

**EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS OF NORTHERN
INDIA, 1785 to 1849**



RANJIT SINGH IN DURBAR.

Facing Maharajah (standing): Court, Allard, Ventura, Avitable, Foulkes, Argond.

Hira Singh facing Maharajah.

On latter's right, the Dogra brothers, Sham Singh and Sheik Fakir Ud din.

EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS OF NORTHERN INDIA,

1785 to 1849.

“Hands that the rod of Empire might have swayed.”—THOMAS GRAY.

By
C. GREY.

Edited by
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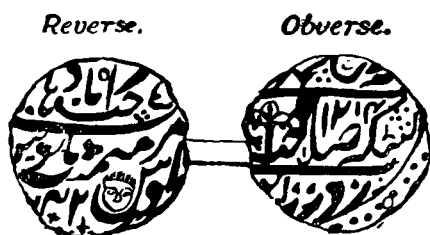
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Corrigenda.

- Page 31, line 31, *for* " of " *read* " for ".
- Page 95, line 27, *for* " ordered " *read* " was very dis. ".
- Page 125, line 29, *for* " thense " *read* " thence ".
- Page 171, line 32, *for* " slected " *read* " selected ".
- Page 265, under, portrait of Col. Gardiner *read* " 69 " *for* " 79 ".
- Page 277, *for* Major Pears' *read* Major Pearce's.

Note :—Certain articles embodied in the book have already appeared in a shorter form in the " Civil and Military Gazette " to whom we are indebted for permission to reproduce them.



SIKAH SAHEB.
A.H. 1214
(A.D. 1799-1800)

The coins of which the above is a facsimile were struck at Hansi by George Thomas in the year 1801.

The words "Sikah Sahib" indicate coins not struck by order of a Royal personage.

The initial "T" is seen near the left rim of the obverse.

PREFACE.

It is now a good many years since Compton wrote his 'European Adventurers' and our excuse for producing a new book on the subject must be that his work is both out of date and incomplete. Out of date, because a number of new facts have come to light with regard to some of the better known men, and incomplete because he was ignorant of the existence of some of the others.

The present work represents some six years of labour in the archives of the Punjab Government, as well as the consultation of a very large number of contemporary memoirs and other works, a full bibliography of which will be found in the appendix.

Roughly speaking, the Adventurers fall into two groups. There are the well known men like George Thomas and Avitabile, of whom more or less exhaustive memoirs have appeared in the past. There are also the lesser known men of whom no account has hitherto appeared, and whose careers we have had to trace from many sources. Again the Adventurers may be classified into combatants and non-combatants. The former include Generals like Ventura and common deserters like Potter. In the latter class we find medical men like Honigberger and Harlan, the antiquarian Masson, and Bianchi, the engineer. There is hardly a nation that is not included in the list of names which runs to over seventy.

One name is deserving of special mention. It is that of Alexander Gardiner. Gardiner contributed his own reminiscences to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1852 and in 1898 his life was written by Major Pearce. Both of these portray him as the hero of many wild adventures and as a very perfect gentle

knight. An exhaustive study of the records has convinced us that both these views are entirely incorrect, that the man was a prize liar who passed off other men's adventures as his own, and who was capable of undertaking unsavoury duties with which other men entirely refused to have any thing to do.

The Journal of M. Court has not before been made public. It is a description of his travels in Central Asia and written by a trained and well educated soldier—for M. Court was by far the most refined of the Frenchmen who found their way into the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh—it was practically a route book and as such was treated as a confidential document. For many years it has lain in its original French in the archives of the Government of India. Through the courtesy of the latter we have been enabled to make a translation which will be found in the appendix.

It may be objected that we have included in this volume the details of a number of unimportant individuals. To this we would reply that our object has been to make the record as complete as possible by including all European adventurers of whatever class or station.

H. L. O. GARRETT.

Lahore, January 1929.

C. GREY.

Note.—The Punjab Government takes no responsibility for the correctness of any statement or expression of views made in this book.

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APPENDIX I.

RANJIT SINGH AND THE RISE OF THE SIKH NATION.

Through, and with, Ranjit Singh, did the Sikhs become a powerful and ruling nation. After his controlling genius had been removed by death, the Sikhs fell back into chaos and anarchy, and were ultimately absorbed, inevitably and unavoidably, into the British Indian Empire.

Before his rise to power, the Sikhs were a tumultuous, turbulent, and loosely connected theocracy of semi-independent clans (misls) who, though they might combine for defence or aggression, or a religious object, were otherwise usually engaged in internecine strife, with their compatriots or the Mussalman states or tribes interspersed with, or neighbouring them.

From these heterogeneous, eternally striving and jealous elements, Ranjit Singh, by his sheer personality and genius, built up a state, and buttressed it by an army created from these discordant and disorderly elements, which he disciplined on a military system hitherto entirely foreign to their traditional warlike methods.

Ranjit Singh was born about the year 1780, his father being Maha Singh, Chief of the Sukerchakia Misl, one of the smallest into which the Sikh theocracy had finally been resolved. Maha Singh died when his son was about eight years old, and until he had attained the age of 17, the Regency was carried out by Mai Malwaine, his mother, and Sada Kour, his mother-in-law, to whose daughter Ranjit had been married at the age of eight.

Ranjit Singh's own mother had been killed by his father, on account of an intrigue in which she had been detected, and at the age of 17, the son followed the example by slaying with his own hand, his mother, whose character had long been questionable, when he detected her with the Hindu dewan. After her death, Ranjit Singh was not yet free from feminine influence, for Sada Kour was a masterful woman who was not only such, but an able and wise counsellor, and occasionally an active assistant in the battle-field. Their first conquest were the Chattas, a tribe of Mussalmans whose chief Ranjit Singh slew with his own hands, subsequently absorbing his estates and followers.

The next exploit was the taking of Lahore Fort and city in 1798, which was done by a mixture of boldness, strategy, and cunning, qualities in which he excelled. This success aroused the

enmity of the other clans, who combined against him, but were defeated at Batala, some forty miles from Lahore, where Ranjit Singh ably seconded by Sada Kour, surprised and almost annihilated them. He next invaded the hill district of Jammu, and having conquered this, restored it on payment of a ransom, the acknowledgment of suzerainty, and the payment of an annual tribute. He next annexed the districts of Sialkot and Dilawagarh, which were restored to their owners on similar terms.

He then proceeded to proclaim himself Maharaja of the Punjab, and to strike coin bearing his superscription: steps, which though they might seem arrogant, were but a prescience of coming events. Bit by bit he extended his possessions, Akalgarh and Nurpur fell to him in 1801, and Daska, Chiniot, the Jullundur Doab, and Kasur a year later. Kasur was restored to its Pathan owners, on the usual terms, but the other states were added to his personal dominion. He next took the city of Amritsar, from the control of the Bhangi misl, after a stiff fight, and added this most important commercial city and religious capital of the Punjab to his dominion.

The next conquest was Jhang, and in 1805 he besieged Multan, from which he was bought off with a ransom of Rs. 75,000. The same year Ranjit Singh, for the first time, came into contact with the British, of whose military power he had, till then, heard only from men who had once served in its ranks or fled before the arms of the British.

The Maharatta army, under Jaswant Rao, Holkar, flying before Lord Lake, had crossed into the Punjab, and penetrated as far as Amritsar, followed hard by Lord Lake, who, crossing the Beas, encamped at Jullundur some thirty miles below Amritsar, to await events, before advancing, for it was quite possible that Ranjit Singh might be induced to ally himself with the Maharattas. The troops belonging to Jaswant Rao numbered about 15,000, mostly the battalions, or remnants of them, who had been trained by the European adventurers, then so numerous with Indian princes.

Having received military aid from some of the Sikh chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej States, Holkar had come to believe that he might receive the same from Ranjit Singh, to whom he had previously sent messengers with an appeal for aid, and substantial presents. But Ranjit would not commit himself to any but the vaguest of promises, until quite certain how the land lay, so he visited Holkar, and after a minute inspection of his troops passed on to Lord

Lake's camp in disguise, and spent some days in secretly examining the British battalions, and the artillery, both Europeans and sepoys.

This visit convinced him of the futility of opposing such troops as he saw at Jullundur, so on his return to Amritsar, he summoned the confederacy, of which he was now the acknowledged head, and with their consent, advised Holkar to accept the British terms and, whether he did so or not, to depart at once from the Punjab. The visit to Lake's camp, and the sight of the British army, convinced him that here was a type of soldier far more effective than the great mob of disorderly horsemen he had hitherto led ; so he set about raising two battalions, on a similiar model, manning them with deserters from the British, or the disbanded soldiers of the Maharatta armies, and officering them from the same sources.

Year by year he extended his army, until at the end he possessed 34 battalions of infantry, nine regiments of so-called regular cavalry, and about 370 guns of various sorts, independent of the 300 camel guns attached to the Ghorcharra force. These battalions were his own, and independent of the 25 or so belonging to the feudatory princes.

As with his military force, he added year by year to his dominions. In 1806 Ludhiana, Dibalpore, Pathankot, and Jesrota yielded either to force or arms, cunning, strategy, or faithlessness, all of which he practised with equal success at various times. In 1807 he built Fort Gobindgarh on the European principle at Amritsar, the intention being to overawe that city, then, as it is still, the headquarters of the Akalis, or warrior priests, the most turbulent of all the Sikhs. The fort was also his main treasury.

In 1809, becoming overconfident with his increasing strength, he crossed the Sutlej, and invaded the Cis-Sutlej States, though he had been previously warned that they were under British protection, and that serious consequences would certainly follow any such aggression. Thinking the latter only idle words, he continued his plundering career, and it was not until a large British force was assembled and orders given to Colonel Ochterlony to drive him back into the Punjab that Ranjit Singh retreated to his own territory.

Not satisfied with the evacuation of the British-protected states, Colonel Ochterlony forced Ranjit Singh to sign a treaty, in which he promised to confine himself henceforth to the right bank of the Sutlej, and ceded Ludhiana, which now became the

headquarters of the British force kept there to guard against future aggressions. For the purpose of concluding and signing this treaty Mr. Theophilus Metcalfe, a Civil Servant, was deputed to meet Ranjit Singh in Amritsar, and in addition, to endeavour to engage him in a defensive alliance against the French, then supposed to be threatening India through Central Asia. He was accompanied by an escort of Mussalman soldiers, and the visit coinciding with the time of the Mohurram, the religious ceremonies carried out by the escort aroused the ire of the Akalis.

They assembled near the camp, and whilst the procession was parading through it, made a sudden attack upon the unarmed and unsuspecting sepoys, and even penetrated to the tent of the European officer in charge, who was slightly wounded, but though taken aback for a moment, he and the sepoys promptly rallied, and drove out the Akalis with many casualties, themselves suffering none. It has been stated that this incident was the cause of Ranjit Singh forming regular battalions, as he was so impressed with the rallying and steadiness of the sepoys, but this is incorrect, for he even then possessed several battalions, whom Mr. Metcalfe saw, though he was not favourably impressed with them.

But it did cause Ranjit Singh to tighten up his system and improve the drill and discipline of his men, for which purpose he not only engaged all the *ex*-British sepoys who offered themselves, but enticed over a number of native officers and havildars, by promises of high pay and rank. A few Europeans were also tempted, but of these we can only find faint traces of two.

Still continuing to extend his dominions, he added the Kangra valley, Wazirabad, Attock, Kotla, and several other districts to them, and in 1819 took Multan. In 1820 he invaded Kashmir, but with small results, and the same year added the Derajat, Rawalpindi and a few more frontier states to his dominions. He took Peshawar, but restored it to the Barakzai sirdars, on conditions of suzerainty and tribute, which tenure existed till 1834, when he resumed it in full.

In 1831 a meeting between Lord Bentinck and Ranjit Singh took place at Rupar, and another between himself and the British Commander-in-Chief, in March, 1837, when Sir Harry Fane attended the wedding of Nau Nihal Singh, the heir-apparent, at Ajnala, near Lahore. Both these functions were attended by reviews of the troops on both sides, and spectacles of extreme magnificence.

Having decided to restore Shah Shujah to the throne of Afghanistan, the British Government sought the aid of Ranjit Singh, and early in 1838 Sir William MacNaghten, accompanied by an

imposing retinue, both civil and military, interviewed Ranjit Singh at Adinanagar, and finally arranged the tri-partite treaty, before referred to, by which the two parties bound themselves to assist Shah Shujah, Ranjit Singh receiving some substantial inducements.

