NARRATIVE OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS, IN SINDH AND KAUBOOL, IN 1838-9.

BY
RICHARD HARTLEY KENNEDY, M.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.
1840.

REPRODUCED BY
SANI H. PANHWAR (2018)

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BY
RICHARD HARTLEY KENNEDY, M.D.
LATE CHIEF OF THE MEDICAL STAFF OF THE BOMBAY DIVISION OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

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PREFACE.

THE following notes and observations are extracted from a very voluminous Correspondence which the Author maintained with two near relatives, whose position made it more than a mere matter of curiosity that they should be kept accurately informed of every occurrence in the camp of the army of the Indus. The letters were carefully preserved ; and having been written on the spot and at the moment, are a faithful history of the journeys and table gossip of the Staff mess-parties.

The secrets of office are beyond the Author's reach, and the time for history is not come the propriety of such interference at Kaubool as the deposition of Dost Mahomed and the exaltation of Shah Soojab, of the policy throughout pursued towards Runjet Sing, and the system so long persevered in and so concluded in Sindh, are pails of a great whole, which must soon be seen developed in all its wisdom or the reverse; for the result, whether for good or for evil, must quickly appear; and the cost, as proportioned to the benefit, supposing it be a benefit, must soon be counted. The oldest of the parties concerned is likely in the course of nature to live to see it; the seed they have planted will not be watched through a century of expectation.

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NARRATIVE OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS, IN 1838-9.

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TOWN & CITADEL KHELAUT, from the East

IT was a calm and bright star-light night, on Wednesday, November 21st, 1838, when, at ten in the evening, I embarked in Bombay harbour on board the Tapty gun-brig, for the Sindh service. The separation of friends, the scattering of the members of a family, and the interruptions of domestic peace and its enjoyments, are the everyday occurrences of military life; and those who cast their lot in the whirlpool of the public service abroad, must be prepared for the turbulence of its torrent, and the perplexities of its eddies.

An experience of nearly twenty-eight years' service in India had left me no novice in any of the requisites for whatever was likely to befall; and though I had not anticipated the duties that had suddenly devolved on me, they were in every respect suited to my taste and my position, and I undertook them as one who felt himself at home in office. Thus, though I left my sweet home, and all its happiness, with the natural sighs of one whose domestic circle is deservedly most dear, and cast "many a longing, lingering look behind," as I said "Farewell!" there was much excitement, and much anticipated gratification in prospect, and I was able to reconcile myself to the present by the hopes of the future.

On reaching the gun-brig, I found that my accommodation was far superior to my expectation. A large cabin, eleven feet by eight, was allotted to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and myself; and my bed was prepared for me as comfortably as I could have hoped for on share. My servants were in attendance; and the absence of ship-smells and vermin enabled me to prepare for my night's repose, without any threatened approach of that abdominal mutiny and revulsion, which the amiable Miss Pringle, in the "Ayrshire Legatees," has so aptly designated "the odious reverse of swallowing," and to which my frail inward man is most painfully liable.

It was, after all, a sleepless night. The recollection of all that was behind, and fancies of all that was to come, sufficed to murder sleep; and the hourly toll of the ships' bells in the harbor, the cries of the crews of passing boats, the hails from the fishermen's skiffs, the screams of sea-birds, and other maritime discords, were heard through the dreary period, till night slowly faded before the dawn of day, and I listened upon deck to enjoy the morning.

Man may be a thinking or a cooking animal, he may be a laugher or a weeper in his philosophy; but sensitive or callous, cold or hot, we feel the first moment of inaction following incessant exertions, and pause to gather our scattered ideas, and separate our recollections of the past from our anticipations for the future. No man had ever been more taken by surprise than myself, when, on the 28th October, at Mahabuleishwer, I learnt that I was named to the high honor of chief of the medical staff of the Bombay division of the army of the Indus. Report had fixed on a junior medical officer for the appointment, a gentleman who was said to stand high in the favor of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief; but the Bombay Government disapproved of the arrangement, and insisted that one of the four superintending surgeons of the establishment should accompany the force, and that no new promotion should be made. Thus the world has been robbed by the etiquette of office of the rich harvest that might have been reaped by a better qualified laborer in this field, and a more gifted observer and treasurer of observations.

I was at Mahabuleishwer, on my tour of duty for the annual inspection of hospitals, and little dreaming of the journey before me, when the order to "join head-quarters forthwith" reached me. A most hurried journey had brought me to Bombay, November 3rd, when I learnt that we were to embark on the 15th; and this was all the warning given to collect and organize my department, to see that the material was sufficient, and the stores properly applied for and supplied. Whoever knows anything of similar preparations will estimate the exertions I had been called upon to make; and will know that, between the 3rd and 20th November, I had little leisure for the indulgence of moral reflections of any kind.

Thus, as the sun rose on Bombay harbor, it was almost the first hour that had been allowed me for the exercise of any sober meditation; and as I stood by the taffrail of the

gun-brig, and looked on the familiar scenes so often contemplated under such different aspects, and in such different positions, the mind had its full occupation with its own deep thoughts, and travelled through twenty-eight years of passing up and down, that little world to me, the Bombay earth, and to and from it.

It had been ordered that, with break of day, the Semiramis steamer, of seven hundred and eighty tons, with two engines of one hundred and fifty horse power each, was to take us and two other vessels in tow. On board of the steamer were embarked his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, and his personal staff. In the Tapty gun-brig, of one hundred and seventy-five tons, were embarked the Adjutant and Quarter-master Generals, Major Keith and Colonel Campbell; the medical staff; the Field-surgeon, Dr. Pinhey; the Deputy Medical Storekeeper, Dr. Don, and myself; and one hundred and seventeen public followers, with thirty-seven servants. Behind the Tapty was to be towed a large Muscat bugla, of one hundred and twenty tons' burthen, laden chiefly with the tents and baggage of the Commander-in-chief; end lastly, a fat bottomed pinnace, of about fifty tons, intended as a present from our Government to Runjit Sing. A distance of fifty fathoms sufficed between the Semiramis' and Tapty, about forty fathoms between the Tapty and the bugle, and thirty fathoms between the bugle and pinnace. The strain on the steamer may be imagined, when dragging such a weight, and at such a length, through a head sea, and against a stiff breeze direct ahead, through the whole voyage.

It had originally been intended that some four or five hundred men of the Queen's Royals and the 17th regiment should have been conveyed in the steamer; and this ought to have been the arrangement. The Tapty brig could have afforded ample accommodation for the Commander-in-chief; and such of the staff as could not have been received in the Tapty could have been embarked on the bugle. The employment of the steamer as a transport would not only have brought an important body of men more immediately to the scene of operations, but would have saved Government the hiring of a transport, say ten thousand rupees. But such a sum, more or less, will prove as dust in the balance, when weighing the cost of the campaign. The Semiramis steamer was therefore "flying light;" and we, at our ease in abundant elbow-room, had great reason to be thankful for the indulgence.

At seven in the morning the Semiramis was under way, and steering towards us; our anchor was instantly up, and our sails set to drop into her wake in the open harbor, and at eight we had received the tow-ropes, and secured them to our vessel; but at the first tug the huge hawsers snapped like threads, and we were adrift in the harbor. Our anchor was instantly dropt; the steamer anchored close to us, and boats were dispatched back to the dockyard for fresh hawsers. By some it was supposed that the coir hawsers, being new, should have been soaked in sea-water ere strained in such a manner; but, whether they were too new and too dry, or, in reality, not strong enough, we had cause of thankfulness that the disposition to cast us adrift was so early

manifested; as, had it occurred at sea and by night, much loss of time, much inconvenience, and some anxiety and alarm, might have been the consequence.

Poor Porter, who commanded the Semiramis, has since been in trouble. In the vicissitudes of fortune how often one sees the hero of today, the victim of tomorrow! He was now our Commodore, and came on board of our vessel, and, in all the exuberance of a sailor's boisterous mirth, was enjoying the jest that he should be taxed with having willfully broken the hawser to reap another day's benefit of the table-money allowed for his Excellency the Commander-in-chief and his personal staff! I never made his acquaintance beyond two or three casual meetings, then, and at the Hujamry. He seemed a shrewd and active naval officer, and the last who would be likely to lose a valuable ship under his command through criminal negligence. Whether the knowledge supplied by modern charts sufficed to have warned him of the danger to be apprehended when crossing in front of the Gulf of Kutch, I know not; but it is strange enough that the locality is described with singular truth and accuracy in the Periplus.

Sailors are strange animals! They can never comprehend a landsman's thoughts of home. Their boats left the ships for shore, but no timely notice was given; and a few hurried lines were all that I could send to say what had occurred, and to explain our detention. A little after twelve o'clock fresh hawsers were received; and exactly at two o'clock in the afternoon they were secured, the anchor weighed, and we stood out of harbor a due northwest course, accomplishing four and a half knots per hour, against a rolling head-sea and an unvarying north-western.

The crew of the Tapty, commanded by Lieutenant Buckler, Indian navy, was one European mate, and twenty-eight native seamen. The commander, by Government regulations, was to provide our table, for which the Government allowance was seventeen and a half rupees per diem for field-officers, and eight rupees each for captains and subalterns. Our party comprised three of the former, and two of the latter; affording, therefore, sixty-eight and a half rupees per diem for provisioning expenses. We would gladly have voted our excellent host a double stipend; his treatment of us was kind and liberal in the extreme; and, his birthday occurring during the voyage, we did the honors of the day with the hearty alacrity that his unpretending goodness deserved from us.

The night past, and the morning found us in the open sea. Before us seemed to stand the steamer. Not a motion was perceptible in her masts and yards; their black lines streaked across the blue sky, as firmly fixed, to the eye, as though she had been at anchor; and yet the waves foamed and rolled past her as she ploughed her undeviating, unalterable course, with steady keel, through a turbulent sea, and directly against the wind, with a permanent and unchanging speed of about four and a half miles per hour. The naval diableries of the old sea-legends, the demon frigate, and the "*shippe of helle*," seemed, as it were, realized before us. I was never tired of looking on it.

Can it be, thought I, that in my own short era, in my own brief existence, this stupendous miracle of art has been conceived and created; and this mightiest of man's conquests over Nature achieved by the knowledge which is power?

Man, a little lower than the angels, has yet much to do. May God grant that his brute propensities may not again break forth to check the sublime progress of intellect in its development, and involve the world in another age of darkness! The blessed instrumentality of the press appears sufficient to secure us from any such fearful catastrophe as the total extinction of the acquirements of thirty ages, under another barbaric desolation. But how much may man's advancement be checked by evils which knowledge cannot prevent, and refinement cannot imagine to be in existence, until they overwhelm the unthinking many, like an avalanche, and bury the existing fabric of society in the ruins they occasion.

The second morning found us in sight of Diu Head, a round knoll, and lower undulating hills receding from it. The fort and town of Diu are still retained by the Portuguese, and should, with Goa, Demaun, and the settlements on the African coast, be purchased at almost any price, to be paid by our Government. To the Portuguese they were an expensive burthen, until our Malwa opium monopoly, with the usual effect of over-high customs, offered a sufficiently high premium to the smuggler to convey his illicit trade from Malwa, through Marwar, to Sindh. The value of the opium embarked at Karachi for Demaun has exceeded sixteen lahks of rupees per annum. A reduction of the duty has reduced the illicit trade, but it is still important. Our new relation with Sindh must reduce Demaun and Goa to their former insignificance; and it would be no mean policy to secure the possessions, which among other evils, accustom the natives to the sight of a foreign European flag, and tend to direct their thoughts to a foreign European power.

The Asiatic character in general, and the Hindoo in particular, is compounded of intrigue and *tracasserie*,— not because they are Asiatics and Hindoos, but because they are so educated; and they are only to be depended on so far as they see their own interests, and feel the power of their masters. Our future repose indispensably requires that no foreign flag should wave in India.

But it is as nests of the wretched slave-trade, for which alone the Portuguese settlements of the Mozambique exist, that they ought to be dispossessed, by fair means, if possible; if not, by foul: we can never prevent the importation of African slaves at Diu, Demaun, and Goa, from Africa, except by an expenditure beyond what the purchase of these unproductive colonies would amount to. Diu is a regular fortification, and holds a conspicuous place in the early history of European settlements in India; but is now a wretched place, with a paltry establishment, and the few survivors of its former population miserably poor. Several lofty church-towers are seen, as at Goa, Basseen,

and Demaun, above the ramparts; and would seem to indicate that the "milk-white hind," in her rambles on this coast, could not have been contented with a "voluntary system" share of the rich man's purse or the poor man's labor. A Portuguese naval officer at Goa once said to me, when admiring the cathedral architecture of the churches there, "If our ancestors had built forts, and trained battalions, as your early governments did, instead of wasting their resources on churches and on monks, we might have been what you are." Perhaps they might: but what is written, is written!

At noon of the second day we were exactly abreast of Somnath Puttan, whose ancient temple, dedicated to Shiva, as the "lord of the moon," was the object of Mahomed of Ghizni's first invasion of India in the eleventh century. The Moslem army entered Guzerat by Serohy, on the east side of Aboo; plundered and totally destroyed the ancient capital, Chandrawatty, at its base; and, proceeding to the coast of Kattiwar, secured the rich jewels and treasures of the temple. Our knowledge of what India was in our own time, allows us to give our modified credence to the history of the incalculable wealth obtained by the plunderers. It was here that the Brahmin devotee offered a mass of gold that a shapeless idol of stone might not be desecrated, and which the iconoclast zeal of the Mahomedan leader ordered instantly to be destroyed: on its flying in pieces under the hammers of the destroyers, it was found to be hollow, and a treasure in precious stones concealed in the cavity, that far overbalanced what had been offered for its preservation. The army of Mahomed of Ghizni was almost totally, destroyed by want of water, in an incautious attempt to cross the desert between Guzerat and Bawulpore, on their return.

Our third morning found us abreast of Pore Bunder, the cloud-topt pinnacles of the hill of Joonaghur in the far distance. These mountains are dedicated to the Parasnath worship of the Jains, and are celebrated for their ancient temples. Similar temples are to be found in Aboo and Paliatanah. We have lost all knowledge of the period when the fairy tribes had their temples and altars in Pagan Europe; but the similarity of the name, and of the legendary history of their demi-celestial race in Europe and in Guzerat, seems to mark the accuracy of the traditions which bring the Gothic races from India. "The sons of God, loving the daughters of men, and their children becoming mighty men, which were of old men of renown," is the Unvarying legend of the origin of every distinguished tribe in India, whilst the name Paradise itself sounds to my ear only as Parasdeish—hill-god country, or fairy land.

From Kattiwar to Rajpootana, the two great families of Rajpoots claim their origin; the one from the sun, the other from the moon. The Sooraj Wamsh, or children of the sun, are, I believe, the prevailing caste in this peninsula; and it is among them that the revolting practices of infanticide have thrown the deepest shade that has fallen on human nature in any age or in any country.

Our voyage this day was very interesting: the bold headlands and mountain scenery of the coast gave us every moment a changing view; and our course, within three miles from the land, allowed us the fullest opportunities of enjoying it.

At noon, the pagoda of Dwarka appeared far ahead, and where we should not have looked for land, precisely like the white sail of a very large botilla: it required some time to persuade me that it was a building, and not a sail; its snow-white flag above the white-washed cupola had exactly the appearance of the botilla's vane. As we approached, the building slowly emerged from the sea, and was seen on its eminence, nothing different, except in size, from ordinary buildings of the kind,—a square temple of two stories, with a cupola in front, and behind it the usual Hindoo spire: around it, at irregular distances, appeared smaller temples, consisting chiefly of the tower and spire.

The view of this celebrated shrine of Krishna was singularly beautiful: we skirted close to the coast, and at sunset we were precisely abreast of the pagoda. Dwarka is more frequented by pilgrims than any shrine on the west coast of India; the Jatras are said at times to have exceeded half a million of devotees.

On one occasion, I believe in 1803, a contagious disease—apparently, from the description, Egyptian plague—is said to have destroyed nearly one hundred thousand victims in a few days. When a similar pestilence was depopulating Pallee in 1837, the residents there described it to their friends in Guzerat as the most fearful epidemic which had fallen upon their race since the appalling destruction at Dwarka in 1803. The pilgrim, who faithfully performs all his duties at Dwarka, submits, as the final penance, to be branded with the mark of the god; and is supposed to remain, for the residue of his life, in the sacred care of Krishna.

The wind had been rising through the day, and at night it blew a stiff breeze, with a high sea rolling: our scuttles required to be closed, and we had some motion, but it was nothing beyond the very ordinary average of marine ad, ventures. We held our course unchanged, and the steady masts of the steamer scarcely showed a motion against the blue sky before us. In the night, however, some accident, probably owing to the increased motion, seemed to occur to the steamer's engines; and, after having diminished her speed from near five to two and a half miles per hour, she suddenly stopped. Some confusion followed, owing to the several vessels in tow becoming entangled: the Arab bugla came in contact with the Tapty, and the boat hanging on the quarter had a very narrow escape from utter destruction; happily she was shoved off before any injury of consequence was done; and in less than an hour the steamer resumed her way, and her train followed in their proper places, without inconvenience to each other.

The fourth morning was mild and calm; we found the effects of attaining a more northern latitude, in a bracing, cool air; the sea was still, and no land in sight: at noon,

the sea was smoother than I remember ever to have seen it; but, smooth or rough, wind or calm, on we went, ploughing our steady course at the same rate, and with no change to us but the comfort of diminished motion.

During the day a shoal of whales played round us, raising their leviathan carcasses above the water, and afforded our native passengers much surprise and amusement: one of them shot up his huge head and opened his mouth, apparently for the sole purpose of giving us an accurate idea of a whale's capability to swallow any Jonah we might have to dispose of. The sight was really fearful; the dimensions of the crimson cavern which yawned before us, appearing to require only some vivacity of imagination, and the epic poetry of a traveler's narration, to magnify it into the gulf of the sea-serpent's maw and its horrific profundities! A similar "Protean herd" is described by Arrian as having greatly alarmed the Greek mariners under Nearchus.

At half an hour before midnight we anchored; the firing of signal-guns disturbed our rest, and warned us that the termination of our voyage was approaching. At daybreak of the fifth day, Tuesday, November 27th, two ships were seen under sail very near us, and proved to be the Syden and Sir Edward Paget, transports; we remained at anchor from midnight until near eight o'clock in the morning, when the steamer was again under way, and we proceeded on our course.

Our first view of the Indus water was a huffy line across the horizon, presenting to the inexperienced eye the precise appearance of a sandbank; this, as we approached, was shown to be the discoloration where the river-flood mingled with the sea. The water was smooth, and the wind from the land; and the two large transports sailing with us were making way with a favorable spurt of wind, and with every sail set that they could carry.

At nine o'clock the vessels at anchor at the Hujamry mouth of the Indus were descried ahead, and at twelve o'clock the steamer anchored near the Palinurus; nothing of land was to be seen but the long low sandbank, and a beacon landmark, built apparently to about four feet high of pile work, with a lozenge-shaped target at the summit. A more dreary prospect was never exhibited; and considering, as we may, that, excepting what the Portuguese may have done, ours is probably the first armament which has appeared to force a way up the Indus since the fleet of Nearchus sailed out, two thousand years ago, we may safely conjecture in addition, that a more unpromising coast for the disembarkation of an army has been seldom approached or left since that day by any fleet of transports.

About twenty country boats, averaging probably from twenty-five to thirty tons, were prepared for the disembarkation; and the Hannah, which had first arrived with the Engineer Corps, was cleared of every individual, and every article shipped on board her, in a few hours. Buoys and landmarks were placed to guide the boats into the river,

whose low muddy banks were scarcely perceptible above the water: the boats sailing in were seen winding their way into the interior, following the tortuous course of what seemed to be the most crooked river in the world. A village of fishermen's huts appeared about five miles inland, and many masts of small vessels in every part of the river.

The two ships we had passed in the morning came slowly in with the evening sea-breeze and anchored near us; and orders were instantly issued for the disembarkation of the 2nd or Queen's Royals, and the 5th regiment of Native Infantry. The more early arrival of our transports than we had expected, and the facility with which the Engineer Corps had been disembarked, seemed to show that difficulties had been anticipated which we had not found, and gave us fair hopes for the future.

Our approach to this coast was not without its favorable omen: two native boats, laden chiefly with female passengers, proceeding on a caste wedding errand to Mandavie, in Kutch, were, through misfortune or mismanagement, upset on the bar of the Indus; the Hannah transport had anchored in sight, and her boats were immediately lowered to assist the sufferers. Through the strenuous exertions of Captain M'Gregor of that vessel, and Lieutenant Carless of the Indian navy, who was fortunately on board, every individual of the crews and passengers of the two botillas was saved. The natural feelings of British seamen were new to the natives of Sindh, and such alacrity in personal exposure and labor for the benefit of strangers was inexplicable. "You have come," said the chief matron of the rescued party, "to conquer Sindh; and, God is great! you deserve to conquer it."

It has since been Captain M'Gregor's fortune to be wrecked himself; and his good ship the Hannah lost, almost on the same spot where we anchored; the shifting sands of the river having thrown up a bank, where this officer, the most experienced person we had, and the best acquainted with this coast, had often passed with ten fathoms' water. No man of his class can be more respected or esteemed than Captain M'Gregor, and all sympathized with him in his heavy misfortune when the news of the occurrence reached Bombay.

THE HUJAMRY.

November 27th, 1838.—The Paget transport, having on board the 5th regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, anchored in the Hujamry a few minutes before sunset, followed by the Syden with her Majesty's 2nd Royals. As these vessels anchored, the regimental drums beat off for sunset,—the first British drums on the Indus.

As the sun went down where the Indus' flood
Rolla forth its turbid and troubled water,
And Ocean recoils for many a rood

Earth-stain'd by the mighty tribute brought her,
Our anchors were dropt, our masts were bare,
We had reach'd the renowned stream of Ind,
Our freight was a host, and our only care
To discharge that freight on the shore of Sindh.

At that sunset hour, o'er the Indus' water,
First echo'd the roll of the British drum:
What boded that drum? did it breathe out slaughter,
And ruin, and wrath, and wrong to come?
Scarce a ripple was heard on the rising tide,
Scarce a breath in air; all was still, save the rattle
Of that stern drum, and it spake in its pride
Of all that precedes and fellows battle.

'Twas the evening drum of the sunset hour;
And welcome its peal of duty done
To the soldier in camp or eastled tower,
Wherever his tent or garrison.
To us 'twas no more than the wonted sound,
And unheeded it fell on the listener's ear,
As due to the hour; and his fancy found
No startling presage of hope or fear.

But what said the angel of Sindh, who hung
Self-poised in air, enthroned in cloud,
When the British drum for the first time rung
On the Indus' flood its alarum loud?
Rejoiced he, or sigh'd he, that angel form?
Was his heavenly glance in joy or sorrow
When he thought of the past? was it calm or storm
His prophetic view beheld for the morrow?

I've been young, and am old, and my life bath been
Where at morn and eve bath peal that drum;
Nor bath my ear heard, nor my eye yet seen,
That England's rule boded ruin and gloom.
It bath spread o'er the land, none knoweth how, —
It bath sunk its deep-root, none knoweth whither;
And every opponent bath bow'd him low
Before the decree that brought it hither.

And was it, this mighty marvel, rear'd
For good or for ill? was its ample verge

Thrown to the winds to be loved or fesz'd,
As the blessed been, or the scorpion scourge?
Look'd the Genius of Ind from the Himla'a snows
On Mahomed of Ghizni's muster morn
With a smile of joy? Guzerat still shows
What follow'd the blast of the Moslem horn.

From Chandrapati, destany'd and boned,
To Somnath Puttan in Kattywar,
That land-flood of ruin o'erwhelm'd and upturn'd
Whatever it met in its ruthless war;
And every lava-gush that bath burst
From the wild volcanoes of Khorasan,
Thro' eight hundred years that the Moslem hath curst
The neighboring regions of Hindustan.

Have been but the robbers' frantic foray,
Have left no trace but the robbers' ruin;
And the Genius of hid on the Himalay
Hath wept o'er his people's blood and undoing.
When raised the Maratha his dingy flag,
And trampled the Moslem under foot,
By each river stream, and each castled crag,
From Southern Mysore to Paniput.

Did the stern Gossain, whom Shivaji's race
Assembled and led in their conquering course,
Heal the festering wounds? was there balm in the trace
The Diakani left of his charging horse?
Ah! woe for the timid subdued Hindu!
The bandit chief and his soldiery
Seek only to reap what the weaker sow,
And mock at their victim's misery.

No gain to the peasant behind his plough,
No peace to the cot, – no sheltering tree
For the injured to seek repose below,
Appear'd in the native dynasty.
But what said the Genius of Ind when stood
The first of England's sons on the strand,
Like the Patriarch fording thro' Jordan's flood,
A lonely man with but staff in hand?

Predestined was he to a happier houe.

And thus was our England's red-cross bossier
Foreseen in her future pomp of power,
When the Genius of Ind first look'd upon her.
He saw the Moslem's destroying sword
To reddening fires for the plough-share given;
He saw the Pindari's scattering horde
From the groaning land like the wild wolves driven.

He saw the mysterious Thagie trade,
The fearfullest stain of blood that e'er fell
On the wondering world, unveil'd, display'd,
And the gibbet adorn'd with the dogs of hell
He saw the funeral fire redeem'd
From the Sutee's abhorr'd self-sacrifice;
And the Hajput's child more dear esteem'd
To the state, than she seem'd in her parents' eyes.

Who saith that our England hath nothing done
For this Eastern world? Oh! 'tis falsely said
When all that the sun now rises on
Sees rapine subdued, and murder stay'd.
But hath England done all – is her mission ended!
Oh no! oh no! she hath yet to brighten
The moral darkness with miseries blended,
"To bind up and heal, – to lift up and enlighten."

Doth the Genius of Ind, surveying his land,
See this in fair progress? Ah woe! tis true,
The harvest is ripe, but our first-fruits stand
Scarce touch'd in the field by the labourers few!

The harvest's Lord in his own good time
Will call to the work the master-spirits;
Nor think ye that Truth, in its march sublime,
Shall pause till all Ind its fruit inherits.

But ye, by whose mandate our British drum
First sent its loud roll o'er the Indus' water,
Distinguish ye signs of the time to come
In what Ind displays of all Truth hath taught her?
Oh, blind to the future, if drum and sword
Be all that your vision contemplate I
May the warning voice not remain unheard,
Till the warning voice shall be heard too late.

CHAPTER II

Services of Mr. Farish as Governor of Bombay. – Capt. Outram's activity in procuring camels for the army. – Disembarkation – Changing character of the channel of the Indus. – Capabilities of the harbor of Karachi. – Native Fishery. – Astonishment of Natives at British punctuality of payment, when dominant – The Aurora baroque adrift. – Our Mate's joke upon the occasion.

THE Bombay Government were guided entirely by the Commander-in-chief in all that related to the date of his Excellency's departure, he having fixed the day himself, and in all their, arrangements for the embarkation; and by Colonel Pottinger in all that referred to the disembarkation: and they were instructed by the Supreme Government to build their reliance chiefly on the Bengal commissariat; probably to save the expense and delays of sending stores from Bombay by sea, and transporting them through Sindh, when the same could be done in less time, and more economically, from the friendly fertile districts of the Punjab.

These are facts that require to be known; for much obloquy was attempted to be cast on one of the ablest and most energetic men that ever presided over the Government of Bombay, accidentally, in a crisis of great importance and great difficulty. The lamented demise of Sir Robert Grant had made Mr. Parish, then senior member of Council, Governor of Bombay at this period; and no man ever brought more single-heartedness or right-mindedness, more industry, or more anxiety for the public good, to his high functions. The omission of his name,—when honors were conferred on Lords Auckland and Keane for services in which he was "an able coadjutor," and on Sirs M'Naughton and — Pottinger, his juniors, and inferiors in capacity as well as in place, —was felt by all who know this truly good man, and faithful servant of Government, a public injury.

I shall not detain the reader with all that was said on the subject of the departure of the troops from Bombay, nor respecting the site selected for the disembarkation. Sir Alexander Burnes, who knew more of Sindh and the Indus than any other person that could have been consulted, had recommended Karachi as the point that should have been first occupied: but his superior knowledge and better judgment were overruled; and the strange project of sending the army by boats up the Indus was seriously, I believe, recommended and contemplated, until found impracticable. "The moral effect," as it was termed, of this river procession, progressing like the Lord Mayor's show, through Sindh, was gravely enlarged on, and not abandoned until it was found that boats could not be procured in the Indus for the conveyance of the mere ordnance stores of the army. We afterwards learnt, with a painful experience, that, when procured, the laborious and tardy navigation against the current rendered whatever was embarked on the river an impediment and a vexation.

The subsequent events most fully demonstrated that Karachi should have been the point selected; and I have been told that Lord Keane himself, on his return, expressed the same opinion. I know personally that his instructions were to land on the left bank of the Hujamry, and that be selected the right bank himself, after previous inquiry on his arrival to ascertain whether any local cause rendered it necessary for the army to be designedly shut up in the *cul-de-sac* of the Delta.

