it. The chiefs, in whose

favoured bills to the amount of more than fourteen lacs had been drawn, had promised in return an escort, and the parties which thus hovered round the British force were at first supposed to constitute a portion of it. This belief was after a time dispelled by their taking a step which not even by the most liberal construction could be regarded as forming any part of the duties of an escort. They attacked the British rear-guard, under Brigadier Anquetil, composed of her Majesty's 44th, the mountain-train guns, and a squadron of irregular horse. The guns were captured, but gallantly retaken by Lieutenant White and a few artillery-men, who, however, being unsupported, were unable to retain what they had so honourably won back. The 44th could not be brought up, and the guns were in consequence necessarily abandoned, though not until they had been spiked, "amid the gleaming sabres of the enemy."* Ten more guns were afterwards spiked and abandoned, the horses attached to them being unable to drag their burden further through the snow.

It was now learned that Akbar Khan was in the vicinity, and communications were opened with him. That trust-worthy personage declared, that he had been sent to escort the British force to Jelalabad, and that the annoyance which they had suffered was the result of their having marched contrary to the wishes of the Afghan chiefs. He insisted, accordingly, on the force being halted at Boothauk till the

* Lady Sale.
following morning, and moreover demanded six hostages, to insure its not marching beyond Tazeen, till news should be received of the evacuation of Jelalabad by Sir Robert Sale, for which an order had been dispatched, in compliance with a stipulation in the treaty. The required halt was made, but in the morning the Afghans resumed their attacks. A party of them was rapidly dispersed by Major Thain, at the head of her Majesty's 44th, who on this occasion shewed no lack of soldierly spirit.

And now the fearful pass of Boothauk had to be traversed. The defile is about five miles long, and is bounded on both sides by lofty and precipitous hills. A mountain torrent dashes through it with such impetuosity that the frost had produced no effect upon it beyond the edges, where ice was accumulated in slippery masses, affording to the wretched animals which were still retained a footing neither easy nor safe. This stream had to be crossed twenty-eight times. The defile gradually narrows towards the spot where the force was to emerge from it, or such portion at least as might survive the dangerous passage, for the heights were crowned with infuriated Ghiljies, ready to deal death to those below. "The idea," says Lieutenant Eyre, "of threading the stupendous pass before us, in the face of an armed tribe of bloodthirsty barbarians, with such a dense, irregular multitude, was frightful, and the spectacle then presented by that waving sea of animated beings, the majority of whom a few fleeting hours would transform into a line of lifeless carcases, to
guide the future traveller on his way, can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it."* But the concentrated difficulties and perils were not to be avoided. The advance entered the pass, and a hot fire was commenced on them. Several ladies accompanied the advance, but no feeling of respect for the character or the timidity of woman operated to slacken the fire from above. These helpless and unoffending females were compelled to make their way through the pass with hundreds of shots flying around them. Happily none of them sustained injury, excepting Lady Sale, who received a ball in her arm. Akbar Khan, it will be remembered, had promised protection, and several of his adherents rode forward with the advance, and employed themselves strenuously, whether sincerely or not, in exhorting the occupants of the heights to desist from firing. Their admonitions were unheeded; the balls fell thickly among the throng laboriously struggling onwards, and fearful was the slaughter. To maintain order and regularity under a murderous fire, which those sustaining it have no power to return with effect, may be regarded as one of the highest triumphs of discipline; but the force exposed to this severe trial in the pass of Boothauk had become dreadfully deteriorated in moral as in physical strength; and it will excite no surprise, that among men who for several days had been strangers to both food and repose, and who, for a much longer period, had been gradually losing the

sense of duty, and with it that of self-respect, panic should arise, and spread with tremendous rapidity. Such was the fact; soldiers and followers rushed on indiscriminately, impelled by the wildness of despair, caring for nothing but the one object of reaching the end of the pass, and perhaps conscious of nothing but of the dangers which beset them. "Thousands," says Lieutenant Eyre, "seeking refuge in flight hurried forward to the front, abandoning baggage, arms, ammunition, women, and children, regardless for the moment of every thing but their own lives."* Some of the details of this most disastrous passage are thus given by the same authority. "The rear-guard, consisting of her Majesty's 44th and the 54th native infantry, suffered severely, and at last, finding that delay was only destruction, they followed the general example, and made the best of their way to the front. Another horse artillery gun was abandoned, and the whole of its artillery-men slain. Captain Anderson's eldest girl and Captain Boyd's youngest boy fell into the hands of the Affghans.† It is supposed that three thousand souls perished in the pass."‡ Such was the price of flight, and what remained to those who survived the carnage? misery even exceeding that which they had previously endured, the task of describing which will best be performed by again quoting the testimony of Lieutenant Eyre. "On the