The last meeting between the Maharajah and the British took place at Ferozepore in November, 1838, when the Maharajah was invited to meet Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, and to review the army assembled for the invasion of Afghanistan. Here occurred an incident which was looked upon by the Sikhs as an "unpropitious omen," for when invited to inspect some cannon intended as a present for him, Ranjit Singh stumbled over a pile of shot and fell flat on his face before the mouths of the British cannon.

This was almost his last public function, for many years of the most revolting debauchery and excessive drinking of trebly distilled spirit had undermined his constitution. He had previously been warned by several attacks of partial paralysis, but having recovered from these, had become careless. He now became almost completely paralysed and speechless, and on the 29th June, 1839, passed away, after having distributed a million pounds in charity and religious donations, and bequeathed the Koh-i-Noor to a temple at Benares. However, the latter injunction was not carried out.

To the last he took a keen interest in all that was passing, and managed to make clear, by signs and facial contortions, that he was still monarch and ruler, until a few hours before his death. He could neither read nor write, and his character is thus (omitting the description of his vices) summed up by Major MacGregor, who knew him very well:—

"In debate Ranjit Singh appears at once to grasp the whole subject, and his reasoning powers are of the highest order. As the absolute monarch of many states formerly owning separate rulers, and all reduced by his own efforts, the manner in which he retains these conquests entire, displays his endless resources and energy, even more than his conquests in battle. In appearance he is small in stature, and disfigured with smallpox, from which he has lost an eye. In his youth he was an excellent horseman, and well skilled in all military feats ; first in the field, and ever the last to retreat. Inured to hardships, even now he prefers a tent to his palace, and is the plainest dressed man in all his court."

With his faults discounted by his surroundings and upbringing, Ranjit Singh emerges a great man. His vices were but those of the whole of northern India and Afghanistan, and by the natives accepted as neither disgusting nor disgraceful. Drunkenness was a vice more common to Europeans than to Indians, and in this he was no worse than many of the Englishmen with whom he came in contact. His cunning and suspicion were in great measure due to illiteracy, for able men who can neither read nor write are intensely suspicious of education in others, which they fear will be used to overreach them.

His greatness is shown by the fact that almost unaided he rose to be the chief of a nation he himself had formed from a congeries of discordant clans. Though this fell to pieces when his cementing influence was removed, its creation was a great tribute to his genius, ambition, energy, and ability. But it may be that he died at the crucial moment, for the signs were evident that his influence was waning, and his kingdom moving towards disintegration.

APPENDIX II

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE ANARCHY IN THE PUNJAB
1839—1845

To enable the reader to understand the ramifications of plot, counterplot, treachery and intrigue before and during this anarchy, it will be necessary to give a brief account of the principal persons taking part therein, their claims to hold, or share in the rule, or the advantages they would derive from connection, or sympathy with the principal personages.

The succession to the throne of Ranjit Singh was complicated by the sons born to, or attributed to, and acknowledged tacitly or otherwise by him, who were numerous. The morality of the Sikh sect was astonishingly lax, with high as with low, a surprising feature being that the ownership of sons was considered more important than their legitimacy. Gardiner, in his notes appended to Smyth's "Reigning Family of the Punjab," gives several instances of sons born to a man's wife, during the prolonged absence of the husband being accepted by him on his return, even though they could not possibly have been his, if not without question, at least with complaisance, and even satisfaction.

He gives one case of a Sikh soldier, absent for a period of eight years, who on his return found himself presented with four sons, the eldest of whom was but six years old. On asking from whence they came, the wife calmly informed him that they were his, to which he replied that though they were a welcome addition to the family, she had better not attempt to convince others of his parentage. Another case is that of a man absent for four years, who found two sons on his return, the eldest of whom was less than three years old. He not only accepted them, but gave the real father Rs. 40 to renounce his claim to the family.

Henry Lawrence in an official report remarks that the Sikh princes, nobles, and sirdars spent their time in the brothels of the city, leaving their wives to console themselves with the servants, or chance lovers. Such being the custom, it is not at all surprising to find the ruler accepting as his sons babes whom he knew perfectly well had not a shadow of claim to that relationship. Taking these sons in detail.

The first and only legitimate one was Kharak Singh, born in 1802, to Raj Kour, the second wife. Kharak Singh was married to Chand Kour in the year 1812, and of this marriage was issue Nau Nihal Singh, born in February, 1821, who in turn married the daughter of the Ahluwalia chief in 1837. Nau Nihal Singh left no issue, but a posthumous son was still-born, terminating the legitimate line. Next claiming descent from Ranjit Singh were Sher Singh and Tara Singh, alleged twin sons of Mehtab Kour, daughter of Sada Kour. Having long been childless, Mehtab Kour had been neglected by her husband, and in consequence the masterful mother-in-law's influence was declining.

Being a person of decision and thoroughness, the old lady took steps to remedy the defect, by producing a couple of boys whom she alleged had been fathered by Ranjit Singh, advantage being taken of the Maharajah's absence on the frontier to have the children born ; but, one of these, Sher Singh, had been bought from a dhobi, and the other, Tafa Singh, from the wife of a Sikh carpenter. Though under no allusions as to the parentage, Ranjit Singh's vanity was tickled at being the father of twins, so he accepted them as his own. Sher Singh ultimately became Maharajah, but of Tara Singh we hear nothing more.

Seven years later the substitution trick was again played by Daya Kour and Rattan Kour, other wives, who put forward Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh as twins, and Multana Singh. To add to these complications, another reputed son was brought forward in 1841, a set-off to the power of Sher Singh, this being Dulip Singh, born in February, 1837, to Rani Jindan, a girl whom Ranjit Singh was supposed to have married in 1835. Though born some years before Ranjit Singh's death, he was never tacitly, or otherwise, acknowledged by the Maharajah, who knew that the real father was a water-carrier attached to the zenana, for from a very early age Rani Jindan was notorious, even amongst Sikh women. We have therefore as claimants to royal honours:—

Kharak Singh, legitimate; Nau Nihal Singh, his son, and the alleged still-born son of the latter.

Sher Singh and Tara Singh, Kashmira Singh, Peshora Singh and Multana Singh, all spurious.

Lastly, comes Dulip Singh, who ultimately became the last Maharajah of the Punjab.

Then we add to this multitude of claimants the Dogra brothers, Gulab Singh, Suchet Singh, and Dhian Singh, and the son of the latter, Hira Singh, all intriguing to obtain or retain

place, and power, and to do so, to destroy all of Ranjit Singh's descendants, real or reputed, in order to clear the way for Hira Singh.

Again add the two Ranis, Chand Kour and Jindan Kour, both as ambitious as immoral, their numerous relatives and lovers, the aspirants to the Wazirat, and the heads of the important Sikh misls, all of whom aspired to supreme power, and we have the most perfect ingredients for a true witches' cauldron.

The centre of the tragic events commencing soon after the death of Ranjit Singh was the old fort of Lahore, built in Moghul times. It is a queer old place, from whose far-flung ramparts rise line upon line of lofty buildings, some embosoming superlative gems of architecture; side by side with, or overplanted by, the grotesque creations, or daubs, of the rude and iconoclastic Sikh. Even now the panelled walls of the outer palace show remains of the delicate and artistic ornamentations, created by professors of an art long vanished, side by side with the grotesque paintings of the Hindu mythology, sufficient of the former surviving to enable us to picture the splendour with which these ancient walls glowed beneath the summer sun.

Here, after Ranjit Singh's death, Kharak Singh, a man of feeble intellect, caused by excessive indulgence in drink, drugs, and immoral vices, took up his abode with Chait Singh, who soon gained such an ascendancy over the feeble-minded Rajah as to render him the merest of puppets. As described in Gardiner's memoir, Chait Singh was murdered on the 8th October, 1839. Kharak Singh was deposed, and it is said, poisoned by his son a year later, whilst Nau Nihal Singh himself was killed on the 5th November, 1840, it is said, accidentally, when returning from his father's pyre.

Deposition, death, accident, or intent having within 18 months eliminated two Maharajahs, Chand Kour was, by the ascendant Sindhanwalla faction, installed as Regent, on behalf of the expected posthumous son of Nau Nihal Singh. Dhian Singh, then Wazir, stood out for the claim of Sher Singh, affirming that the Sikh sect of warriors would never accept a female Regent. However, he was voted down, and apparently acquiescing in the resolution, withdrew to Jammu, to wait his opportunity, whilst on his advice, Sher Singh retired to his jaghir at Batala, about 70 miles from Lahore.

To the ordinary observer, the policy of the Dogras would appear to have been parricidal, as well as fratricidal, for Gulab

Singh championed Chand Kour, and was supported in this by Hira Singh. But it was only apparently so, for though on opposite sides, the Dogras were not of them, but only adhered the better to bend them to their interest, or betray if occasion served, and opportunity required, for in all their tortuous intrigues the common Dogra interest was undeviatingly pursued.

Dhian Singh left agents provided with ample funds, who were charged to insinuate themselves into, and gain the support of the troops for Sher Singh, whilst the latter, who was esteemed by the principal European officers, managed to persuade them to abstain from active participation in the incoming strife, a promise which all were willing to give, as relieving them from the fear of reprisals. This accounts for what has puzzled some historians, who have commented on the absence of the principal European officers from the siege of Lahore Fort. Ventura, returning to report his success in the Mandi and Kulu hills, arrived at Batala early in January, and had a long interview with Sher Singh.

He then passed on to Lahore, where he was asked by the Rani to assume command in the event of operations against Sher Singh—a request to which he evaded a direct reply. On the morning of the 13th January, Sher Singh with three hundred horsemen unexpectedly arrived at Avitabile's house on the Budh-ka-Awa, and took possession of it. The situation was ideal, for the mound commanded the adjacent cantonments and the road from Amritsar. Henceforth, this house became the hatching-place of all the subversive and murderous plots of the anarchy, and the headquarters of the panches, or army councils who ruled the soldiers and dictated their policy. It has now been demolished (1917).

To the west was situated the cantonment of Naulakha, to the east that of Begumpura (Moghulpura), and to the south-east that of Mian Mir. Court's brigade, which took the most prominent part in the subsequent operations, was stationed at Begumpura, and this body, together with the others who subsequently joined it, made up a strength of about 25,000 infantry and cavalry, with one hundred guns.

Immediately after his arrival, the leading European officers present tendered their respects to Sher Singh, and the adherence of the Sikh officers was secured by the natural method. But for some reason, probably an intentional one, the arch-conspirator, Dhian Singh, did not appear, and as his function was to act as security for, or provide the funds, for bribery, his absence was ominous, and appeared to be calamitous. However, Jawala Singh, an aspirant for the Wazirat, came forward and persuaded Sher

Singh to let him supply Dhian Singh's place, assuring him that the absence was intentional, the Wazir having either betrayed the cause or withdrawn his support.

The offer was gladly accepted, for time was short, and money all important. Immediately Jawala Singh interviewed the principals, and by the distribution of two lakhs in ready cash, and the promise of an increase of pay from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per month secured the enthusiastic support of the troops, who signified their adherence by firing 100 guns, the booming of which announced to the alarmed citizens of Lahore that tragic events were impending.

Meanwhile, Gulab Singh, seconded by Hira Singh, also took action. His first step was to parade his personal troops, comprising some battalions of hillmen, and ten guns, the latter under Gardiner, and move out to attack Sher Singh, whom he wished to keep out of Lahore until the arrival of Dhian Singh, for it was important to the Dogra interests that they should appear to be the leading spirits on both sides. If Sher Singh succeeded without Dhian Singh's aid, he might afterwards disdain it, whilst Jawala Singh, who had been marked by the brothers as dangerous, might also succeed to the Wazirat, thus keeping out the most able of the Dogra brothers from a very important post.

However, he had barely moved off when the salute announcing the adhesion of the troops to Sher Singh was heard, so he retired into the fort, and garrisoning it with his own men, closed the gates, placing guns behind each. He then assembled the troops already in the fort, and selecting such as he thought trustworthy, disarmed the remainder, comprising some 1,200 Sikhs of the regular army, who were imprisoned in the vaults, under the citadel, and overawed by guns placed at the only two doorways leading therefrom.