A very large portion of the camels procured for the army were received from Karachi, and were brought entirely through the activity and zeal of Captain Outram from thence to our camp at Bahminakote. Detachments of troops several months afterwards crossed from Karachi to the Indus without difficulty or real inconvenience, or any of those fatigues and night marches which the army afterwards underwent without a remark or a complaint. As no resistance, however, was made, the serious evils that might have resulted were never felt, and the minor ones we did suffer were soon forgotten; and yet it is scarcely possible that any army can ever have disembarked on a foreign coast for whom so little of all the necessary preparations had been made by those whose duty it was to have made them.

The Agent for transports, whose duty it was to prepare for and superintend the reception of the fleet, and the collections of shore-boats for the disembarkation of the troops, did not arrive until the evening of the 30th November, exactly a week after the leading ship had anchored at the Hujamry.

The result of this had been, that the senior naval officer, Lieutenant Porter, could not take upon himself the risk of squabbles with skippers, and the hazards of insurance responsibilities. The commanders of the transports were uncontrolled, and did what seemed best in their own eyes; anchored where they pleased, and where they fancied they were safest, and at such distances as added greatly to the exposure of the troops in landing, and delayed exceedingly the most important of all military operations, the immediate collection of a force sufficient for its own protection. An enemy in front would have exposed the character of our proceedings in its true light.

The Agent for transports appeared late at night on the 30th November, and the next morning presented the busy scene which ought to have commenced some days before. The ships' boats, which had remained idle, were now ordered out; an increased number of shore-boats were obtained; and the disembarkation, which had previously been left to the skippers of the transports, or the commanding officers of regiments, commenced in earnest, under the supervision of an experienced naval officer.

Nothing could be more contradictory than the statements which first reached us respecting the disposition of the Government of the country: on the one hand it was evident that open hostility was not meditated, as the shore-boats appeared to

disembark the troops; but then, on the contrary, no supplies were ready, or, as it seemed, procurable; and the Resident's assistant, Lieutenant Eastwick, on his journey from Hyderabad, had been insulted and pelted as he disembarked at Thattah. The Ameers were described as having held a Durhbar with Colonel Pottinger, to have appeared in armor, shown a haughty demeanor, and used a high tone of pretension and defiance. Under any circumstances, their wishes went for nothing: the disembarkation of the troops, and provisions for two months, to be independent of the shore bazaars, was vigorously carried on; and General Wiltshire formed his camp, with the 2nd Queen's Royals and 5th regiment of Native Infantry, on the west shores of the Indus, about fourteen miles from the anchorage, and five miles below Vikkur.

The average time occupied by the boats employed in the disembarkation was about six hours between the ships and the camp; and it required a whole day for a fleet of boats to arrive from Vikkur, take a freight of men and their baggage, and return to the camp. The shore boats were small botillas, of nearly the same build as the Guzerat boats, except that the stern is loftier and stronger; the sides are built up with bamboo-work, and the sail is no: thing more than a large simple sheet, unaltered since the date of Nearchus: the average tonnage seems to have been about eighty kandies, or twenty tons, though some appeared about double that size.

The capabilities of the Hujamry mouth of the Indus for navigation seem to have been underrated. The large pattimars from Bombay, of three hundred to four hundred kandies, having on board from twenty to twenty-five horses each, went over the bar at the mouth of the river at half-flood without any injury or accident whatever: this proved of the most essential importance, as the landing of the cavalry horses, by transshipping them from the large boats to smaller ones, to be conveyed up the river, *as it was expected would have been necessary*, would have been a tedious process, and must have been attended with infinite labor and many accidents. The soundings on the bar gave nine feet at low water, with a rise of nine feet at flood; and the depth of the river within the bar as far as the camp, which was below the upper bar, near Vikkur, gave nowhere lees than fifteen feet at low water. This is very far superior to the navigable capabilities of the Tapty or the Nurbudda. But the ever-changing channel of the Indus leaves no certainty in any one season, or even month, of what it is likely to be the next the vast quantity of silt with which the waters are loaded forms, in some operations of the weather and the stream, a bank here and a bar there, which other operations of the same antagonist powers remove, and lodge elsewhere; and deny the Indus, like the Nile, any safely navigable outlet.

Whenever our system of commercial inter-course shall have come into operation; when our troops have insured the security of the river, and our expenditure has produced a new aspect in the markets, and of the "circulating medium;" when our merchants have established agencies in Sindh, and the Punjab, and Afghanistan, and the trade is really what it ought to be, and must become, if no political error intervene, we shall be

compelled to look to Karachi as the Alexandria of the Indus, the emporium of the river, and of the vast region to which it opens the communication. The harbor of Karachi is at once a good haven, and rightly situated; and a very trifling outlay would reopen the old outlet of the Garra Creek, and enable this Alexandria for the valley of the Indus and its tributaries, and for all Central Asia, to become, next to Bombay, the most important position on the western coast of India.

A subsequent knowledge of Karachi harbor has made me wonder that its value was never ascertained during the war, and the place resorted to by French cruisers from the Mauritius. One or two frigates appear in 1808 and 1809 to have nearly done what they pleased in the Indian seas; and seem to have required only the refuge of some such haven as Karachi for wood, water, and provisions, to have completed the blockade of Bombay, or at all events to have interrupted its communication with the Persian Gulf. As respects the future, the cotton and indigo of Sindh, and the wool and madder of Kabul, are bulky as well as valuable articles; and will require many, very many thousand tons of shipping, and must ere long add essentially to the coast and foreign trade of Bombay.

The absence of sea-birds forms a singular trait in the character of the Indian seas; scarcely a single living thing appeared in the sky above, or the sea below, between Bombay and the Indus. The gigantic albatross and the sea-pigeons roam to many hundred miles from the coast of Africa; here, within four miles of the muddy banks, only a very few sea-birds hovered round us. By the help of glasses, we could discover flocks of flamingoes on the distant beach, but they never travelled seaward.

The fleets of fishing-boats only on one occasion brought us fish fit for food: this was not the fault of the fishery, as was afterwards ascertained in the days of peace at Karachi, but the unsettled state of the country, and the ignorance of the poor fishermen of our punctuality in payment; a proceeding, by the stronger party toward the weaker, so apparently unnatural to a Sindian, that it was the most difficult to their comprehension of all our peculiarities. They described the shoals of cod to be migratory; that on some occasions a single boat would take a hundred in a night, and that at other periods not a dozen in a week.

The cod-sounds, described as the lungs or air-vessels of the fish, are cut out, and the fish itself thrown away, not being eatable: these (sounds are dried, and sold at the rate of three for a rupee, for exportation to China. When dried, they are like lumps of glue; and form, with the gummy birds' nests, and shark fins, &c., the glutinous luxury of the Chinese gourmands, who seem ignorant of the simple fact that all gluten of animal matter may be boiled down to any particular consistence required, and that the strength of the jelly that results depends upon the quantity and the boiling. In reference to this market, the salop misri of Ghizni, a bulbous root not unlike a small turnip, and dried in

the sun for exportation, will be a valuable farming a finer and richer jelly than arrow-root or sago.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief soon found that he had left Bombay ten days sooner than he had any occasion for. Had he sent the steamer with troops, and the Agent for transports, and allowed her to return for himself and personal staff he would have found on his arrival that he had something to do beyond being a spectator of the disembarkation: as it was, he detained the steamer merely for his personal accommodation, he remaining on board, and she at anchor, from November 27th to December 3rd; whereas, had he waited a fortnight in Bombay, it might have brought and landed a regiment, and been sent to Mandarie to bring up the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry and Foot Artillery during that period, and then have returned to Bombay and brought up his Excellency again, before the camp on shore could have been formed and prepared for any forward movement.

The most important contingencies of a harbor, and in maritime insurance generally, appear to hinge on singularly uncertain and apparently trifling occurrences. On the evening of the 30th November, the Aurora barque, of six hundred tons, sailed up to our anchorage, and tried to take up a position; on reaching a spot between the Malcolm and Lady East, transports, the wind, which had been dying away, suddenly fell calm, a strong tide running, and driving her on the Malcolm. The latter veered out her chain-cable as far as she could, and the Aurora let go her foresail aback, to get what wind she could to give her sternway, and thus barely cleared the Malcolm; but from thence she drifted on the Tapty. We veered out all the cable we had, and she in like manner barely cleared our head, and drifted past us, nearly grazing our sides; and, but for great alacrity and management in bracing the yards, her jib-boom would have carried away some of our rigging. It was really a situation of some anxiety and excitement; and as the wind was all but perfect calm, and the Aurora was a mere hulk on the tide, our escape was evidently more good luck than good management.

Jack Tar, under all circumstances, must have his joke. As this huge hulk drifted slowly past us, and barely cleared us, the commotion and outcry on her decks, crowded with her Majesty's 17th regiment, was one wild scene of confusion and clamor: in our little gun-brig not a breath was heard but the word of command, and the footsteps of those who obeyed it. When the danger was over, "A particular precious pretty fellow, that 'ere Captain Figgins!" said our mate: "I wish to goodness that his mother did but know that he was out!"

CHAPTER III.

Evils of superfluous Baggage.—The Remedy.—Details of the Disembarkation. —Loss of a botilla, with sixteen artillery-horses: the Crew saved.—Passage of our party up the river to the Camp.—Our anchors.—Occupation while at anchor.—Critical situation of a large botilla.—Landing of our party. — Hujamry branch or the Indus. —Importance of Karachi.—Advantages to be expected from opening the navigation of the Indus.

THE disembarkation of an army on a hostile coast must be considered as an operation that levels all distinctions, everything except the soldier and his arms being an encumbrance; so that the officer can only land as the private lands, with his equipments in his hands or on his back, and his mess-provisions attended to by the general commissariat. This must no doubt have been the routine of the Peninsular expeditions; and in such cases an army of fifty thousand men would have been moved with greater facility than a division of six thousand men can stir in India.

The difference of climate must make no trifling addition to the baggage of an army within the tropics; but, without reference to that essential difference, the quantity of unnecessary tents and furniture which appear in the train of an Indian camp forms the most serious impediments to its movements.

The remedy for this would of course be a general order, dispensing with the muster of tents when on field-service; prohibiting more than one small tent for every two or four officers, as the case may be more or less emergent, and a slight increase to be granted by Government to the mess-allowance of regiments on field-service, to secure a mess establishment on a sufficient footing to be able to afford loans of necessaries to officers who may be detached, and save the encumbrance and expense of each individual being burdened with a camp-case, liquor-baskets, &c., and additional servants of his own. The hospital stores, too, are quadruple what is necessary; and the fact that regiments carry large slipper-baths of copper and block tin, will at once show our disregard to that species of efficiency which depends on light baggage. The commissariat train surpasses all estimate, and would far exceed the belief of such officers as had never witnessed the operations of an Indian army.

As respects the ordnance, there can be no, question but that our artillery would decide the fate of any action we should now be involved in. But it seems strange that this arm should be increasing in strength and expensiveness precisely as our position seems strengthened; and that, too, whilst our infantry, so indispensably necessary for even the more militia and police routine duties of our provinces, have been reduced below the

actual calls of those subordinate duties. The artillery corps of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay form a force which exceeds (especially the most expensive, the horse-artillery) the whole Royal Artillery of Great Britain at that period of emergency, in 1812, when the whole of Europe was in arms, and Napoleon in his saddle to destroy us. This is that species of household management observable in certain families, where the servants are denied wholesome food; but the liveries are gorgeous and the plate *magniflque*, and the picture-gallery and statues worth a hundred thousand pounds!

The disembarkation of the Bombay division of the army of the Indus would have been a very different affair, had there been the slightest shadow of resistance in front; but, with nothing save the passive opposition of natural obstacles, our course was attended with no serious difficulties.

Between thirty and forty country boats, equal to carrying from fifty to one hundred men each, were ready for the use of the army. The ships whored within two miles of the outer bar, in smooth water; the shore-boats lay alongside, and received a few tons of baggage and their complement of men, and made the voyage from the anchorage to the camp in one or two tides, as the wind proved more or less favorable. Thus every regiment was easily disembarked in two days.

The 23rd regiment, which left Mandavie in Kutch on the 30th November, reached the anchorage on the 3rd December, and next day the botillas crossed the bar at high water; but being the largest class of country boats, of one hundred tons, their progress up the river required two days. Still, even these experienced no inconvenience from want of water, when the usual precautions were used of forbearing to attempt shallows, except at high water.

One large botilla from Bombay, having on board sixteen valuable horses of the horse-artillery, was grounded on the bar from a foolish attempt to cross, by means of a favorable sea-breeze, against ebb-tide. The result was a complete wreck, and the loss of the horses, valued at nearly nine thousand rupees. The crew and people, including some women and children, followers of the men in attendance on the horses, were all saved. This unfortunate occurrence was the only accident of the disembarkation, and was unquestionably owing to mismanagement. Finally, we were favored by Providence with nearly a whole month of unvarying mild weather, during the critical period in which it was so essentially necessary at the anchorage, a perfectly open roadstead.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief left the steamer at nine o'clock A. M. of the 3rd December, in the cutter of the Malcolm, and was rowed up the river to camp. The military staff either accompanied him, or were in the launch of the Tapty. Our whole party from the Tapty had intended to go up at the same time; but we were disappointed in the accommodation boat promised us. Colonel Campbell and Major Keith, therefore,

only could be provided with a passage, and the medical department remained till next day.

On the 4th, the Reverend Mr. Pigott, chaplain, Dr. Don, deputy medical storekeeper, and the writer of this memoir, left the Tapty in a country fishing-boat, of about ten tons' burthen, manned by an old man and two young Sindians. The wind was strong and adverse, with as much swell and commotion of the sea as we had experienced since our arrival. We left the Tapty at nine o'clock, and proceeded to beat to windward to cross the bar. In this operation three tacks were made to starboard and three to larboard, crossing and re-crossing the bar, and actually going about and making the tack on the very bar itself, in less than a fathom water; and yet even under these circumstances, of a fresh breeze and a swell from the sea, we had no perilous surf; and no further motion than simply the rocking and tossing to and fro, sufficient to unsettle the stomach of a landsman. We twice passed close to the masts of the wrecked horse-boat, the white flag at the masthead still waving as gaily in the wind as when she weighed anchor on the voyage thus doomed to be her last.

At half-past twelve o'clock the tide had turned, and our aged helmsman warned us of the necessity of anchoring; but we pressed him to try to make further progress, and the result was that we were obliged to anchor where it was not quite safe, about half a mile south of the second buoy. Here the motion at anchor was excessive; and, as the tide receded, it was soon clear that our anchor dragged, and that we were slowly but certainly drifting upon breakers. Our people were preparing to drop another anchor; but as we were already within reach of the long roll from the bar and breakers, and our position dangerous, we advised them to weigh anchor, and make sail back with the falling tide, so as to move into deeper water. This was easily done; and at half past one o'clock we anchored about a furlong west of the second buoy, in fifteen feet water.

Our anchors are worthy of record. One was an iron grapnel of eight teeth, a very fair article of the kind; but the other two were huge flat stones, about thirty inches long, twenty broad, and three thick, perforated with two holes, one for the cable, and the other for a strong stick to be jammed through to act as an anchor-fluke, and give the flat stone a hold on the bottom. They probably weighed two hundredweight each; and, being both of them dropt with the grapnel, our little skiff rode out the tide and wind in safety.

Our occupation, to pass the dreary hours on a rolling sea and under a burning sun in an open boat, was characteristic of civil life. A volume of Cowper's poems being available, one of the party read for the amusement of the others; and the opposite styles of John Gilpin, and the poem on receiving his mother's picture, with other dips into the "well of English undefiled," were sufficient to make us forget the disagreeables of our situation on the muddy current of the Indus.

Once or twice a singular appearance of the water was observable, apparently as if the antagonist powers of the river-flood and the ocean-tide were alternately prevailing. The superior strength of the river was marked by a sudden rush of the water in a short dancing current, with tumultuous little waves breaking and bubbling like a boiling cauldron, rushing past with a hissing noise; whilst the sea-wave was a long, heavy, massy undulation, rolling inward in a long sweeping body of water, and breaking in foam as it ended with the roar of the breakers like distant thunder.

About two o'clock, a large Bombay botilla, which had anchored near us, sent a small boat to make inquiries from our people respecting the channel, and the place where they were anchored. The tide had already left them with only two feet water to spare; and, as it was falling fast, they had every reason to expect that in an hour more they would ground. Happily the wind had fallen calm, and there was little motion, or the vessel must have struck the ground. The poor people in the botilla were doing all they could, sending out an anchor in their boat, and warping into deeper water; but nothing could have saved them,— they had anchored on the very perilous edge of the bar,—had not the sea-breeze most providentially set in for their rescue at the very crisis of their fate. At half-past four o'clock, just as it was apparent that the poor botilla was grounding, the sea-breeze set in, softly sweet to us who were roasting in the sun, and as a redeeming angel to the crew of the botilla. They instantly spread their immense sail, and in ten minutes advanced a couple of furlongs, and were safe.

We had been in no danger; but the fair wind, and balmy air following, after five hours' exposure to the sultry sun and glare from the water, were abundantly refreshing. In a moment our anchor and stones were lifted up, and our sail spread; and in less than half an hour we lost all sense of the sea-swell, and found ourselves on the placid, lake-like waters of the river. Vast mud-banks extended as far as the eye could reach on each hand, and flocks of sea and river birds were feeding in fellowship upon them; the gigantic flamingo, and the larger and smaller species of gull, with ducks and teal in great numbers.

The contrast between our evening and morning course was like an age of retirement in ease and honor, after a youth of trial, labor, and endurance. As sweet and soft a zephyr as ever shook the blossoms of a twilight grove when love, and joy, and hope were meeting, filled our sail; and the water through which we glided without the sense of motion, was as glassy beneath as a village pond, and scarcely disturbed to a ripple even by our passing through it.

But we had not eaten since breakfast; and as the sun set we betook ourselves to our basket of provender, and had the gratification of a hearty meal to close right comfortably the discomforts of the day. The failing breeze rendered it necessary to anchor. No night-gear could be donned in a small open boat; but we made the best arrangement we could, and wooed repose.

When we were awoke at a quarter past two o'clock after midnight we found our vessel was secured to the bank, and the tents of our encampment appeared in the full moonlight within one hundred yards of us. Nothing could be more delightful than the landing; stepping from the boat to the bank on a dry firm ground, and hearing immediately that our baggage-boats had arrived from Bombay; that our tents were pitched, and all prepared for our reception. Our beds were instantly removed from the boat to the tents, and in less than an hour the boat and the sea-swell were forgotten in sleep; and our first night on shore in the land of Sindh was of the most refreshing repose.

The Hujamry branch of the Indus appeared at our place of encampment about as broad as the Thames at Battersea, and had very much the same appearance on its banks — low, flat, and muddy. Nothing can exceed the tortuousness of its course from the sea, to where it diverges from the main branch, a few miles below Thatta; the bends of the river returning after long reaches to almost the identical spot from whence the last winding commenced. The depth of water both at the entrance and up the river far exceeds the capabilities of the Mhye or Tapty, or even the Nurbudda, for navigation; and the British Government appear to have been gathering husks in India, and overlooking the kernel here, in not having made an earlier demonstration to secure the advantages it must have offered them.

Depots of stores and well-equipped detachments at Karachi, and Sukkur, and Dera Ishmael Khan, will not only place the navigation of the whole river in perfect security, but form an invincible barrier to an invading army from the west: not that the Indus is to be relied on as "a wet ditch, full of water," like the moat of Ghizni; but as a canal for the easy and cheap conveyance of heavy ordnance and ammunition, and other military stores, to the scene of action, where an invading army would find a well-equipped artillery, which no expenditure could enable them, under any circumstances, to meet upon anything like terms of equality. Too great a value cannot possibly be placed on the possession of the harbor of Karachi, whether as a military and naval station, or in a political and commercial view; and everything that our Government can do should be done without delay, to improve and strengthen it. It is the key of Sindh and the Indus, and of the approaches, either military or commercial, to Central Asia. A lighthouse on the headland of Manoora, and a pier on piles at the landing-place, are the first desiderata. The second and third will be the improvement of the Garra Creek, and a canal to reunite it to the Indus, to make Karachi what it was in the days of Alexander, on the western outlet of the Indus.

We may now, at least, hope that the noble canal of this immense river is open for twelve hundred miles, to the rich regions of the Punjab and Kabul, and that the port of Bombay may become the emporium of an important traffic, conveyed along its waters, not inferior eventually to what Calcutta now receives from the Ganges. The opening of the

navigation of the Ganges formed the greatness of Calcutta, and combined with the superior advantages of Bombay to destroy Surat, which then ceased to be the emporium of European trade with the kingdom of the Mogul. The opening of the Indus can only affect the inland trade westward; and even there it admits of most plausible argument that, whilst the regions of Central Asia, by exporting their raw products of wool, and dying drugs, and gums, will be enabled to import a thousand-fold beyond the experience of past ages, the vast influx of wealth will increase, and not diminish, the present trade in furs and other Russian produce exchanged for the shawls of Cashmere.

CHAPTER IV.

Duplicity of the Ameers of Sindh. — Passive resistance. — Detention of the Army from want of camels and boats. — Suicide of a young Officer. — March of the Army. — Julalkote. — Perfection of Military Engineering. — Sumarakote. — Eight deaths from Cholera. — Western branch of the Indus. — Native Irrigation. — Shrine of Peer Putts. — Changed character of our road. — Ruins of an ancient City. — Tatty; its present decayed state. — Encampment there. — Immense cemetery. — A Beloochy smuggler, attempting to escape, is shot by the sentry. — Meditations in the cemetery.

THE Ameers of Sindh, though too conscious of their inability to resist the landing of the army to offer any open hostility, were too far from being gratified with the presence of British troops in the country to omit every species of covert and passive resistance in their power. Thus, boundless promises were made without the slightest intention of fulfilling any part thereof; and their underlings in every department, and every district and village, were made fully aware of their wishes: and these were most fully carried into effect by deceiving and misleading the Quarter-master General's department; by misinforming and thwarting the commissariat; and generally by that process of denying nothing, and yet of supplying nothing, and rendering it necessary for the army at times to carry even grass for the cavalry horses, which, though it offered no handle for complaint, was felt more injuriously than open hostility. A bitter reckoning will, no doubt, follow for this mistaken policy; which, in an idle attempt to trim between fear of opposing and unwillingness to assist, has actually thrown away the shield, and yet made the sword necessary.

Our halt on the bank of the Hujamry was prolonged to December 24, solely from the want of camels and boats, which had been promised to be ready against our arrival. These were not only not ready, but the local authorities at Karachi had prevented the merchants from sending eight hundred camels which they had engaged with the commissariat to supply; and the Ameers of Meerpore had, with less-disguised opposition, actually detained six hundred camels on route from Kutch to join the army.

The unparalleled activity and energies of Captain Outram had been devoted in aid of those who ought to have foreseen and provided against these difficulties. He left the anchorage at the Hujamry, and proceeded to Mandavie; whence he travelled to Bhooj, and labored at the Kutch Durhbar to carry points which should neither have been left to this late hour, nor yet left to his management. Having surpassed all expectation in what he was able to effect, he re-embarked at Mandavie, and sailed to Karachi, where he landed, and travelled across the country, and rejoined us at Thatta. To him chiefly, if not entirely, is to be ascribed the merit that on the 22nd it was reported that a sufficient

number of camels had been assembled: and orders were issued for the army to march in two divisions; the first consisting of half the cavalry and artillery, and second brigade of infantry, on the 24th; the second division, or remainder of the force, under General Wiltshire, on the 26th, with the intention to reach Thatta in four marches.

Four large flat-bottomed boats, estimated to be capable of containing forty each, were appropriated for the conveyance of the sick; but at the moment of embarkation, though a fifth small boat was with some difficulty procured, the sick of the fourth troop of horse-artillery, which corps was not intended to move for some days, were obliged to be left behind. Field-surgeon Pinhey, with two assistant surgeons, and a full complement of hospital establishment, was appointed to the charge of the floating hospital.

A more noisy scene of bustle and confusion was never exhibited than the distribution of the camels. One thousand five hundred were supplied for the commissariat by a Hindoo Sindhi merchant, Nao Mull, long connected with the British Government as native agent of the Government at Karachi: the hire of these was fixed at about eighteen rupees, Bombay currency, per month; with a stipulation that Government should pay fifty rupees for each that should perish by peril of the enemy or catastrophes of war. There were further upwards of six hundred camels sent by the *Raow*, or chief of Kutch, in charge of a Jemidar, and hired on the same terms.

In such an assemblage some, of course, were good for nothing: of eight assigned to myself, three were literally incompetent to any labor; and, instead of each being equal to disposing of four hundredweight, I found it next to impossible to start my baggage, which would not in Guzerat have been too much for six camels. It cost my servants and the poor camels nearly five hours to load and start them.

At half-past nine o'clock they at last commenced my first march in Sindh; and I shall not easily forget the scene of turmoil, and no little vexation, which accompanied this tedious and most noisy process. There is scarcely a more disagreeable sound than that of the camel's outraged feelings with which he groans and grumbles and resents every fresh addition to his load, and every tug and pull upon the ropes that form the rude fastening of his huge burthen: it conveys a distinct idea of reproach and remonstrance, and is uttered in such loud and discordant tones, that a camel-man must have a heart of stone to be able to endure it.

With daybreak of the 24th we had the usual military announcements of a march; and with daylight I rose to leave a ground and a locality which, by no extravagance of love for the natal soil, could in my opinion ever become dear to the most morbid-minded patriot: it was not only dismal and dreary in the extreme,—the horizon, nowhere a mile distant, being fringed with tamarisk bushes, and the air always clouded with dust; but it had fixed painful recollections of its own. During our stay here, a young officer of

great promise, and deservedly very popular in his regiment, had committed suicide without any assignable cause; unless some lurking disease of the brain should be supposed to be the real origin of the mental depression which thus robbed his family of a valued member, and the service of a very promising officer. Two most vexatious occurrences of individual excesses, to such an extent of military irregularity as to cause arrest, and the probabilities of courts-martial, had also happened here; and eight private soldiers had been buried. These were numerous evils to be crowded into so short a space of halt upon one ground; but the bugle sounds a shrill farewell to the scene of painful as well as pleasant recollections, and no army ever moved on with higher spirits or more lively hopes.

Within two miles of our camp the Engineer Corps had thrown a mound as a bridge across one of the canals of the Indus; this was passed without any difficulty. Our road lay over ground which is evidently under the level of the inundation: but it was strange to see how small a portion appeared cultivated; the surface was nowhere sand or gravel, but everywhere a rich mould, the deposits of the river. Its only produce was a luxuriant brushwood of low tamarisks. Two most miserable assemblages of the rudest huts were passed, and they bore the names of villages; but poverty and disease appeared the presiding demons of this region of wretchedness.

After a march of ten miles we reached our ground, at a paltry group of hovels containing a population of probably two hundred souls, and dignified with the name of Julalkote. To reach it we crossed another of the canals of the Indus, about thirty yards wide, on a pontoon bridge, which had been prepared by the Engineer Corps. It was firmly fixed; and our regiments of cavalry and infantry, and heavy guns and tumbrels, each dragged by six horses, passed unimpeded. The skill and science and energy shown in such constructions prepare a deeply interesting lesson for the world to learn ere it gets another thousand years older, and ere it approaches the millennium; viz. that if a tithe of the labor, the thought, and the expense that are incurred by man for the destruction of his fellow-man, were devoted to the advancement of his best interests and the promotion of his happiness, the plant would not require to be ripened by blood, nor would its fruit be sorrow; but we sow the wind and must reap the whirlwind: a better age may come, and may bring a better temper with a better generation.

I had been so fortunate in the morning as to procure more camels, and my baggage had been brought forward without further loss or injury than the destruction of a chair: a trifling accident in the grand account of military contingencies; but, in a race that has discarded the primitive simplicity of squatting on the ground, the destruction of the last chair would be felt by each as a very serious privation. I was happily well supplied, and could consider it as no heavier grievance than a too early commencement of parting with superfluities.

The pleasures which in merry England return once a year with Christmas were denied to us: the 25th of December came as would have been received the 25th of any other month. We marched at daylight, and reached Sumarakote, a distance of about ten miles, under four hours. No impediments occurred on the road,—a broad alluvial plain sprinkled with tamarisk bushes, with occasionally an acacia-tree, on some rising ground or bank beyond the reach of the inundation. At a small group of huts, which on this road may figure as a village, were first seen our Indian familiar trees, the *peopul*, the *behr*, and some stunted *neems*. The approach to Sumarakote gave however, at last, the appearance of an inhabited country: the village was on a gently rising ground, and the white cupola of a small mosque was seen peering over a fine grove of lofty acacia-trees, their trunks not less than thirty inches in diameter, and their verdant foliage and yellow blossoms contrasting with the dingy dusty hue of the tamarisk of the lower grounds. This was the first sight on which any eye could have rested with pleasure since our landing in Sindh.