† These children were subsequently recovered.
‡ Military Operations, p. 228.
force reaching Khoord Kabool, snow began to fall, and continued till morning. Only four small tents were saved, of which one belonged to the general; two were devoted to the ladies and children, and one was given up to the sick; but an immense number of poor wounded wretches wandered about the camp, destitute of shelter, and perished during the night. Groans of misery and distress assailed the ear from all quarters. We had ascended to a still colder climate than we had left behind, and were without tents, fuel, or food.”

To this miserable night succeeded a morning bringing with it the confusion, uncertainty, and woe which had marked so many by which it had been preceded. Two hours before the time fixed upon for marching, a large portion of the troops, and nearly all the camp-followers, moved off without orders. They were recalled, in consequence of communications from Akbar Khan promising supplies, and, at the same time, strongly urging a halt till he could make some arrangements for carrying into effect his benevolent desire of escorting his British friends in safety. This halt, like almost every other measure which had been taken since the outbreak in Kabool, seems to have been most injudicious. “There can be no doubt,” says the author to whose brief but valuable narrative reference has so frequently been made,† “that the general feeling in camp was adverse to a halt, there being scarcely even a native soldier who did not plainly perceive that our only chance of escape

† Lieutenant Eyre.
consisted in moving on as fast as possible. This additional delay, therefore, and prolongation of their sufferings in the snow, of which one more march would have carried them clear, made a very unfavourable impression on the minds of the native soldiers, who now, for the first time, began very generally to entertain the idea of deserting.”*

The halt, however, if it answered no other purpose, afforded opportunity for further communications with Akbar Khan, and one of a most extraordinary nature was received from him. It was to the effect, that the ladies who accompanied the British force, with their husbands and children, should, in order to preserve them from further hardship and danger, be placed under his protection, he pledging himself to escort them safely, keeping them one day’s march in the rear of the army. This was a startling proposal, but time and circumstances pressed, and the general gave an unhesitating consent. There could be little doubt that the object of Akbar Khan was to get possession of the married men and their families as hostages, a point previously attempted to be carried, but defeated by the refusal of the officers interested. It does not appear that any resistance was now offered on their part, and, indeed, the dangers which surrounded those most dear to them were so imminent, and the sufferings to which they were unavoidably subjected so great, as to warrant, in some degree, the belief that no change could be for the worse. The general had

not objected to the former demand of the enemy, till compelled by the determination of his officers; it need, therefore, excite no surprise that he should yield now, when the motives for yielding were so much more urgent, nor can his reasons be an object of much curiosity. As, however, he left them on record, it is right to give them as stated by himself. They were two; a desire, natural and laudable, to remove the ladies and children, after the horrors they had already witnessed, from the further dangers of a camp; and a hope that, "as from the very commencement of the negotiations the Sirdar had shewn the greatest anxiety to have the married people as hostages, this mark of trust might elicit a corresponding feeling in him"! Here is the fatal error by which European safety in India has been so often perilled, and sometimes wrecked. What confidence could be placed in a ruthless ruffian, whose every breath was tainted by treachery? whose hand had just before struck down the British envoy in death, while professions of friendship were yet warm on his lips, and the value of whose promises was too well understood to be regarded as anything more than a mockery of the ear—for hope had ceased to wait upon them, and they could be listened to but as idle words, meant, indeed, to deceive, but no longer possessed of the power of deceiving? Or, again, what confidence was likely to be felt by Akbar Khan in those whom he must know affected to trust him only because they were without remedy, and he, too, a man so utterly faithless as to be incapable of
conceiving the possibility of good faith in others; a man pre-eminent for perfidy in a country where perfidy is universal? The expectation of inspiring Akbar Khan with confidence by making a show of that feeling towards him was just as rational as would be the hope of a traveller who encounters a tiger in the jungle to disarm the hostility of the animal and change its natural character by calmly awaiting its spring instead of avoiding it. Confidence and magnanimity have reigned long enough, and it is time that prudence and common sense should be admitted to offer counsel without the certainty of its rejection. To negotiate at all with the murderer of Sir William Macnaghten was discreditable—it would not be too much to say disgraceful. To talk of reposing confidence in him indicated either utter fatuity or miserable affectation. To place women in the situation in which were placed the wives of the British officers of the Kabool force was a fearful thing. To surrender them to the power of a barbarian, alike destitute of honour and insensible to the claims of pity, was a step attended with such overwhelming responsibility that few men, it may be believed, would venture to incur it, even to avert the certain death of those who were objects of the transfer. Whether, however, it were right or wrong, with reference to all circumstances, to accept the proposal of Akbar Khan, is a question on which some difference of opinion may possibly exist; but it is beyond dispute that, of the two reasons assigned for accepting it, one is utterly worth-
less, and ought not for a moment to have had the slightest weight in guiding the judgment to a decision on the awful occasion.