He then visited the Badshahi Mosque, at the further end of the Hazuri Bagh Garden, which was utilized as the main magazine of the troops at Lahore, and guarded by two battalions of Sikhs of the regular army. Amongst these he distributed money and promises, and then passed around the city walls, acting in like manner with the guards at every gate and bastion, obtaining from all an oath of fidelity on the appropriate symbol of their religion (many were Mussalmans). It is said that he distributed about three lakhs of rupees, none of which, however, was his own money, it having been taken from the state treasure stored in the Moti Masjid.

Finally, on returning to the fort, he assembled the garrison and presented each man with a *douceur* of four months' pay, and a further promise of an equal amount, should the defence prove successful.

As Gulab Singh quitted the city by the northern gate, Sher Singh entered it by the western, and passing round to each post in his turn, suborned the garrisons of these and the Badshahi Mosque by still heavier bribes. It is said that he expended some four lakhs of rupees, so as the troops had received about £70,000 amongst them, they may well have been said to have done very well.

Sher Singh having no use for mounted troops in the attack on the fort, sent them into the city, with the double purpose of finding them occupation and ensuring the fidelity of the garrison, who would just as easily have sold Sher Singh back to Gulab Singh as they had betrayed Gulab Singh to him. No sooner had they entered the city than they commenced to loot, and being joined by the garrison of the walls, the city became during the night a saturnalia of murder, plunder, fire and outrage. The principal bazars were plundered, the shops of the merchants and traders were broken open and such as objected, or resisted, were thrown into the flames of their burning houses.

A few hours before dawn the tumult ceased, and until dawn the city lay quiet, whilst the satiated soldiery snatched a brief repose. Meanwhile, over the grey old walls of the fort brooded the still and ominous silence, which precedes an expected attack at dawn. Just as the faint streaks showed in the eastern skies, the watchers on the wall caught a faint hum from the east, which soon resolved itself into the rumble of artillery and the tramp of innumerable feet, as Sher Singh's army, supplemented by Akalis and the combined rascality of the city poured along the road from the Budh-ka-Awa.

Dimly through the dust and faint light of the dawn showed the glare of innumerable torches, reflected from the bared bayonets and swords of the Khalsa soldiery. Presently the leading file of the oncoming host caught the loom of the walls of the fort, and burst out into deafening cries of "Wah Guruji ki Fateh !" which were answered by the host converging on the fort from the opposite sides of the city and the Anarkali cantonment. No sound came from the fort, nor was a shot fired, even whilst the vociferous host debouched on to the glacis, and open spaces surrounding the fort, nor even while they arranged their artillery, now swollen to 150 guns, on all sides of it.

Only the occasional gleam of matchlock, or port-fire through the loop-holes, or embrasures betrayed the existence of armed men within. But though not apparent, all was prepared, and each loop-hole was manned by three soldiers, one of whom was to fire, whilst the others passed on loaded muskets. The gates on the eastern and western sides had been barricaded by overturned bullock carts without, and within by guns loaded to the muzzle with musket bullets and slugs.

Still, silence reigned over the fort. So puzzled at this contemptuous indifference Sher Singh directed his guns to fire a round of blank. Still no answer ; whereupon the drums beat a parley, in response to which Gulab Singh appeared on the ramparts above the Hazuri Gate, and inquired the terms. In response to the demand for unconditional surrender, he returned the answer that Rajput honour forbade a bloodless one, and stepped down to avoid the volley which replied.

Then, the besieging artillery opened fire at the ramparts and the foot of the walls, answered very effectually by the matchlocks of the garrison, and as the gunners were in the open, less than a hundred yards away, they fell fast. Within a couple of hours the guns stood silent, the gunners and cattle, who by a criminal carelessness or indifference had not been withdrawn, piled dead in heaps beside and around them. The last battery to be abandoned was one of heavy guns, which delayed its inevitable fate by a despicable ruse, for gathering some 200 women from within the city, they disposed them around the guns.

For a time the defenders forbore to fire on the women, till presently finding that the walls were crumbling under the fire of these sixty-pounders, they opened fire, but were so skilful in marksmanship that only a few women were killed, whilst the whole of the gunners met the fate they richly deserved.

By noon the bombardment had ceased. Around the fort stood the circle of silent guns, around which it is said that no less than 2,000 dead men lay, accompanied by some thousand cattle. So they stood till nightfall, when the besiegers stole forward and removed the guns, though losing more men in so doing. The guns were then formed into batteries within the city edge, and for two more days the attack continued, though on two sides only. But with no more success, for though practicable breaches were made, and parties sent forward to storm, all melted away before the withering fire of the besieged.

For two days longer the siege continued, until on the 17th January Sher Singh directed the cessation of attack, whilst

escorted by Ventura, van Cortlandt, and some other European officers, he entered the city in state, and was proclaimed ruler of the Punjab at the Mosque of Wazir Khan. The day after, Dhian Singh arrived from Jammu, and the intention of delaying the surrender of the fort until his arrival having been accomplished, Gulab Singh opened negotiations, and finally surrendered on honourable terms.

That evening the garrison stole out. Each of 500 sowars carried a bag of 200 gold mohurs, and the tumbrils and ammunition carts, 16 in number, were loaded up with treasure. It was said that even the guns were crammed full of it. A great number of valuable Kashmir shawls and a quantity of the Court jewels were also taken.

By now the Khalsa troops had found out the depletion of the treasury, and made up their mind to attack, but on finding that Gulab Singh had been reinforced by 6,000 men from Jammu, they decided not to do so. However, a few days later, taking no chances he departed with his troops to Jammu.

Meanwhile, the stench from the bodies lying exposed around the fort was so great that a pestilence being feared, orders were given to burn the dead, and both animals and men were cast on to the funeral pyres made from wood torn down from the houses in the city. Even the wounded who had lived through these dreadful days, were thrown alive on to the pile by their barbarous comrades, who first robbed and stripped them. Then the troops turned their attention to the city, and all those whose hands betrayed evidence of a clerkly calling were ruthlessly murdered in revenge for the peculations made from the pay of the troops by themselves for their relations.

The spirit of ferment, revolt, and murder spread throughout, even to Kashmir, Mandi and Kulu, and from henceforth the soldiery ruled absolute. After a time they settled down to a chronic state of indiscipline, tempered by sporadic mutinies, until the establishment of the panches, or soldiers' councils, substituted bargaining with the abler few to that with the multitude.

The license of the army spread throughout the dominion ; bands of armed robbers, and the ever turbulent Akalis robbed and roamed everywhere. Local feuds were revived, and settled by armed strife, each side hiring as many robbers as it could afford. The army, who in ordinary times acted as police and enforced the collection of revenue, declined to do either, or anything but take

part in any enterprise or strife promising immediate profit. Robbery, assassination, and murder existed everywhere, and the will of the strongest became the law.

At the Court the Maharajah and his satellites abandoned themselves to license and debauchery, until presently Sher Singh awoke to the necessity of guarding what he had won, and then a series of plots, intrigues, and assassinations were commenced. Behind all these lurked the sinister figures of the Dogra brothers, human spiders who spun an ever-increasing web of triple and even quadruple treachery, the tangled meshes of which ultimately involved and destroyed three of them.

The first to be sent to the unknown bourn was Jawala Singh, whose activities had marked him out as dangerous to the Dogras. The safest of all measures was death, and to compass this Dhian Singh instilled suspicion and distrust into Sher Singh's mind, and this becoming evident, Jawala Singh left the fort. He was summoned to return, but refused to do so, whereupon an overwhelming force was sent against him, and himself captured. On account of his influence and importance, open murder was not expedient, so he was confined in a dungeon at Sheikhpura, and there beaten and starved to death.

The next to be removed was Chand Kour, the widow of Kharak Singh, whose wealth and influence had rendered her dangerous to the reigning prince, while she had also been engaged in intrigues with the British, to whom she had deputed Ajit Singh with an offer of a six-anna share in the revenues of the Punjab, and an acknowledgment of suzerainty in return for her being placed on the throne by a British force.

But the disastrous result of interference in Afghanistan had left the Government of India poor both in money and reputation, though rich in an experience which made them very chary of similar enterprises. The negotiations leaked out, and also wrathful at her scornful rejection of his offer of marriage, Sher Singh bribed two of her female attendants to kill her, which they did by dropping a stone on her head as she lay in her sunken bath. But the punishment of the women was not delayed, for being arrested by a sentry as they were leaving the house, on account of their suspicious demeanour, their tongues were cut out, and hands and ears cut off. They were then put across the Ravi, where they speedily died.

Though perfectly aware that the Sindhanwallas had been the instruments of Chand Kour's intrigues, Sher Singh, at Dhian

Singh's intercession, forgave them, and took them into favour. Of course, Dhian Singh's motives were ulterior, the brothers being only placed there to remove Sher Singh at a favourable opportunity. But they were just as cunning as the Dogra Rajah, and realised that once they had ceased to be useful to him, their own end would be swift. Accordingly, they decided to remove both.

Firstly, Sher Singh was induced to give sanction to the murder of Dhian Singh, by representing that Dhian Singh had promised the Sindhanwallas a jaghir of sixty lakhs, for his removal, and other inducements, such as the Regency and Wazirat. They produced documents, whether forged or not we cannot say, bearing Dhian Singh's signature, and incensed at this, Sher Singh signed another document authorising the murder of Dhian Singh. Armed with this, they presented themselves to Dhian Singh, and obtained his sanction to the murder of Sher Singh, and a promise of personal immunity from anything they might do.

The next step was to bribe the fort garrison, who were mostly Dhian Singh's own men, and to introduce amongst them a number of their own adherents. All being ready, they now applied to Sher Singh for him to make the annual inspection of their jaghirdari troops, at which Dhian Singh, in his capacity as Wazir, was also to be present to take the muster. This obtained, on the morning of the 15th September, 1842, the Sindhanwallas arrived at the Shah Bilawal, the Garden House of Sher Singh, a few miles out from Lahore.

They brought with them 150 horsemen and 300 footmen, of whom the former were disposed to surround the enclosure, whilst the latter were marched inside to the house, having previously been instructed as to their duties. Ajit Singh, carrying a double-barrelled gun, loaded with slugs, then entered the room, in which Sher Singh sat, and offered the gun for inspection. But, as the Maharajah put out his hand to receive it, both barrels were fired into his chest, whilst the soldiers fired through the doors and windows, and killed the remainder.

Meanwhile Lehna Singh had slaughtered Partab Singh, the twelve-year old son of the Maharajah, and then setting both heads on spears, the brothers and their escort set out for Lahore Fort. About half-way they met Dhian Singh, with only a few attendants, and showing him the heads as token that the work had been well done, they requested him to return to the fort, and concert further measures, to which, having no alternative in the face of a superior force, he consented.

As they entered the fort, all but one of Dhian Singh's attendants was excluded by the guard, and surrounded by Ajit Singh's followers, Dhian Singh, side by side with Ajit Singh, trooped up on to the fort parade-ground. Here they halted, whilst Ajit Singh took Dhian Singh's hand, and asked him a question as to the Regency, not receiving a favourable answer, he crooked his finger as a signal to the man behind the Wazir, whereupon a blunderbuss, also charged with slugs was discharged into his back, killing him instantly. The sole follower, who attempted to make a resistance, was also cut down, and both were thrown into the rubbish heap at the fort gun-foundry.

Ajit Singh's action was precipitate, for it had been his brother's intention to make Dhian Singh a prisoner and under some pretext inveigle Hira Singh and Suchet Singh into the fort and dispose of all three together. However, making the best of the matter, he sent out a messenger with an escort of 500 men, to request them to come in for a conference. But, before the messenger arrived, the news of the triple murder had reached the Budhka-Awa, and taking immediate action, Suchet Singh had sent out to summon the troops from the adjacent cantonments.

The messenger turned back, and on reaching the fort, preparations were made for defence. Meanwhile, the panches had assembled at Avitabile's house, and were addressed by Hira Singh. Casting his sword and turban before them, he called upon them as representatives of the soldiers to avenge the murders. He denounced the intrigues of the Sindhanwallas, whom he asserted were ready to hand over the Punjab to the British, and reduce the Khalsa soldier to a mere labourer for the benefit of the "white faces." He asserted that their religion would be prohibited, their privileges curtailed, and other arguments to a like effect.