But, alas Christmas-day was not only to be denied its ordinary enjoyments, but anxiety and alarm were to be endured also. A report of cholera in the 19th regiment of Native Infantry was made on the arrival of the corps in camp. Two men had been attacked in the night, and both had died. During the day five cases more occurred, and two more died before next morning. These are fearful and inexplicable visitations. Of twelve cases, which was providentially the extent of the present evil, between the 25th and 29th, no less than eight died.

The poor victims had not eaten together, nor been on duty together, nor slept in the same tents. Three were recruits, and had not been on night-duty at all. Thus no rational explanation could be afforded to solve the startling selection of twelve healthy men from a regiment of seven hundred to be stricken and slain, and to pass in a few hours from the guard-tent to the grave Some alarm, of course, prevailed; no conjecture could foresee the limit of the disease that had commenced; and thus an anxious day and night followed. Additional hospital servants were supplied from other regiments, and all that circumstances would permit was done for the relief of the sufferers.

Our third march was over a dry sterile tract; and it was necessary to travel upwards of seventeen miles to find a suitable halting-ground with sufficient water for the cavalry. The appearance of the country was, however, now improving: trees were to be seen; and in one place a small wood, with wintry branches bare of leaves, gave an European aspect to the landscape.

Colonel Pottinger, in whose company I rode this march, gave some interesting information on the changes of the bed of the river since his first visit to Sindh, in 1809. The Western or Bugaar branch of the Indus was then the chief outlet of the waters of the Punjab and Attock, and was upwards of twenty miles wide at its mouth. It is now nearly blocked up, and seems filling entirely. Where we forded the river, a bank of

about one hundred yards wide, of dried flaky mud, seemed the last year's addition, and was undergoing the process by which a mud-bank, once deposited, seems to be almost immediately secured from being carried away by the next inundation. It was literally of one uniform bright grass-green, like a corn-field; and the rising crop was a thick forest of tamarisks, two or three inches high, and springing up as closely as if the seed had been most carefully sown on the soft mud. This abundant crop will, ere the next season, offer a rough surface to retain fresh deposits of silt, and will furnish roots to bind the present. Thus this bank is irretrievably lost to the river.

An embankment of brushwood, fascines, and mud had been thrown across the river to dam it up for irrigation. Below it there was no water; and above it only about thirty inches' depth, and a breadth of about fifty yards. On each side of this were dug canals to convey the water to reservoirs, where simple wheels turned by camels were at work, watering large fields of sugar-cane. This was the first time I had ever seen camels so employed. They seemed docile beasts, and were performing their labors, plodding round and round, in some cases actually unattended; or four or five wheels, having two camels to each, appeared to be super-intended by one driver.

The Mahomedan shrine and tomb of Peer Putta—the younger, lower, or inferior peer, or saint—formed an interesting object, at apparently five miles' distance to the eastward. It is the resort of all classes of the inhabitants of Sindh; and divides, with the shrines of Lal Shah Baz at Sehwan, and of Khaju Khizr at Sukkur, the devotion and alms of the faithful. The buildings formed a very conspicuous object; but were described as not worth the trouble of a visit, and neither remarkable for their extent, their taste, nor their antiquity. When our embassy was in Sindh in 1809, this shrine was visited by the party who sailed thither down the Bagaar branch of the river.

Our encampment was on the bank of the Indus, opposite to the village of Kurreempore, and a little below Golam Shah. We were probably in the boundaries of the latter; but were more contiguous to the former, and received our supplies from it. We arrived here on the 26th, and halted to rest the troops on the 27th; during which day a steady, unvarying, strong north-east wind swept the ground, and raised as dense a cloud of dust as can have ever enveloped a camp since the army of Cambyses was buried in one on the Egyptian Desert. The discomforts of such a day in a tent can be but faintly imagined by anyone who has not endured them.

We had no sooner left the banks of the river on our fourth march than we entered upon a scene of the most opposite character to that which we had as yet travelled over. The road became thickly strewn with stones, and the ground broken into abrupt hillocks covered with ragged cactus bushes; finally attaining higher grounds, about one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet above the level of the plain, and, as described by a geologist of the party, composed of coral banks, showing that their original formation had been under the main ocean. These stony grounds distinctly marked the ancient

banks of the river, and ran in parallel lines from north to south; and, wherever a higher summit gave an extended view, they could be seen, like the headlands on the side of an arm of the sea, forming bays of a mile or two miles across, and each promontory jutting into the level plain with a bold projecting point, still indicating on its weather-beaten, yellow, ochry base, the traces of the floods that probably within the last ten centuries have rolled past them. We had seen at a great distance some similar undulations to the eastward of our course on the third march; and it seems not improbable that the river may have filled the intervening space, and been from ten to fifteen miles wide at this place, even when the Emperors Shah Jehan and Aurungzeb bestowed their attention upon Thatta, and built its citadel, and Jumna Muzjid.

As we advanced, a very extensive ruin was seen in front; which, upon our reaching it, we found to be the relic of an ancient fortified city. The crumbling walls were fallen in rude heaps, and the towers and bastions were shapeless mounds. The ruins were chiefly of that species of large fiat brick, eighteen inches square, and three inches thick, which is brought from Babylon.

The whole ruin covered a headland, which had all the appearance of having been a promontory projecting into a great bay of the Indus. A wide plain, under the level of the inundation, extended on each side of the coral bank, which rose almost perpendicularly from it, to the height of about one hundred feet.

The extent of the ruins was about fifteen hundred yards in length from north to south breadth at the south end, from west face to first inner wall, two hundred and twelve yards; thence, to what seems the citadel wall, three hundred and thirty; depth of citadel, seventy; general area, a parallelogram of about one thousand five hundred yards by five hundred and forty, exclusive of the citadel, which projects from the east face at the southern end, and is one hundred and twenty yards by seventy. Such an area, allowing one hundred square yards for each house, would be equal to a population of forty thousand inhabitants. The eastern and western faces of the fortifications are nearly entire, and follow the irregularities of the bank, with round towers and curtains rising from the edge of the precipice, which is a steep and difficult rocky scarp: three sides must thus have been washed by the river, and the southern, or land side, being most exposed, was doubly fortified, there being a second wall at about one hundred yards distant from the first, as if the southern end of the work had been a second citadel for the protection of the city. The northern end was by far more perfect than the rest: four lofty towers, about thirty feet high, and fifty feet in diameter, united by curtains of substantial masonry, showed a front of about one hundred and fifty yards, which a very little outlay might restore to its original strength; but the river now rolls some ten miles distant, and this shapeless ruin can never more be considered a site of the least importance.

Doctor Kirk, who had served in the Indian navy on the Red Sea duties, assured me that the rocks below the ruins at the south-east angle, and in what may be termed the bottom of the ancient bay, are precisely similar to the coral rocks of the African coast. Their peculiarity of appearance may be imagined from my first thinking that some stalactite fragments, standing erect near a Mahomedan tomb in the hollow of the rock, had been whitewashed.

Our road lay under the south-west angle of the ruins, descending the steep bank to the level plain below. A lofty round tower still lifts its stately head, and massive ruins, over the pass it had been built to command. No ivy or any herbage covered it. In this, country of scanty rain, the extent of the inundation marks, as in Egypt, the extent of vegetation; and thus these shapeless piles and mounds of bricks and mud remain unaltered, in slow decay, and have neither shrub nor grass to relieve the dingy hue of their moldering ruins.

The first view of Thatta is very imposing; the buildings occupy a rising ground or swell, which may probably be formed of the debris of the ancient city. Scattered trees, acacia and *neem*, with abundant underwood of tamarisk, gave a lively green; and the architectural character of the houses, with flat roofs, overtopping the trees on the rising ground in successive stages, formed altogether as fine a picture of city scenery as I remember to have seen in India; excepting, indeed, the first view of Broach from under a banyan-tree on the Ocliseer side, which in my opinion is un-equaled anywhere. But Thatta, like Broach, has now no further interest, except in its history, extending into the age of fable. A scanty population — under two thousand souls — is scattered about its ruins, in mud-built hovels: what were once the palaces of the Mogul nobility are now desolate and unoccupied; and the river, which once flowed under its walls, now rolls at four miles' distance to the eastward. A more perfect picture of decay cannot well be imagined; whilst even the mud built hovels, whose plaster had been renewed since the last season, appeared, from the grey earthy color of their walls, and the absence of any appearance of roof,— they being all flat terraces,—to be only continuations of the older ruins.

The river, now four miles distant, is said to be upwards of one thousand five hundred yards wide, and certainly seems wider than the Nurbudda at Broach. It is a bold and majestic stream; and, though bounded only by mere mud-banks, sometimes rising twenty feet above the water, with no distant mountains to lend grandeur to the scene, yet the associations and old histories connected with this ancient river suffice to rivet one's attention, and carry the mind through the chances and changes of three thousand years, which have not operated more mightily here on the puny generations of man than they have on the face of Nature herself, overturning and defacing those landmarks and boundaries which in all other countries seem coeval with the globe, and destined to endure with its duration.

Our camp was formed on the east side of the city, and between it and the undulating swell; which, rising abruptly some fifty feet above the plain which lies under the level of the inundation, slopes very gradually westward. From the city to the base of this precipice is about a mile; and the intervening ground must, in the prosperity of Thatta, have been rich gardens. Three extensive tanks, which are annually filled by the overflow of the Indus, lie at the base of the banks, and supplied us with water. We had ample room for our whole camp, and double the force might have been accommodated.

The ridge of the banks, where it is opposite to the city, is crowned with a very long *Eedga* wall, with its Imaum's steps in the centre, and having small minarets at its extremities; and from this an area of about four square miles extends southward and westward, level enough for the purposes of a military cantonment. On this ground it was decided that the British force to be stationed in Sindh should be cantoned; the lines for one European and two native regiments, and a company of artillery, were measured and fixed on.

My professional opinion was never asked; but I did not fail to enter my earnest and unqualified protest against any location of troops on this ground: this protest was disregarded, and the most disastrous results followed; but of this hereafter.

From the *Eedga,* these hills, extending north and south to a distance exceeding three miles in each direction, are covered with a countless multitude of tombs: some have a recent appearance, and their vicinity is swept and cleared; but the vast majority are in ruin. Some are fine buildings of richly-carved stone; and one in a good style of architecture, only inferior to the best of the ruined tombs near Ahmedabad: the date was very recent, not two hundred years ago; but the walls were cracked and rent in a manner that could only have been done by an earthquake. The style of decoration was quite new, the cupola being lined with thick bricks glazed and varnished with white or richly colored porcelain, so as to resemble China tiles, and painted in patterns of flowers and arabesques, some of which were infinitely creditable to the taste and skill of the artist. One tomb was entirely built of these bricks, the outer surface only of each being colored and glazed; the effect was gaudy, and that tinsel tawdriness which results from injudicious over-ornament.

Nothing that I have ever seen has at all equaled the perfection of the art of brick making which is shown in the bricks to be found in these ruins: the most beautifully chiseled stone could not surpass the sharpness of edge and angle, and accuracy of form; whilst the substance was so perfectly homogeneous and skillfully burnt, that each brick had a metallic ring, and fractured with a clean surface like breaking free-atone. I will not question the possibility of manufacturing such bricks in England; but I much doubt whether such perfect work has ever been attempted.

Only one unfortunate occurrence disturbed the quiet of our halt at Thatta, save the trouble and turmoil of the quest for camels and baggage-ponies. The former was the death of a Beloochy dependent of some officer of the Sindh Government, who was detected supplying liquor to our European soldiers, made prisoner, and brought to camp. On his arrival there, he was ordered to be taken to Colonel Pottinger the civil authority, who examined the witnesses, and, being satisfied of the prisoner's guilt, ordered him to be confined until further proceedings could conveniently be instituted against him. On leaving Colonel Pottinger's tent, the prisoner suddenly drew his sword, which through some strange oversight or mistaken courtesy he had been permitted to retain, and endeavored to escape, cutting at the corporal and three men of his guard. The occurrence took place close to the Commander-in-Chief's tent; and the prisoner, having broken from his guard, ran towards the rear between the tents of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald and Sir John Keane. The clatter of weapons—the prisoner cutting, and the guard parrying with their muskets,—being heard, they ran out, and were actually spectators of the skirmish of a few seconds, which was at once ended by the native sentry in the rear of Sir John Keane's tent shooting the prisoner through the body as he passed him. My tent was not a hundred yards distant, and I was on the spot in a few minutes: the wounded wretch was removed to the nearest hospital; but the wound was mortal, and he died within an hour.

The occurrence occasioned what seemed to us much unnecessary anxiety to Colonel Pottinger, who offered a sum of money to the family of the deceased; which report said they refused, and I believe it to be true that they did so.

There is nothing in living Thatta that can recall a single idea of its ancient wealth, population, and importance, but its cities of the dead: the cemetery of six square miles may not contain less than a million of tombs! a rude guess, but the area would admit of four millions, and little space seems lost; whilst irregular lines of tombs and detached groups of them are seen in every direction as far as the eye can reach from the summit of the loftiest of the number.

The style of the architecture is everywhere modern and Mahomedan; but in advancing northward, nearly three miles entirely through ruins, a headland promontory jutting into the plain is reached, and at its apex are found two or three venerable relics, small cupolas about fifteen feet in diameter, which betray the Hindoo origin of the art. They appear to be of extreme antiquity, but are not, like the buildings at Dholka, of Hindoo creation, defaced of their Hindoo symbols and turned to Mahomedan purposes; nor yet are they like some of the Ahmedabad buildings, where faint traces of Hindoo symbols have crept into and been mixed up with the Mahomedan arabesques: these are free from anything that could, at first sight, have offended the most rigid of the Caliphs; the architectural style is unquestionable, and they appear to be the most ancient of the ruins, coeval apparently with the establishment of Mahomedan supremacy in Sindh.

The meditations among such myriads of tombs are painful and oppressive: we hear and read of dust returning to dust, and are so accustomed to the truth and its occurrence, that we are callous till the bolt strikes home; but the Mahomedan fidelity to the buried bones, which admits no opening of' an ancient grave for a new interment, so completely covers the face of a country near ancient cities with relics of the long-forgotten dead, that the mind seems overwhelmed, and, as it were, subdued in the contemplation of all the pangs that have been felt, and the tears that have been shed, and all "the piteous tales of domestic grief those tears watered," as if some heavy catastrophe of pestilence had recently swept off a nation at once under our eyes, or as if the spectator stood, like the last man, the sole survivor of his race.

CHAPTER V.

Causes of the rise and fall of celebrated Cities. — Ancient Thatta. — Traditionary account of its population and importance. — The Indus once navigable to a much higher extent than at present. — Remains of an ancient European vessel in a field near Vikkur. — Valley of the Indus. — Prodigious quantity of silt brought down by the waters of the river. — Geological formations. — Voyage of Alexander the Great down the Eastern branch of the Indus. — Comparison of the ancient statements with the present appearance of the localities. — Confirmatory local traditions. — Beautiful mosaic work. — Probable site of the ancient Patala.

THE rise or fall of cities is generally but a series of accidents: wisdom or power has seldom created them by the mere will of the founder; and immediate human agency, however powerful for mischief, seems to require the rebound of some power of Nature, or material change of circumstances, ere it can entirely destroy.

Nineveh and Babylon, with Tyre and Sidon, whose merchants were princes, appear to have been links in the same chain, and to have grown through the same causes, — the monopoly of the communication between the Eastern and Western worlds in the ages antecedent to history; when man was very probably much less a savage than we moderns are contented to consider hind and when caravan travelling by land, and voyaging by sea, were far more extensive and enterprising than seems to be allowed by those who admit no history but that which commences with Herodotus.

Those cities in succession, particularly the Levantine ports, seem to have sunk as much under the entire change of the Oriental trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, as under the resentment of Alexander. I say entire, because the reference by Homer to the grandeur and population of Thebes in Egypt shows that the Red Sea had always shared some portion of it; though even that would seem to have sought the Levantine ports as much through Edom as through Egypt, and that the building of Alexandria and the troubles in Mesopotamia and Syria decided the future channel.

Venice and Genoa have fallen under the changes occasioned by the new route round the Cape of Storms; but the steam-engine is at work, and the schoolmaster abroad, and it becomes a query whether a rail-road across the Desert may not undo the discovery of De Game, and once more enrich Egypt with the transit duties of this now unparalleled chain of intercourse.

But, passing this subject as foreign to our purpose, I shall return to the ruins of Thatta, whence I set out. It seems difficult to reconcile the ancient notices respecting this fallen emporium with its present aspect: we are told that its population amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand; that its trade extended to China and Africa and Arabia, the

Indus being navigable to the largest trading vessels then known; and that its wealth surpassed the riches of an Indian port.

As respects the population, we may readily admit exaggeration; since our own personal observation enables us to speak of the similar notices respecting the population of Surat, described as having exceeded half a million at a period when we have satisfactory grounds for knowing that something short of two hundred thousand must have been the very extreme limit it could ever have attained: but, supposing that one hundred thousand living souls ever walked the now desolate fields, and covered the shapeless sand-bills round modern Thatta with their habitations; how appalling has been the sweep of the besom of destruction, which has erased the very traces of their existence as completely as the wind that was blowing, and a drove of camels that followed me as I left the gate, obliterated forever the faint marks of my footsteps in that dust which may once have been living man or beast in the streets of Thatta, and was now returned to the earth from whence it was originally taken!

Even so late as the period of Portuguese supremacy, which may be considered as the first half of the seventeenth century, we hear of the safe navigation of the Indus, admitting of their attacking Thatta with a fleet of square-rigged vessels, some mounting forty guns. The wreck very probably of one of this very fleet is now to be seen in the middle of a field near Vikkur: it is an ancient galliot of European build, of about four hundred tons and pierced for thirty guns, and could not now enter any one of the hundred shallow outlets of the Indus.

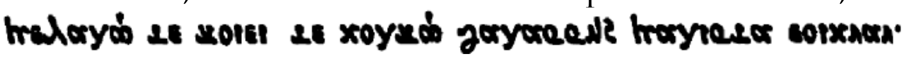
There is not, perhaps, in the world a more singular field for the study of what may be called river hydraulics than the valley of the Indus. First, there is the mighty mass of waters gathered in the Punjab, and draining from the perennial snows of the Himalaya, rolling its congregated floods in a course of one thousand five hundred miles. Secondly, there is the southerly wind of the Indian monsoon for six months, meeting the current at its outlet, and throwing up a greater force of tide to roll its mud-banks inwards and check the expulsion of its deposits into main ocean. Thirdly, this seems a land of earthquakes, which even in our day (1819) have overthrown the walls and towers of "ancient cities fenced up to heaven," and very materially changed one channel of the river. These are mighty operating causes; and geological knowledge, assisted by a careful survey of all that can be gleaned from history of past events, and all that can be learned by patient examination of present sites and appearances, would have an abundant exercise for philosophical ingenuity.

No river that we know of unless, probably, the South American Giant of Streams, brings such a flood from such a lofty chain of mountains over such a length of course to the sea, or bears such an impalpable mass of the debris of those mountains suspended in its waters. The careful experiment of Mr. Lord showed that by estimating speed of current, and breadth and depth of river-bed, to obtain the quantity of water discharged, and

then weighing the impure water to compare the same with equal quantities of purified water, the result showed that, if any chemical process could arrest the progress of the silt thus borne downwards in any given place, it would form an island as large as the Isle of Wight in some very short period, the precise space of which I have forgotten; suffice it to say, that a muddier water I never saw drawn for draught.

The rocky ridge, which at varying distances runs parallel with the river, seems beyond question to have been the ancient bank when the level plain below was an inland sea; and the geological formation must have been exceedingly recent, from the limestone rock containing oyster, and cockle, and other salt-water shells, only half-fossilized. The most extraordinary specimen of this sort of rock that I ever saw was a stone-anchor of the botilla on which I sailed from Karachi on my return to Bombay this year: it was cut from a hill four miles inland from Mandavie in Kutch, and consisted of a mere mass of half-fossilized oyster, cockle, and muscle shells, held together by an ochry yellow limestone. It was about four feet long, and probably a foot square at the ends; a more curious specimen of fossil rock could not be seen. The study of the hill whence it was dug would be a rich treat to a thorough geologist. This still unchanged state of the shells suffices to indicate some terrific changes having occurred at no very remote period; and when we compare it with the wreck above-mentioned, now grounded many miles from any present course of the river, and the sands of Sindh heaping over it, upwards of thirty miles further inland than any vessel of one-fourth its proportions could now reach, we are lost in wonder to conjecture what may have been the appearance of the valley, where the Delta of the Indus commenced, or how wide it extended, in the age of Alexander.

My long residence in India, and the wandering life that I have been compelled to lead, have denied my being classical. Thus, the only Alexander I can venture to know much of is my excellent friend, Sir Alexander Burnes; and I should fully discharge my duty of noting, and publishing my notes, if I merely contented myself with the history of his great services to Government. But some local knowledge enables me to offer a passing conjecture in elucidation of ancient geography; and, right or wrong, I may unpretendingly offer it to the consideration of the learned.

The voyage of discovery by Alexander down the eastern branch of the Indus is said, first, to have brought him to an immense lake, which received its supplies from other waters in the adjacent districts, and was vaster than the expansion of a river, and more like a sea-bay,—  . This lake, or inland sea, abounded in salt-water fishes larger than those found in the Mediterranean. Secondly, at the head of this lake he landed his troops, and proceeded with his galleys to take a view of the ocean. Thirdly, having gone as far as he considered safe, practicable, or necessary, he landed, and prosecuted the survey by a three days' journey along the coast, ordering wells to be dug, either for present use, or expected

future contingencies; though the former may be supposed to have been the urgent necessity.

The ancient geographers have laid down the outlets of the Indus with more real accuracy than their commentators are disposed to allow; and, however much at variance different authorities may appear to be, it seems in our power to reconcile some of their discordances'. On this point I would refer the reader to the French essay of Gosselin, which, being subsequent to Vincent's, has the advantage of his researches, and might correct some of his oversights. From him we learn that Onesicritus, as quoted by Strabo, lib. xv, makes Patalene a triangle of two thousand stadia. That Nearchus, as quoted by Strabo in the same passage, calculates the sea-face of the triangle at one thousand eight hundred stadia; and Arrian, probably copying Nearchus, assigns it the same extent. That Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 28, estimates the sea-board at two hundred and twenty Roman miles, or one thousand seven hundred and sixty Greek stadia. That Ptolemy assigns to the shore one hundred and ninety-six minutes of longitude in the twenty-fourth degree of north latitude, which at five hundred stadia to a degree, would give one thousand six hundred and thirty-three stadia. Finally Aristobulus, quoted by Strabo, lib. xv, reduces it to one thousand stadia: but in a note M. Gosselin supposes this to be an error of the copyist; for that Aristobulus, having accompanied Alexander, was not likely to have differed from Arrian and Nearchus.

When their deficiency of instruments for survey is considered, one is at a loss to imagine how the approach to accuracy should have been so great; for, supposing the western mouth of the Indus at Karachi or Korookela, and the eastern at Looni Bary, the modern names still identifying the ancient sites, we have precisely the fair average of the ancient estimates, or about one hundred and sixty miles; which would give the perpendicular of the triangle at about one hundred and thirty miles, and assign its apex north of Hyderabad, or eighty miles above Thatta, at the lowest estimate.

But I am strongly impressed with the belief that Alexander's voyage of survey down the eastern channel carried him further than we have been as yet prepared to admit. The no-flees, hitherto treated as chimerical, that he visited Barugaza, are by no means so wild as has been imagined. We have the authority of the Periplus that the dominion of Sindh extended in that age to Barugaza, that is, across Kattiwar, and included the peninsula. Nine months were occupied by Alexander in his course down the Indus, and he had full time for all the observations he chose to make; and it was only the discontent of his army, and no lack of anxiety to advance on his part, that occasioned his return to Babylon. It does not, consequently, appear improbable that he who sent Megasthenes to Palibothra, should go himself, or send some of his officers, to the limit of the territory of the subjugated Princes of Sindh who had submitted to his dominion; and the distance is not so great but that the journey might have been made with ease in less than twenty days.

The vast lake, or inland sea, through which he sailed, must have been the Run, which the local tradition-indicates to have been a navigable sea within the last five hundred years, and to have borne the name of the Kilna Deriow. On this head the reader will find much curious information in Sir Alexander Burnes's treatise on the Indus, to which I refer him.

The Run is now a shallow expanse of briny water, extending to at least ten thousand square miles, but seldom more than three feet deep. There need, I think, be no doubt but that it was affected by the inundation of the Indus, which most probably communicates through 'some of the ancient canals for irrigation; or, if not, may percolate through the light sandy soil of those ancient channels, which may appear to be filled up, but still have a subterraneous stratum pervious to water. The rise of the water of the Run in May cannot be explained in any other manner than by admitting a communication with the Indus: since the Bunass and Loonee, the two chief rivers that fall into the Run, have not their sources in any snowy region; and the casual floods in those rivers, dependent on the occasional rains of Marwar, never occur before the middle of July, and seldom till August; nor are they of sufficient importance at any time to affect so vast a surface, their drainage to the sea through the outlet at Wandia being amply wide enough to carry off any temporary rain-flood that ever occurred in those rivers.

The voyage of Alexander must have been made in July, at the period when the inundation of the Indus and the waters of the Run are highest, since Nearchus left Karachi for the Persian Gulf in October.

The digging of wells along the coast indicates that Alexander was on the banks of the Run,—nowhere else could this have been necessary; nor could he have travelled with a party of horse across the marshy shore of the Delta along the sea-east; and along the coast of Kutch he would not have required to dig wells, supposing him to have reached Mallia with his boats. His three days' journey along the coast of Kattiwar might have led him to Dwarka, where he would find he had attained the extreme headland towards the main ocean, and a spot well known in the navigation of the Indian seas; thereby giving a distance to be travelled, and an object to be gained, which justify the undertaking, and the conclusion of the journey.

Under these several views of the case I should look for the site of Patala at Sehwan, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter. The Delta commencing about one hundred and thirty miles above the sea, its northern apex would be somewhere midway between Hyderabad and Sehwan; where local traditions still speak of ancient cities destroyed, and of greater changes having occurred than in any other part of the course of the Indus, and where the indications appear unquestionable that such traditions are not without foundation.

The mythological legend of Kutch, that a Hindoo devotee, the founder of a religious fraternity still existing on the site where he established it, was able to destroy the inland sea, or Mina. Deriow, by his superhuman power acquired by a series of ascetic devotions, can be referred only, when considered historically, to some earthquake convulsion which heaved up the bottom of this vast lake, and filled up its harbors, the names of which are faithfully recorded; and circumstantial evidences confirmatory of the occurrence may be found in the localities and names, and the relics of sea-going ships found on the coast of the Run; also in the partial fall of Mandavie from the importance it held in the twelfth century as the wealthiest port of this region, and the rise of Thatta, whose modem importance dates about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The oldest of the tombs bearing inscriptions have a date under two centuries; whilst its principal and only good mosque, commenced by the father of Aurungzebe, was finished by that monarch in the first years of the eighteenth century. The manufactures of Thatta are languidly carried on by the few survivors of its population: the loongies, or waist-cloths, of a mixture of silk and cotton, probably the zone of the list of imports in the Periplus, still continue the admiration of the wealthy Asiatics. One relic of the ancient taste and mechanical skill of Thatta exists in the mosaic inlaid work of what are called the Bombay boxes. The original workmen were driven by the reckless despotism of the Talpoore family and their Beloochy retainers to emigrate from Sindh, and found shelter and employment in Bombay. Their skill soon obtained them a market; and from the increase of their families, and probably the spread of their art, and the adoption of their trade by others, it is now of some importance, and the first that attracts the notice of strangers. The mosaic, which appears in colored glazed brick and tiles ornamenting and lining the fallen tombs and mosques of Thatta, has thus become, in a more finished form in ivory and sandal-wood, the drawing-room *bijouterie* of the fair-haired daughters of the West.

The ruins of Bambara, on the spot assigned, mark the site of Barbarike; and the Rajpoot family legends point out in Sri Meenuggur—their name for Thatta, now invariably termed Nuggur Thatta,—the remains of the Minigara of antiquity; the names of both agree, whilst the local histories refer to their ancient importance in terms that seem to decide the question. Korookela is Karachi, near the outlet of the western branch; and Looni Bary, a port on the estuary of the Looni, or eastern branch, receiving the Looni river through the Run: but we have no sure guide to Patala, further than its certainly being in Lower Sindh, and higher than one hundred and thirty miles from the sea. Every native assured me that Sehwan was the most ancient city in Lower Sindh; that at different eras it had borne seven names, the last having been Bagdad, ere changed for Sehwan. Its site on a spur of the Lukki mountains has preserved it from the encroachments of ,the river; and the Arul canal, an artificial channel which runs a semicircular course of one hundred miles, embracing and insulating the district between Larkhanu and Sehwan, sufficiently marks the power and patriotism of its

former rulers. Putala, the lower region, indicates Lower Sindh in its Sanscrit derivation; and the modern division of Upper and Lower Sindh appears to be at Sehwan; the Indus above being called Sira or Northern, and below it Lar or Southern. The important city of Larkhanu would appear from its name to have been formerly on the Lar, and very probably the very spot where the ancient boundary existed; at all events, even in the modern statistics Sehwan still lies in the lower portion, and in the region described by the Greek geography as the country of the Patalans. The island of Patalene, formed by the Delta, is sufficiently definitive; whilst Patala itself is with equal dearness said to be above the bifurcation of the river.