Orders were given for all married officers and ladies to depart immediately, with a body of Afghan horse, who had been dispatched to conduct them to the asylum in which they were to find refuge. It was the intention of the general to give all the wounded officers the opportunity of availing themselves of the advantages, such as they might be, of Akbar Khan's protection. As this desire could have been suggested by no other feeling than humanity, it is proper to notice it, as corroborating the received impression of the character of General Elphinstone, who, whatever may have been his failings in the unhappy proceedings at Kabul, is universally represented as an amiable and estimable man. Few were benefited by the kind intentions of the general, for the Afghan guard were in such haste to return with the charge which they had been appointed to receive, that only two of the wounded officers were in time to join them.

The women who had shared in the dangers and horrors of the march to Boothauk were now in the hands of the enemy; for though Akbar Khan professed a different character, that of an enemy is the only one in which he can be justly regarded. The men had to struggle on—the food and fuel so liberally promised by the ruffian chief came not. "Another night of starvation and cold consigned
more victims to a miserable death.”* Another morning revealed the same weakness—the same suffering—the same disruption of military ties which had marked preceding ones, but in an aggravated degree. The men who had proudly marched from the Indus to the heart of Afghanistan, had occupied its fairest cities, beaten down its strongest fortresses, and given law from its capital, were now unable to defend themselves from those who thirsted for their blood. It was not alone that death and desertion had frightfully thinned their ranks—a large portion of those who survived and remained faithful to the standard which they followed were incapable of performing the duties of soldiers—their limbs scarcely retained sufficient strength to bear them along their despairing way; and that elasticity of spirit which sometimes sustains the sinking frame against the attacks of physical suffering was unknown. Such is the representation of Lieutenant Eyre. “The European soldiers were now almost the only efficient men left, the Hindostanees having all suffered more or less from the effects of the frost in their hands and feet; few were able even to hold a musket, much less to pull a trigger; in fact, the prolonged delay in the snow had paralyzed the mental and bodily powers of the strongest men, rendering them incapable of any useful exertion. Hope seemed to have died in every breast; the wildness of terror was exhibited in every countenance.”†

* Eyre’s Military Operations, p. 236.  † Ibid.
The end was now rapidly approaching. At a narrow gorge, lying between the precipitous spurs of two hills, the advance of the retreating force was met by the destructive fire of the enemy, securely perched on the high ground. The straitened pass soon became literally choked with dead and dying; and here the last remains of the native infantry disappeared. Many fell; the rest, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, fled for life. Finally, the enemy rushed down sword in hand, and captured the public treasure, with the remnant of baggage, which, up to this point, had been preserved. A part of the advance succeeded in getting through; this halted, to enable the main and rear columns to come up with them. A straggler from time to time arrived, bearing heavy news; another and another appeared, and in this manner all that escaped the fury of the enemy joined; the direful truth that, with these miserable exceptions, the two missing columns had been cut off and destroyed at length becoming apparent beyond the possibility of question. The British force now consisted of seventy men of the Queen's 44th regiment, a hundred and fifty cavalry troopers, about fifty horse artillery-men, with one twelve-pound howitzer. Such was its strength as to combatants, but the number of camp-followers was still large.