To all of this the panches listened unmoved, until seeing that other inducements were necessary, he changed his tactics ; he appealed to their cupidity. Each man was promised a pair of gold bracelets, a bonus of a month's pay, and an increase of pay with the plunder of the fort, and the Sindhanwallas thrown in.

This was sufficient ; and only waiting to have the promise confirmed on the Granth, the panches sped down to carry the glad news. Immediately the drums beat to arms, and such was the haste of the soldiers that they scorned the suggestion of waiting till the morn, or even for the evening meal, then preparing. Cooking pots were overturned, fires extinguished, and the haste

of the laggards stimulated so by musket butts and sword flats that within an hour 40,000 men were on their way to the fort.

Meanwhile, the Sindhanwallas had made every effort to bribe the garrison of the city and the Hazuri Bagh, but though these took the money and promised support, they intended to do nothing, so that the Sindhanwallas could depend only on their own adherents in the fort. Just after sunset, Hira Singh's force, with about 100 guns, mostly of small calibre, arrived at Lahore, occupied the city, and commenced the siege of the fort. Throughout the night the continuous throbbing of the drums, the booming of the cannon, and the rattle of musketry kept pace with the tumult in the city, where as before the troops robbed, burnt, and outraged unrestrained.

By next morning, little effect was visible on the fort walls, nor was much more made until Hira Singh offered substantial rewards to the gunners, who, redoubling their efforts by nine of the next day effected a practicable breach, through which the fort was stormed, and the whole of the garrison put to the sword. The heads of Lahna Singh and Ajit Singh, being cut off, were taken to the funeral pyre, whereon sat the women. The head of Ajit Singh was placed in the lap of the principal widow, who had waited two days for it, and then promising to convey the wishes of Hira Singh to his deceased father, she gave the signal for the pile to be lit.

The whole of the fort buildings and the Royal quarters were looted of everything removable, and having done so, the troops turned their attention once more to the city, wherein they plundered for two further days; when satiated, they retired to their cantonments, loaded with plunder. The infant, Dalip Singh, was now proclaimed Maharajah, with Hira Singh as Wazir.

We now enter upon a new act, with fresh principals. Hira Singh, though Wazir, was only nominally so, his every action being supervised and directed by a Pundit named Julla, who shared with Suchet Singh the wavering affections of the Rani Jindan, who, however, favoured Suchet Singh, and only utilised Pundit Julla to further her project of displacing Hira Singh in favour of his uncle. In this plot she was aided by her brother, Jowahir Singh, whose own aim was to clear away both, and himself occupy the Wazirat.

Pundit Julla very soon fathomed the intention, and warning Hira Singh, changed his affection for his uncle to a rancorous hatred. Discovering the changed attitude, Suchet Singh, through

Jowahir Singh, appealed to the troops to depose Hira Singh on the ground of his ill-treatment of the Maharajah and his mother, and elevate himself to the post. Jowahir Singh took advantage of a great review of the troops outside the fort to do so, but having no substantial inducements to offer at the moment, was not only unsuccessful, but abused by Jodha Ram, formerly the dewan of Avitabile, who had now succeeded to the command of Avitabile's brigade. Not content with abuse, Jodha Ram committed the unpardonable offence of striking Jowahir Singh in the face with a shoe, an indiscretion he atoned for in the end by the loss of his nose, ears, and thumb, at the hands of Gardiner.

Jowahir Singh was banished to Amritsar, and Suchet Singh directed to quit Lahore, taking with him his personal troops. We now leave Lahore for a time to relate what was happening elsewhere. Peshora Singh and Kashmira Singh having mustered a force of their own in rebellion, were too dangerous to be left at liberty. They were first apprehended and fined Rs. 20,000, but a fresh pretext being given by their murder of a servant, who had given information to the Durbar, Gulab Singh was directed to bring them in to Lahore as prisoners.

They had taken refuge in their fort at Sialkot, upon which two attempts failed. A third by Gardiner being more successful, the princes were induced to surrender the fort, and were then brought prisoners to Lahore, where they were stripped of everything and turned adrift to join a band of wandering Akalis, with whom we may leave them for a time.

Meanwhile, the troops were squeezing Hira Singh to the utmost, and seized the pretext of his ill-treatment of Ranjit Singh's reputed sons to extract a fine of Rs. 10,000 from him. A further reason for their dislike was that Pundit Julla, realising that the Sikhs were at the bottom of all the trouble, had disbanded several regiments, and replaced them by more docile Poorbeahs and hill-men. He had also in the interests of economy dismissed all the European officers, with the exception of Holmes and Kanara, who being in Hazara, were left alone.

At his wits' end for money with which to pay the troops, and meet the expenses of the Court, Hira Singh and his adviser incurred further unpopularity by collecting heavy arrears of revenue, generally tightening up the system, which as it pressed most heavily on the nobles and sirdars, embittered them also. They conspired to approach the army, with a view of installing Suchet Singh, and for this purpose the panches extracted a substantial

advance. They then approached Hira Singh, and sold the plot to him for a larger bribe, the result being that when Suchet Singh, thinking all was well, came into Lahore, he was first turned out of their cantonments by the troops, and later, at Hira Singh's request, attacked by the troops and murdered.

Once more the two princes, Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh, appear on the scene, together with the last of the Sindhanwalla brothers, Attar Singh, also an aspirant to the Wazirat. He collected a fairly large force, and attaching it to another under Bawa Bir Singh, a wandering guru, who held control of a well-armed force of 1,500 Akalis and several guns, which, by the accession of Attar Singh and other followers, was brought up to 5,000.

Prompted by Attar Singh, the Bawa gave out that the succession to the throne, and the appointment of ministers, was the prerogative of the gurus, and in pursuance of this policy, proscribed the Dogra rajahs and their adherents as traitors, whom no means should be spared to destroy. Naturally, the news prompted Hira Singh to fresh efforts, so once more the panches were summoned and their support secured by the customary means. The army was then marched against the Bawa, whose forces were engaged near Ferozepore, the result being the defeat of the rebels with the loss of Attar Singh, Kashmira Singh, the Bawa himself, 500 soldiers, and 200 women and children, who were drowned in attempting to escape.

The rich plunder of the Bawa's camp satisfied the troops for a time, and they remained quiescent. Meanwhile, anarchy and confusion reigned elsewhere. Though a certain amount of revenue was collected, very little of it reached the treasury, most being absorbed by the troops and the officials engaged in the collection. Law, or the administration of justice, practically ceased, for the officials not receiving any pay, ceased to attend to their duties. The police duties were also dormant, for most of them had been done by the army, who declined to leave Lahore for fear of losing opportunities.

This scarcity of money seriously damaged Hira Singh's popularity with the troops and the Court officials, and it became necessary to obtain more in order to keep the former pacified. Once more an effort was made to recover the arrears due from the sirdars, and these measures, coupled with Hira Singh's own arrogance, soon made both him and his family, thoroughly unpopular, and accelerated their inevitable fate.

A new lover in the person of Lal Singh, the Brahman treasurer, had been taken up by Rani Jindan, and though this person owed his elevation to Dhian Singh, he disliked the Dogras, and was only too willing to aid in the downfall of Hira Singh, even though he had exchanged turbans with him (a mark of thorough trust). Meanwhile Jowahir Singh had managed to gain the support of a portion of the troops, and especially that of the Akalis, the most turbulent section of the populace.

Matters were thus balanced when Pundit Julla made the mistake of publicly insulting and abusing the Maharajah, the Rani, and Jowahir Singh on the occasion of a public religious function. This angered the troops and Akalis considerably, and when the next day, a review was arranged, Jowahir Singh and Hira Singh's faction almost came to blows. However, the unconvincing result of the quarrel and the sullen attitude of many of his own supporters convinced Hira Singh and the Pundit that they had overstayed their welcome, and should seek safety in speedy flight.

Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 22nd November, 1844, they secretly left Lahore for Jammu, with five elephants loaded with treasure, mostly gold mohurs and rupees. That their departure was timely was notified by the fact that as they left the western gate, the guns of the fort boomed out a salute in honour of the elevation of Jowahir Singh to the Wazirat. The guard at the gate having notified their exit, a great body of horse followed in hot pursuit, and overtook them some miles from Lahore on the other side of the river Ravi.

In vain did Hira Singh cut open his money bags, and scatter *ashrafs* along the road, but the soldiers disdained to stay for these, and sped all the faster to the source of the treasure. The fleeing cavalcade was overtaken and for six miles a running fight continued, which ended in the death of Hira Singh, Julla, and such of the escort as stayed to fight. The heads of the principals were cut off, and set on spear heads, and their bodies piled on to a bullock cart, in which they were conveyed to Lahore and there cast to the dogs and jackals, at the Taxali Gate.

The head of Pundit Julla was paraded through the bazaar, as a peep-show, and a pice (farthing) extracted from every passer-by. Finally, when tired, the bearers threw the head to the jackals. Those of Hira Singh and his principal adherents were made over by the Rani to one of the sirdars, who burned them on the spot where Suchet Singh had been cremated.

The principal tragedians now appearing were Jowahir Singh, Rani Jindan, and her lover, Lal Singh, with Gulab Singh in the back-ground, ever ready to appear when his interest prompted. For their services on this occasion, the troops received a gold bangle each, and the panches a gold necklace, the treasury being ransacked to provide the material. The soldiery were now comparatively wealthy for the anarchy had prevailed during four years, and drained the resources of the country, to their advantage, as whatever faction came into power, owed it to their support and paid liberally for it.

After a time no new trouble transpiring, the troops became restless, so to pacify and employ them, an expedition was undertaken against Gulab Singh, who for some offence had been fined three lakhs of rupees. He had not only evaded payment, but the summons to Lahore, for he knew perfectly well the risk of such a proceeding, so that the need for money being urgent, the troops were sent to collect it. But first a sirdar expressed his willingness to go on in advance, and was permitted to do so on the understanding that if Gulab Singh made over the fine to him, no further proceedings would be taken.

The sirdar was well received, the money was duly paid over to him, and he was despatched to Lahore with a small escort. But, a few miles out from Jammu, he was ambushed, and together with all his men, killed by Gulab Singh's myrmidons, who regained the treasure, with interest in the shape of the sirdar's personal property and the plunder of his men. The news reaching the army, they were infuriated, but Gulab Singh sent a messenger who bought them off for a sum of Rs. 25 per head, in return for which, and promises of more, they promised to oust Jowahir Singh and install the Dogra.

However, on arrival at Lahore this promise was evaded, for meanwhile Jowahir Singh had also paid up, so the result was a stalemate. But, the Rani took advantage of his presence to fine him the sum of Rs. 68 lakhs, this being the value of the property belonging to Hira Singh, Suchet Singh, and Dhian Singh, all of which with the exception of some lakhs left at Ferozepur by Suchet Singh, was considered escheated to the state. He was then permitted to depart; needless to say the money was never paid in.

To add to political troubles, in April and May, 1845, an outbreak of cholera carried off 20,000 of the civil population of Lahore and Amritsar. The number of soldiers was also great,

for the news-writer records that on May 26th, 1845, 5,000 ownerless muskets were sent into the fort, and with them 320 pounds weight of gold bangles, recovered from the dead bodies. How many more were not recovered may be imagined.

There was now but one of Ranjit Singh's reputed sons still left, Peshora Singh, who was induced by Gulab Singh to go to Lahore and endeavour to stir up the troops against Jowahir Singh. He was permitted to enter the camps, but on being requested to put down the money, had to confess that it was not with him, so the troops contemptuously drove him out with the order that he was not to return without a substantial amount as earnest money. Peshora Singh returned to Sialkot, where he obtained two battalions from Gulab Singh, who, however, deserted him on finding that there was no money forthcoming.

Peshora Singh had better luck at Attock, where he induced a number of Pathans to join him, with their aid managing to intercept Rs. 6 lakhs of treasure being sent up as payment for the troops at Peshawar, and then to take Attock Fort. On this becoming known, a force was sent out from Lahore, but on arrival, finding the fort too strong to take by fair means, they resorted to foul, and by means of forged documents promising immunity and safe conduct, induced Peshora Singh to surrender. He had no sooner done so than they took him prisoner, and confined him in irons in a dungeon beneath the river-level, in which he was strangled by a man sent up from Lahore by Jowahir Singh.