But, I repeat again, these are mere conjectures; and we must wait for some fortunate accident to shed light on the local histories ere we can hope for any satisfactory elucidation of the Greek narrative.

CHAPTER VI.

Army again in motion.—Peer Radan. — Character of the country. — Baden. — Flourishing villages destroyed, to make room for Hunting-grounds.—Contemptible method of hunting.—First alarm of war.—Failure of Capt. Outram's mission.—Motives of Historians.—False alarms. —Precautions.—Pleasant and commanding position of Jerruk.—Propriety of making it a Military Station.—Advance countermanded.—More false alarms.—Great error of the Campaign.—Hunting-forest on fire.—Three officers of the Queen's Royals perish in the conflagration.—Inquest on their bodies.—Cairn raised over them by the soldiers.

ON the 23rd of January the army was again in motion, and travelled a short stage of eleven miles to Peer Radan, a village named from the tomb of a Mahomedan saint. Three tanks, of sufficient magnitude to deserve the name of lakes, supplied annually from the inundation, are abundantly sufficient for all the calls that are made on them for irrigating an extensive tract of the neighboring fields, and to bear the evaporation of a sun that in January raises the thermometer to 100° of Fahrenheit.

The stony ridge was here much more lofty and extensive than at Thatta, and approached the character of a hilly district rather than the mere stony wall of the ancient banks of the river. A long walk of two miles across it brought us to a hard dry plain without a shrub, and to the ascent of a second step of this higher land, more elevated than the first. The soil of this plain, being debris of the yellow limestone of which the ridges are formed, is of quite a different character from that of the deposits of the Indus; whilst the absence of tamarisk sufficed to show to the first cursory view that the Indus floods never attained thither. Nor in fact could they, the mean height of this plain being probably nearly one hundred feet above the highest present flow of the inundation. Fine acacia woods surrounded the lakes; and the view from the higher ground, looking down to the plain of the Indus, was pleasing and interesting.

On the 24th we marched to Sedan, a stage of twelve miles. Our whole route lay along the edges of the ridged grounds, sometimes descending into the Indus' valley plain, which was here a thick wood extending to the river, and again re-ascending the ridge. The forest we passed through was one of the many which are the fearful curse inflicted by despotism on this unhappy country, whose finest tracts of land within the influence of irrigation from the river are waste, and devoted, as dense forests, to be preserves for game, termed in the country *Shikargah* (game-places), for the pastime of the chiefs.

The mighty hunter, whose game was man, built cities! The savage Nimrods of this wretched country have destroyed flourishing villages, like the first Norman in

Bolderwood, to create their new forests. Some ruins were pointed out to us, indicating the site of a once populous village which had been destroyed, and its inhabitants exiled to a distant district, by one of their princes, because "the crowing of the village cocks, and other rural sounds of its Inman and animal population, disturbed the game in his brother's *shikargah*." The Norman could not have done more; and it is but retributive justice which we read-of in history that his heir died a violent death on the scene of some similar enormity.

The human mind cannot contemplate a more bitterly speaking exposition of what the flinty heart of despotism becomes when indulged in the abuse of power, the *caput mortuum* distilled down step by step, from its first outbreaks in the insolence of place, and the intoxication of success, till it ends in the destruction of villages, and the expulsion of a population, for the creation of hunting-grounds. A Nero is a *luaus nature*; but the wild wantonness of despotism is the heart's desperate wickedness when unchecked, obeying every impulse of its native hardness.

The mode of hunting pursued by those valorous Nimrods, so cruel to their dependents, so helpless before their enemies, is characteristic of the men and their position.

The *shikargahs* are fenced round with strong hedges, and in some places walled; and the wild animals thus stockaded-in are supplied with water by a drain from the river. When a grand hunt is ordered, the supply of water is cut off for a few days, and restored only when the hunting party, in elevated and safe positions commanding the watercourse, are prepared to destroy the poor beasts that rush to slake their thirst; and to this contemptible butcher-work is the term hunting applied in Sindh.

This evening a new aspect was given to our political position; the alarm of war was sounded. Captain Outram had been detached from Thatta to convey the Governor-general's ultimatum to the Ameers of Sindh, and had now reported their refusal to accede thereto; consequently nothing remained but to enforce submission.

My notes are not a systematized narration of the political and military events of the campaign; nor had I that view behind the curtain of our bureaucracy which is requisite to conceal or betray motives or actions. Under these circumstances, it may seem idle for me to indulge in speculation,—to say such was the report of the why and wherefore, and such appeared to the majority the result. But what is history? When a Caesar writes his commentaries, and becomes the historian of his own times and actions, the personal bias is considered sufficiently strong to disparage the value of the personal knowledge; and this coloring medium, even if it does not distort, is admitted by the most charitably disposed to be at the best a certain, though a venial misrepresentation. Thus a humble actor in the scene like myself, sharing only the national feeling, and having no personal interest to distort or misrepresent, may prove, on the whole, if a faithful recorder of all that he has heard and seen, as accurate an historian as one who, though having more

authentic sources of information than the daily discussion at the staff mess-table, may yet have also his reasons for wishing to keep that information to himself and to have a different version imposed upon posterity.

It was never explained why Colonel Pottinger did not deliver Lord Auckland's message himself, instead of employing Captain Outram. The just estimation in which the latter distinguished officer was held insured the proper discharge of any duty entrusted to him; but could scarcely, it may be thought, justify, without some explanation, whatever might be his known merits, the transfer of Colonel Pottinger's duty and responsibilities to another, a stranger in Sindh, and one who held no official situation there, but as an honorary aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief The regiment to which he belongs, the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry, being part of the force, he had volunteered for the service, and was then present with the army only in a military capacity.

Further, it was never explained why Lord Auckland's ultimatum had not been communicated earlier to the Ameers of Sindh, — why a demand for a large money-payment, which was to be enforced if refused, had not been made known previous to our landing in Sindh. Some stain may assuredly be supposed to have fallen upon the character of the proceedings, until it is satisfactorily shown that the delay arose from unavoidable causes, and that the unopposed landing in Sindh was not accomplished by concealment of the intended measures. These are two weighty matters, which may, I hope, be eventually disposed of by those who possess the power of explaining them; as well as the reasons, whatever they were, which occasioned the halt for two months between landing in the Hujamry and the departure from Thatta.

But, to return to our camp at Sadan, the most extravagantly exaggerated statements appear to have been made of the hostile preparations of the enemy, and to have been in a great measure believed. A party of our irregular horse was sent in advance to reconnoiter; and Major Cunningham, the officer commanding, was warned and warned again of the thousands and thousands he was likely to meet, and instructed how to act in a thousand supposed emergencies. A mild unpretending man, but good officer and brave soldier, he set off upon his perilous quest. His matter-of-fact observation saw no Beloochies where none were, and he travelled through the night without the sight or the sound of an enemy; and, reported all quiet, and no opposition to be apprehended.

Every half-hour through the night patrols of cavalry passed round the camp, and no baggage was permitted to be sent in advance on the morrow. All the caution and preparation requisite to foil the vigilance and enterprise of the most numerous and desperate assailants were as punctiliously enforced as if Major Cunningham and his Poonah horse could not have eaten all the opponents that meditated, in their wrathful disposition, to swallow us up quick, by night or by day, whenever they should meet us. The jest is not at military preparation. The points alluded to form the difference between discipline and its absence; and the omission of these precautions might subject

an army in front of an enemy to surprise and disorganization. But, admitting this, a prudent general will save his troops whenever it lies in his power; and a wise one will seldom be so totally uninformed of the strength, resources, and capabilities of the enemy, as ours at least appeared to be.

Our march next morning was made in order of battle, and prepared for action. A short stage of ten miles brought us to Jerruk at an early hour; but no tents had arrived before us, and, alas I no provision for breakfast. Our first essay of what was termed roughing-it was on an exceedingly hot morning, and the concomitants of baking in the sun and fasting were neither pleasant nor profitable. I sat for two hours under a beautiful acacia that was waving her yellow hair in full blossom over the Indus, and thought of other waters than the Indus flood, and other business than the politics of Sindh.

The position of the town of Jerruk is the most pleasing of any we had seen. A better knowledge of the country will show whether the Delta could at any time have included it; or whether the hills, which here descend abruptly towards the bed of the river, are a continuous chain of heights, projected eastward as a spur from the mountain ranges of Beloochistan, extending from north to south, the western boundary of Sindh. Irregular hills, of above one hundred feet in height, and having all flat tops, forming areas of different dimensions, from one hundred yards square to half a mile in length and a quarter in width, appear to form this chain; and, from the summits of those nearest our camp, the windings of the river below, and the deep hue of the dark forests on its bank, exhibited a fine landscape panorama of great interest and beauty. We thought, as we looked down upon it, that such a sight repaid the privation and toil of our march, and for the first time conceived it was worth remembering that we had seen the classic Indus.

The town of Jerruk occupies a small portion of the last step of the sloping ridges, the termination of which forms a headland projecting into and hanging over the river at a height of about thirty feet: it is not, four hundred yards from the landing-place, and is thus the first town we have seen in Sindh that is not on the alluvial plain formed by the deposits of the river. The position entirely commands the navigation, and not a boat could pass a battery on the headland described; whilst the garrison of the station might occupy the very bank, and have a better site for their barrack than any in Lower Sindh.

The space westward of the town is a hard dry ground of sand-stone and a &brie of iron ore, not bearing a blade of grass or shrub of any sort, apparently about two miles square, of irregular outline from the descent of three or four hills, and sloping very gradually from south to north, where the ridge descends precipitously into the alluvial plain,—a fall of about forty feet. The extent of this high ground westward and southward was not ascertained, but it appears to embrace a wide range of country. A finer ground for a military cantonment of three thousand men could not be imagined; elevated above the surrounding country, reaching to the very bank of a navigable river

supplying the best water, near a flourishing town in an abundant country, and at a spot of some importance as connected with the western frontier, being the grand mart resorted to by the wild mountaineers of the west for the sale of their rude productions, and the purchase of their few imports. When Sindh is occupied by British garrisons, and the disposition of them is guided solely by what is best for the troops, and best for British interests, and not for "moral effect," this place, and probably Sehwan, will be the only important positions between Sukkur and Karachi.

Our march was to have been onward on the 25th; but the advance was countermanded in the night. The Assistant Adjutant General was enjoined not to disclose to any one this alteration in the plans; but why, except that they might enjoy the sublime pleasure of hearing that everyone had been disturbed, and that the poor servants had been robbed of rest, it would be difficult to conjecture: happily for me, my tent being next to that of the Commissary General, and it being necessary to communicate the important event to him, the Assistant Adjutant General rode up to his tent, and, ere he could fully indoctrinate the sleeping Commissary, be had to state the fact so loudly that I heard it; and forthwith calling my servants, acquainted them that they had no occasion to rise before daybreak, and might sleep their fill next morning. The hostile movements of the enemy had occasioned this change; and it was become necessary to get our boats on the river under the protection of the army, and to disembark our ammunition for service.

The result showed that the information on which the army halted was a most gross exaggeration. Even the following day, when the enemy in thousands were supposed to occupy our vicinity, and at every hour of the night had been expected to attack, some heedless young men rode the whole distance to the vicinity of Hyderabad, and neither saw nor heard an enemy. General Wilshire had slept in his boots; and one half the army had been on the alert to protect the other, but, as it afterwards appeared, for nothing.

A rabble had been assembled at Hyderabad, who seem to have imagined the possibility of deterring our advance by their unmeasured vapouring and bullying; but who wisely determined on abstaining from any offensive measures, except the plunder of some grain which was said to have been collected for the army at Hyderabad; it is perhaps to be regretted that the Commander-in-chief was advised to allow them to escape with impunity.

The credulity which attached importance to the reports received of the Beloochy armament, and the strength of Hyderabad, with the consequent halt at Jerruk, was the great error of the campaign, and occasioned all the subsequent evils experienced on the march to Kandahar and Ghizni. But for this, Hyderabad would have been stormed before the 30th; and we should have heard no more of Imrauh Khan of Khelaut, and very little of Dost Mahomed of Ghizni.

It would have been happy for three most excellent and promising young men had we not lost those precious days at Jerruk; but such is man's existence,—here today and gone tomorrow! the sport apparently of accident, and pendent on a thread till the place that knew him knoweth him no more! On the morning of the 29th of January, the adjacent *shikargah* was observed, from a dense column of smoke ascending, to be on ire, and many of our officers rode out to witness it. Among others, Doctor Hibbert of the 2nd or Queen's Royals, and Lieutenants Spark and Nixon of the same regiment, proceeded thither on foot with fowling-pieces and rifles, expecting exercise on the wild animals driven by the fire out of the burning forest. Lieutenant Halkett of the same regiment accompanied them on horseback; and, when they plunged into the thickest parts of the wood, and he found it impossible to accompany them, returned to camp, little dreaming of the melancholy fate awaiting them. No servant and only one dog was with them; and the poor beast the same evening returned to camp. On their not returning in the evening, some alarm was felt; and, as we had supped full of rumors of war for some days before, it was conjectured that they might have been made prisoners by the Beloochies.

On the following morning two parties of cavalry and irregular horse were sent in search of them; and, sad to say, a villager who had been cutting wood in the forest, and probably found it convenient to follow the course of the fire, had discovered and led the way to where their bodies were found, half buried in the shouldering and still hot ashes of the long grass and brushwood by which their clothes had been destroyed.

More pitiable objects were never seen than the three bodies as brought into camp: not a vestige of their clothes remained; the extremities were partially consumed; and the blackened skin, and the limbs stiffened into the most frightful distortions, with the features almost entirely defaced, exhibited to their friends the most distressing spectacle that can be imagined.

An inquest was immediately assembled, and a verdict of "Accidental death" recorded. No sign of sword-cut or gun-shot wound appeared on their bodies; nor could it have been supposed that three energetic young men, well armed, could have met a violent death from the enemy without having given some account of their assailants. The relics of their clothes, such as metal buttons, were found on the spot. The barrels of their guns were a valuable booty when found, and were easily carried off: it was not wonderful that they were not found; but parts of the stocks remained, showing that they had been burnt. The bodies had evidently not been rifled; Dr. Hibbert's gold rings were left on his fingers: and all three showed, by the injury received, where their powder-flasks had exploded on their sides; and, one of the party being left-handed, the side on which the injury appeared indicated the character of the occurrence which occasioned it. This further proves another most satisfactory circumstance, that their suffering must have been short; since no three men could possibly have been long surrounded by fire with their senses about them, without ridding themselves of their gunpowder.

A close examination of the spot where the bodies were found, which was not very far from where Lieutenant Halkett had last seen them, seemed to show that they had ascended a tree from which to shoot such animals as might fly from the forest: some sudden change of wind appears to have brought the fire on them. One of them seemed to have dislocated his wrist, and to have broken the bones of his arm, in leaping, no doubt, wildly from the tree: his comrades may have perished through a vain attempt to rescue him.

Doctor Hibbert was a young man of great acquirements and great industry; and the service, by this most unhappy occurrence, was deprived of a very valuable medical officer. His taste and skill as a draughtsman were very remarkable; and his promised assistance would have given a value to these pages which they cannot now possess.

All three were buried in one grave, on the morning of the Slat; and the men of their regiment, the 2nd or Queen's Royals, raised a cairn over the spot, of sufficient size to attract notice, and put together with sufficient care to secure endurance. The recorded verdict of the inquest did not satisfy the men, and the spirit of revenge was bitterly expressed. They were all interesting and amiable men, much beloved in their circle and by the soldiery; and, had the regiment been led that evening to a charge on the Beloochies, the sad sight of their mutilated officers would have been fearfully remembered.

CHAPTER VII.

Previous history of the district of Sindh. – Reports of an approaching engagement, and strength of the enemy. – Prospects of enormous booty. – Cause of our misunderstanding with Sindh. – Ultimatum of our Government. – The Government of Sindh. – Its sovereignty shared by nine princes. – Anarchy consequent on such a system. – Announcement of an accommodation with Sindh. – Army encamp near Hyderabad. – Visits to the city. – Varying accounts of the strength of its garrison. – Major B – 's estimate. – The Greek Commandant. – Major B – 's adventure with a mounted Beloochy. – Proceedings of the Reserve. – Karachi taken, and occupied by them.

THE origin, and cause, and object of the war will no doubt be stated in official documents, and received as authentic by those who revere the highest authority; but, until the powers that be are pleased to enlighten the vulgar, it only remains that Gossip should enjoy her chatter, and that we should register her profound speculations and philosophic history.

The district of Sindh, for many ages past, had been a tributary of the Affghan kingdom of Kabul; but on the dismemberment of that state, and its splitting into the separate principalities of Kabul, Kandahar, Heraut, Peshawar, and Kelaut, the Talponi tribe in Sindh were able to assert their independence, and to discontinue the payment of the tribute, once estimated at fifteen lahks of rupees per annum, which Kabul had levied on them in the days of its power.

The exiled monarch of Kabul had never forgotten his claim on Sindh; and, in the several collisions that have occurred between the British and Sindh authorities since 1814, is said to have repeatedly demanded *nuzeranas*, or homage-money, from Sindh, under the threat of ceding his claim on the country to the British Government. These demands are further said to have always occasioned a very serious embarrassment to the court of Sindh; and a long-sighted policy would have foreseen and prevented the result which has definitively reduced Sindh to be a humble dependent on the British empire.

The arrival of the Persian monarch before Heraut, with the Russian envoy Simonitch in his camp, and the successful negotiation of the Russian agent Wikowitch at Kabul, left the British Government, it was supposed, no option but to establish a supremacy in Kabul, and to advance their frontier beyond the Indus, unless they would consent to have some Russian envoy in every capital along its water, and a Russian fleet in the Indian ocean, with its arsenal at Karachi.

During the brief period of Sindh independence, the peace of its government had been disturbed by a far more serious summons than the eleemosynary messages of Shah

Soojah: the princes of Sindh had not only broken off their own dependence, but had appropriated the important district of Shikarpore, which state was claimed in the arrogance of conquest by Runjeet Sing, as part of the principality of Peshawar, which he had wrested from the fallen Affghan monarchy, and added to his newly-consolidated states of the Punjab. To arrest this evil, the Sindh government appear to have looked as their last resource to England; and the cession of Shikarpore, to be occupied by British troops, was formally offered, with a large proportion of the revenue, on condition of guaranteed independence, and protection from their northern superior.

The commercial treaty for the trade of the Indus can never be applauded for its sagacity or fitness for the objects aimed at. Passing minor matters,—in the first place, the wish to overreach Runjeet Sing by a maneuver, introduced one article, that the navigation of the river should be peremptorily closed against the conveyance of military stores: thus, to debar Runjeet Sing from a benefit which the commonest intellect must have seen we could by one word have nullified when used to our disadvantage, we denied ourselves the right of forming an arsenal on the spot where its position insured the safety of India, and rendered any attempt from the West impracticably chimerical. Had Russia been our bitterest and most vigilant enemy, she could not have dictated a more important article to our injury and her own interests. In the second place, the mischievous ignorance of all that it was handling, and all that related to it, assessed the river toll at such a sum on each boat as raised the amount on the maximum tonnage available on the waters of Sindh to one rupee per maund of twenty-eight pounds, and this whether the freight were wool, wheat, or the shawls of Cashmere; thus, by one dash of a pen, embargoing the navigation of one of the most important and most interesting rivers in the world.

Such a state of affairs could not last; new treaties and new negotiations were needed; and, occurring under new circumstances, the whole political aspect and interests of the frontier line became agitated and involved, and the most unexpected results have followed.

The history of these treaties in their preliminary and ratified details may perhaps hereafter proceed from the pen of some party to the transaction: these pages are the mere gossip of the camp, and their claims to infallibility are as humble as their author is humble. Suffice it to say, that it pleased Lord Auckland to guarantee the restoration of Shah Soojab, the exiled sovereign of Kabul, to part of his former dominions, and the maintaining him in the secure possession thereof, on condition that the interests of Great Britain should be secured by a friendly, or, in simple terms, by a dependent power beyond its western frontier.

The minor details cannot well be ventured on, upon no better authority than conjecture. The exiled monarch at once became an ally; his contingent to be officered by British officers, and disciplined according to modern tactics, was fixed at six thousand men: the

corps was quickly in the course of formation, and the subsidiary arrangement for the advance of the British forces to Kabul proceeded with energy.

The grand outline of the campaign was the advance of two grand divisions of the Bengal army by a route following the valley of the Sutlege, to its junction with the Indus; thence crossing the river by Shikarpore to Kandahar, the only supposed practicable route for artillery. On this march the restored monarch was to lead with his contingent, and to be supported by the British division; it being hoped that their vicinity would secure Shah Soojah from opposition, whilst their non-appearance on the scene of action would save Affghan pride any unnecessary humiliation. A third division from Bombay was to proceed through Sindh, and to occupy Shikarpore, whilst the Bengal troops advanced to Kandahar, in order to maintain the communication and cover their rear.

On the unexpected issue of the siege of Heraut, and the retreat of the Persian monarch, our affairs assumed a less threatening aspect. We had an ally in Kamran Shah, the Prince of Heraut, on the extreme west, instead of our most serious foe, the Russianized Persian army; and the Affghan Prince of Kelaut being considered to be more disposed to profit by our alliance than to risk the consequences of our hostility, the *de facto* sovereign of Kabul was left alone to bear the brunt of the war, and to be deposed to make way for the restoration of the *de jure* monarch, whom he had himself previously dethroned and exiled.

Dost Mahomed of Kabul, though a vigilant and energetic soldier of fortune, was but a secondary power; and arrangements were now made that only one division of the Bengal force should march to Kandahar, while the other should remain organized and halted at Ferospor, to meet contingencies, and be prepared for any of those unexpected and untoward occurrences which sometimes take the battle from the strong, and the race from the swift, by un-looked-for accidents.

The field-division of the Bengal army, therefore, left Ferozepor, under Sir W. Cotton, on the 8th November 1888, and reached the Indus on the 27th January, a march of seven hundred miles; and there this history leaves them, to follow the fortunes of the Bombay division.

Our advance to Jerruk having been described, it remains to state that every voice foreboded war, and that every step in advance was to be fought for and won ere we proceeded. The army of Beloochies at Hyderabad was considered by high authority as exceeding fifteen thousand men, trebled by vulgar report, and endowed with all the mettle that usually belongs to men in buckram: whilst, finally, the treasure of the Princes of Sindh was estimated at two hundred lahks of rupees; and a subaltern's share of the booty was calculated to promise him from ten to twenty thousand rupees, — a golden prospect, and a cheering excitement to battle! A blither day, therefore, never

dawned on an army than did the 25th of January on the Bombay division of the army of the Indus at Jerruk.

It has transpired, that on the first discussion the Government of Sindh was called upon, as a component part of the Affghan dominions, to pay its quota for the restoration of Shah Soojah; and the sum was fixed at twenty-eight lahks of rupees, in lieu of the arrears of tribute, rated at nine lahks per annum, which had remained unpaid since 1805: but it was not supposed that they would admit the right to demand a payment so long discontinued. A force was therefore ordered to be prepared to support the negotiation.

The subsequent discussions remain under the seal of official secrecy, and can only be conjectured by their result, or by accidental disclosures; but it was generally believed that our Government had ascertained beyond a doubt, that, when the monarch of Persia was before Heraut, the Princes of Sindh had sent a message of congratulation and welcome to him, and had offered their hearty wishes and cordial cooperation towards assisting in the expulsion of the British from India! This, or something approaching to it, must have occurred, and called for a higher tone from Lord Auckland's government; and the resentment against these pretended friends, but concealed enemies, was prompt and unequivocal. It was decided that the frontier of the Indus should be insisted on, and the Princes of Sindh compelled to pay their quota as a perpetual tribute, in the same manner, though to a smaller extent, than had formerly been paid by Sindh to Kabul; the amount being fixed at four lahks, and the force, to be permanently cantoned in Sindh, at five thousand men.

That the Princes of Sindh should feel indignant at this hash ultimatum, is not to be wondered at; and it cannot be matter of surprise that some apprehensions were entertained by Government of a sanguinary struggle, or that victory would be dearly purchased. Thus, though the Bombay division was probably double what was necessary, and, from the poverty of the country, was encumbered by its own weight, and straitened beyond measure for forage and even for provisions, a reserve force of three thousand men was hurried up from Bombay, and a requisition was sent to the advancing Bengal division to detach a strong brigade southward from Roree, where it was crossing the Indus, to cooperate in the reduction of Hyderabad.

A more singular system of government was never organized, or rather existed without organization, than the wretched oligarchy of Sindh. The pedigree of horses is held sacred by jockeys, and heralds delight to trace through all their ramifications the lineage of those whom ancestors drew long-bows at Hastings; but this feeling has seldom gone so far as to value the genealogy of the "Black Princes" of any family of Hindostan. However long-descended may be the Princes of the Talpori dynasty of Sindh, suffice it to say, that, some forty years ago, some bold adventurer lifted up his standard, and

collected a rabble-rout against the preceding race of Kuloora. The insurrection ceased to be treasonable by being prosperous, and the power devolved on the strongest.

The new monarch, through brotherly affection, or through the necessity which made the first Norman grant so large a fief to the Earl of Wanerme and the residue of his chiefs, admitted his brothers into an equal share in the sovereignty, and the monarchy became a triumvirate. At his death, the brothers ungenerously attempted to deprive his son of the consideration due to his birth; but the young man, after some years of neglect, took arms, and asserted what may be called his rights, which he secured either by his own courage or through the cowardice of his uncles. In process of time they died, and a few changes of family have now left Sindh under the rule of four princes residing at Hyderabad; three princes residing at Khyrepore, two hundred miles north; and two residing at Meerpoor, probably seventy miles south and east of Hyderabad. An oligarchy of nine sovereigns! in a country not three hundred and twenty miles in length, and of an average breadth of habitable land less than one hundred miles!—the most thinly-peopled and the most miserably poor I ever travelled through, and the least able to support this tailor-like personification of royalty, requiring precisely nine Ameers, or princes, to make up one sovereign!

These exalted gentlemen agree apparently in only one point, the most intense mutual hatred and distrust of each other. The districts are divided by lot, each selecting a village in succession; and, as contiguity of site is the last object considered, it follows that scarcely any two adjoin:—whence, as the animosities of the head are shown by the vibrations of the tail, the peace and happiness of a country may be imagined where the monarchy is merely held together by the fear of foreign interference; where no two adjoining villages belong to the same palatine and independent sovereign lord; and where the village police authorities throughout recommend themselves to their respective sovereigns by thwarting, resisting, and annoying the police authorities of the village adjacent, to the utmost extent in their power short of open hostility.

Such a rope of sand, such a pyramid on its apex instead of its base, cannot possibly be imagined; and the attacking it by cautious steps, and measured, slow approaches, offers a strong contrast to the campaigns of Lord Lake, and the first siege of Seringapatam.

The wife of Hotspur could not tell what she had not been told, nor can these pages disclose the chain of accidents or reasoning by which the Princes of Sindh were induced to confess that all their pretensions were at an end, and their last hope of deceiving the British political authorities, and of concealing their lack of power, was reluctantly abandoned. It must have been a bitter acknowledgment, and was very possibly as much a matter of surprise to the dignitaries of Sindh themselves as it may have been to our own officials.

To conclude this eventful history. On the evening of the 31st January it was announced through the camp, with telegraphic speed and brevity, that we were to have "no fighting and no prize-money."

The first peremptory refusal of the Ameers of Sindh to accept the treaty had been followed by a Sibylline visitation, not in reducing its quantity and increasing its value, but in adding other articles, and in advancing the amount of first demands. The final treaty was said to be the right to canton a British army at Thatta, which the Ameers ought not to have resisted, since fever would soon have rid them of their enemies; the payment of twenty-eight lahks of rupees to Shah Soojah, in lieu probably of all arrears due to Kabul since 1805, or thereabout, when the tribute was last paid; and the future payment of four lahks of rupees per annum to the British Government in money-payment, — which is eminently the most judicious proceeding that can be imagined, since no native government will ever pay four lahks a-year without every species of procrastination and subterfuge; and the end will be, either sequestration of country, or the farming out of the districts to bankers for security of regularity of payment; and in either case the British Government will gain an infinitely more advantageous hold of Sindh than could be secured under the present declaration of disinterestedness.