Akbar Khan approached, and proposed that the remainder of the British force should be disarmed, and placed under his protection. The general refused, and the march was resumed. Its
course lay through a narrow defile, in which the troops were exposed to the harassing and destructive fire of the enemy as before. The energy of Brigadier Shelton saved the force from total destruction here, and it reached the Tazeen valley, where negotiations were again renewed with Akbar Khan. The same proposal was again made by him, and again it was rejected by the British general. After this failure, it was determined to push on for Jugdulluk, distant twenty-two miles. On moving off, the last gun was abandoned; the same fate befell the exhausted and wounded. The march commenced at seven o'clock, and it was hoped that Jugdulluk might be reached under cover of the night, but this was not accomplished. It was not till dawn of day that the advance arrived at Kutter-Sung, a place ten miles short of that which was in view; and the junction of the rear did not take place till eight o'clock. The march had not been without annoyance from the enemy, but the darkness depriving them of the opportunity of calling into operation their skill as marksmen, their fire was comparatively harmless, excepting as to the alarm which it excited. In this way it greatly embarrassed the movement of the retreating force; "the panic-stricken camp-followers now resembled a herd of deer, and fluctuated backwards and forwards en masse at every shot, blocking up the entire road, and fatally retarding the progress of the little body of soldiers who, under Brigadier Shelton, brought up the rear." Of the exertions of this officer
throughout the last and fatal stage of the proceedings of the Kabool force, all narrators speak in terms of the highest praise and admiration. If he had failed in some of the higher and more delicate duties of command, he well supported that reputation for daring courage and indomitable perseverance which has never been denied him. Jugdulluk was reached in the afternoon, but no repose awaited the hapless fugitives. A fresh invitation to communicate with Akbar Khan was answered by the despatch of Captain Skinner, but the renewal of negotiations was accompanied by no cessation of hostile operations. From the hills the fire of the enemy was kept up, excepting during a brief interval, when Captain Bygrove, at the head of fifteen Europeans, pushed up, the enemy flying before them in the greatest trepidation. But short was the period of relief, for the valiant band had no sooner returned than the enemy were again at their post, in the exercise of their occupation of slaughter. The result of Captain Skinner's interview with Akbar Khan was a message from that chief to the general, requesting his presence at a conference, and demanding Brigadier Shelton and Captain Johnson as hostages for the evacuation of Jelalabad. Among the strange occurrences of the period, it is not the least strange that this invitation was accepted. General Elphinstone made over the command to Brigadier Anquetil, and, accompanied by the officers whom Akbar Khan had selected for captivity, proceeded to wait upon
that personage. They were received with great show of civility—food was placed before them, and this substantial indication of friendship was accompanied in profusion by the lighter and more aerial refreshment of gracious promises. In the morning a conference was held, at which the three British officers and all the influential chiefs were present. It seems to have been stormy, and Akbar Khan played the part of a mediator with a degree of skill and dexterity only to be displayed by one who, from the earliest dawn of reason, had entered into an apprenticeship of hypocrisy. Nothing decisive was determined upon, and the day beginning to wane, General Elphinstone became anxious to return. But this was not a matter which depended on himself: he was in the toils, and, though he might struggle, he could but beat the air. The expression of his wish to withdraw, and of his desire to be furnished with the requisite escort, after sundry repetitions, was enforced by representing that it was altogether at variance with British notions of honour that a general should be separated from his troops in the hour of danger; but Akbar Khan was no child of chivalry, and the appeal was vain.

At the British position, the return of the general had been long and anxiously looked for—it were, perhaps, too much to say expected. Early in the morning, Major Thain and Captain Skinner had rode out in the direction of the camp of Akbar Khan, to watch for the approach of some mes-
senger with tidings of the state of affairs, when they were attacked, and Captain Skinner mortally wounded. Throughout the day hunger, thirst, exhaustion, and the galling annoyance of the enemy's unceasing fire, continued to be endured; and as night drew on, it became obvious that nothing was to be hoped from a longer stay. The whole body accordingly sallied forth, to make their way to Jelalabad, in the best manner that they could. The Ghiljies were not at first aware of the movement, but they soon gained intelligence of it, and marched in vast numbers to their work of destruction. Officers and men, troops and followers, fell in incredible numbers, and the progress of the retiring party was a moving massacre. Some officers, who were well mounted, rode forward with the few remaining cavalry; straggling parties of Europeans, under various officers, followed, as circumstances would permit. The day dawned; the remnant of the infantry approached Gudamuck, and now their numerical weakness was obvious to the enemy—they could muster only about twenty muskets. An attempt to negotiate was made by one of the officers, but it ended in nothing, and the unhappy party had no resource but to stand on their defence without a hope of ultimate success. This gloomy task they executed with an unshrinking determination. They occupied an eminence opposite to another held by the enemy; the fire of the latter gradually diminished their numbers, and at intervals the work of extermination was accelerated by a
rush, sword in hand, upon the devoted party, by whom, notwithstanding the utter hopelessness of their situation, the assailants were several times repelled. The struggle lasted till nearly every man of the British party was wounded, when a final onset of the enemy completed their destruction. Captain Souter, one of the few that survived the slaughter, but severely wounded, had, before leaving Jugdulluk, tied round his waist the colours of the regiment, which were thus preserved.