Once more free from danger, the Rani, her paramour, and the Court abandoned themselves to the utmost license. Drunkenness, debauchery in general, and immorality reached heights hardly touched by even Ranjit Singh. The scum of the bazars, the barracks and stables were the favourites of the moment. Decency was ignored or forgotten. The excesses of a Commodus or a Messalina were repeated with eastern embroidery, and matters became so bad that all decent people avoided the Court as they would a pestilence.

The murder of Peshora Singh afforded the army a pretext for extracting more money from Jowahir Singh, or if he could not pay up, replacing him by one who could. The panches were assembled at Lahore, and Jowahir Singh was arraigned on several charges, of misgovernment and embezzlement or wastefulness of public money, the true reason for the latter charge being that the army thought it might better have been spent upon themselves. However, it was decided that Jowahir Singh should have

an opportunity of defending himself, but as he failed to respond to the summons to appear before the panches, these condemned him to death in default.

Having possession of the fort, he shut himself up in this, relying upon the support of the two battalions which had been raised by Gardiner for him. His reliance was misplaced, for these two, including their commander, had submitted to the orders of the panches, and were now not his guards, but his jailors. He appealed to Gardiner, but was assured that there was absolutely no hope of escape, and exhorted to meet his inevitable death like a man. Frantic with fright he tried gate after gate of the fort, offering everything in his power if the guards would permit him to escape, but though they took the Rs. 50,000 he offered, they refused to permit him to go.

So matters went on for a couple of days. On the 21st of September, 1845, the army, tired of waiting, assembled on the plain at Mian Mir, about six miles from Lahore, and deputed an escort of four battalions to bring Jowahir Singh to their presence. Having been warned, Jowahir Singh decided to meet the trouble half-way, and escorted by his own two battalions, or perhaps, guarded by them, set out to Mian Mir. The procession consisted of four elephants, the leading one carrying Jowahir Singh and the Maharajah, and the others, some of his adherents and the Rani's slaves and companions. Half-way they were met by the brigade from Mian Mir, and these, turning around, proceeded towards the place where the army, numbering over 30 battalions of infantry, stood awaiting them.

As they came to the right of the line, the first two battalions presented arms, and encouraged by this demonstration of seeming friendliness, Jowahir Singh and the Rani moved on with more confidence. But this was misplaced, for as they reached the centre of the line, the drums beat and the centre battalion moved forward and separated into two parts, one of which surrounded Jowahir Singh's elephant, and the other those of the Rani. Before they came close enough, Jowahir Singh gave the order to the Mahout to accelerate his speed, but as he did so a soldier called upon him to halt. The Mahout did not obey, whereupon the soldier put a bullet through his shoulder, at which rude reminder he halted his elephant and commanded it to kneel.

This soldier, a man selected for his herculean physique and truculence, then climbed into the howdah, took the Maharajah from Jowahir Singh, and passed him down to his comrades, who

made him over to the Rani, and hurried her and her companions away behind the line, to where tents stood ready for them. Meanwhile, announcing that he was but carrying out the justice of the Khalsa, the soldier drove his bayonet several times into Jowahir Singh's body, and then cast him over the side of the elephant, to the soldiers beneath, who speedily reduced the body to a mass of mutilated flesh.

Several of the sirdars were similarly treated, and the whole of the bodies were thrown down outside the tent in which the Maharani and her women were confined. The next morning she was permitted to return to the fort, taking with her the dead body, which on the morning of the 22nd September was cremated, four of his wives being burnt with it. The scene was attended by brutality and callousness unexampled even at this period, for to such a pitch had the rapacity of the soldiers attained, that the suttees, who before were looked upon as of peculiar sanctity, were now molested, insulted, and robbed as they passed along to the funeral pile.

It was the custom that the women should distribute their personal belongings and jewels amongst the poor, but on this occasion no such voluntary act was permitted, for the soldiers robbed the trays of jewels and clothing and even tore away the ear and nose-rings of the suttees. One man even tore away the waist-band of one of the women's pyjamas, which was richly embroidered. This woman stood upon the pile, calling down curses and destruction on the Khalsa, and prophesying their speedy dissolution. Her ravings were speedily stopped, for one of the men came to the side and struck her down with the butt of his musket.

There being no aspirants for the Wazirat, the troops put it up to auction, and yet, dangerous as such a post was, there were bidders for it. Amongst these was Raja Lal Singh, the Rani's paramour, who offered Rs. 15 per head to the soldiers, but as there were others who bid higher, it was determined to cast lots. Even then it fell upon Lal Singh, but he and the others being unable to pay up the post fell in abeyance, except so far as the duties which the Rani performed.

The arrogance of the troops had now passed all bounds. Neither the Rani, nor anyone else, could satisfy their demands, and it became a case of either destroying the army, or being destroyed by them. Preferring the former alternative, the Rani set up a campaign of mendacity against the British, to whom she attributed the intention of conquering the Punjab, and especially

disbanding the Khalsa army. Rumours were also spread that the Hindustani soldiers of the Company were disaffected, and only awaited the opportunity of the Khalsa soldiery crossing the Sutlej to combine with them to drive the European soldiers into the sea, and share out the plunder of Hindustan and the lower provinces.

The idea was enthusiastically received by the soldiers, but not by the panches, who being wiser men, knew the real power of the English, and the fate that the Khalsa army would inevitably meet. For a time they held out, and it was not until the Rani reviled them as cowards and cast her petticoats at them that they decided to advance. Accordingly, on the 8th December, 1845, they crossed the Sutlej near Ferozepur, and within a few days the first of the battles which ended with the subjugation of the Punjab and its passing to the English was fought at Moodkee.

In conclusion, let us describe what these panches actually were. The panchayat, or village council, is an old institution in India, and when Sher Singh, wearied of the importunities of the mob, announced that he would only deal with deputations, the model of the panchayat was adapted to the army. Two men from each company or battery were selected to form the regimental panch and from these again another council was selected, who possessed extreme power, and carried out all negotiations.

But, though the panches superseded the officers in the regimental control, they did not do so in drill and manœuvre, for the parades, exercises, and training were carried out as regularly as ever, and though no deference was paid to the officers off parade or field service, they were supreme on these occasions. It was this system that took the British generals by surprise, for they anticipated an easy and bloodless victory over disorganised and unruly troops.

How matters fell out, history tells, for no army ever put up a braver and better fight against the English in India than did that of the Khalsa regulars of Ranjit Singh, who owed their training to the European adventurers.

APPENDIX III

ITINERARY OF A JOURNEY FROM PERSIA TO KABUL MADE
IN THE YEAR 1826 BY CLAUDE AUGUSTE COURT

The total distance from Yezd to Herat is 200 parasangs (4 miles to a parasang). From Yezd the road runs north-east to Toun, and from thence north to Herat. Camel caravans, which are the main users of this route, can make the journey in 35. to 40 days. Horsemen can do it quite comfortably in 12 to 15 days, and even more comfortably by using wheeled carriages, as the track runs across open and level plains.

At each stage there are caravanserais, which were built by pious persons for the convenience of travellers and pilgrims to the shrine of Imam Reza at Meshed, the capital of Khorasan. There are also cisterns or wells at intermediate places, but owing to neglect of the provincial governors, they are, with few exceptions, dry or fallen in.

The plains are dry and arid, and so impregnated with saltpetre as to appear from a distance a sea of salt. The plains of Aliabad, Shah Abbas, Shiras, and Tarij are immense tracts, the sole vegetation on which are a few plants which thrive in saline soil. There are several ranges of low mountains, with easy slopes, the first being the sandy hills called the Rigks-Chatourans, which are about 50 parasangs from Herat.

North-east from Yezd we cross the great desert of Kabis or Kermani, to whose left extends another great salt desert. The desert of Kabis is skirted by the cities of Kachan, Kom, Semnon, Torchis, Toun and Tabas, and according to the inhabitants, is about 80 parasangs square. Near its middle are the Biabonek mountains, the slopes of which have many villages, surrounded by cultivated land, whose fertility strikingly contrasts with the dreary aridity surrounding the mountains. After leaving the Rigks-Chatourans, we cross the southern part of Khorasan, when making for Herat, passing by Tabas, which I believe to be the Tabiana of the Greeks.

I surmise that the country between this and Toun is their Parthanasia, and the many remarkable tombs to be met with as those of the Parthian kings. We next enter the Kain country,

which extends up to the Guesik chain, and then comes more desert, extending almost up to Herat for a distance of about 40 parasangs. There are several mountain chains, mostly low and isolated on this route. They are called the Khegner Koh, the Kohda Koh, and the Guesik mountains. All are of fair altitude, but extremely arid and barren, a characteristic which in my opinion is a proof of richness in metals.

It would pay to send a mineralogist to prospect this country, and I think he would make some useful discoveries. There is a lead mine near the village of Makhalon, about six parasangs north of Yezd. The Derind mountains show many traces of plumbago. The Posht Badam hills afford small quantities of gold dust, and near the town of Toun there is another lead mine. A copper mine is still worked on the reverse slope of the Khegner Koh, and there is a silver mine at a place called Shia Nogra. These mines are now abandoned on account of the excessive exactions of the Government, but would amply repay reopening.

Between Bucherisk and Toun many large and beautiful agates may be found lying exposed on the surface, especially in the Shia Jerez district. Near the Castle of Fourk is a copper mine, which supplied the metal for the cannon used in the fortifications of Birjan. The Guesik mountains afford plenty of sulphur, and on the west side, near the shrine of Imam Reza, is a warm spring of mineral water, which is used as a place of medicinal pilgrimage. Here we saw multitudes of very poisonous snakes.

On the hills extending from Rabat to Herat, a small thorny bush, from which is obtained the gum called "Taranjabin," much used in Persian medicine, was very plentiful. The main crop, however, is asafœtida, which grows wild and abundant on the hills extending across the western part of the province of Herat. This plant is about two or three feet high, its roots extending to an enormous distance. The gum is extracted by making a cross incision in the stem of the plant, from which the gum exudes, and congeals into tears, which are removed every evening. No care is taken of the plant, other than to cover it during the extreme heat. The smell is so detestable that we named it "The Devil's Dung." The greater part of it is exported to India, where it is greatly prized for culinary purposes.

The wild animals are wolves, a small kind of antelope, pigs, hares, and partridges. At the Kaboude salt springs we killed two enormous wild boars, and after passing these, encountered herds

of the wild asses so plentiful in Seistan. This animal is much larger than the domestic ass, which it resembles in everything else except that the cross on the back is brown, instead of black. It is extremely swift, and can travel for a long distance at great speed. Nor will it permit one to approach within gunshot. It is hunted by the Afghans, who esteem its flesh very highly.

Very few fruit trees grow round the hamlets in the Gask and Birjan districts, the principal being the "zerisk," which yields a small acid fruit used by the Persians to flavour their "pulaos." The juniper and jujube trees are also to be found, though not very plentiful.

From May to October the country between Yezd and Herat is subjected to very strong winds, the heat from which is stifling, though it does not seem to have any ill effect upon the inhabitants. The agricultural produce of the country is barely sufficient to feed even its few inhabitants, for with the exception of an occasional spring of brackish water, there are no means of irrigation. The water from these springs, which is most unpalatable, except to those long used to it, is collected in reservoirs and distributed with the utmost economy to the sad and miserable hamlets, which are barely discernible amidst the frightful aridity which surrounds them.

The people are not generally nomadic. The nomads consist of the Shudrais, the Kazeems, the Beni-Kazails, the Beni-Assad, and the Beni-Kefed, in the Toun and Tabas districts, and the Falahies, the Sahbies, the Hanouns, the Yakubis, and the El-Abudeids of the Kain country. All these nomads are of Arab origin, being mostly descendants of the colonies planted by Shah Abbas, or by Tamurlane. They have no Arab habits, except that of living in black tents, nor can they even speak or understand Arabic. They own large flocks and herds, which they pasture in the valleys and ravines of the mountains, and in general enjoy an easier existence than the people of the villages, who are always on the verge of starvation.

The normal condition of the country is famine, to which the ravages of the Baluchis and Turkomans contribute. What little cultivation there is, produces wheat, bitter radishes, beetroots, and sesame oil, which only scantily feeds those who cultivate it, and this scarcity of food, forage, and water makes it almost impossible for large bodies of troops to pass by this route unless they carry their own supplies. The first army known to cross these deserts is that of Shah Abbas, who returned by this route from his conquest of Kandahar.