The treaty being definitively sealed and ratified, the army left Jerruk on the 3rd of February; and the following day encamped at Kotry, on the western bank of the Indus, opposite to Hyderabad, which is four miles from the river, and on another branch termed the Fulaila, which by the caprice of this wild current is now nearly dry, and presents during the ebb of the river no continuous current, having only occasional pools, though a broad expanse of water during the inundation.

Our troops found a silent dusty plain on which to encamp; and the opposite bank of the river, which had been represented to be covered with some thousands of Beloochies, was equally silent, solitary, and dusty: no sign of hostility, or means for being hostile, were manifest; but the utter nakedness of the land was everywhere evident. One round tower of considerable magnitude distinguished the palace of the Ameers. All else that could be seen of Hyderabad was a confused mass of walls, roofs, and trees, and the whole enveloped in the dusty atmosphere of Sindh; of which it may be boldly asserted, that it is the densest dust on the earth in which any nation lives and breathes, or rather dares to breathe, yet can live.

We were in "unity, peace, and concord;" but only one of the four Ameers of Hyderabad paid the Commander-in-Chief and member of the Bombay Government, the compliment of a visit, by sending his son, a lad, with an apology for his own inability to come in person, on account of indisposition. The others held aloof; and we were told that, though the presence of our force compelled the prompt payment of ten lahks of rupees, — the first installment of the twenty-eight due to Shah Soojah,—yet that the chiefs had toiled and travailed sore to persuade their mutinous Beloochies to refrain

from hostilities: nay, it was asserted, "that the Ameers had been compelled to pay five lahks to their Beloochies ere they could venture to pay ten to us."

I mention this only as the gossip of the camp; but it was generally asserted by natives, and believed by us, that the Achilles of Sindh was one of the Ameers of Meerpore, the truculent genius who had arrested the progress of our camels from Kutch; and that his cousins, the Ameers of Hyderabad, had paid him and his people two lahks to make it agreeable to them to join the rendezvous at Hyderabad; but, when it was ascertained that we were not playing this time, and that a conflict was certain unless averted by submission, the rude soldier and his unruly rabble affected to maintain their warlike disposition, and contrived to extort three lahks more as a second bribe to induce them to return to their villages without committing their government by a cowardly attack of some thievish kind on the British boats or stores.

For three days we were prohibited from entering Hyderabad; but on the fourth it was announced that officers, under certain regulations, might visit the city; and many went, whose accounts all agreed that, as a town, it was rather dirtier and meaner than the average second-rate provincial or *zillah* towns in India; but no two gave the same opinion on the Beloochy garrison. By some they were estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand warriors, manly, martial, and excited to the last degree, and restrained only by some unaccountable dispensation of Providence from attacking our camp.

Among others who went was my friend Major B—, who, without having any taste for the discovery of mares-nests, could see as far into a millstone as his neighbors. He not only used his own eyes, but employed two intelligent natives accustomed to observation to ascertain the strength of the enemy; and his estimate was something above one thousand five hundred, and below two thousand. He drank a bottle of beer, and another of Madeira, with a Greek, the Commandant of the Hyderabad artillery; and ascertained that his liquor was better than his ordnance, — that the guns were nearly as certain to have killed the gunners as the enemy, had they been fired; added to which, the redoubtable cannoneer admitted, as his heart warmed with liquor and love of the English, and joy at the honor of drinking with an English field-officer, that he eked out his stipend of seventy-five rupees per month by inserting some two hundred paper men upon his muster-roll, and that, through the goodness of God, he was sole muster-master.

In coming home, Major B— was joined by a well-mounted Beloochy horseman; and the free-masonry which enables good fellows to distinguish kindred spirits at a glance, made them at once acquainted. "Is your horse an Arab?" said the Beloochy. "I'll race with you."—"Good" said the Major, "here goes!" and away they rode, neck or nothing, for a mile; and the Beloochy dead-beaten. — "I'll try you again on smoother ground," said the Beloochy. Anywhere, either smooth or rough," said the Major; and, the ground becoming more level, away they went again in the same frolicsome mood of

overflowing spirits, but the Major still leading.—"It won't do, I see," said the Beloochy: "my horse is fat, and not in galloping trim, as yours is." —"The more the pity," said the Major: "there is no pleasure like riding with a good soldier on a good horse."

By this time they had reached the bank of the river, and the Beloochy accompanied his new friend to the ferry-boat; but the Major's horse, though it could gallop free enough, was restive at the sight of the ferry-boat, and the Major, somewhat wroth, was beating him in. "Don't beat him, don't beat him, if you love me," said the Beloochy. "Insha Alla, I'll teach you how to put your horse into a boat without beating him." The simple mode was to fasten a rope to one of the fore-legs, and the two boatmen dragging at it, till it was lifted up in the attitude of King Charles's steed at Charing-cross, and until it became an impossibility that he should kick: thus secured, the Beloochy taking up an oar by one end, and giving the other to the Major, they stood on each side, and, applying the middle of the oar against the horses' buttocks, pushed away, till the poor brute, losing his balance, had nothing left but to fall on his nose headlong, or to jump into the boat, which he forthwith did, with the meekness of a lamb. "You have taught me a wrinkle, my friend," said Major B—. And at least one British officer and one well-mounted Beloochy met and parted in mutual good-will, after half an hour of pleasant fellowship.

I did not visit the city,—not through incuriousness, but that my health and head, somewhat the worse for twenty-eight years' baking of my brains within the tropics, cannot bear with impunity a day's exposure to the sun; and the crossing of the river, and the ride to the city and through it, and the return and the recrossing, could not be performed under the better part of a day.

Still I must add, in my own defence, that, if all who did go had not agreed that the ride was not repaid by the gratification, and that there was literally nothing worth seeing, I consider it legitimate good cause to risk a headache, and to spend four or six hours in the sun, to see the capital city of a native sovereignty: but here there appeared some risk of insult, as well as other inconveniences. A contemptible enemy, that has not been crushed, has a plea of justification to indulge in a little flourish of impertinence; and specimens of this were mentioned, which no man experienced in native character would put himself in the way of, if he could conveniently keep clear of the irritation.

On the evening of the 4th, we heard a native report that Karachi had been bombarded by the Admiral, and destroyed by one broadside. On the 6th, a letter arrived from Brigadier Valiant, K. H. of her Majesty's 40th regiment, commanding the reserve, dated the 3rd, and stating that her Majesty's ship Wellesley, seventy-four, and Hannah transport, having on board her Majesty's 40th regiment and a company of artillery, had arrived before Karachi on the 2nd, and summoned the fort to surrender. The answer given by the Commandant was, that he was "a Beloochy, and would die first."

It was fortunate for British interests that the credulity which swallowed the bait of the Beloochy braggadocio, and halted the army at Jerruk, was not the weakness of Sir Frederick Maitland the Admiral, or of Brigadier Valiant. Fishing-boats had been captured; and the fishermen, either instructed to lie, or lying for the pleasure of it, and the habit which makes it the second nature of a Sindian, gravely assured the Admiral and the Brigadier that the fort of Manors at the entrance of Karachi harbor was most formidably manned and prepared for a siege; and that one of the Ameers of Sindh, with a column of three thousand men, had actually arrived at Karachi for its defence. "By all means!" said the Admiral, "then we shall have the first trial of them; the more the better!" Dispositions were quickly made for the attack: the 40th regiment and artillery landed, and the ship was brought near for action. When all was ready, the fort was a second time most humanely summoned; to which it was replied, that "the fort might be stormed, but should not be surrendered;" and they forthwith commenced hostilities by firing on the Algerine from the fort. The Wellesley instantly opened her broadside, which in an hour dismantled the breastwork of the fort. Not another shot was fired by the enemy, who seem to have been horrified, aghast, and panic-struck by the first hail-storm clatter of the Wellesley's batteries. Being seen flying out of the fort, the firing ceased; and a party going up to the place, and entering by a breach, found it empty; when the flying garrison, being all captured, was found to consist of twenty men. So much for Beloochy velour, and the countless thousands of their muster-roll; the most important fortress in the country garrisoned by a score of combatants, and the fort itself dismantled and breached in less than an hour!

The town of Karachi was surrendered immediately, and occupied next day by her Majesty's 40th regiment, and the head-quarters of the reserve force stationed there. It is, I believe, chiefly, if not entirely, due to Brigadier Valiant, that the Bombay Government obtained Lord Auckland's sanction to prevent the removal of her Majesty's 40th regiment to Thatta; and, if the judgment and foresight which preserve lives be equal virtues with the bravery and science which are used to destroy, Brigadier Valiant has no humble claim for consideration in having prevented the same fate befalling the gallant 40th which did befall the unfortunate 22nd and 26th regiments of Bombay Native Infantry at Thatta.

CHAPTER VIII.

Movements of the Bengal division. – The Bombay division resumes its march. – Fertility of the district. – Charge against Zadig Shah of enhancing prices in the bazaars. – A court of inquiry appointed. – Result of the investigation unknown. – Decayed towns of Sun and Aumry. – Pulla fishery at these places. – Curious mode of fishing. – Description of the fish. – Whimsical notions entertained by the natives respecting its habits. – Picturesque situation of Lukky. – The Lukky Mountains. – Punishment of three camel "lifters." – Death of Lieut. Campbell. – Reflections. – Arrangements for crossing the pass. – Vexatious intelligence. – Crowded state of the pass. – Perilous defile. – Appearance of the river from the summit of the ridge. – Ruins of Sehwan. – Speculations on its ancient history. – March of the Macedonian army. – Errors of modern writers. – Resumption of our march. – The "Garden of Sindh." – Contretemps. – A mistake of orders. – Consequent confusion in the camp. – Lose my way in company with Zadig Shah. – Town of Larkhanu. – Moderate prices of provisions. – General order incorporating us with the Army of the Indus.

THE arrangement which detained the army two months between the landing at the Hujamry and Jerruk, seven marches and a distance short of eighty miles; and the ignorance of the enemy's real means, which halted us there at the moment when the decisive blow might have been struck, and all the difficulties of the campaign overcome at its outset, — were not only evils of the first magnitude in themselves, but the cause of worse mischief's pursuing them.

The Bengal army arrived at Roree, where it was destined to cross the Indus, on the 27th of January; at which date the Bombay division might have been there to meet them: but we were then supposed to be at bay among the myriads of Beloochies; and the Bengal troops, instead of resting men and cattle after a march of upwards of seven hundred miles, hurried on along the eastern bank of the Indus by forced marches to our relief, and had travelled upwards of one hundred miles southward ere they were countermanded; the whole distance of which they had to march back again.

The Bombay division resumed its march on the 10th of February; a dust storm on the 12th, continued through the 13th, at Kassye and Majendy, will be long remembered by those who endured the torment. Our journey now lay through a fertile and peopled country. It is true that mere villages bore the designation of towns and cities, and showed that the dwarfs of India would pass for giants here; but still, as a contrast with the region between the Hujamry and Hyderabad, this was a wealthy district. But we were now to starve in the midst of plenty; our Hyderabad Mehmander, Zadig Shah, was accused by Captain Outram of the most dishonorable practices in the bazaars to profit by our supplies, thereby raising all prices tenfold, and levying full payment from

our commissariat for whatever the Ameers of Sindh had been assessed for the restoration of Shah Soojah. There can be little doubt but that a large proportion, if not the whole of the sum paid by the Ameers, has returned to their treasury in increased revenue, under one head or another, through our expedition in Sindh.

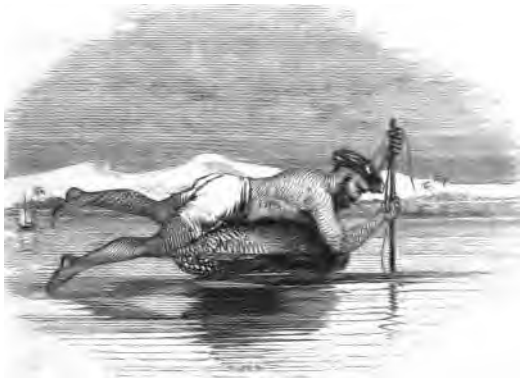
The charges of Captain Outram were stoutly resisted by Lieutenant Eastwick, one of Colonel Pottinger's assistants; and a military court of inquiry, of which General Willshire was president, having heard both the accuser and the defendant at Larkhanu, concurred with Captain Outram. The result was never publicly announced, but the Home Government should know that such an occurrence took place; and that, however trifling an item in the expenditure of the campaign a few lahks of rupees more or less of commissariat charges may be, and however desirable it may occasionally be for governments to wink at fraud on the public treasury by a favored ally, yet such payments fell heavily on the juniors of the officers, and ruinously on the native soldiers. Major Billamore of the 1st Bombay regiment, and Major Artchison of the 5th, deserve honor for the stand they made in support of the claims of their men; and the occurrences and notes that passed thereon will not readily be forgotten.

February 14th.—Halted at Sun, the relic of an ancient town of some extent and population; and next day at Aumry, also fallen from a better state; both on the bank of the river, which seemed here receding from the western and, no doubt, encroaching on the eastern shores.

At these places we first saw the Pulla fishery on the Indus; a piscatory pursuit which more nearly reduces the human form divine into an aquatic beast of prey than Izaak Walton, or any disciple of the "gentle craft," could have contemplated by the silver Thames. A large, light, and thin earthen vessel of the strong and unequalled pottery of the Indus' clay so thoroughly baked, forma the fisherman's float: it is fully four feet in diameter, and about thirty inches high; of a very flattened form, and exceedingly buoyant. On this the fisherman balances himself on his stomach: covering the short neck and small aperture at top, and launching himself forth on the current, paddles with his legs behind to steer his course, drifting with the stream, and holding his pouch-net open to receive the prey, which, when caught, he deposits in his reservoir, the vessel he floats on.

The Pulla is an oily fish of a very strong potted-lobster flavor, and greatly admired by our gourmands; but it is unfortunately most detestably bony, and that to a degree which renders it scarcely safe for an unwarned and hungry traveler to venture on it. We were divided in our opinion of the flavor; some pronounced it a resemblance to salmon, others to mackerel or potted-lobster: my recollection of Edinburgh caller herrings was revived, and the well-experienced in fresh herrings agreed with me; but the pulls is intensely stronger.

The fish we saw averaged twenty inches in length, and might weigh a pound and a halt or nearly two pounds: the shoals are migratory, and ascend the river as far as Bukka between January and April. The natives imagine that they travel thither on a religious pilgrimage to the shrine of Kajuu Kizr; and gravely assure us, that, on attaining, and swimming round, the holy islet and shrine of the saint, they followed our St. James's court etiquette, where no courtier's back can possibly be turned upon sacred royalty, and that the poor pilgrim fishes never presented their tails towards the hallowed *Kuddum zah* (footstep-place) of the saint till fairly round, and back again past the islet.



On the 16th of February we reached Lukky, and orders were issued for marching the next day to Sehwan; but it was ascertained that the pass was impracticable for artillery. It is quite out of my power to explain how it fell, that having halted at Kotry, near Hyderabad, from the 4th to the 10th of February, no one had been sent in advance to survey the route: but I heard it stated, and I believe it to be true, that Major Campbell, Quartermaster-General, did wish to detach a surveying party in advance, and was not allowed to do so; consequently, no part of the responsibility of the unexpected detention under the pass can be transferred to his department.

The situation of Lukky is singularly picturesque, being near an immense lake, which appears at some former period to have been a reach of the Indus, and seems a mile wide and several miles in length. The Lukky mountains, apparently upwards of one thousand feet high, and some of the pinnacles of the range probably one thousand five hundred feet, here slope down, and present a broad shoulder for about three miles towards the river: along the base of this, for near two miles, was a bank which some ages ago must have been thrown up against the rock, and which, when we passed, was upwards of a hundred yards in width, covered with stately forest trees and huge tamarisks of the largest growth. Over this bank the whole army passed on the 20th, but not a vestige of it now remains; and on my return from the army, in January 1840, by the river, my boat glided close under the mountain, over the very site where the bank had been, and over which the army had marched eight months before: so great a change

occurring under our eyes in so short a time, may explain changes that would appear inexplicable and incredible in any other country.

The geological appearance of the Lukky hills at this spot will no doubt be fully illustrated by some more erudite scribbler than myself; but without reference to the wonders of Creation, and the changes made since on the world's crusty surface, it was a most interesting occupation to visit the mountains, and the hot springs which issued from them. There appeared at this termination to the eastward of this spur of the great chain of mountains running from the Hindoo Kosh to the sea, between Karachi and Soumeeany, to be two parallel ranges, extending irregularly in a line from south-west to north-east; average height estimated to exceed one thousand feet, and the loftiest peaks about fifteen hundred. These ranges, as far as our view extended, appeared, at about every two miles of their length, to be split across by a huge fissure descending through the heart of the mountain, evidently rent asunder by some convulsion of nature; the two opposite faces of the cliffs precisely corresponding to each other in strata and figure, distinctly indicated separation, there being hollows in the one where there were projections in the other, Through one of these fissures we made our way into the valley between the two ranges; and I have never seen a more fearful dell. One or two miserably stunted trees, with ragged and half-naked branches, and seared leaf, added to the desolate and unnatural appearance of the valley. A brook of dingy discolored water, tainted with the sulphuretted chalybeate of the hot spring, emitted a smoky fetid vapor, and occasioned a closeness of the air disagreeable to breathe. The valley was nowhere a hundred yards broad, and seldom beyond fifty, and merely formed the bed of this unearthly rivulet. The hot springs were numerous in every part of the valley; some at 102°, and others at 108° of Fahrenheit. Crusts of calcareous deposit, strongly impregnated and colored with sulphur, covered every pebble or stick that lay in the watercourses. The taste of the water was not pleasant; but, excepting the disagreeable temperature, not very offensive.

A wilder scene than the appearance of these hills I have never seen. I do not ape the philosopher, nor pretend to explain: I only say, let us suppose, on the first drainage of the earth after the reign of chaos, the first separation of wet from dry, successive deposits of sand and conglomerate, or pebbles, to have been laid in alternate strata of about ten to twelve feet thick, with a plentiful sprinkling of sea-shells in each stratum, now fossilized; then that an earthquake convulsion shall have heaved up the originally level surface in two parallel waves, forming two ranges of hills, in the hollow between which a rivulet, the drainage of the superior portion of the mountains, and carrying off the local springs, has added the action of water to alter the interior, or valley faces, of the hills.

Ranges of hills of a thousand feet elevation, and apparently not having a thousand yards of base, are not likely to have been formed in alternate layers of sand and pebbles,

as accurately defined as the skins round the bulb of an onion; I presume, therefore, the geologist will consider the original deposit to have been made on a level surface.

But the most extraordinary part was the aspect of the relics of the pebbly layers. The upheaving of a level surface to such a height would occasion all the upper layers to be broken short; and this was precisely the state of the mountain; whilst the action of water having apparently washed away the soft sand, the pebbly ridges stood erect like the ribs of a wrecked ship. I cannot imagine a more interesting scene for science and the habits of observation to draw practical lessons from, to enable us to reason on less obvious causes, and less easily understood changes on the earth's surface.

On the 18th of February, we had, I think, our first public exhibition of the punishment of our camel "lifters." Three Beloochies, detected and captured in the act of attempting to steal camels, were treated after the summary system of military punishment, led through the camp and village bazaars, receiving two dozen stripes in each camp bazaar; and finally, in the village, their heads and beards shaved, and thus dismissed. Such punishment was the extreme of gentleness and mercy compared to what any native power would have inflicted; and, as a specimen of their lenity, one of the offenders, on being unbonneted to be shaved, was found lacking one ear, indicating that he had already tasted punishment for theft, and was an old offender.

We had no cause of quarrel with the Sindians for thefts; a camp like ours would have suffered more from robberies in one night in Guzerat than we had done for the three months we had been in Sindh. They were, however, by no means wanting in a less violent, but not less efficacious mode of "spoiling the Egyptians,"—that is, of acquiring by craft. A more bare-faced course of legal robbery was never practiced than was carried on under the supposed suggestion of the rulers of the country; the bazaar prices being everywhere quadrupled on our approach, and our servants and followers reduced almost to starvation by prices high beyond all that was ever heard of before in India, and that, too, in a country proverbial for its cheap markets, and abundance of grain and forage.

Our halt at Lukky was saddened by the decease, after only five days' illness, of Lieutenant Campbell of the 1st regiment Cavalry. He was some family connection of Sir James Carnac, and was building largely on his supposed brilliant prospects under Sir James's government. Alas! and thus is it that our castles in the air come tumbling down, and are as speedily destroyed as easily imagined: "air they are, and into air they soon fade and vanish!" He died on the 19th, and was buried on the 20th.

A working-party of five hundred men of the 5th regiment, and five hundred dooly-bearers, had been employed since the 16th removing obstacles on the face of the hill, leveling irregularities, and dragging the guns to the summit. The artillery were over on the 20th, and the army marched the following day.

Sir John Keane had gone on to Sehwan to meet Sir H. Fane on his way down the Indus from Sukkur, where he had left the Bengal division.

The sick were ordered by General Wilshire to remain behind, and follow the next day, to avoid the detention which must have resulted when all the baggage-train and commissariat supplies of the army were struggling through a defile. The result showed the wisdom of the order; for, had they moved, they must have remained all day in the sun, and all night in the pass.

During the night, the official intelligence arrived that the army would make no halt at Sehwan, but push on. A more painfully disagreeable position could hardly be imagined for the head of the hospital department, with all the hospital stores and sick of the army in the rear, and with two marches to be made the next day,—the first a rough and long stage with a difficult mountain-pass to be surmounted, and a river of some importance in the second. Anxiety and bitter vexation caused me a sleepless night, arranging for the earliest possible departure. This was, of course, effected; and, on our reaching the defile, we found it crowded and almost choked with camels, and bullocks, and baggage-ponies, and everywhere strewed with the baggage of the army. A glance showed that, if the army had moved, a very large proportion of its baggage must have been left behind.

The road for the first five miles was in the Lakky plain: and for the last two miles in the narrow defile on the bank between the Indus and the mountains, in some places impracticable for more than see camel at a time: on one side the river, the bank an abrupt precipice of about fifty feet, which the current was undermining and the mountain, rising almost perpendicularly to six or seven hundred feet, on the other. At the end of this perilous defile, where the bank under the mountain terminated, the road suddenly turned to the left, and ascended over the face of the hill; the declivity being moderated by following a cleft of the rock along the side of the mountain. Since the river has now carried away the whole of the bank, a new ascent has been sought nearer to Lukky, and a new road will soon be established; the mountain being neither too lofty nor precipitous to close up the communications of the country.

I dismounted at the ascent, and climbed to the ridge of the mountain by the straightest road. The broad river below was seen glittering under the bright light of the rising sun, and twisting its mazy course in the most tortuous windings that the imagination could suppose possible for such a vast body of water to assume; the serpentine turns being not only returned upon each other in a perpetual repetition of the figures, but their several twists being generally of the horseshoe-shape, with a mere span of land separating and forming the connecting isthmus of each peninsula, — not unlike the winding line which separates the colors in what the heralds call a *bordure nebule*.

Sehwan is too well described by Sir Alexander Burnes to need more than a passing notice. Our fleet of store-boats, &c., had been favored with a fair wind, and had arrived before us, and lay under the town. The same action of the river, which has since swept away the bank at Lukky, has also filled up the branch of the Indus running under Sehwan; and the city in a few years may be like Larkhanu, an inland town. Such are the river's changes in Sindh.

The ruins of Selman present a most interesting object for future leisurely examination, and for antiquarian classical speculation. They form by far the most important relic of antiquity in this country: in fact, with the island fort of Bukkar, the only spot worth visiting to gratify curiosity of this kind in all Sindh. The mosque of Lalshah Baz would form but a very tenth-rate sort of building in any part of India, and would not be named either for its magnitude or architecture.

One farther remark only, and I will proceed: Sehwan is of Asiatic, not of Greek architecture, and cannot have been built by the Macedonians; its arches, and other peculiarities of style, are indisputably Oriental.

Nor yet is it likely to have been the capital city of the chief of the mountaineers, which Alexander took by mining; for the foundation of the fort is on a rock. The Beloochy chief of Khilaut has still the district of Gundava in the plain, and a winter capital in the lowlands of Sindh. The severity of winter in 28° north, at eight thousand feet elevation, is sufficient to cause all who can afford it to remove from the hills to the plains; and the modern history may explain the ancient.

Further, we are not to imagine that the Greek army would move as ours did, in one compact column, fed by its commissariats; for it is not to be supposed, notwithstanding the reports received of his revenues, that Alexander had the three millions sterling in his treasury which Lord Auckland had. His march must, therefore, have been in the most open order, covering the whole face of the country, relying upon its resources, and exhausting all its supplies as the military torrent rolled past. This would spread the Greek army on both banks of the Indus; and, whether the Sambus of antiquity ruled in Beloochistan, or between Roree and Jeysulmeer, in either case there is a mountain tract for his people; and under any circumstances his capital must be supposed to have stood in the alluvial plain, and may have been as far as Gundava west, or as Khyrpor or Noushera east. But it must not be overlooked that Sambus is styled a ruler of Indian mountaineers, and, consequently, that his principality and his capital have the probability of being on the eastern or Indian side of the Indus; this militates against Vincent's theory, which places Sindomana at Sehwan.

The Abbe Terrasson, translating from Diodorus Siculus, book xvii. cap. 56, edition Amsterdam, 1769, gravely asserts that Alexander's first attacks on the natives as he descended the Indus were "*a l' orient du fleuve*,"—which is an interpolation: the original

does not state whether it was to the east or to the west. Again, the historic charts of Le Sage, published in Italian at Florence, carry the boundary of Alexander's dominions over the Jeysulmeer country. I have not the means of tracing the first error to its source, nor of explaining the chart. Diodorus distinctly says that Sambus was sovereign of a nation of Brahmins — I presume of Hindoos; and that he fled with thirty elephants "very far inland from the banks of the river." The probabilities in this case indicate that his dominions were eastward of the Indus.

The army crossed the Arul over a pontoon bridge on the 23rd. Our encampment at Tirity was in the midst of the most interesting land-save we had yet seen:—a fine lake, apparently half a mile wide, and winding in a crescent form probably three miles in length, surrounded by fine trees; a good town, and extensive cultivation. We were now in the Garden of Sindh, which is the space between Shikarpore and Sehwan, and probably one of the most fertile districts in India.

On the 24th occurred one of those *contretemps* to which the best-regulated camps may be liable. Through some misunderstanding of the previous day's orders, several portions of the baggage sent in advance marched in different directions. The Commander-in-chief's tents were pitched three miles distant; the staff mess tent and servants had accompanied them; some extra fatigue to men and cattle was occasioned, but no harm done. The head-quarter staff party spent the day in a *behr* (jujube) garden; the shade of the trees compensated the want of tents, and we made up for the loss of our breakfast by a heartier dinner.

Here we had the first sight of the Bengal followers two messengers dispatched by Mr. M'Naughten to Sir. John Keene, meeting us on this ground. They were clad in scarlet well eased, and mounted on camels very elegantly caparisoned. Their appearance and appointments gave us some idea of the retinue and outfit, of the envoy and minister; and the liberality with which the Bengal Government adorns the tail of its official. A few of these splendidly equipped camel couriers were afterwards lent to Sir John Keane; and we heard that the Bengal staff had cause for amusement in observing the use to which they were applied.

A much worse mischance of orders misunderstood, and followers astray, occurred on the, 1st of March. The Arul is an artificial canal, dug in some long-forgotten age by some patriot sovereign, or by some wise generation which preferred spending their money and labor on what was useful, rather than the usual waste of both, which kings and subjects are alike disposed to indulge in. It leaves the Indus below Larkhanu, and, forming a semicircle of about fifty miles' diameter, runs a course exceeding eighty miles. In order to delay the stream and serve the purpose of irrigation it has been dug in the most tortuous and serpentine course possible; presenting, when filled with the inundation, the exact appearance of a natural river. Every three or four miles along its bank were populous villages, with shady trees and rich cultivation around them.

We had crossed the Arul at Sehwan by a pontoon bridge, and required to recross it at Bukrany, near Larkhanu; but had relied on finding it fordable. When within a march of it, the report arrived that the waters of the river were rising by an earlier inundation than usual; and as we were on the 28th of February at Veer, only twenty-four miles from the Arul, the artillery were ordered next morning to quit the camp after midnight, and ended tour to cross the Arul, in the hope of reaching it before it was swollen too much to be fordable. The rest of the army were to halt at Futehpoor. The order for the advance of the artillery not having been generally known, the result was that airy large proportion of the followers of the army accompanied the baggage-train of the artillery, and travelled to the Arul.

My own fate was different from that of the majority: I had accompanied, as was my wont, our Sindian Mehmander, Zadig Shah, who, though as thorough a rogue, as respected the army, as ever escaped the gallows, (that is, if half what was said of him by one well qualified to judge, be true,) was notwithstanding a very pleasant and communicative companion for a morning's march, knew all about the country, did not object to talk to me about it, enjoyed his joke, and rode chirruping along, like one who thought as the Vicar of Braye thought, that, no matter who ruled in Sindh, the world should go well with Zadig Shah.