It has been stated that twelve officers and some cavalry rode on ahead of the rest of the troops, and it remains to record their fate. Six of them dropped before reaching Futtecabad. The rest arrived at that place in safety, and were received by the inhabitants with professions of friendship and sympathy. Food was offered them, of which they naturally, but unwisely, stopped to partake. The inhabitants in the meantime armed themselves, and suddenly rushing on the men whom they had ensnared, cut down two of them. The remainder mounted and rode off. The enemy, however, pursued, and all the fugitives perished before reaching Jelalabad, with the exception of one, Dr. Bryden, who arrived there but to report the destruction of all his companions. Such was the fate that befell the remnant of the Kabool force.

And now it is time to turn to the spot where the solitary man, bearing the baleful tidings of its annihilation, arrived, and where he found a refuge. Jelalabad was still held by the English under Sir
Robert Sale. He had been required, under the conditions of the treaty concluded by the British authorities at Kabool with the Afghan chiefs, to evacuate the place and march for India. The answer was, that Akbar Khan was known to be inciting the chiefs in the neighbourhood to raise their followers, for the purpose of intercepting and destroying the force now at Jelalabad; and that, under these circumstances, it was deemed proper to await further orders, which, it was requested, might point out the nature of the security to be given for the safe march of the garrison to Peshawur. Sir Robert Sale had no superfluity of provisions, and was obliged to place the men under his command on half rations; he was greatly in want of ammunition, and as to treasure, was almost literally without a rupee; his force was barely sufficient to perform, with very great exertion, the duties required of it; his chance of obtaining relief or reinforcements seemed extremely slender, and he had reason to expect, that after they had disposed of the Kabool force the Afghans would concentrate their power in an attack upon Jelalabad. But he had a spirit which saved him from yielding, amid all these discouragements, and he resolved not wantonly to throw away the lives of those under his charge, nor to place in jeopardy the honour of his country and the prestige of its name.

It is not to be supposed that in India his situation was regarded with indifference, but the difficulties in the way of affording succour were great, and
the first effort made for the purpose ended in failure. Immediately on the government becoming advised of the commencement of the disturbances at Kabool, a brigade, consisting of four regiments of native infantry, had been assembled in Peshawur, under Colonel Wyld. That officer, with his brigade strengthened (numerically at least) by some Sikh battalions and the artillery attached to them, prepared to march through the Khyber pass; but the Sikhs shrunk from the duty at the moment when it was about to be commenced; camel-drivers and others deserted in vast numbers, a series of disastrous accidents involving the loss of much baggage and treasure occurred, and the brigadier was compelled to retreat. The fort of Ali Musjid, after an ineffectual attempt to relieve it, was at this time abandoned to the wild tribes inhabiting the vicinity of the pass.

This misfortune occurred in January. Early in that month a reinforcement, consisting of her Majesty's 9th foot and 10th light cavalry, a regiment of native infantry, and a detachment from another, together with details of artillery and irregular cavalry, crossed the Sutledge on its way to Peshawur. Subsequently, the force assembled there was strengthened by the despatch of her Majesty's 3rd dragoons and 31st foot, the 1st light cavalry, two regiments of native infantry, some recruits for her Majesty's 13th, and some details of irregular cavalry and artillery. The command of the entire force was destined for Major-General Lumly, but the state of
his health preventing his undertaking the duty, it was transferred to Major-General Pollock. Such were the arrangements made by the government of Lord Auckland, the period of whose retirement from his high office was approaching. He was about to quit India under circumstances widely different from those which a few months before had been contemplated. The policy which had been carried out at great expense had been frustrated, and of the army which had marched to the invasion of Afghanistan, a large part had been destroyed, while the portions that had escaped this fate were shut up in isolated positions, where it was difficult to convey assistance.