This benevolent king was so appalled at the aridity of the country, and the danger of the continually shifting sands obliterating the track, that he sank wells and also built conical pyramids at stated places, as landmarks. These shifting sands are very dangerous, and are caused by desert whirlwinds, which blow from north-east to south-west during half the year, and in the reverse direction during the other half. The sand blown over in one direction is cast back by the reverse wind. It took us nearly five hours to cross the most dangerous part of these shifting sands, which we did by a pass named the Kabis, which was also that used by Mir Mahomed in 1722, when he marched an Afghan army to the conquest of Shah Sultan Hussain of Persia.

Since 1812 the crossing of these dunes has been rendered still more dangerous by the bands of Baluchi robbers who infest the route to ambush the caravans and slaughter the travellers. Their depredations since that date must have been something enormous. They have a regular system of reliefs, by which one band stays for a certain time, and then retires to make room for another. Each band is composed of thirty to 100 men, and these travel very rapidly when crossing the sands, doing, it is said, as much as 10 to 20 parasangs in a day.

Most of them are retainers of Jan Khan, chief of the tribes who inhabit the fastnesses of Sheikh Nasus on the Seistan frontier. This place is their rendezvous from whence they set out on their raids, and return to, in order to surrender a tribute of one-third of the booty. They are a most ferocious looking people, clothed only in a long cotton shirt, bound with a belt of camel hair, and a ragged turban. Their moustaches are shaven in the centre, leaving long drooping ends, and they also wear long hair, which hangs over the shoulders.

After crossing the dunes, they meet at Shia Bakhtiari, where there is a good spring, and they are in league with the inhabitants. At this place they leave their camels, and dividing into bands, dispose themselves along the road. They may attack anywhere, but their favourite slaughter-house is the narrow defile of Godar Kamar, on the north, where they conceal themselves below the reverse slopes. They are careful not to show themselves until the caravan is well within the pass, when they swoop down upon it and slaughter everyone who shows the least resistance.

Their ruthless cruelty has inspired such terror that a band of thirty men has been known to plunder and murder a kafila of 200 travellers. The massacres are numberless, the most terrible being that of 1823, when they cut the throats of over 200 pilgrims,

travelling from Yezd to Meshed. The burial-place of these unfortunate people is marked by a great cairn, near the third distance post.

We passed the bodies of five travellers, who had just been murdered, and found the murderers still at Shia Bakhtiari, where, however, they did not molest us, our party being too strong. Our advance guard came into conflict with a party of robbers returning from a raid, and these men we surrounded, and with the exception of two, put to the sword. The two survivors, who were wounded, we took on to Rabat, where we tied them to trees and riddled them with bullets.

During the execution, the villagers gathered round, and their scowling attitude convinced us that they were in league with the Baluchis, whom, it was said, they provided with water, provisions and shelter, receiving in return a share of the plunder. The Baluchis have other confederates in the villages of Sagah and Posht Badam, who are well known to the authorities. The Governor of the province takes no active steps to stop these outrages, which he could easily do, and occasionally sends out a cavalry patrol, who return without effecting anything. It is surprising to find that the Prince of Yezd permits this kind of robbery with impunity. He has officers at Kharone, Sagah, and other places, who, though they have at their disposal quite sufficient force to keep the roads safe, content themselves with warning caravans not to proceed, when the Baluchis are known to be out.

The natives keep men posted on the hills, who signal by fires whenever the raiders are in the vicinity, and on this the natives retire into their fortified villages, or towers, until the coast is clear. The result of this laxness is that travellers only enter upon this journey when compelled, and then with fear and trembling. Besides the danger from the Baluchis, there is that from Turkomans, which is really worse, for whereas the Baluchi only plunders, or kills, the Turkoman plunders and carries man, woman, or child into slavery.

These man-stealers belong to the Imak tribe, whose headquarters are at Mehmaneh, about 8 days' journey from Herat, and from time immemorial have ravaged Khorasan and the Herat country with impunity. Their raids are rapid, and both plunder and slaves are disposed of at Bokhara. There is also a religious motive behind these slave raids, for the Turkomans are Sunnis, who hate the Persian Shiah with an inveterate ferocity. We ascertained that the Turkoman danger commenced at Toun, and continued right up to Herat, so as the most dangerous place was

between the villages of Kain and Kawf, we persuaded our caravan leader to quit the main route for a more southerly one, passing near the town of Birjan.

However, this precaution nearly defeated itself, for when but three days' journey from Herat, we were suddenly attacked by a band of Baluchi robbers, who were only beaten off after a stubborn running fight, lasting for several miles. The unfortunate inhabitants have neither security nor repose, for whilst continually striving to wring a livelihood from the reluctant earth, they are also kept incessantly on the alert against the Turkomans. In the outlying fields they have built small towers, the entrance to which is reached by a ladder, and into these they retire when the raiders are about.

There is not a single family in these districts which has not a member enslaved by the Turkomans, and yet, it is most surprising to learn that these captives prefer captivity to freedom in their own inhospitable country. They often write to their parents or relations, expressing their pleasure at having found a happy condition of life, and assure them that it would be folly to make any sacrifice to obtain money for their redemption: some of them even accompany the Turkomans as guides, and give active assistance in the slavery of their compatriots.

The ravages of the Turkomans and Baluchis are so great and themselves so numerous that even Herat was occasionally harried, forcing Prince Kamran to enter into alliance with the Prince of Khorasan for mutual defence against this incessant brigandage. This danger induced me to leave the caravan at Sideh, and repair to Birjan, in order to obtain an escort from the Governor of that place, whom I had known at the Court of Teheran. I learnt from him that M. Oms, who had left the Persian service in 1824, to seek military service in India, had been captured and imprisoned in the Castle of Fourk, from which he had only just managed to escape. The contrast between the treatment of Senor Oms, and my own reception, caused me to appreciate the usefulness of an old acquaintance.

I managed to secure an escort, and dividing this into two parts, sent one to my friend Avitable with instructions to take the route by Gisk and Nohkap, and meet me at Avez. As for myself, I took the route *via* Fourk, in which I was accompanied by the Governor's own son, who escorted me as far as Avaz. We found the province of Herat involved in a civil war between Prince Kamran and his father, Mahmud Shah. The latter had been

expelled from the throne, and having formed an alliance with Burif Khan, Chief of the Azeres, the two returned and besieged Herat in the month of June, 1826.

However, the desertions from their ranks were so numerous that Mahmud Shah and his ally were compelled to raise the siege and retire to Farrah. Meanwhile, Prince Kamran managed to secure the alliance of the Prince of Khorasan, who was much gratified by the submission of a ruler, who till then, had declined to acknowledge his vassalage. Appreciating the advantages of the alliance, he sent his son, Agha Mirza, with 10,000 men and four cannon, to join Kamran, and this force we found encamped on the banks of the Morghab river. In order to oppose the reinforcements sent by the Khan of Mehmaneh, Mahmud Shah.

I shall now describe the city of Herat, and its environs. The city of Herat is that called Aria by the Greeks, and is said to have been founded by Alexander the Great. Tradition says that the valley in which the city lies was once filled by a lake, formed by the water of the Heri river being pent up in the Lengherjan hills, and that Alexander, after having pierced the hills and drained the valley, was so struck by the beauty of the sight that he commanded a city to be built upon it. This is incorrect, for it is quite certain that Aubee, about ten parasangs east of Herat, was the actual city founded by Alexander.

The present city of Herat is small, and surrounded by a high mud wall flanked by towers of the same material. It is further defended by a wide and deep moat, which is always kept full of water. It contains 10,000 houses, twenty serais, thirty public baths, four markets, six colleges, and the Castle of the Prince. The population is about 40,000, two-thirds of whom are Persians, and the rest mostly Afghans. The only remarkable thing within the city is the great reservoir of Ibrahim Jamshed Khan, which is fed by subterranean streams flowing from the mountains. This reservoir supplies most of the water requirements of the city.

The principal manufactures are silken and woollen goods, and the trade mostly with Bokhara, Kandahar, Meshed, and Yezd, the merchants from which frequent the city in considerable numbers. The city was sacked by Jenghiz Khan in A.D. 619, and still later by Tamurlane, whose descendants still hold it. The surroundings are not particularly attractive or pleasant. The most remarkable places are the mansion of Take Safar Gazergah, the Mosque of Musa Allah, and the garden of Shah Zada Malik Kasum.

The mosque is a building of a kind rather uncommon in Persia, and is now almost in ruins. There remains still intact ten minarets and a small madrassah, and from these and the rest of the ruins we are able to distinguish the general architectural style, which was simple, elegant, and admirably suited to the climate. The walls were decorated with mosaics of glazed tiles, in delicate shades and combinations of colours, the effects of which were very pleasing.

The minarets are tall and beautifully proportioned, one of them leaning towards the Tomb of Imam Reza at Meshed, an accidental inclination which the Persians hail as a miracle. This once magnificent building is supposed to have been erected at a stupendous cost by the favourite slave and vazir of Guhar Shah. But it is also attributed to Ghazi-ud-Din, a Sultan of the Ghorî dynasty. The buildings were mostly destroyed by the Tartars under Jenghiz Khan.

Not far from Gazargarh there still exists a ruby mine, which, however, has been abandoned, because the stones were perforated with minute holes. On the eastern side of the same mountains there is a lead mine, still worked by Prince Kamran. The mountains are well wooded, and extend far to the north. Besides timber of many species, they yield medicinal herbs, seeds and roots, from some of which dye-stuffs far superior to any European products are extracted.

The valley of Herat is one of the most fertile and beautiful we have yet seen. When approaching it, the rich beauty of the plantations, and the villages surrounded by picturesque gardens are very grateful to the eye of the traveller long tired by nothing but dreary and arid deserts and mountains. The valley is about four parasangs from north to south, and thirty from east to west, and no less than 12,000 pairs of bullocks are employed in cultivating it. Grain and fruits are plentiful. Of the latter there are no less than thirty-two varieties of grapes.

The grape vines are carefully cultivated and the whole of the valley is intersected by canals, supplied from the Herat river, which almost entirely absorbs its waters. The largest canal is the Enjil, which waters the Royal garden, and supplies the city moat. The Herat river rises in the eastern mountains, and running from east to west, finally disappears into the sands of the desert north of Khorasan. The road to Kandahar crosses the river by a bridge at Malan, and that from Meshed crosses the river several times, for its course is extremely tortuous.

Since the death of Nadir Shah, the Afghans and Persians have continually battled for possession of Herat, the victory now remaining with the former. In the year 1816 the Persians took advantage of the Afghans being engaged in another war to win a battle at Kala, but being, by reason of very severe losses, unable to follow up the victory, they derived no advantage from it. At present they cannot take any further action, being fully occupied with insurrections in Khorasan. After the Barakzais had dethroned Mahmud Shah, he took refuge in Herat, but was dispossessed by his son, Kamran, who still rules it.

This prince is about fifty years of age, grave, strong-willed, and able and energetic. His greatest anxiety just now is to retain the city, for he has few men and little money, and cannot do any more than remain on the defensive. He would be very pleased to either come to an arrangement with the Barakzais for complete independence, or to ally himself with his father against their common enemy. If the latter could be compassed, there would be much chance of overthrowing the Barakzai rule, which is so frightfully cruel and oppressive that the tribes would gladly join any leader having a chance of victory.

The city could be well fortified, and its possession would be most desirable for any Russian army advancing to invade India. A strong force occupying Herat would not only hold the forces of Bokhara, Balkh, and Kandahar in check, or ensure their alliance, but would also assure the safety of the lines of communication, thus relieving the commander of an advancing army of any anxiety concerning them.

ITINERARY OF A JOURNEY FROM HERAT TO KABUL, *viâ* KANDAHAR.

There is a choice of two routes for this journey, one being by the Azeres mountains, taking eight to ten days, and the other, *viâ* Kandahar, which is much longer. Being desirous of completing our journey as soon as possible, we first decided to take the mountain road, but on consultation with those who had travelled both ways, we decided to take the longer one, for the roads over the mountain were reported very difficult, and besides, travellers by that route are liable to much more oppression than ordinary from persons of authority.

To Kandahar the road runs along the western borders of the Feroz Koh mountains, which extend up to Kandahar, and separate Seistan from the province of Gaur. The distance is about 125 parasangs. The greater part of the road is through fairly open country, crossed in several places by low mountains, which, how-

ever, are quite practicable for artillery and wheeled transport. The greatest difficulty for the passage of an army would be supplies of water, for the country is sparsely populated, little cultivated, and greatly deficient in water supplies.