The idea of losing my way when travelling with the Sindian official, never occurred to me; and it was only when we had reached the Arul, that is, were sixteen miles further on than we ought to be, that we discovered our error. My friend Zadig Shah made very light of his die-aster: he went at once to the nearest village, sent one of his horsemen to report where he was to Mr. Eastwiek, and another to collect his servants; then promised me a pipe and breakfast if I would dismount. Unhappily the enjoyment of the weed has been denied me by the niggard hand of Nature, my infirmity of head being overpowered by the first puff; consequently nothing remained for me but a struggle through a tamarind copse of dense brushwood, to regain the right road, and to gallop back as fast as I could. After a weary ride, exceeding thirty miles, I reached the camp at one o'clock.

My tent was right, and my servants had not strayed: thus whilst others did not stray, but their servants did, I had a fruitless ride, but my servants were not fatigued. Great discomfort was experienced, especially by the sick, who, for the most part, had followed the artillery camp; whilst others were wandering all day in every direction about the country.

Next day we moved to Bukrany, and found the artillery had not crossed the Arul: happily the rise of the river paused that day, and on the next appeared to subside a little; it was as yet too early to expect the annual inundation. On the 4th it was considered fordable for the artillery, cavalry, and baggage camels, and boats had been

brought up for the infantry: not a moment was lost; the army crossed on that and the following days, and advanced to Larkhanu.

Larkhanu is the capital of a district, a rudely fortified town, with a sort of citadel at its western end, and is supposed to contain about five thousand inhabitants. The surrounding country is the Garden of Sindh, richly cultivated with numerous villages; having a better appearance of comfort and peace, and the protection of, a government, than anything we had as yet seen in the country. The cheap and plentiful bazaars of Larkhanu were less affected than those of any place we had visited by the demands of the army, and prices remained moderate.

Independent of the Arul, which is about five miles south, and takes a westerly and southerly direction round the country to Sehwan, there is another canal about eighteen feet deep and one hundred broad, which, coming from the Indus, passes closer to Larkhanu, and proceeds west-ward and north: we subsequently travelled a stage of fifteen miles, along its course.

It was day at this time, and we were told that the inundation of the preceding year had net attained its height, and filled its bed as usual; but within every hundred yards of its extent there were wells dug in the channel, and an industrious agricultural population were seen employed in irrigating extensive tracts of the finest wheat-fields.

Our baggage, stores, and hospital-boats arrived at Larkhanu a few days after us; and the camp-sutlers continued to provide supplies of all kinds at a very reasonable advance on the Bombay prices. They would have reaped a rich harvest had they contrived to reach Sukkur in time to meet the Bengal column: this golden opportunity was lost, partly through the difficulty of procuring boats, which were all retained as fast as found for the commissariat; and partly through the hesitation at Thatta and Jerruk. The tradesmen not being allowed to risk their lives and commodities in advance, long ere they reached Sukkur, the Bengal column had travelled beyond the reach of their anxious friends in the bazaar of the Bombay division.

On the 4th of March was issued the general order which announced that we were part and parcel of the army of the Indus. The public curiosity will ere long have had enough to satiate it, however inordinate, on all that relates to our military arrangements. I know not how many reams of paper, or how many gallons of ink have been expended in military and political histories; suffice it to say, that these are matters beyond my caliber, as well as beyond my ambition.

CHAPTER IX.

Struggle for commissariat supplies between the Bengal and Bombay divisions. – Paper war between their partisans. – March of our division. – Shadiur. – Arrival at Keechry. – Fertility of the country near Jul. – Loss of one of my camels – Accident to Captain Outram. – Recovery of my loss. – Departure of his Excellency for Kandahar. – General Willehire assumes the command. – Duplicity of the Khan of Khelaut. – Destruction of our mails. – Arrival of Captain Curtis with supplies. – Advance of the division. – Mangled corpse of a Beloochy. – Execution at Sonny of two camel-stealers. – Inefficacy of the example. – Storm. – Fatal accident. – False alarm. – Confusion in the camp. – Discomforts of the service. – Daudur. – Bengal and Bombay field-equipage. – News from Karachi. – Death of Colonel Powell. – Murder of Captain Hand.

WHEN the Bengal division marched from Roree to the rescue of the Bombay army in its perilous vicinity to the Beloochies of Hyderabad, the regular and irregular troops of Shah Soojah, having crowed the Indus made a parallel march on the western bank of the river, and advanced to Larkhanu. Their pioneers had advanced two or three stages in front, and before our arrival at Larkhanu we experienced the happiness of falling into the track of a better-appointed army than our own; and were unexpectedly convinced by those preparations of a road, &c., which can be made by the simple plan of sending the pioneers a few days in front to level inequalities, cut down brushwood, and dig through wafer-channels. This arrangement was first learnt from the Bengal division; not because the staff of the Bombay army were incapable of imagining its advisability, but because our leader preferred that the pioneers should never be more than one day's march in advance, the dangers with which we were supposed to be environed rendering it prudent that the whole force should be within reach of mutual support.

Shah Soojah's force had returned to Shikarpore before our arrival at Larkhanu; the Bengal Division had crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats at Bukkur, and everything was now prepared for the advance on Khandahar; but thereon commenced the struggle for the commissariat supplies and establishments, between the Bengal and Bombay divisions, which occasioned, so vehement a paper war in the columns of the *Agra Ukhbur* and the *Calcutta Englishman*.

Great was the vituperation bestowed on the Bombay column: and it was asserted by the Nagel correspondents, that no part of the Bombay division ought to have advanced beyond Shikarpore, and that the Bengal column was equal to all that was to be done; that every-stage travelled by the Bombay troops was needlessly adding to the expense of the campaign by taking them away from their own presidency, whilst the Bengal troops had already reached what was nearly their maximum of distance, and the route to Kabul was, in fact approximating to the point whence they set forth from Loodiana.

Finally, Sir Willeughby Cotton, in command of the Bengal division, was gravely charged with having unauthorisedly made a bold start in the hope of leaving the Bombay division sufficiently far behind to have rendered it impracticable for them to trench on the resources of the leading column.

The particulars of all the momentous events of this momentous period will, no doubt, be fully detailed in the several forthcoming accounts of what the Earl of Auckland's manifesto declares to be the placing of a friendly power to the west, and what Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Esquire, of Bombay, has been pleased to designate "the conquest of Affghanistan;" the result seems to have proved, however, that the supply was not equal to the demand, and that the resources in our power were scarcely husbanded with sufficient caution.

Whilst the Bengal frontier authorities contemplated with "dry eyes" the advance of their commissariat from Loodiana, and sent three thousand camels across the Jeysulmeer desert from Ajemeer to Roree, Colonel Pottinger prohibited the camels for the Bombay division collected at Deesa from crossing half the distance of the same route, and compelled them to march seven hundred miles round by Arrysir, and Bhooj, and Luckput, and through Sindh, instead of three hundred miles across, via Balmeer! Thus all the advantages and assistance that we might have derived from Guzerat and Marwar were denied us, or received only through Kutch, in a manner that nullified them by the delay and fatigue of a circuitous journey.

But the Bengal papers did not content themselves with charging the leader with a partiality for his Bombay troops, injurious to the Bengal army and to the public interests; it was peremptorily asserted that, whilst the pressure for carriage was so excessive, that even the field-hospital supplies of surplus medical stores of the Bombay division were left behind, and for which forty camels would have sufficed, his Excellency was pleased to appropriate two hundred and sixty of the commissariat public camels for the conveyance of his own tents and chattels and the baggage of his staff. This was printed in every paper, roundly and publicly asserted in all shapes, and never in my hearing contradicted.

The officers of the Bengal Commissariat appeared to be altogether unprepared for the position in which they found themselves, and utterly astonished at the novel official tone adopted towards them; but this is their own affair, and they are fully equal to the narration of their own difficulties and grievances.

Suffice it to say, that the Bengal division was seriously crippled, and the Bombay Division not half equipped: and the final orders were, that Brigadier Gordon with three of the Bombay native regiments should garrison Bukkur, to cover the rear of our advance, and keep up the communication of the army with the Indus. That the Bengal division should march by Shikarpore and Baug to Daudur, and through the Bolan Pass;

and the Bombay division by Gundava, and if possible through the Gundava Pass to Khelent. The former were already advanced, and on the 12th March the Bombay division, now reduced to one thousand eight hundred and fifty. Europeans, and one thousand eight hundred and twenty natives, left Larkhanu, travelling due east, to cross the desert to Gundava.

The third march brought us to Shadadpore the country for the last twenty miles was more like the dry bed of a salt lagoon in an interval between spring-tides, than an inland district; only two or three miserable villages were found in this dreary region, and even these were abandoned by the inhabitants, who, in ignorance of British discipline, apprehended the excesses of a native army. On the evening of the 14th General Willshire'a brigade marched to cross the desert; some unlucky loss of road occasioned delay and fatigues and the infantry brigade, did not reach its destination till the next day at past two in the afternoon, having made a March exceeding thirty miles.

The, following evening the head-quarter staff and cavalry brigades crossed also. Our preparations for this our first serious difficulty were proportionate to its novelty and importance; but like the landing at the Hujamry, and the bravery of the Beloochies at Jerruk, this also proved, more formidable in the contemplation than the accomplishment.

Our staff mess dinner was served at two o'clock, at four o'clock the baggage started, and at five o'clock the march commenced. In less than half an hour we reached the desert; not an expanse of loose heavy sand like the sea-beach when dry, as I had expected, but a boundless level plain of indurated clay of a dull dry earthy color, and showing signs of being sometimes under water. At first a few bushes were apparent here and there, growing gradually more and more distant, until at last not a sign of vegetable life was to be recognized.

At eight o'clock a halt was called for rest; the march resumed in an hour, and continued until twelve o'clock. A short halt, and march again until two o'clock, when we found ourselves across the desert at Shadiur: but this place, which had been intended to be our halt, had been found by General Wiltshire's leading column not to have water sufficient for the wants of the army, and he had proceeded onward to Keechry; thither therefore we followed.

It was a bright star-light night, and the plain, dry, level road of the desert, had offered no impediments: we had only the distance of thirty-two miles to conquer, and to those who were mounted it was merely the discomfort of the saddle instead of the pillow that we had to complain of; but, after leaving Shadiur, some anxiety occurred as to the route. The village abandoned by its inhabitants had been most unhappily set on fire by some of our vagabond followers making fires to warm themselves, and the blazing light illuminated the country round; the fire clearly marked the site behind, and the stars

showed that our course, instead of north-east, had become south,—fortunately we were travelling right. By four o'clock, we reached Keechry, where General Wilshire was encamped. I was more fortunate than my companions; I had immediately on rising the preceding day sent my sleeping-tent and bed in advance, and on arriving at Keechry I found it on the ground. It was soon pitched; I enjoyed in a comfortable bed and sound sleep a sweet oblivion of toils and cares, and awoke at eight o'clock in the morning unconscious of fatigue.

The tinkling of the camel's bells upon the desert is a sound that does more than make a man wish himself the companion of truth in a well! it comforts him with the knowledge of where his servants and baggage are; and delightful was the intelligence imparted on this night. The broad level plain had permitted our baggage-train to travel undelayed by any impediment whatever; and great was our surprise to find they had made so much way, when we overtook them near Shadiur after midnight. Our tents were all up by sunrise, and no loss sustained by any one.

Our camp at Keechry was at the base of a rocky, range: of hills, very much resembling the Lukky mountains; apparently of the same elevation, equally bare on the surface and rugged in the outline. A plentiful stream of water, in a channel brought from the mountains for irrigation, supplied us abundantly. We had no dearth in the bazaar; and as respected our hospitals, after all the labors of such a march we had but seventy-seven Europeans in the sick report out of one thousand eight hundred and fifty, and forty-two natives out of one thousand eight hundred and twenty: it was evident that the army was not the worse for the labor it had gone through.

The preceding few days had been hot and sultry; clouds were now gathering; a thunder-storm on the night of the 17th cleared the air, and reduced the thermometer from 104° to 80°.

On the 18th we marched twenty miles to Jul, across another portion of the desert; halted the 19th; again advanced thirteen miles on the 20th to Punjkote; and on the 21st, twelve miles to Gundava. The country from Jul was under the command of a plentiful supply of water, and needs only what the Duke of Wellington is reported to have said was equally wanted in England during the last session of Parliament, "a government."

With security of person and property, this district would have all the agricultural wealth that a rich soil and inexhaustible means of irrigation can bestow; but during the past forty years it has been a scene of anarchy and bloodshed, where every village was a robber's hold, and the field that was cultivated was guarded by the sword.

On the morning of the 21st, on our arrival at Gundava, I had the melancholy satisfaction of thinking that I was not the most unlucky Wight in the Bombay column. On riding towards the new ground of encampment, I was met by Captain Outram, who told me,

in the most consolatory tone and terms he could devise, that one of my camels, with all its load of my baggage, had been carried off by thieves. This was no jest. I had no knowledge of what was gone. It might be all my clothes, part of my tent, all my supplies, or I knew not what. I galloped to the staff-lines, and found my camp-case, with all my table-furniture of plate, glass, and crockery, and half my wine, was the missing property.

Great indeed was my vexation; but, ere it was half digested, a clamor and rumor, as of some accident, were heard, and I soon ascertained that poor Outram, after leaving me, as I galloped one way to inquire into the extent of my disaster, and he the other, had had a most serious accident, his horse rolling headlong, and crushing him in the fall. He was dashed on the ground, with the hilt of his sword under him, and had suffered the very unusual injury of a fracture of the pelvis-bone at the crest of the ilium; and thus in a moment, and in the midst of a distinguished career of important usefulness, was this valuable officer to be a bedridden cripple, and the army to be deprived of his energetic virtues and profound knowledge. I felt ashamed to have repined at the loss of some paltry property, when at the instant a calamity so much more distressing was occurring to one so peculiarly situated.

Captain Outram, after a month's confinement, resumed his duties; but he never regained his position until he left the chief's establishment, and displayed new qualities on a new field of action under the envoy and minister at Ghizni and Kabul. His name was not mentioned in the Ghizni dispatch, and he has not been honored in the London Gazette; but 'his services have been fully acknowledged by the Bombay Government, and be has not suffered by the neglect of Lord Keane.

I suffered less in the end, as well as in the event, than my companion in misfortune; for a party of Major Cunningham's horse traced my stolen camel into a village, and thereon seized the village leader, and brought him into camp. The thieves were glad to ransom him by the restoration of my camel, and the chief part of its load. The rogues had broken open my boxes, and destroyed much of the glass and crockery. The plate was by a strange luck all safe, a pair of plated dishes alone missing. It was a great satisfaction to think of the robbers' disappointment, when, expecting a booty of silver, they must have been mortified by finding it copper. The several articles were wont to be packed in green-baize bags. These bags had served the robbers for the distribution of their prey; and it was an exceedingly agreeable occupation to empty them in succession, and find the several articles that I had never hoped to see again.

On the 23rd March the Commander-in-chief and his personal staff took their departure from our camp, escorted by a wing of the 1st regiment of Bombay Cavalry, and another of the 19th regiment of Native Infantry; and we did not see them again until we reached Kandahar. The command now devolved on General Willshire, whose subsequent

career, from this date to the brilliant exploit of the conquest of Khelaut, must form the chief subject of this narrative.

The party sent to explore the Gundava Pass had returned to camp before the chief's departure, and pronounced it utterly impracticable for artillery; but, as General Wilshire returned by that route in December following, it may be presumed that a different survey of the route might have been made, and a different report received on its capabilities.

The Khan of Khelaut had been largely bribed by money payments, and the most lavish promises of personal aggrandizement and extension of territory, to join the standard of Shah Soojah, and facilitate the advance of the army. His system appears to have been that of giving the most unqualified promises of allegiance and cooperation; eagerly accepting and appropriating whatever was offered, but performing nothing; and, instead of facilitating the advance of the army, throwing every obstruction in our way short of personally leading his followers and dependents on their plundering expeditions. Had the Bombay column advanced direct upon Khelaut, his position would have been so altered that his influence over the robber-tribes would have been diminished, if not destroyed; and all that harassing uncertainty and predatory system which occupied the rear brigade in the vicinity of Shikarpore, and which rendered it necessary to leave General Notes division and a corps of artillery at Quetta, might perhaps have been avoided.

Our evils of plundered posts, and the interruption of correspondence with Bombay and Bengal, commenced on the 27th of March; and from that 'date, to our arrival at Kabul in August, no letter was dispatched with any certain confidence of its reaching its destination. The destruction of our mails, in the pure wantonness of mischief, appeared the particular pleasure of our Beloochy allies, the subjects of the Khan of Khelaut; and they could not have taken a course more seriously or more painfully annoying. Some ludicrous, but by no means pleasant occurrences to the parties interested, were the result of fragments of correspondence reaching others than those for whom the original addresses had intended them.

On the 31st of March we had been joined by Captain Curtis of the Bengal Commissariat, with the portion of the supplies on which the advance of the Bombay column depended; and General Willshire moved forward to Gajim.

The weather was now hot, and our marches commenced at such an hour after midnight as allowed of the journey being completed before the extreme heat of the day set in. On the 2nd of April we moved at midnight for a march of twenty-two miles, from Shooram to Shoony; which was completed by the cavalry before six, and by the infantry at half-past eight o'clock. On this march we first met with the subsequently familiar spectacle of a mangled corpse left weltering on the road where the deed of blood had been

perpetrated; it was a beautifully clear moonlight night, and Macfarlane's lantern, which had formerly lighted the Scotch freebooters to the forage and the "kind gallows," had equally tempted and assisted the fallen Beloochy to his last expedition and its bloody close.

We stopped to examine the corpse: it was that of a powerful athletic man, whose long, luxuriant, raven-black tresses fell in thick rich curls about his shoulders; the picturesque head-dress of the Beloochies being their natural hair, allowed to grow as wildly and profusely as nature permitted: and finer hair, in fuller, glossy, long, curly ringlets, I have never seen. Whilst on the subject, I may mention that, in crossing the desert, we found ourselves in contact with a new tribe, of much finer features, and more athletic bulk and greater height, than any we had left in Sindh. I have seldom seen a countenance of a sweeter mild expression, or more deeply interesting to contemplate, than that of the representative and relation of Miraub Khan of Khelaut, the governor of Gundava: it more nearly approached the portraits left us by the old masters of the Italian art, of the divine object of Christian reverence than any living face I ever saw.

At Soony was first exercised the final summary proceeding of martial law on offenders detected, *flagrante delicto*, in the very act of carrying off camels and baggage: two Beloochies, so arrested, were hung here by order of Sir John Keane. The village authorities being warned of the displeasure of the British Government if the bodies were touched, "You must hang them very high then, and cut away the lower branches," replied the local potentate; "for the whole population of these borders are such arrant thieves, that they will dislodge the dead from their airy swinging-place for the sake of the ropes you have bestowed to hang them!"

It admits of a query, whether an undisguised and most unmitigated flogging, that should have put the offenders *hors de combat* for a month, would not have operated more beneficially as an example than the execution. Such punishment would certainly have been more likely to have been heard of by their usual companions in the free-trade; and, as respects their forfeiture of life by their criminality, had they been killed in the capture or the affray, it is clear that they had put themselves into the way of it, and might be supposed to have gone with their lives in their hands prepared for such contingencies; but execution after capture is another matter. These people were thieves by profession, and from their birth; and the whole country for forty years had been a scene of anarchy, confusion and deeds of violence: its inhabitants could not, therefore, be tried by our ordinary rules, or implicated in our estimates of criminality. Beyond doubt it was grievously inconvenient to be robbed of our camels; and, if hanging Beloochies could have prevented robberies, they were well hung: but, to effect security, it would have been so nearly necessary to have hung the whole population of the country, that the feasibility as well as humanity of the expedient becomes questionable.

The evening of the 3rd of April was one of the most disagreeable of the campaign; we had halted that day, and some camels had been stolen on that and the preceding days, notwithstanding the hanging. Major Cunningham, always on the alert, had pursued one party of the thieves; and, killing several, had recovered the lost property, and brought in several prisoners. In this excitement a report was brought in that a strong body of the enemy were actually approaching to attack the camp; at the same time a sudden storm, following a close sultry day, came on with gusts of wind, enveloping us in a thick cloud of dust. In the midst of this confusion, an officer's servant heedlessly handling his master's loaded fowling-piece, it went off; and the charge, passing through the tent walls, lodged in the body of an unfortunate washer man of the hospital of her Majesty's 17th regiment, and killed the poor fellow on the spot.

No one at first knew whence the shot had come, the enemy were actually believed to be in the camp; and a troop of cavalry which had been turned out on the first alarm now came up, and were sent off at speed in pursuit of the supposed enemy in their supposed flight; everyone seemed possessed with the spirit of error, and appeared bent on blundering, as if deliberately adding to the confusion and turmoil: the wind in the meantime howling round our tents, and the dust obscuring the twilight of the closing evening.

We marched at midnight, and reached Nousherra at six o'clock, a distance of eighteen miles. We had scarcely breakfasted ere the alarm of thieves was given, and cavalry ordered out; but the enemy had been successful. Among other sufferers my excellent friend and coadjutor Field-surgeon Pinhey had no less than six of his camels stolen: a most serious loss, and by no means to be estimated at eighty rupees per camel, the average cost of the animal; for such a misfortune entails the additional grievance of the necessity of abandoning the baggage the poor beasts had carried. We soon acquired a very painful familiarity with this calamitous occurrence also.

It was a hot morning, and the thermometer was 104°; but clouds gathered at noon, and at three P. M. came on a gale of wind, followed by rain: the thermometer fell with it to 86°. Poor Pinhey, who seemed the butt for the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" for that day, had his tent blown down by the squall; and Major Hagart, his chum, was bruised and wounded by the tent-pole falling. The "gentlemen of England who live at home at ease" have little idea of the misery of having camels stolen on a march in an enemy's country, or the discomfort and injury of a tent struck over one's head without warning by a squall.

The next morning (April 5th) brought us, after a short march, to Daudur. On the road we crossed the Bolan river, about nine miles below where it issues from the pass into the level plain: it was a broad stream, with a deep wide bed, indicating an immense flood of water during rain.

At Daudur we found a detachment of Bengal troops, under Major Griffith, with a depot of their commissariat; they were the first we had met, and we could not but envy the superiority of their field-equipage, and the skill of their tent-makers. The coast position of the Bombay Presidency occasions so much of the travelling from station to station to be made by sea, that the outlay in tents, which a Bengal officer considers his first care and indispensably necessary, is seldom incurred in Bombay. Our tents, as compared with those of the Bengal camp, were flimsy in texture and ill-shaped; possessing fortunately, however, the compensating advantage of lightness and portability, which, when once above the Bolan Pass, and in the milder climate of Kabul, rendered them good enough for use and more easy to march with, though in every other respect as inferior as possible.

On the 7th a post arrived from the chief's camp, and gave us a delightful account of the climate of the upper region; a slight snowstorm had been experienced about the end of March, whilst we were suffering the extremes of heat. On the 8th the remains of our expected commissariat supplies arrived from Shikarpore; on the 9th our artillery division commenced its march through the Bolan Pass, and on the 12th the infantry and cavalry followed.

On the 10th we received a post from Bombay of March 8th, and from Karachi of March 23rd. By the latter we learnt the sad occurrences of the death of Colonel Powell, of her Majesty's 40th regiment, of cholera, and the murder of Captain Hand, of the 2nd Bombay Grenadiers. Both were melancholy illustrations of the climate and the people we had to deal with.

Though the sparrow does not fall without its Maker's knowledge, the singular chances and changes of our mortal life have a fearful appearance of being but the sport of accident. Poor Hand had gone forth for a morning ride; and, straying idly about at no great distance from the camp, fell unarmed, and dreaming of no danger, into the hands of a body of thieves who were lurking about the camp in quest of plunder: he was cruelly murdered, and his horse carried off.

Lieutenant Clarke, of the same regiment, was out shooting, and saw enough to excite his suspicion that all was not right. He rode in the direction in which Captain Hand had gone, and came up with the robbers as they were escaping with the horse. They at once fired on, and wounded him. He turned his horse, and had barely strength to reach the camp, and give the alarm, ere he fainted from loss of blood.

Detachments were immediately sent out, and the body of the murdered officer was brought Some of the murderers were subsequently traced and captured, and one was executed.

CHAPTER X.

Sickness in the camp. – Preparations for crossing the Bolan Pass. – Entrance of the pass. – Robbers' cave. – Unburied corpses left in the track of the Bengal division. – Scene of a sharp skirmish. – Halt at Khoondye. – Thieves. – Anticipations of a warm night. – Savage character of the scene. – Our camp at Beeby Nany. – Extensive burial-place. – Local tradition. – Grave of Lieut. Ramsay of the Bengal division. – Aub-i-gooud. – Improvement in the temperature. – Noisy gathering round the Bolan spring. – Our cavalry fired upon from the hills. – The insult avenged by our infantry. – Pleasant information. – Pitiable and unavailing execution. – Arrival at Quetta.

DURING our stay at Daudur, from April 5th to 12th, the heat had become extreme, and considerable sickness was felt. The natives of the country were unaccustomed to it, and attributed it to the pollution of the Bolan river, whence all their supply of water is derived, by the thousands of dead camels and other carcases left in the Bolan Pass by the advancing Bengal column. We saw sufficient, a few days after, to justify such an opinion.

As the pass afforded no forage or supplies for seven marches, our preparations were made to carry with us as much grass as we could, and all the grain our cattle needed; even a large quantity of firewood was conveyed by the commissariat for the use of the hospital, &c.

On the 12th we marched from Daudur, and in two hours reached the entrance of the pass: a valley at its outlet not half a mile wide; the first hills receding in ranges north and south, not more than four hundred feet high; the Bolan river, with a broad shallow pebbly bed, winding across and across the valley. At the very entrance, and on the face of the first hill on the southern side, appeared signs of the sort of gentle swains that usually occupied the banks of the Bolan. Midway up the hill was seen an opening; and this, when examined, presented the beau ideal of the robbers' cave of Gil Blas, being the upper ventilator to an excavation entered by a tunnel below, through which only one horse could be carefully led at a time, but within equal in area to accommodate a hundred men. The approach to the gateway of the tunnel was well concealed. The place spoke for itself; and a fitter habitation for men of blood, or a more appropriate locality for deeds of violence, cannot be imagined.

After advancing three miles, the pass narrowed to about two hundred yards; and the windings of the river were so tortuous, that the column forded it seven times. We were afterwards painfully accustomed to the sad sight of the unburied dead, left rotting on the road. It was surely criminal against God, as well as man, to leave those poor relics of

humanity thus unheeded and abandoned! Among them were two women: one had fallen, fearfully cut by the death-wound that had destroyed her. She lay, poor creature on the edge of the water; and her long black hair was floating in the ripples of the clear stream, into which she was soon to be dissolved. Turning an abrupt corner where the bluff rock jutted boldly into the stream, and a broad marshy spot of tall flags and rushes extended about half a mile up the pass, we came on the scene of a skirmish, where a party of Shah Soojah's people had been evidently very roughly handled by the mountain thieves: the dead lay in heaps. Someone, who had a stronger stomach or nose less acute than myself, said he counted thirty, and that there still might be seen many more among the rushes. Had my judgment and my opinion, thus unaided, been asked, I should have said I saw at least a hundred.

From hence the pass was not two hundred yards broad, and the mountains were probably a thousand feet high on either side. At eleven miles from Daudur we reached our first halting-place, Khoondye, named from the Beloochy word for the acacia-tree; there being two or three that may have been tolerably fine ones ere lopped and thinned by our advance. Happy were those who had provided iron tent-pegs: our tents we fastened as we best could, in the pebbly bed of the river, among the bolder stones and rocks smoothed and rounded by the winter torrents of the Bolan. The day was excessively hot,—thermometer at 110°; and the mountain thieves peeping over the crests of the inaccessible heights gave us reason to suppose the possibility of the following night being hot too: but we slept in peace.

On the 18th we marched at five o'clock through a fearful defile. The hills, before we reached the last halting-ground, had been what is termed conglomerate,—masses of a thousand feet high, of pebbles such as are found at the bottoms of rivers, apparently rounded and polished by the action of water, and held together by a very coarse open limestone or sandstone: but the next gorge or chasm was through what I had been told to consider coral rock, of a gray-white color, and a compact homogeneous substance, splintering with a smooth surface of fracture; precisely the stone used in lithography. The ravine through which the river broke was not fifty feet broad, the mountains rising perpendicularly on each hand to near a thousand feet; whilst everywhere in the face of the rocks were excavations, partly natural, partly artificial, that bore unquestionable signs of having been inhabited by ruffians more savage than the scene. The heart ached to think of what men had been, and what men had suffered and angels wept aver, in this horrible wilderness.

This march of ten miles forms the lower strength of the pass; the river, winding backwards and forwards across the ravine, requires to be forded seventeen times: at the end of it we reached a few miserable huts designated the village of Keerta.