At Kandahar the course of events had been more prosperous than at Kabool. When the insurrection broke out at the latter place, the same apparent calm which had there preceded it and the same feeling of security prevailed at Kandahar. A brigade, under Colonel Maclaren, had actually commenced its return march for India, and its progress was interrupted only by the receipt of intelligence of the disaster which had befallen Captain Woodburn.* On the arrival of a demand for assistance from Kabool, this brigade was ordered to march thither, but, after sustaining dreadful hardships, was compelled by the severity of the weather to return without effecting its object. Akbar Khan, when he had cleared his hands of business at Kabool, approached Kandahar, which was crowded with chiefs

* See page 270.
from whom danger might reasonably be expected; and it became a question how to avert from that place mischief similar to that which occurred at Kabool. Money seems to have been considered to be the most efficient instrument for the purpose, and a lac of rupees was disbursed to the chiefs, to induce them to resist the enemy. The money was readily taken, and when no more was procurable, the chiefs joined Akbar Khan, the same step being taken by a son of Shah Shroojah’s, named Suftr Jung. The enemy gradually approached Kandahar: on a large body taking up a position within a short distance of that place, General Nott determined to attack them, and on the 12th January moved out for the purpose, with nearly all his disposable force. The enemy were strongly posted with a morass in front, and the fire of their matchlock-men was, for a time, well kept up; but they broke and fled, on the close approach of the British force, so rapidly, indeed, as to escape severe loss. The attack, however, and the success which attended it, led to very beneficial results: it gave confidence to one party, and tended to dispirit the other.

A pause in the active course of events affords a convenient opportunity for withdrawing attention for a space from the affairs of Afghanistan, suspension being further expedient from the change which took place in the office of governor-general. The position of General Nott at Kandahar, of Sir Robert Sale at Jalalabad, and of the force under General Pollock in Peshawur, will be borne in mind. It is
only necessary to add, with respect to the state of affairs on the western side of British India, that the son of the former khan of Kelat had been recognized by the government, that in Sinde and Belochistan all was quiet, and that a force stationed in those countries was prepared to advance under Brigadier England to co-operate with General Nott in any manner that might seem expedient. A very brief notice of certain events cotemporary with the progress of the Afghan war, but unconnected with it, will be required, in order to complete the history of the Earl of Auckland’s administration.

Of these, the first to be mentioned is the occupation of Kurnool by a British force. This territory, lying in Northern India, was held by a native chieftain, whose conduct, both as regarding his neighbours and his own subjects, was so extraordinary as to call imperiously for interference. No difficulty was experienced in obtaining possession of the capital, but the nawab, with some hundred of his followers, withdrew from the place; or rather, the former was carried away by the latter, and detained as a sort of hostage for the satisfaction of arrears of pay. Lieutenant-Colonel Dyce, 34th Madras light infantry, marched with a force against them, and, after a sharp encounter, succeeded in securing the person of the nawab, as well as several other prisoners, and much property. An immense quantity of warlike stores was found at Kurnool, the greater part being concealed in and about the Zenana, and other places little likely to be chosen as receptacles.
for such articles. The conduct of the nawab was indeed altogether so unaccountable, that his sanity might reasonably be questioned. But, whatever the causes which led to his extraordinary acts, he was properly removed from the government of a people whom he oppressed beyond even the ordinary measure of Oriental despotism, and his territory was annexed to the British dominions.*

Bundlecund, always distracted, afforded another call for British intervention. It became necessary to move a force against a fortified place called Cherong. The force, which was partly regular and partly irregular, was under the command of Captain W. F. Beatson. The garrison was reputed to be four thousand strong; but, after two days' cannonading, and a severe conflict under the walls, they withdrew, leaving the place to be occupied by the British.

On the 28th of February, Lord Ellenborough, who had been appointed to succeed the Earl of Auckland in the government of India, arrived at Calcutta, and on the 12th of March following the latter nobleman took his departure. For obvious reasons, no attempt can be made towards a general estimate of the character of the Earl of Auckland,

* The nawab was provided with a residence at Trichinopoly, where he evinced much interest in regard to the doctrines of Christianity, and, either from curiosity or some higher motive, he several times attended the service of the missionaries' church at that place. On the last occasion of his thus attending, he was mortally stabbed by a fanatical Mahometan, and died a few hours after receiving the wound.
in the manner pursued with regard to some of his predecessors. The judgment of the reader must be determined altogether by the facts recorded. The great event of his lordship's administration was the invasion of Afghanistan, and to what extent he is responsible for this is uncertain. The impression which he left in India appears to have been highly favourable, and the candid among those who dissent from his policy will unhesitatingly concede to him the possession of many qualities calculated to command respect, and many to conciliate regard. Though the larger portion of the period of his administration was passed amid the turmoil of war, he found opportunity to turn his thoughts to questions connected with the internal improvement of the country which he governed: and had his lot been cast in calmer times, it cannot be doubted that such questions would have occupied much more of his attention, and have been pursued to results of practical utility.