At some of the halting-places no water whatever is procurable, and these stages should either be doubled, or water carried on from the camping-ground before. The only places at which provisions in any quantity are procurable are Gerishk and Farrah. Kafilas using this route are usually composed either entirely of horses, or camels. Mules are very uncommon. The charge for the full journey for each camel is from 100 to 120 *battimais* and for each horse from twenty to thirty. There is also a joining fee of three sequins for a camel, and six sequins for a horse.

The camel caravans take twenty-five days to complete the journey, but the horse caravans, who travel almost night and day, just halting long enough for food and the minimum of rest, do the journey in eight, or at the most, ten. The bands of roving thieves who infest this route do not usually attack moving kafilas, and as the horse caravans are much smaller than the camel kafilas, they avoid, or minimise, danger by halting at uncertain places, changing them on each journey.

A march usually commences at noon, and continues until about midnight, when the caravan is halted for rest, food, and water. About 4 A.M. they set out again, and continue until eight or nine o'clock, when another halt until noon is made. This system of hurried, broken, and continual travelling is extremely trying to those not inured to it, for which reason only the hardest travellers move with horse kafilas.

We left Herat on the first of October, 1826. Before quitting it, we exchanged our Persian costumes for those of the Afghans and also had our beards and moustaches trimmed in the Afghan manner. Up till then we had passed as Shiah Mussalmans, using their peculiar ceremonial, but as the Afghans are fanatical Sunnis, we changed over to their observances. The hatred of the one sect for the other is extreme, and this precaution was absolutely indispensable for the safety of life and property.

Our first stage was to Shahabad, which is situated at the outer end of the Mandaud defile. During the passage, I and my friend Avitabile, who had moved on ahead, narrowly escaped being cut off and murdered by the Nurzais, who infest the defile. A band of them suddenly swooped down from the slope, and we only escaped by the exertions of our fine Arab horses, which were tried to the utmost.

After passing the defile, we skirted along the Feroz Koh mountains, the highest peak of which gives the name to the range. From this, which is not very lofty, there are visible two other ranges, called the Kauk and Kassarman, which extend far to the westward. With the exception of a few ravines and valleys, which are inhabited and sparsely cultivated by pastoral tribes, the Feroz Koh is arid and desolate. These nomads live in black tents, and keep to the banks of the mountain streams, along which are many camping-grounds, connected by paths practicable for ponies.

After leaving Shahabad, we diverged from the main road, as our kafilā bāshā had heard that the troops of Mahmud Shah, who were encamped along this road, plundered all travellers indiscriminately. The hilly country we now traversed was crossed by two small rivers, called the Ghaz and the Adiriska, both of which run from north-east to south-west, and discharge into the Farrah river. At that season they were nearly dry, but when the snows melt, they become greatly swollen, and caravans are sometimes delayed for many days before the flood subsides.

The prevailing tree is the wild pistachio, which flourishes in the most arid places, and in addition to fruit, yields a useful gum for medicinal purposes. Rhubarb and gooseberries also grow wild on the mountain-sides. We emerged from the Karik mountains, which took two days to cross, into the plain of Daulatabad, descending to it by a rather difficult pass. There is an easier one towards the west, which emerges on to the main road to Farrah, but we were not able, for reasons already stated, to take that route.

Farrah is the birthplace of Rustam Khan, the Hercules of the East, of whom so much is written in the Shah-Nama of Firdausi. Except for the environs of the city, the plain of Farrah is uncultivated, though crossed from east to west by an unnamed river, which rises in the Feroz Koh, crosses part of Seistan, and finally discharges into the Zeri lake. This river is probably the Ar Palus of the Greeks, and I assume that Farrah itself is the city they named Phra, and the Farrah river their Pharnacotis.

When we crossed the Farrah river, it was low, but we were told that in the spring it is greatly swollen, and impossible to ford. The current is swift, and runs over a pebbly bed, whilst the banks are covered by the black tents of the Nurzais. After crossing the Farrah plain, we again quitted the main road, to avoid the troops, and took the branch leading to the Penjdeh pass, which we found very difficult for pack animals, and indeed, bad enough for foot travellers. This pass is remarkable for its eastern

exit, which is an immense natural doorway formed by two perpendicular rocks, crossed by a third. A small river which runs through the gateway adds to the wild picturesqueness of the scene.

There is a main route which runs through the Kassarman pass, and is not so difficult, though it is six parasangs longer. Leaving the Penjdeh Pass, we debouched on to a great plain, which extended out of sight to the south. This is crossed by a small stream called the Ibrahim, which irrigates the land surrounding a village oasis called Bakoba. Wild asses, antelope, and hare are plentiful, and in the centre of the plain is an isolated mountain named Koh-i-Douz.

As we passed the northern flank of this mountain, we were suddenly attacked by a band of Baluchi robbers, some on camels, and others on horses. This attack was so sudden that, at the first surprise, the robbers managed to cut off and get away with six animals. Whilst they were engaged in so doing, we closed into a hollow square, surrounding the animals, and from this, by our continual fire, repelled the Baluchis on all sides with considerable loss, so that they eventually drew off and left us to continue our march. However, we did not recover the captured animals.

After this contretemps, we travelled very carefully, momentarily expecting to encounter more Baluchis, but were fortunate enough not to do so. We halted at the village of Vouchek, which contains about 100 houses, enclosed within a high mud wall. Even amongst Afghans, who are most efficient thieves, the inhabitants of Vouchek are singularly expert. They do not steal openly, but crowd around the caravan, and await any opportunity to make off with animals or plunder. They are the most rascally scoundrels and petty thieves I have ever encountered.

The country to the north-east of this village is not cultivated. The river Kachroud, which runs through it, is said to be usually a strong torrent, but we found it nearly dry. After leaving Vouchek, we crossed some hilly and savage country, from which we descended into the plain of Lars, the country of the Sebazais. We then skirted the Dahor mountains, which are inhabited by the Alizai. This country is probably the *Dahoe* of Alexander, which he invaded and conquered immediately after defeating the Syrians.

As we neared Gerishk, the country gradually changed to scenery much more agreeable, for the district is irrigated by the Helmund river, and well cultivated. I believe this river, which rises in the Gour mountains, and at first runs from north-east to

south-west, and then changing its course, crosses Seistan to the eastward, to be the *Etymander* of the Greeks. It discharges into the Zeri lake.

The river marked Sambarra on the maps does not pass Gerishk closely, but flows between it and the village of Kala Sadad Khan, about four parasangs west of Gerishk. The river Helmund runs over a gravelly bottom, and though the current is extremely swift, the water is very clear. It frequently overflows, and in the year 1825, an abnormal flood overwhelmed nearly 10,000 black tents scattered along the banks, causing an immense loss of life. The river is fordable in the dry season at several places, the best being that near Gerishk, which is marked by a row of poplar trees, on the opposite bank.

Some distance beyond Gerishk, the river divides into two branches, of which the eastern is the greatest. Both branches are fordable for horsemen, and light guns might also be passed over, though it would be impossible to take over ammunition wagons. Ferry boats do not exist, such vehicles being unknown to the Afghans, which is strange, for the neighbouring mountains furnish plenty of suitable timber.

Gerishk is a large village, some distance from the Helmund, which once ran beneath its walls, the old river-bed being now utilised as rice-fields. It is defended by a citadel situated on a high mound which, however, is of little use, being merely of mud crumbling to pieces. The side facing eastward is precipitous, but on the other three the country is cut up by ravines, through which the citadel could be approached quite unobserved, and undermined. The city and citadel were built by Burdil Khan, at one time Governor of Kandahar, and is the stronghold of the Barakzai tribe.

The Barakzais are the dominant power in Afghanistan. They have divided the dominions of Mahmud Khan amongst themselves, and each chief rules most despotically and cruelly. They are eternally at feud, and frequent and bloody fights occur between the brothers, of whom there are many.

At Gerishk we were subjected to the most rigorous search by the customs officers, who actually stripped us quite naked, and used every possible artifice to induce to discover anything in the way of money or goods that had not been declared. Of whatever is declared they take 5 per cent. and also a tax of five sequins for every pack animal. If any goods which have not been declared are discovered, the whole is confiscated, and the owners severely ill-treated. Naturally, we were extremely glad to quit the place.

From Gerishk to Kandahar is about twenty parasangs, through a hot and arid country, enclosed within the Feroz Koh and Mahsud ranges. The latter mountains divide into two smaller ranges, within which is enclosed the district of Maiwand, a place renowned for its fruit, especially pomegranates (and many years later, for a severe British defeat).

We next arrived at Kosb Nakout, on the western side of Kandahar. The Arghandab river crosses the Kandahar plain, and flows into the Helmund about four parasangs beyond Gerishk. To the southward of this plain are shifting sands, which extend for forty parasangs up to the Nushki and Kehran districts of Baluchistan. The rivers of this province are the Arghandab, Tarlok, Arkasan, and Dori, all of which flow westward into the Helmund river. I believe that the Arghandab is the *Arachotis* of the Greeks. It rises in the Gol Koh mountains of the Navod district.

After crossing the Arghandab, we ascended into the mountains some distance from the river bank, and from thence entered the plain of Kandahar by the Shil Zini pass, which is thus named from forty steps leading up to a cave near the mountain top, formerly inhabited by a descendant of Tamurlane, who turned hermit. On the highest point of the pass are the ruins of a small fort, and from this we obtained a magnificent view of the country beneath. To one side extended the great plain of Kandahar, and on the other a magnificent valley covered with fields and highly cultivated orchards.

We noticed that the plain of Kandahar is covered by a network of canals, which should render its crossing by a large army very difficult. Nature has been prodigal of its benefits to this district by bestowing upon it the Kandahar river, from which the canals are cut. The principal of these are the Nausajan and Partab. The latter passes through the village of Shil Doktor, and then turns towards Kandahar.

The city of Kandahar was founded by Ahmad Shah. Its buildings are mean, there being few of any architectural pretensions. The two great streets which cross the city at right angles from east to west and north to south meet in the centre, and the square formed by their intersection is called the Char Souk. The only remarkable building is the tomb of Ahmad Shah, which has a beautiful octagonal dome. It was at one time surrounded by beautiful gardens, but these are now desolate.

The population, numbering about 25,000, comprises Afghans, Persians, Baluchis, and Hindus, the different races being

distinguished by their distinctive head-dress. The Persians are the most numerous. The women of Kandahar are more rigorously secluded than in Persia, the few that one does see belonging to the Koli tribe, who act as surgeons and blood-letters. In the streets may be seen some most extraordinary people called Ruluids (saints) who go about entirely naked. They are supposed to be mentally afflicted, and, as such, are tolerated by the Afghans, who believe that such persons are under the especial protection of the Almighty.

Not only are these persons respected during life, but revered after death, the peculiarly shaped tombs in which they are buried upright becoming shrines. There are many of these around Kandahar, chiefly at Shah Mahsud, about ten parasangs north of the city, and there are also others at Babi Wala and Asredji.

From the Mahsud mountains are obtained the amber-like beads universally used for rosaries by the Afghans. They are found in white, yellow, black, and grey colours, but the yellow ones are the only ones used for rosaries. The others are pounded up and used as a medicine, or an aphrodisiac.

The defences of Kandahar consist of a wall flanked by bastions, and a wide and deep moat, which is always full of water, drawn from the Partab canal, which could easily be diverted, and thus not only drain the moat, but cut off the main supply of water for the city, there being only a few wells within the walls. The walls would not stand the bombardment of siege guns for any lengthened period.

There are three older cities of Kandahar, all equally in ruins. Those of the first, which was destroyed by Nadir Shah, are still visible on the western slopes of the Mahsud mountains, and the remains of the batteries from which it was bombarded are still visible. Tradition relates that for a long time he was unable to reduce the city, the defences of which were exceedingly strong, for in addition to the walls surrounding the city itself, others radiated in all directions down the slope. The city was betrayed to him by the daughter of its defender, Shah Hussein, but her reward, instead of the marriage she expected, was death.

This city may have been that which Alexander is said to have built on the Arachosis, but I think that Eskarguengi, which stood about four parasangs north of Kandahar, was more likely to have been Alexander's city. The third of these ruined cities is at Shersouk, south of Kandahar, and was founded by Nadir Shah after his destruction of the original city of Kandahar.