The third march, of nine miles to Beeby Nany, was through a comparatively open country: there was one narrow pass between two hills, but it might have been turned;

the hills were isolated. All this stage was ascent, over loose pebbles like the bed of a river. From the entrance of the pass to Keerta, its distance, twenty-one miles, must be trebled by the tortuous course of the current of the river; yet the stream is everywhere a noisy rapid watercourse, indicating a very considerable fall to produce such a force of current. The past day had been very hot, and the putrid stench of the carcases of the dead camels left on the road by the Bengal column polluted the air, and was most distressingly painful. We had not yet benefited in climate by ascent.

Our camp at Beeby Nany was the first open spot we had seen in the pass, on the bank of a beautiful stream, and where two valleys meet between different ranges of mountains: one of them, extending westward, affords a difficult road direct to Moostong; the other is the usual route to Quetta.

An extensive burial-place showed a scene of carnage; and tradition recorded the treachery of the mountaineers, who had once seduced a caravan thus far ere they assailed them: they were said to have sold their lives dearly ere overpowered by numbers, and more of the robbers than their victims are buried there. A new grave, with some little appearance of a cairn over it, marked, as we afterwards learnt, the last resting-place of Lieutenant Ramsay of the Bengal column; his brother was in our camp, and, I believe, at the time unaware of the untimely end of the deceased.

Our fourth march of ten miles was to *Aub-i-gooud*, or "lost water;" being the place where the Bolan is absorbed by the loose pebbly stratum it flows over, sinks into it, and, percolating through a lower level, reappears many miles below. We were now aware of the fresher mountain air; the thermometer in our paltry small tents, for we could not pitch any but servants' tents and sleeping-tents, was already fallen to 94°. We had not ascended less than two thousand feet; but so gradual had it appeared, that it was scarcely perceptible.

The fifth march was to Sir-i-Bolan, or the fountain-head of the Bolan river. The camp was in what appeared the dry bed of a mountain torrent, which would present a cataract of two hundred yards broad, and many feet deep, if the marks on the banks could be relied on the lofty hills on each hand were again of the conglomerate character; but when or how these could ever have been formed under water, surpasses my comprehension.

We arrived on this ground at ten in the morning of the 16th of April; and the next march was a stage of twenty-eight miles, there being no water between Sir-i-Bolan in the Pass, and Sir-i-Aub in Affghanistan. Preparations were made for the morrow, and at daylight a party moved in advance with all the commissariat stores and heavy baggage, carrying a small supply of water; the column moved at one o'clock P.M. of the 17th. We halted a few minutes to take our last draught of the Bolan spring,—a noble fountain certainly, and more perfectly realizing our idea of that miraculous stream which the rod

of Moses called forth from the flinty rocks of the wilderness of Sinai when an emigrant nation drank at its well-head, than anything I have ever seen or heard of. They might have done the same at the Bolan: a fine river rolls out through a few small openings, forming, as its crystal flood gushes into air, a gladsome stream, as pure and cold as Nature can create it, and amply sufficient for the wants of an army.

Subsequent events often brought back to our recollection the cheerful noisy gathering round that spring.

The concluding ten miles of the pass are through a fearfully wild ravine, winding zigzag, like the teeth of a saw, between frightfully overhanging precipices of perpendicular rocks ascending to a thousand feet on either hand, and the clear blue sky above deepened in color by the somber shade in which we stood at the bottom of the gorge. We had marched about six miles, and it was about three o'clock, when the alarm was given in front that some stragglers of the enemy's plunderers were seen; and in turning round one of the rudest and strongest defiles of the pass into an opener space, where accessible hills on either hand receded in rounded bluff headlands, instead of perpendicular precipices, like the partial sides of an earthquake-severed chasm, we saw a party of probably a hundred armed men scrambling eagerly to get over the ridge of a hill and out of sight. They were out of musket-shot; but better preparation, and a horse-artillery gun with grape, would have taught them a lesson as to the peril of putting themselves so near us, and the folly they had committed in not attacking us sooner.

The hills on our left were still completely commanding us; several of the enemy were seen ensconced in the cliffs, and our Deputy Judge-Advocate General took occasion to dismount, and fire a rifle at one of them. Speaking professionally of our fugleman, it was unluckily "sending up a charge against a man that he could not bring home:" but the fellow's fire in return was more efficient, and a horse was shot; immediately a desultory fire was opened on us by the rest of his company.

Our infantry were at least three miles in the rear, our artillery a stage ahead; we had only three hundred of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons, and about the same strength of the 1st Bombay Cavalry. Six hundred horsemen, in a narrow defile completely commanded, had great reason to be thankful that the attack did not commence until just as we had emerged from it; and, most happily for us, our baggage was in front. The order was issued to push on, and in a few minutes we were clear of the danger.

One European and three natives only were wounded, six horses killed and a few slightly wounded; this was cheap indeed, compared with what might have been. The Beloochies, emboldened by the non-resistance of the cavalry, awaited the arrival of the infantry, and were taught a lesson which the fast approach of night rendered less effectual than we had hoped it might have been: several, however, of the enemy fell,

and not a man of our infantry was touched; the enemy being surprised by our flanking parties scaling the cliff, and turning their rear.

When the cavalry had reached an open glade of perhaps a quarter of a mile wide, with rounded hills on each side, a halt was called to ascertain the loss, and count casualties. Some followers arriving from the rear were loquacious and loud-tongued in the recital of their hairbreadth escapes, and their valorous performance in their own escape, and rescue of the baggage entrusted to their charge. A servant riding his master's spare horse coming up, and Brigadier Scott of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons, who commanded the cavalry brigade of the Bombay column, and myself being together, we asked him if he knew whether any and what property had fallen into the hands of the enemy. He replied that he thought all had escaped, except that two camels had been abandoned by the servants in charge of them, and had been carried off; and that these two belonged to Colonel E. Scott Sahib and General Doctor Kennedy Sahib. Pleasant information, and no mistake! I never in my life heard my own name so distinctly pronounced by a native.

Thus Colonel Scott and myself had the pleasure to know that our sleeping-tents, beds, bedding, part of our clothes, and very many trifling essentials, of little money value, but very necessary for comfort, and not to be replaced at any price where we then were, had been carried off; and we had to make the best we could of our bad bargain. The cowardice of our servants, who thought they were retarded by the camels, was the cause of our loss; for, having selected good camels, they had marched with the cavalry, and need not have lagged behind. I never asked my brutes a question; it was of no use. Colonel Scott, more inquisitive, or less philosophical, heard the fearful tale of his people's danger. The goat, they said, was shot; and, when blood was shed, they considered it time to be stirring, and ran for their lives: and my people disclaimed the honor of having been first in the race.

Verily it was no jest; for had we been attacked in the middle instead of at the end of one of the strongest passes in the world, and had the number of men we saw around us— fully three hundred, and probably as many more not seen, but many were evidently there, — thrown up any breastwork to block the road, nowhere fifty yards across, and rolled stones down the hills to impede our advance or retreat, but few of our party could possibly have survived to tell the tale of the Bolan Pass.

A steep ascent, of probably five hundred feet in less than half a mile, took us over the crest of the last ridge, and the level plain of Affghanistan lay before us. The air at sunset was chilly cold; and we had the perfect knowledge of a new climate, as well as of a new country. A dreary march of nearly twenty miles brought us to the camp of our advanced party; and we halted for the night. The following morning, a short march of eight miles brought us to Sir-i-Aub: there we halted during the 19th to recruit our cattle.

The ascent of six thousand feet from Daudur had brought us to a region where water boiled at a line below 200° of Fahrenheit: and the thermometer was at the minimum 50°, and maximum 88°; sinking rapidly after half-past one, the maximum hour in a tent, to 65°, the temperature at sunset. At Daudur, on the 11th, the minimum of the thermometer was 82°, and maximum 106°; and 98° at sunset. The pleasurable sensation of the European climate we were in is not to be described. We were never weary of admiring the spring-blossoms of iris and harebell with which the turf was enameled. A somewhat coarsely scented variety of southern-wood shed its strong perfume wherever we trod, and covered the country like heather.

The cultivation round the village was equally new: finely irrigated fields of lucerne and clover; and the spring-wheat was pale-green, in the first blade, not a span high; whilst in the country below the pass the yellow harvest was already ripe, and the reaping had commenced in the vicinity of Daudur.

Every day was now destined to have its catastrophe: ten Beloochies had been summarily executed on this ground by Colonel Sandwith of the 1st regiment of Native Cavalry, underwritten orders from Sir John Keane, as his Excellency passed with the Bengal column. The first order was a verbal one; but Colonel Sandwich, not liking it, required a written one, and received it on half a sheet of note-paper. He has had the wisdom to preserve it. The poor wretches had their elbows secured, and were made to sit on the ground; when each had a bullet sent through his brain from a carbine. Lieutenant Loch, the officer who superintended the execution, spoke very feelingly of what he had been no willing agent in. Some of them, he said, sat quietly down and submitted to their fate; some resisted, and, to keep them quiet, the execution-party fastened their heads together by their long luxuriant hair, which served to secure them for their destruction. Two young lads seemed horrified to bewilderment by their fears, and implored for mercy, seizing the feet and knees of the superintending officer; but they were made to sit down. Ere the fatal volley exploded, they were endeavoring to embrace, leaning their heads against each other, weeping bitterly their last farewell.

This was sad work, and did no good: we were robbed, and our camels stolen at every stage. The next morning, the 20th, Captain Davidson, Commissary General, had one of his camels led off from the spot where his tent had stood: it had been struck, his baggage packed, and cattle loaded; and, whilst his servants waited for the advance of the column to take their place in the line, one of the camels was abstracted with as much apparent ease, and as perfect impunity, as if such a beast so loaded could have been put in the thief's pocket and carried off at speed. A hue and cry was made, — day was breaking, — but the camel was gone.

On the 20th of April, we marched to Quetta, the capital town of the province of Shaul; a small place of poor appearance, and its population ground to the dust by the exactions of its government, and the free-trading character of its neighbors. Until our tents

arrived and were pitching, we rested in a noble orchard. Fine standards of the size of forest-trees, apple, pear, peach, apricot, and plum, were surmounted and overhung with gigantic vines, which wreathing round the trunks, and extending to the remotest branches, festooned from tree to tree in a wild luxuriance of growth such as I had never dreamt of seeing in fruit-trees and the vine: it was the first month in spring, and they were covered with blossoms which perfumed the air, and presented a picture of horticultural beauty surpassing description.

To one who, like myself, had not seen European trees and fruits for nearly twenty-nine years, the sight was refreshing and exhilarating in the extreme; recalling the pleasant days and dreams of happy youth, and reviving those recollections which remain unforgotten to our graves, through all the chances and changes of mortal life, however varied. They came like dew upon the new-mown grass over the cold and callous heart of age and experience, amid scenes and doings so wildly opposite, that fancy could imagine them to resemble that view of heaven which the parable permits the rich man out of the depths of hell.

CHAPTER XI.

The sick left at Quetta. – Creditable marching of the Bombay column. – Great desertion of the camel-men. – Consequent deaths among the camels. – Kooslak. – Valley of Peisheen. – Subterraneous aqueducts. – Our destitute condition, from robberies on the march. – Amusement created by an application to us for a sideboard. – The Kojuk Pass. – The Toba mountains. – Difficulties of the pass. – The road impeded by carcases of animals left by the Bengal division. – Wild rhubarb. – Friendly reception at the advance camp. – Night-march to Killa Futtoola. – Distress from want of water. – Reception of supplies from the Bengal column. – Village of Da Haji – Arrival at Kandahar. – Encampment. – Council of war and flight of the Chiefs.

WE had a busy day at Quetta. A company of foot artillery was ordered to remain, to reinforce General Notes brigade of the Bengal column; and all our sick, amounting to one hundred and thirty Europeans, unable to march, were to halt until able to rejoin head-quarters. Nearly one hundred did rejoin at Kandahar, very early in June.

There can be no question but that, if mere economy had been the first question, that General Nott and the Bengal troops ought to have advanced, and the Bombay column should have halted at Quetta. I offer no further opinion, being uninformed of the real actuating motives which dictated the arrangements.

No halt was allowed: the Bengal column in advance might possibly be opposed at Kandahar, and all haste was to be made to overtake them; and in good Booth no time was lost. They marched from Daudur early in March, and we on April 12th: they reached Kandahar April 30th, and we May 4th. Making every deduction for their being the advance, and pioneering the way, and our having the advantage of the roads they made, still our rate of marching was a fair trial of strength and perseverance, and very creditable to the Bombay column.

My personal grievances must again be intruded on the reader: let me say, like Cicero, "*Nec querulus essem quamvis.*" It is not to indulge in a grumble, but to illustrate our history, that I am ever and anon anecdotic. Just as we had done dinner at Quetta at eight P. M. of the said April 20th, our digestion was interrupted by a report that a great desertion of camel-men had taken place. Among them were all my five, and my ten camels were left without a single keeper to tend or feed them. Others were equally unfortunate; some lost all, others half their establishment. Our people had had enough of it; and, more especially, the servants hired with the camels purchased in Sindh showed an invincible dislike to advance further into the enemy's country.

I cannot say how we scrambled on, or how the poor camels were tended. I represented to my other servants that we had no help for it, and gave them the wages the five camel-men would have received if present; and the poor fellows set to work without a murmur, and marched my cattle on to Kandahar, I know not how. Many camels died, most probably from starvation and bad tending; but it was attributed to the pasture, and a beautiful blue iris was said to be the camel's poison. I had no means of ascertaining, but strongly believe that with more grain and better grooming they might have swallowed iris or "eisel" with impunity.

On the 21st we marched thirteen miles, to Kooshlak. Leaving the valley of Shaul to enter the valley of Peisheen, we crossed a mountain ridge, of about eight hundred feet elevation, with an ascent of three miles, and a steep descent of somewhat less than half a mile.

The military arrangements to prevent surprise and loss in the mountain, made an interesting spectacle. Several carcases of the followers of the Bengal camp showed that their stragglers in the rear had been killed and stripped: great precaution was taken to preserve ours from a like fate. The view from the crest of the hill was very fine. Some parties of light infantry occupying every point that commanded the road, to cover our flanks, ere we entered the defile, showed how we ought to have protected ourselves in the Bolan Pass. No enemy appeared, and the column reached Kooshlak without accident.

The four following stages were made through the celebrated valley of Peisheen. Misrule and anarchy had reduced this once fertile region to a desert. Very little cultivation was seen, except in the immediate vicinity of the villages; and these were few in number, wretchedly built, and very thinly inhabited. I have never travelled through a less interesting or more desolate region than the whole tract from Quetta to Kandahar.

The subterraneous drainages, or aqueducts, peculiar to Khorasana, were found at our first halting-place, and from thence to Kandahar, in the singular aqueducts named Kareiz. The current of water is conducted by a subterraneous channel, generally about eight or twelve feet below the surface, with shafts of about six feet diameter at every thirty or forty yards, for the purpose of ventilation, and convenience, probably, of original excavation and annual repair. Two objects are thus gained; since this species of aqueduct is more easily dug than a trench would be, and, as the current goes so much underground, the evaporation during summer must be comparatively trifling. The mountain springs are thus carefully brought down into the valleys, and across the lower levels, to reservoirs, whence they are drawn for irrigation. The long line of mounds, indicating the apertures of the several shafts, formed a new feature in this dreary landscape.

In some districts no water existed save in these subterraneous aqueducts; so that an enemy with a few spades-full of earth might at any time cut off the supplies of an army, and defeat their arrangements. We suffered exceedingly from the interruption of one at Killa Futtoola on the 28th April.

On the 25th April we reached Killa Abdoola Khan, where we found a battalion of Shah Soojah's regulars in possession of the fort. Our march from Larkhanu had been so difficult, and the enemy had made so free with our cattle, that not one of us had more than the bare necessaries of life, and the smallest possible quantity of baggage of any kind: we were consequently not a little amused to receive an application from the Bengal officer halted there, expressing a desire to purchase a sideboard and some other articles of furniture, which would have been as useful or desirable to men in our situation as a horse to a sailor on his quarter-deck. It was evident to us that our Bengal friends were faring far better than we were; and we looked to our overtaking them at Kandahar as a relief from a large share of our privations.

On the morning of the 26th we crossed the Kojuk Pass from Killa Abdoola Khan to Chummum, a march of great difficulty and danger, and forming a singular repetition of the evils of the Lukky Pass; it being apparently our fortune to have our minor difficulties grossly exaggerated, and the real impediments either unknown, or so misrepresented as to be out of the calculation.

On our advance, the artillery column had struggled through the pass with great difficulty, notwithstanding the facilities provided for them by the surveys and road over the mountain which the Bengal pioneers had made for their division; and, although they left Daudur three days before us, we were expected to overtake them on the other side of the mountain.

The Toba mountains form an irregular series of ranges of rocky hills, ascending to an elevation exceeding nine thousand feet above the sea, and about three thousand above the average height of the country whence they rise: they extend from the northern side of the valley of Peisheen to within fifty miles of Ghizni, having a breadth of about a hundred miles. The last of those ranges, diminished to a breadth of about ten miles, seems to continue a southerly course, and separates the valley of Peisheen from the next valley, whose name I never heard, but which, having a dreary desolate breadth of about twenty-four miles, is separated by a similar but less lofty range, of about fifteen miles in width, from the valley of the Turnuck and Urgendaub, the river of Kandahar.

At daybreak of the 20th of April we commenced the ascent of the Kojuk Pass. The approach and the first five miles had much beauty; fine, green, grassy hills,—a new feature in the landscape,—with trees and bushes, formed a contrast to the naked rocks and arid surface of the country from Daudur hither; but dead horses and camels,

polluting the air with the most noisome and pestilential stench of putrefaction in every variety of stage of animal decomposition, denied the enjoyment of any beauties of nature.

At the eighth mile of the road, the pass began to be precipitous: several human carcases, some bearing marks of violence, were here stretched naked and putrid by the road side, polluting the scanty stream of a rivulet, which, bubbling among the clefts of a splintery shale rock, would have been a relief to the traveler but for the fearful defilements with which it had been poisoned. The crest of the mountain appeared to consist of two ridges: one was ascended by a steep road for about two hundred yards, almost equally abrupt to descend on the opposite side; the other could be climbed by a lees difficult approach along its side for about a quarter of a mile. These were far from pleasant spots to pass, even for cavalry and infantry, without the shadow of opposition from an enemy. Our artillery had been dragged through after two days' hard labor of the artillery-men and her Majesty's 17th regiment: the dead camels lay in heaps, and in one place their putrid carcases actually impeded the way of the baggage-train. A more sickening sight, or more offensive stench, cannot be imagined.

The total ascent to the last crest, looking down into the next valley, and whence the advance camp of artillery could be seen, was about ten miles; thence the descent, at first abrupt but subsequently easy, and the road exceedingly good, was about four miles.

We were most fortunate that no accident of any moment occurred; and all our baggage arrived at a good hour before sunset; a great part being up before three o'clock. A few straggling parties of thieves showed themselves, and a little desultory firing of the rear-guards was necessary from time to time to keep them at a respectable distance, and prevent the mischief their alarming the baggage-train might have occasioned in the crowded ravines and defiles of the pass; but all was happily surmounted. Within two miles of the artillery camp we passed their rear-guard, and saw some of their baggage on the road.

The absolute height of the ridge crossed could not be less than two thousand feet. Several plants, quite new to me, were in full blossom, wasting sweetness and beauty on the desert air or the robber's haunts, and blooming now amid the most noisome and noxious putrefaction that was ever left in the rear of an advancing column.

Among other wild productions of the hill, there was a vast abundance of rhubarb, growing in the very midst of tolerably compact slaty rock, and shooting its roots through the narrow clefts and, fissures where the pickaxe and crowbar were necessary to obtain it. We had heard of it as a production of Kabul, and the fertile valleys of the Hindoo Koosh; but I did not expect to find it so far south, or in such prodigal profusion.

My personal adventures on the Kojuk Pass were easy. I alighted from my horse, and walked through all the precipitous and dangerous parts of the road; preferring, as I have always done through life, incurring a little fatigue of limb to risking the chance of breaking one. On arrival at the advance camp, when not a hope of our own mess-breakfast had occurred to us, we were all hospitably and kindly received and provided for by our friends, who had passed before us, and had not enjoyed on their arrival the luxury they were able to bestow on us. I had to thank Major Hancock of the 19th regiment for the shelter of his tent and the warmest welcome.

So far well for what was past, the future was less comfortable to contemplate: no forage of any kind was procurable for our cattle, and no grain to be purchased; the artillery and the cavalry horses were starving, and our jaded camels ill able to work: yet there was no despondency nor even anxiety shown. Through my career in India I have never seen the shadow of a reverse, so that I cannot judge of what would be the result of such a novel position to an Indian army; but on the Kandahar side of the Kojuk Pass there was abundant occasion to try the temper and elasticity of the most vivacious spirits, and the result was beyond measure satisfactory.

My subject is drawing me upon delicate ground, and I will forbear: but I will speak as one who has not slept during the last twenty-nine years; that if what is reported be true, viz. that the Home Governments, both of Downing-street and Leadenhall, have united to resolve that strangers to India are not in future to be sent to India, either for government or command, they have come to the wisest resolution that could have occurred to them; and, had they agreed upon it sooner, their treasury might have been in better condition, and their Indian army happier.

We had another desert march before us of nearly twenty-five miles, to be done without a halt; and we rested the night of the 26th. On the 27th we dined at three o'clock, and struck our tents to prepare for our journey, which we commenced at sunset. A bright moonlight made the night-march less irksome; but the report of pistols, which proved to arise from the merciful destruction of some poor artillery horses that had broken down under starvation and overwork, caused some anxiety. At half-past nine o'clock we reached Doondy Goolye, a pool of putrid water, poisoned by dead camels, which was too offensive even for the jaded cattle: we halted till midnight to allow the baggage to pass on, and then resumed our journey, and reached Kills Futtoola before sunrise; the whole distance being a perfectly level plain, without the appearance of habitation or of inhabitant having ever been there. All the baggage came up with the column, and no accident of any kind had occurred during the night journey of twenty-five miles.

But the Kojuk Pass and the desert march had overworked the cattle, and further advance without rest was impossible; yet no sufficient supply of water could be found. Watercourses, indicating irrigation, were discernible in the fields, and parties were sent in quest of the fountain-head whence they had flowed; but they were not discovered:

yet though only one small well existed here, and some others at six miles' distance, very inadequate to our wants, we were compelled to halt till the 29th, notwithstanding all the excessive difficulties of watering the cattle.

On the 30th we advanced over a rocky mountain ridge, chiefly descent for about eleven miles to Mel, which brought us into the lower valley of Kandahar, estimated at three thousand five hundred feet above the sea. We passed many mangled relics of humanity on the road, and the heart ached over what they had suffered, and what our own people were going through. The natives of the country who followed us must, I fear, have formed but a low estimate of our consideration for our native dependents; it would have cost little trouble, and occasioned little delay, to have given these sad relics the charities of burial

On the 1st May a midnight march brought us to Tuktapole, passing the celebrated well described by Conolly. It would be a very ordinary country in Gozrat. We stopped to examine, and to regret the state of the country where such works are so rare as other objects of wild legend and extravagant admiration. Some plunderers, who were endeavoring to make free with our baggage, and had evinced more courage than usual, were overtaken by our cavalry on the rear-guard, and very quickly disposed of: they were armed men and it was a fair fighting. At Tuktapole we had the unspeakable gratification to meet a small party of the irregular horse of the Bengal column sent out to us from Kandahar with supplies. The news they gave us that the chiefs of Kandahar had fled, and the city yielded without the semblance of resistance, was satisfactory as impeded the results of the campaign. The supplies they brought were a day's provision for the cavalry, and a great relief; and their account of Kandahar delighted us. Past fatigues and anxieties were forgotten.

On the 2nd we reached Da Haji, the first village since we left the valley of Peisheen. The lack of timber occasions the village cottages in this country to be built entirely of mud, and covered with little cupola roofs of the same. Da Haji, when first seen, appeared like a mass of large-sized beehives. Fine corn and clover-fields round the village enabled us to purchase abundant forage for our cattle; but the flinty-hearted monsters took the fullest advantage of our wants and our position, and the safe protection they enjoyed from British discipline. The imposition practiced on us must have fallen ruinously on the poorer classes of the camp.

On this morning's march we passed the two mounds, or cairns of loose stones, that bear the celebrated names in Persian romance of Leila and Mujnoon; bow, where, or why bestowed I did not learn. They had nothing remarkable in appearance, and probably showed the spot where some deed of blood had been perpetrated.

The 3rd of May, at Moola Keejry Ki Kareez, was a pleasant day to all. Plums and vegetables from Kandahar, the first fruits of the country, appeared in our bazaar.

We were told that the chiefs of Kandahar did not abandon their country and homes without having meditated resistance; that they had advanced with a body of cavalry to the foot of the Kojuk Pass. Their council of war was said to have wavered on the fittest mode of obstructing our advance. A night attack was overruled, it being admitted that our watchful vigilance was more alert by night even than by day. Desultory assaults upon our baggage-train on the march, or a sudden inroad upon our camp at such a period after the arrival of the troops at the new ground as should have given them leisure to pile arms, undress, and commence cooking, were advised; but the defection of one of the principal chiefs, Haji Khan Kaukur, dissolved the array of the Affghan army, and the chiefs at once decided on flight and exile.

CHAPTER XII.

Kandahar. — Invitation to the house of Sir A. Burnes. — Gateway of the city. — Crowded state of the streets. — Tomb of Ahmed Shah. — The Citadel. — Novel mode of decorating the walls of rooms. — Great men of India: Mountstuart Elphinstone, Bishop Heber, Sir John Malcolm, and Sir James Macintosh. — High character of Sir A. Burnes. — Contagion of the fashion of wearing beards. — Purchases of provisions for the army. — Original draft of the campaign. — Remarks. — Full-dress parade of the grand army. — Speech of Shah Soojah. — Curious intercepted letter of an adherent of Dost Mahomed. — Ceremonial observed at the King's ascension of his throne.

ON approaching Kandahar, I was met by a horseman, a servant of Sir Alexander Burnes, bringing me a packet of newspapers, and a friendly request to proceed at once to his house, and there to wait the arrival of my servants. So agreeable an invitation was not likely to be undervalued. I first ascertained where the camp was to be, and where the site of my own tent; and then followed my guide to the citadel of Kandahar.

The gateway of the city was as wretched a defence as the unprotected wall; the city, when entered, a mere collection of mud-hovels, very generally, nay almost entirely, only one story high. The neighborhood of such an army filled the streets with idlers and frequenters of the bazaar, and gave the busy hum of men and an air of life and bustle to the place; but I have never seen a poorer place in India ranking higher than the head-township of a purgunnah. Such places as Dholka, Neriad Occliseer, Jumboseer, and a score others I could name, have substantial lines of houses, indicating wealth and comfort; but in Kandahar there was nothing but dirt and wretchedness. The population was estimated at thirty thousand; and, as we were told that a large portion of what might be designated the upper classes had fled the city on the approach of the British army, we should not be justified in denying it. Suffice it to say, that the halo of an ancient name never shed a higher *ignis fatuus* luster round poverty and impotence than the hyperbolic reputation of Kandahar.

A low cupola of about fifty feet diameter, springing from a wall not twenty feet high, covered the intersecting point where the two main streets crossed at right angles; and this, with the modern tomb of Ahmed Shah, grand-father of Shah Soojah, formed the only objects in the city worth stopping to look at. The tomb is an imposing object here: and though to those who have seen the relics of past ages in India it would not be considered deserving of description, yet, when recording a visit to Kandahar, I must say of it that it is a cupola of about thirty feet diameter, and probably sixty feet high, with a gallery round it, and minarets at the angles; the masonry of brick and *chunam*, ornamented with the glazed pottery tiles we had seen in such superior beauty at Thatta;

the lining of the roof a gaudy gilding, and Arabic inscriptions on the cornice, either cut in slabs of marble, or enameled on the pottery, with simple marble monuments under the cupola, scarcely higher or larger than the "heavings of the turf" in a village churchyard. And such is the tomb of Ahmed Shah, whose bones would have shuddered in their grave when the metal heel of a British boot rang sharply on the pavement and re-echoed under the "hollow mass" of the cupola, could anything but the last trumpet awake them, and restore the ear to hear, or the eye to see, so strange an anomaly as the Frank in power at Kandahar!

The citadel may be described as a mass of ruin, and incapable of defence in its best day. The interior consisted only of the relics of houses of forgotten princes. Shah Soojah had sheltered himself in one, Mr. M'Naughten in another, and Sir Alexander Burnes in a third. The latter had been rebuilt by one of the chiefs of Kandahar for his favorite wife. It had an air of magnificence and grandeur where it stood; but in the Mogul Serai of Surat, or in Ahmedabad, it would be passed unobserved. The walls had a novelty of decoration not peculiar to Affghanistan, as I have seen it in India, though never so well done as in the rooms I speak of; — the *chunam* or plaster being stamped when moist and plastic, and worked into a pattern, over which a varnish of powdered talc is spread, which more nearly resembles the richness and hue of new and unused frosted silver-plate than anything I have seen elsewhere. This might be introduced in London — a very cheap and elegant drawing-room decoration.

My excellent friend Sir Alexander Burnes received me with the kindest welcome, and with all that unaffected goodness, simplicity of manner, and warmth of heart which mark his character.

My residence in India has denied me personal knowledge of the great ones of the earth. They have not been the worse for it; nor, thank Heaven! have I. But I have seen and conversed with Mountstuart Elphinstone, and with Reginald Heber, two sublime, and, as far as the world can read them, faultless characters, most singularly resembling each other, and apparently made different only by circumstances of early position and initiative steps in life. I have seen and conversed with Sir John Malcolm and Sir James Macintosh. The most outré egotism in the former, and a more refined but scarcely less concealed self-estimate in the latter, could not reduce them to the level of common men. I have seen in my time a stupendous amount of India big-wiggery, in all shapes and in every possible variety; and the less we say of it the better.

But of the great minds which I have been allowed to study, and which I can be allowed to name, one distinguishing characteristic was their simplicity and naked truth; and in this essentiality of greatness Sir Alexander is most especially modeled after them. At his early age he has done more, and been more under the world's eye,—and borne the inspection well too,—than either Elphinstone or Malcolm had done at his time of life; and, in the absence of all that is artificial, that indicates self-seeking or self-love, he

surpasses the latter, and equals the former; and, should his life be spared, the highest pinnacles of Indian greatness await him, as they fell to the lot of those to whom I liken him.

These observations are not the overflowing of attached friendship; they would have been suppressed, and my Mend's great services left to speak for themselves, had justice been done him in the past year: but that justice remains yet to be done; and until it is so, whilst the palm of merit is awarded to others as inferior to him as pigmies to giants, it is the historian's duty to tear pretension to tatters.

But this is enough. Major Leech joined us at breakfast; rejoicing, like Burnes, in a bushy beard, but far surpassing him in the coal-black hue and abundance of the article. We had seen some bearded politicals in Sindh; all were Esaus, not one smooth man in the country. Eccentricity is contagious and very innocent, well-meaning men became infected they knew not how. To the best of my recollection, our chaplain, Sir John Keane, and myself, were the only three in the army who did not abhor the razor.

Major Leech, an engineer officer by education, has since been in no little trouble for the account he gave of Ghizni as he saw it. How could he have foreseen that we should halt two months within two hundred and twenty miles of the place, and give the enemy such abundant warning, and leisure to repair the ruined works, and erect the appearances of strength?

Major Todd, of the Bengal Artillery, had seen Ghizni as well as Major Leech, and they had concurred in one opinion. It was very fortunate for the latter that it was so.

We were at once apprised that our halt at Kandahar depended on the harvest, and would exceed a month, to enable the standing crops to be reaped, in order to provide our commissariat with the means of advance. In the mean while flour was purchased by Government at the rate of two and a half, or even one and a half seer or three pounds, per rupee, and issued to the troops and followers, to the amount of half-rations of a pound to fighting-men, and half a pound to followers, at the rate of fifteen seers or thirty pounds per rupee. The number thus fed at such a price was roughly estimated at eighty thousand. The baggage-train of even the Bombay column was oppressively burthen, some; the Bengal followers were quadruple. As a specimen, poor Brigadier Arnold was said to have had upwards of sixty servants. My tail of sixteen, including four camel-men, was considered equal to my rank, and a liberal allowance in the Bombay column. In the Bengal lines I should have been held to be very economical, and very ill provided for: but the wages of my sixteen would exceed the amount paid in the Bengal camp to double that number; and I was certainly a gainer to have fewer to feed, as I had bands enough for all I had for them to do.

The original draft of the campaign is said to have been that Shah Soojah was to be acknowledged the sovereign of Kabul, and that the arrears of tribute due from Sindh should form the golden sword that should win him his kingdom; whilst the British name was to be his shield and tower of strength, to enable him to wrest those arrears from Sindh, and take the first tottering steps he required to make in the uncertainty and fears of the infant feebleness of his pretension.

The Sindh tribute, which would have been required to be paid had Kabul been competent to enforce it, would have been nine lahks of rupees per annum since 1806, that is to say, two hundred and ninety-six lahks, without interest, or nearly three million sterling. One-sixth of this, or even one-third, could not be considered an unrighteous demand, provided we can dismiss the minor question of previous acquisition of right, how justified? and present ground of demand, how asserted? Pass that, and the rest presents no difficulty.

The Bombay column could have settled Sindh unopposed; and in the days of Governor Duncan a single brigade would have taken Hyderabad as easily as Sir Frederick Maitland and Brigadier Valiant took Karachi; Sindh and the Indus would have been British; and Shah Soojah would have been restored, without a single demand on the British treasury, in less time than it cost us to land in the Hujamry and advance unresisted to Kandahar.

The assistance of British officers and the British arsenals, to equip and discipline Shah Soojah's levies, would have given him an army of his own in six months superior to anything that Dost Mahomed could possibly have opposed to him: and England needed not to have spent the three million, which would have been better bestowed elsewhere; nor yet to have appeared in the front rank, risking that fearful collision with Russia, which might have set Europe in the blaze of a general war, had the energy of Lord Auckland's secretariat been met by a similar energy in the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Autocracy has its advantages as well as its evils, or it could not last. An autocrat, if insane, is strangled; and, if not, he will not commence a war without first providing the means to pay for it. Russia had not the means for war, and therefore there was no war; and the eye of Russia has been hitherto on Constantinople: but Austria, France, and Russia hedge the way to the Hellespont; and we are liberally providing the means for an advance eastward.

Our expenditure in Kandahar and Kabul surpasses all that those districts have seen or dreamt of in the past century, and has filled the country with money. The enriching, the fertilizing process of the next ten years, which must result from wealth and peace, will convert the bare valleys of Affghanistan into a garden; the districts we found deserts will become populous clusters of villages, and we are not to compare the future with the past. We are smoothening the way, and providing the resources, for the advance of an enemy from the West. For thirty years we have shuddered and trembled at this

bugbear; and every step we have taken, in Persia first, and last and most fatally in Affghanistan, has been to facilitate the very result we opposed: we appear, like a moth, to have flown round and round the flame, and at last to have run headlong into it.

Until our arrival at Kandahar we had seen no enemy, but the most cowardly highway robbers and cattle-stealers that ever ventured to try their hands at "lifting." The wretched rabble might have done us an incalculable mischief had they dared to attempt it: we were an unwieldly mass that was fed and moved with the greatest difficulty, simply from its unwieldiness; and the merest shadow of judicious or courageous opposition, increasing that difficulty, must have arrested the career of success.

Machiavel would not have admitted as a tutor to his Prince any political castle-builder who would venture to play from first to last on the long hazard, and stand the hazard of the die upon improbabilities of cast; and for what?—to achieve a self-endamagemen! Had Miraub Khan of Khelaut defended the Bolan Pass; had Haji Khan Kaukur not deserted in the Kojuk; had Kandahar resisted for a week, or Ghizni been properly defended; had the twenty-eight guns we found abandoned at Argunda been bestowed for the defenses of Kandahar and Ghizni; and had the twelve hundred cavalry shut up in the latter fort been occupied in merely riding round us, or two marches in front, wasting all forage, and watching all foraging parties from the Bolan Pass to Kabul; finally, had Russian agency been so far developed and established, as it was supposed, and ought to have been, to have justified such a campaign; had any one of those contingencies occurred,—and not only one, but all were to be looked for,—the army could not have advanced, not because we should not have been able to defeat the enemy if he would have given us the opportunity, but because it was his wisdom to avoid a contest; and the distance to be travelled exceeded the means of any commissariat to convey supplies in the face of hostile opposition. The nakedness of the country denied pasture for our cattle; and they must all have perished on the road, had the necessary delay occurred which must have resulted from a cool calculating enemy, however feeble, availing himself of the natural advantages his position gave him, and the length of the way we had to travel.

I am forestalling the subject, and have trespassed upon the advance; so will return to Kandahar. A general order was issued on the 4th of May, announcing to all Asia, and to all Europe, that we were so far so well; and it was ordered that a full-dress parade of the army should take place on the 8th, to show to the citizens of Kandahar, and such of the dependents or well-wishers of Dost Mahomed as might be there, the extent and nature of our force.

General Willshire commanded the parade, which was merely a passing in order of review, before a sort of platform, on which under a canopy sat Shah Soojah; the chief and general staff of the British army on his left, and some half-a-dozen shabby-looking, dirty, ill-dressed Affghan followers on his right.

On his taking his seat, the king addressed himself to the envoy, and, as far as I could understand him, said that he "wished his grateful thanks to be conveyed to Lord Auckland" adding, that "he felt that the greatest kindness of the most indulgent parent towards the most favored child could not have exceeded the disinterested benevolence of the British government towards him; and that the only feeling of his heart was gratitude, and the only object of his life would be to show it," &c., I am not an adept at the Persian language, it being so very seldom used in India: but I was close to the king, and heard every syllable; and, as far as I could understand him, the above is a fair paraphrase of what I think he meant to say.

The whole scene was very imposing, and the appearance of the troops surpassed all expectation. When the parade concluded, the king said that it was an exhibition of strength that would operate and be felt from Choen to Room, that is, from Pekin to Constantinople. So far as Asiatics were concerned, he was right, there being nothing between the Black and the Yellow Seas that could have met the army before him, if the lamp of Aladdin and its genii had been our commissariat, to forage our cattle, and feed our people, and re-supply the treasury of Calcutta.

A letter, addressed to Dost Mahomed by an adherent on the spot, was intercepted a few days afterwards, and was a nine days' wonder much mystified; it gave a very singular account, for an Asiatic, of the throne parade. The strength of the force was stated with very tolerable accuracy; save that the forty pieces of field-ordnance, the horse, camel, and foot artillery, were totally omitted, as if they had not existed. Our vast wealth was dwelt upon to lure the enemy to attack us for the sake of plunder alone! Our gorgeous apparel and equipments were held forth in the light of the ermine's fur or the bear's skin,—the animal to be hunted down incontinently for the hide! This letter, being considered something very secret, became, as such things always do, very public, and was entered into every journal of every journal-writer in the army: all our Henrys writing for their mothers, and all our Edwards writing for their wives, all our authors preparing for the public, —all copied it and, as all the latter will no doubt publish it, I need not.

One only observation is called for: the reader's attention is requested to the British chiefs general order of May 6th, commencing, "On the occasion of his majesty Shah Soojah ool Moolk taking possession of his throne, and receiving the homage of his people of Kandahar, the following ceremonial will be observed," &c.

The British authorities are there promised to be on the right, and the Affghans on the left; it was reversed. We were more than two score, and they some ragged half-a-dozen! but pass that. The order proceeds:

"The Envoy and Commander-in-chief will present *Nuzzurs* (homage-money) as representatives of Government.

"The officers of the Shah's force will also present Nuzzurs, &c., leaving their troops for that purpose, after the Shah has passed, and returning to receive his majesty.

"The Shah's subjects will then present Nuzzurs," &c.

The order of May 8th is equally explicit in showing the British authorities the lieges of Shah Soojah.

"Lieutenant-general Sir John Keane has received the gracious commands of his majesty Shah Soojah," &c. What would Queen Elizabeth have said to this? She, who would not allow Sir Philip Sydney to receive a foreign order of knighthood! she, who would not allow "her sheep to bear another's mark!" to hear them bleating about, paying homage and receiving gracious commands, and instituting, and wearing the order of the Douranee empire!

CHAPTER XIII.

Protracted halt at Kandahar. — Campaign of 1780. — Evils of the halt. — Danger of seeking recreation. — Murder of Cornet Inverarity. — Reflections on his death. — Immortality of the soul. — Beautiful allegory of Psyche. — Ceremony of presenting Nuzzurana. — Increased heat of the weather. — Ruins of ancient Kandahar. — Curious vase of ancient sculpture. — Empty condition of the corn bazaar. — Unsuccessful attempt to raise a loan. — Detention of the army to await the arrival of the Lohany Chief. — His character. — Parties sent out to meet him. Friendly mission to Heraut.

THE halt at Kandahar was protracted two months, through causes that will, no doubt, be fully explained by the military historians. The order for the march in advance was expected by the end of May, and issued June 10th; countermanded the 18th, and finally re-issued on the 26th: the rear column marched on the 30th.

The object to be gained by this halt, or the necessity that enforced it, should be most minutely entered into; for it was the delay at Kandahar that nullified the advantages gained by the unexpected success of the advance so far: the inexplicable folly of Miraub Khan of Khelaut, who could compromise himself beyond any possibility of retreat, and yet dared not proceed to active measures; the defection of Haji Khan Kaukur, and the flight of the Sirdars of Kandahar; and though last, not least, the non-appearance of Russia and Persia on the stage. This must unquestionably be considered the chief marvel; a very few thousands of Russian money, judiciously advanced, would have held together enough of Dost Mahomed's army to have employed us at least another campaign: and this forbearance either proves that the declarations of the Russian government are to the letter honest, and that the movement of their agent on Kabul was unauthorized; or, as is most probably the case, that the real aim of Russia is on Constantinople, and the feint on Kabul was either to distract our attention, or to prepare an equivalent to be conceded to us by a far-sighted diplomacy whenever our interference in the Bosphorus required to be averted.

The natives with whom I conversed had but one opinion; and their surprise knew no bound that Brigadier Sale's party did not advance on Kelaut-i-Ghiljy and Ghizni, instead of Ghirisk. There was no force in the country which could have attacked or put a weak brigade in jeopardy; and we found more provisions on that route than anywhere else in the country. Had the worst occurred that could possibly befall, Brigadier Sale could have defended himself until reinforced from the rear. Our subsequent advance seems to prove that these opinions were correct: that a small force advancing could have obtained supplies; and that all the contingency and hazards of

Ghizni might, as far as we have the means of judging, have been averted by less dilatory measures.

To compare our proceedings with the energy that won India, would be paying a poor compliment to the master-spirits of the past generation: but it is worth a paragraph. Hyder Ali of Seringapatam— a very different personage from Hyder Khan of Ghizni — attacked the Carnatic in 1780 with twenty-eight thousand cavalry, fifteen thousand regular infantry, forty thousand irregulars, two thousand rocket-men, five thousand pioneers, and four hundred Europeans, French, &c. A total of ninety thousand fighting-men. The defeat of General Baillie has always been attributed to incompetent generalship; and yet his army was only three thousand seven hundred men. I am old enough to have known intimately the coevals of that generation, and never heard any other opinion but that mismanagement occasioned the disaster.

When Hyder had taken Arcot in November, Sir Eyre Coote was sent from Bengal to take the command at Madras, with a reinforcement of five hundred Europeans. He found the army he had to command consisted of one thousand seven hundred Europeans, and five thousand three hundred natives; total seven thousand: yet, with this handful of disciplined men, so far from fearing the multitude of the half-disciplined and undisciplined, he anxiously desired to encounter in open field the boldest and most powerful enemy that English supremacy has had to rise over. He did seek him, and fairly drove him out of the Carnatic, defeating him in a pitched battle at Cuddalore; and, pursuing him into his own country, totally defeated him again in September at Vellore. Whilst we at Kandahar, with probably tenfold the artillery, and a greater force by far than Sir Eyre Coote's,—though Dost Mahomed at Kabul had scarcely a man on whom he could rely, and his great fear was that he might be seized and sold by his own people,—remained halted two months, and could not detach a brigade of two thousand men and a troop of horse-artillery towards Kabul to give heart to Shah Soojah's adherents, and to form a nucleus for them and the personal enemies of Dost Mahomed to rally round.

Never was the halt of an Indian army so little relieved by any of the usual pastime occupations of a camp. The cowardly murderers by whom we were watched, and apparently surrounded, rendered it quite unsafe to venture out of sight of the camp, unless in armed parties prepared for action. Thus sight-seeing and picnics were at discount, and in fact scarcely dreamt of. One melancholy occurrence on the 28th of May read a sad lesson of the danger of such amusements, and they were seldom attempted afterwards.

Two officers of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, Lieutenant Wilmer and Cornet Inverarity, had spent the day fishing in the Urgendaub river, and were returning in the evening to camp. Their servants, at no great distance behind, followed with the small quantity of baggage they had required. Through some accident, Mr. Wilmer was detained in the

rear at a spot where the road was a rocky pass; and Mr. Inverarity, when riding alone in front, was attacked by a party of ruffians and cruelly murdered.

Mr. Wilmer, totally ignorant of what had befallen his companion, arrived immediately on the spot, and was assailed also. Having a stout stick in his hand, he parried the first blow, and struck the ruffian to the ground. A momentary check was thus given to the assault, — the servants at the instant coming up, attracted attention; and eventually Mr. Wilmer, severely wounded, was able to escape and find refuge at one of our camp picquets. Horsemen were sent out, and poor Mr. Inverarity was brought in still alive, though fearfully mangled: he did not survive an hour. His sad fate was deeply deplored by all. He was a very fine young man, and much liked in his regiment: be had only recently joined it, but this campaign had veteranized all our boys into men; and those who had characters to show were not long in developing them. I knew his parents in my early life; and, as I heard the melancholy wail of the funeral music whilst they bore the poor boy to his untimely grave, many painful thoughts travelled through the far past, and on the grim catastrophes the future, the mercifully veiled future, is pregnant with, and prepares for the coming years.

What is written is written; and the best argument which mere philosophy can afford for a future state, must be founded on the wretched inequality decreed for men's destinies in this. The Almighty Being who created such a world as ours, a mere spot in this boundless universe, could never have placed reasoning, feeling creatures in a position where so vast a proportion of them would have no compensating joy to alleviate the miseries of existence, unless another and a better world awaited them. The Eleusinian mystery, which appears to have veiled, in the legend of Psyche as delivered by Apuleius, the doctrine of the soul's immortality, avails itself of a sweetly beautiful and apposite allegory in the butterfly's escape, as a child of the air, from its chrysalis tomb and its caterpillar existence, during which it was a creeping thing on earth! Mere man never invented that legend and its exposition; it dates, no doubt, from that period to which Bailly unwittingly alludes, when he says that the ancient knowledge of astronomy, in the midst of its many errors, has dismemberments of an anterior civilization, and relics of a system of scientific knowledge based in truth, and not far surpassed by modern discoveries.

On the 27th of May was performed the very singular ceremony of as many officers of the army as chose being introduced at court to present Nuzzurana; that is, to pay feudal homage. The Mayor of Garrat, and the Kings of the Antipodes and of the Cannibal Islands, have redeeming wit, though coarse, to palliate the folly; but here the whole affair was done in sober sadness, and intended for the sublime, though it went the step beyond, and trenched on the ridiculous I Let it be remembered that Shah Soojah and his family for twenty years past have lived dependents on Britain at Loodial's, and that he is restored only by the British treasury and the British bayonet; that, when restored to all that it is intended to give him, his royal revenue as the king of Affghanistan, at the

most favorable estimate, will be short of 800,000£ sterling for the whole royal financial resources of the Douranee empire. Knowledge may be power, but revenue is power too I and whatever Shah Soojah may be whilst befriended by his indulgent ally the British Government, the most extravagant fancy could not by any stretch of imagination magnify so insignificant a potentate into a pageant for admiration.

The ceremonial was simple enough. Officers wishing to go were supplied with gold *mohurs* —a coin value 1£ 10*s.*—at the rate of twenty each for general officers and brigadiers, five each for field-officers, and two for captains and subalterns. The majority attended partly through curiosity, and partly through a sense of duty, as their presence seemed to be wished. The Shah was seated in a neglected courtyard, "where once the garden smiled," surrounded by ruinous buildings; but very few of his Afghans were present, and those chiefly his domestic servants. The officers passed in array before him, dropping their *Nuzzuranas* of sixty shillings each for captains and subalterns, and 7£ 10*s.* for field-officers, in slow succession; the old king, with a very demure look and a most marvelously well-dyed black beard, looking on with an abundance of satisfaction, and remarking, when the ceremony had concluded, that he felt himself in all the realities of waking bliss a king indeed. "*Umeen sultaunut een ust*!" was his observation. Whoever advised this ceremony might be a friend to Shah Soojah, but must, in my opinion, have ill understood the native character, and have entirely overlooked that it was not calculated to do honor to his own countrymen. This is a point on which, I think, I am competent to deliver an opinion: my whole life has been spent in close intercourse with natives of every class and character, and a great portion of it in a native court far superior in wealth and importance, as respects ancient rights and hereditary claims, to that of Shah Soojah; and not only did I never see or hear of such an exhibition, but, let whatever may be the practice at Delhi, I am persuaded that it would be "more honored in the breach than the observance" at a new court of our own creation, and that no native of Western India could have imagined the possibility of its occurrence at Kandahar.

On our arrival at Kandahar the climate had still the sweetness of spring, and the nights were cold; but as May advanced the days became sultry, and by the middle of June even the nights were close and hot. The weather, even at three thousand five hundred feet elevation in 81° north, was too severe for tents: the average range of thermometer was maximum 104°, minimum 64°; the former being twenty degrees higher, and the latter ten degrees lower, than a good house would have exhibited. In Sir A. Burnes' room, about 84° and 74° appeared to be the mean of the month.

The fruits were afterwards so surpassed by those of the orchards of Kabul, that they were forgotten; but, when they first appeared, the apricots and plums of Kandahar were considered beyond praise: and the snow, which on our arrival the bazaar supplied at a very moderate price, but which was soon consumed, was, whilst it lasted, the unbounded delight of all to whom it was a luxury from its novelty.

The modern city of Kandahar has not existed on its present site beyond a century and a half: the ruins of the ancient city remain, about three miles to the south and west, and indicate a place of no greater extent than the present town. A broad moat, amply supplied with sweet clear water, proved that more attention had been bestowed on the former fortification than on the present. The area is elevated about fifty feet above the plain, and occupies the base and hollow of a semicircular hill, which rises to the height of about six hundred feet on the western side, and is considered inaccessible on its outer or opposite face: the northern and southern points are defended, and a line of works crests the ridge of the hill. The citadel and palace, in ruins, cover a mound about one hundred feet higher than the area of the town, and are still of some importance from their position and their capabilities of being restored.

A desolate city is such a fearful and stupendous monument of man's cruelties and wickedness, that it should not be lightly passed over. The philosopher and the philanthropist should dwell upon it; and children should be taught what the masses of mankind have suffered that heroes might be deified, in preference to the falsehood and the rubbish which disgrace the name of history, and make the enemies and the curse of their race the objects of childhood's admiration.

The only curiosity that remained was a stone vase of black whinstone, of the shape of an ordinary china-cup, four feet in diameter, thirty inches deep, and six inches thick, covered with Arabic inscriptions of quotations from the Koran: The carver had hewed for some other object than for fame, as his name was not engraved on his work; at least, I did not see it. This singular piece of antiquity was left neglected under a tree, near a *Faqueer's* hut; and if Mr. Mac-Naughten would bestow his influence to get it conveyed to the British Museum, a title of the public money might, be employed in a way that would gratify public curiosity, would present a pleasing trophy of the campaign in the British metropolis, and a very interesting specimen of ancient Asiatic art from Kandahar.

Our long halt was said to have satisfied Dost Mahomed and his adherents, as well as those who wished him no good, and they were many, that Heraut was our first object, and that we should reserve Kabul for the next season's operation. His friends the Ghiljy tribes, — occupying the districts between Kandahar and Ghizni,—were encouraged to believe that their numbers and the strength of their country deterred our advance: but the delay was considered in our own camp to be occasioned entirely by the inability of the Kandahar bazaar to supply provisions for us to carry in advance for the journey; and the arrival of a caravan from Shikarpore was anxiously looked for: but at this period, the middle of June, we had not only the empty corn-chests of the bazaar, but our own empty treasure-chests to complain of "Upwards of thirty lakhs of rupees had been disbursed in this city," says Outram; "but every attempt to negotiate a loan failed." This was the unkindest cut of all. We had hitherto received our issues of pay regularly,

except during a very short delay on our first landing in Sindh, which was no fault of the Bombay Government. For the future, however, or for some time to come, we were to feed and forage like the raven; and the prospect was as gloomy as could well be imagined.

Making every allowance for the slight connection between Kandahar and India, and the necessary difficulty of raising money on bills payable at such a distance, still there must have been some mismanagement, that no part of "the thirty lahks we had disbursed" on the spot could by any means have been recovered on moderate terms for the urgent necessities of the army.

The Lohany Chief — a personal friend of Sir Alexander Burnes—had been induced to furnish a caravan of four thousand camels, and to travel with a strong party of his tribe, supposed near seven hundred, and escort them from Shikarpore to Kandahar. A guard was offered him from Sukkur; but he replied, he thanked God he could guard himself, and only asked and received a few muskets and a little ammunition. His arrival was now most anxiously looked for: it had been expected on the 14th of June, but it did not take place until the 23rd. "He had been delayed," he said, "by attacks of Beloochies; but through God's assistance had severed thirty-eight of their heads from their shoulders, and had brought all safe, the enemies' heads inclusive! two camel-loads."

Some said that Scriva Khan, the Lohany Chief had been tampered with by Dost Mahomed: if so, the gallantry he displayed in repulsing the Chief of Khelaut's people when attempting to plunder the stores in his charge, must have been a temporary effervescence, and not the constitutional character of a naturally brave man; for there was nothing to have prevented his directing his course by the Toba Mountains to Ghizni, communicating his position and his plan to the Ghiljy chiefs to cover his march through their terrific defiles, and so delivering all our stores to the enemy. Nothing but his own integrity, or far-sightedness as to his own interest, could have secured us that convoy; and it is not reasonable to impugn with treachery a humble but very useful ally, who performed a most difficult and dangerous task with perfect fidelity, because he was pleased to say that he could not go further through circumstances beyond his control, and could not do more than he had contracted to perform.

He acknowledged that his people had been tampered with by Dost Mahomed; declared himself dissatisfied with our remuneration for his past services, and our offers for the future; said he could not trust his own people, and would not put himself in the way of being betrayed by them and compromised with the British Government. Those who knew more of the matter than I could, attached no blame to the Lohany Chief; but those whose duty it was to have been in communication with him, should have ascertained beforehand the important fact, whether he could or would proceed onward with the army.

The army was originally expected to have moved very early in June, but was prevented by instructions from Lord Auckland not to risk starvation by marching without a full supply of provisions. It was suggested that "half the army efficient was better than the whole inefficient;" but it was considered the correct policy that the whole should march, or none. The order was issued on the 10th to move on the lath, in the confident reliance that the Lohany Chief would arrive before the 14th. On the 18th he was believed by the highest authorities to be at Da Haji, within twenty miles.

On the 18th, a brigade of two regiments with two guns was sent from camp to prevent Scriva Khan from being intercepted by the Ghiljies; but the commanding officer, having no knowledge where the chief was, went forth to meet him, but never found him. On the 21st, another strong detachment was sent by a different road, it being ascertained, I believe, that the former had passed beyond. Finally, the stores when received could not be carried on, and were warehoused at Kandahar, for want of camels; and the army having halted the past month, for no other purpose apparently but for these stores, moved onward without them in no better plight or equipment of its commissariat than it possessed a month before. Had the one thousand two hundred horse we found shut up in Ghisni been employed the past two months in removing or merely cutting up the forage and supplies we found between Kandahar and Kabul, the campaign might have had a far different issue, that is, the army could not have reached Ghizni; the natural difficulties of distance and want of forage for our cattle being sufficient obstacles.

Before our departure from Kandahar, Major Todd of the Bengal Artillery was deputed on a friendly mission to Heraut, with guns to mount upon the walls, and money to pay for the repair, in order to place that important frontier position in a better state than the Persians had left it in, and which the local resources were reported incompetent to restore.

Kamran Shah is a *debauche* of the most degraded order. Our politicals call him a king; his royal revenue, the whole resources of his state, being about 60,000£ per annum, much reduced latterly by the Persians having retained Goorian and its dependent valleys, the most fertile and valuable part of the Heraut territory.

The recovery of Goorian, the expulsion of the Persians from the vicinity, the restoration of the works of Heraut, and the heavy train of British artillery mounted on them, would place the frontier in a very different position from that in which the King of Persia and Count Simwitch found it in 1838; and a treaty with Heraut, by which the sovereign should bind himself, for a consideration paid, to link himself with Kabul, and relinquish the right to negotiate with Russia and Persia, save through British mediation, would unquestionably be a vast object gained, however worthless the personal character of the prince, and however certain that he never contemplated any ulterior result beyond the immediate acquisition of the bonus proffered. His abdication or relinquishment of

independence would place him and his country under the absolute control of the British Government.

The game of Russia is not open war; and with such a treaty once established,—and I have little doubt but that ere this it has been executed,—all management for advance by mere diplomacy must be checked, if not defeated.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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