The Kandahar district is extremely fertile. The crops are wheat, barley, tobacco, cotton, rice, maize, millet, peas, beans, sesame, and other food-grains common to Asiatic countries. Fruit is extremely plentiful—grapes, apples, pears, cherries, mulberries, and pomegranates being the principal. The cultivation of the grape is very well understood, and there are numerous varieties to be found in the vineyards and orchards which line the borders of the Arghandab river for many miles.

The climate is healthy, except for fevers and cholera, the latter of which is prevalent in the autumn, and undoubtedly due to excessive indulgence in the melons, pumpkins, and cucumbers which at that season are so plentiful. The spring and autumn are mild, the summer very hot, whilst the winter is short and dry. Snow falls only about once in seven years.

The principal tribes are the Barakzais, the Alizais, and the Populzais, the two latter of whom are nomadic, and very wealthy in camel, sheep, and cattle. The personality of the Afghan is best represented at Kandahar, for though they are met with in numbers at Herat, the mixture of other races in that city serves to tone them down. Their manners are far more gross and brutal than those of the Persians, but they lack the pride and bad faith so characteristic of the latter. They do not attempt to imitate the Persians in facetiousness or vapid compliments, but are grave, polite, and frank with strangers.

The European travelling in Afghanistan is impressed by the familiar intercourse and apparent equality which exists between all classes. Yet the equality is only apparent, for they are subject to that kind of semi-slavery inseparable from a despotic government. Yet they pride themselves on their national liberty, which really means that they will brook no foreign or alien ruler. They are brave to a fault, and I should class them amongst the most fearless soldiers in the world. But this is their only military qualification, for they cannot understand tactics or strategy.

Their military defects are shown by the examples to be collected from the armies which from time to time invaded India, the most striking being that of the army under Ahmad Shah. They love disorder for the opportunities for plunder it affords. They are fanatics in religion, and though tolerating the Christians, cordially detest the Persian Shiahhs, to whom they are most cruel and merciless when opportunity affords. They are firm believers in astrology and talismans, but are, in general, illiterate, the only exceptions being a few of the chiefs, who can read and write a little Persian, and the Akhunds, who are a trifle more proficient.

The education of the Afghan is practically purely military, consisting in learning the use of arms, riding, and horse-mastership, and with them, luxury consists in fine horses, their trappings, and highly ornamented shields and arms. Their houses are very similar to those of the Persians, but much more simply furnished, and their dress is somewhat similar, with the exception of the turban, which replaces the sheep-skin cap generally worn by the Persian. This turban consists of a great blue and gold, or variously coloured, mass of muslin, wound around a skull cap, and its shape varies with the tribe or locality. As the weight of the turban and its shape makes the head very hot, they shave their heads. Their beards are trimmed to a spade-shaped point, and moustaches, though shaved clear in the middle, allowed to grow very long and drooping.

The usual diet of the Afghan is meat, rice, wheat, and other grains, and krout, a preparation of curdled milk, to which they are very partial. Though in general sober, a few of the Afghans indulge in wine and other fermented liquors, occasionally to excess. But the principal intoxicant is a preparation called charas, produced from hemp seeds, which, when moderately indulged in, produces a dreamy kind of stupor, but if prolonged or taken in excess, ends with madness or imbecility.

Since 1818, Kandahar has been governed by five brothers, Pir Dil Khan, Sher Kil Khan, Khan Kil Khan, Ram Dil Khan, and Mir Dil Khan. The army consists of 6,000 horse and 5,000 foot, but could easily be trebled at very short notice. The Kandaharis rely principally upon "arme blanche," and are very indifferent musketeers. The footmen are armed with a heavy matchlock of short range, and a ponderous knife, which even with them, is chiefly relied upon. They have about twenty guns, the majority of which are in bad condition, or without gunners. This branch of their service is commanded by an English half-caste ("William Leigh").

The government is despotic, and will commit any crime or outrage to obtain money. For a subject to be rich, or to be even suspected of being so, is a crime, punishable with confiscation of goods and money, the culprit being fortunate to escape with his life. The local currency is nominally silver, but what is in circulation consists mostly of copper, for the silver coinage has been so debased that people are very chary of accepting it. Foreign traders must have all their coin stamped by the local government, who charge them 50 per cent. for the operation. Any foreign money not so stamped is confiscated.

Any artificer, merchant, manufacturer, or trader who wishes to do business must have his wares inspected by a government official. This person fixes the price, and any evasion of the inspection, or increase in the price fixed, ensures a merciless confiscation and a term of imprisonment. Owing to this, trade which at one time flourished exceedingly now either languishes or, in some cases, has become non-existent. Kandahar is the main exchange *dépôt* where merchandise imported from India, or Persia, meets. The Indian goods come by way of Shikarpore, though shawls from Kashmir are imported by way of Kabul. The only local manufactures are silk and cotton goods, and these, owing to the decline in produce, caused by the conditions before related, are barely sufficient for local consumption. There is an export trade in fruit, tobacco, and charas, which is conveyed to India by way of Shikarpore.

The road to Shikarpore is difficult, intricate, and about 260 miles long. Its only use is by the traders during spring, for in the summer months there is no water available along the route, and if it should become absolutely necessary to march troops into India by that route, the only possible way would be to establish water and grain *dépôts* in advance, supplied from either, or both, ends. On this account, the traders usually take the northern route, which passes Kelat Nazil Khan, and crosses the Dahui country, ending at Dera Ghazi Khan. This road from Kandahar to Kabul is quite easy and good during the summer months, but impassable in the winter on account of snow. The grades are fairly easy, and artillery or transport wagons could use this route.

After leaving Kandahar, the road continues into a fertile valley, contained between two ranges running nearly north-east and parallel to Kabul. The more northerly range is the Paropamismus of the Greeks, and is the highest. The southerly one is barren, and appears to abound in metals. The whole valley is very fertile, and near Mokkhor is crossed by a tributary of the Arghandab river, called the Ternak. The climate is very salubrious, which is probably the reason why an ancient and ruined city which lies between Jeldak and Jauti was called Sher-i-Safeh, or the City of Health. The mountains to the north, and the moving sands to the south, constitute Kandahar a "*tete du pont*," whose possession is absolutely necessary to an army invading India, for to hold it means to secure their line of communications.

There being no caravans leaving for Kabul at the moment, we were compelled to remain at Kandahar for some time, and did

not obtain a place in one until the 26th December. After leaving Kandahar, we passed on to Mokkhor, a distance of forty kos, which took us four days, the intermediate stages being Pout and Jeldak Taxi. There are very few villages, but there are numerous camps of black tents, tenanted by Saddozais, Ali-Kozais, and Ghilzais, all of whom are nomadic. The dress of the women is peculiar. It somewhat resembles the European bodice and skirt, but the former is gathered at the breast into an infinity of small pleats, which cover the whole of the body to the top of the neck. Their hair is parted on the forehead, in two great plaits which fall over the shoulders. The unmarried ones, who are secluded, dress their hair differently, forming it into a chignon at the back, whilst the front locks are drawn over and partly obscure the face. Both married and single women, though supposed to go constantly veiled, very seldom do so.

At Tazi we were stopped by the Ghilzai chief who owns the town, and levies local taxes on all comers. This tax practically amounts to robbery, for there is no fixed tariff, and the amount is only limited by what he can extract. He was most unmerciful with us, even appropriating such of our arms as pleased him, and seemed quite surprised when we protested, though of course, without any effect.

A traveller in this country, just before winter has set in, will be struck by the number of wooden racks in each village, or encampment, to which are suspended sides of smoked and salted mutton, which after being dried, are exported to Afghanistan. Here they are further preserved by being frozen, and form the principal part of the meat eaten by the Afghans, who are said to have acquired this taste from the Tartars. Near Mokkhor, which is situated on the southern slope of the Gul Koh mountain, is the Tarnek river, which affords an abundance of excellent fish. The most striking peculiarity of the natives of Mokkhor is their readiness to afford lodgings to travellers, an evidence of hospitality we found nowhere else on our journey.

Six kos beyond the eastern side of the mountain there is a salt lake (Zourmat), which at night gives off phosphorescent gleams, such as those that may be seen at night in the Mediterranean and other open seas. After leaving Zourmat, we crossed the plains of Karabagh and Nani, which extend right up to Ghuznee, and are covered with villages, each surrounded with a high mud wall, having bastions at each corner. These fortified villages are rendered necessary by the continual tribal and faction warfare, and

such villages as are not immediately concerned shut themselves up, and hold aloof, otherwise they would be preyed upon by either, or perhaps both, sides.

Just before reaching Ghuznee, our kafila leader was informed that it would be very dangerous to enter the city, so he decided to avoid it, and leaving the main road, halted for the night in a village some six miles to the right of Ghuznee. The decision having been taken very suddenly, there was no time to recall M. Avitabile, who had the evening before gone on with some merchants attached to the caravan and spent the night in Ghuznee.

For ourselves, at daybreak next morning, we were aroused by the tumultuous arrival of a number of horsemen, whose sinister air and omission of the usual ceremonious greeting boded no good. Shortly after came a crowd of others, who surrounded the village and then swamped the streets. We were made prisoners, our goods taken into the possession of the horsemen, and ourselves bound on camels and taken prisoners to Ghuznee.

On arrival, we were confined in the serais, each in a separate room, and subjected to the most rigorous search. I in particular was stripped to the skin, and so roughly treated that they almost skinned me. I trembled for the safety of the numerous notes I had taken during the journey, but luckily these had been sown in the bosom of my eastern dress, and escaped detention. As for money, they fairly hurled themselves upon the few sequins I had upon me, and searched my garments and my person again and again for more.

It was very lucky for us that, under the advice of our friends at Herat, we had obtained letters of credit on Kabul for all but necessary expenses attendant upon the journey to Kandahar. But for this precaution, we should not only have been robbed of all we possessed, but probably murdered. The next day the Governor sent for me and rigorously interrogated me. He enquired who I was, whence I came, and what was the object of my travels, to which I replied that I was a Russian Georgian, proceeding to India to rejoin my parents, who were in the service of Maharajah Ranjit Singh.

He received my statements with a most sarcastic smile, and bluntly told me that I was lying, for he was convinced that I was a European. Before him, on the table, were displayed my watch, mathematical instruments, and papers of notes which had now been discovered, all of which seemed greatly to puzzle him. He asked me what was the use of the mathematical instruments, a question

which put me in a difficulty, for had I acknowledged they were used for surveying, the consequences would have been very serious. However, I got out of the difficulty by affirming that I knew nothing whatever of their use, for they had been entrusted to me by an Englishman at Teheran, for conveyance to a friend in India.

He then enquired what I had done with my money, for it was impossible that the small sum found on my person could be all I owned, and when I replied that I had no more, he savagely told me I lied, and enquired where I had hidden it. To this I remarked, how was it possible that I could hide anything when I had been stripped to the skin, and the whole of my belongings and clothing searched to the utmost? Eventually, finding that threats could elicit nothing from me, he ordered me back to the serai, where to my delight I found M. Avitabile, who had also been surprised, imprisoned, and searched.

Luckily, we had foreseen such a contingency before departure from Ispahan, and concerted a tale, in which we had so well tutored our servants, so that though all were interrogated separately, our replies were similar. Realising our dangerous predicament, we held counsel as to how we should escape, or obtain aid, and at last decided to despatch to Kabul, in secret, the servant whom our friends in India (Allard and Ventura) had sent to meet us at Herat, and escort us to India.

Calling him in, we instructed him to seek out Jubbar Khan, brother of the Governor of Ghuznee, who being a great friend of M. Ventura, would certainly help us. Even of his fidelity we were somewhat doubtful, so decided that M. Avitabile should accompany him. The messenger had charge of our horses, and was permitted to take them out to water every morning. And the plan was that he should pass as close as possible to the wall of the serai. As he did, M. Avitabile dropped from the wall, and leaving the other horses behind, the two galloped off, and were out of reach before the alarm was given.

Some days after their departure, I was greatly surprised at the change of attitude of the Governor, who up till then had only reviled me daily. On the sixth morning his attitude completely changed. He covered me with kindness, made all kinds of apologies for this treatment up till then, which he affirmed was entirely due to myself for not having informed him that I was a friend of the friend of his brother, Jubbar Khan. At first I thought he was trying to entrap me, and was very wary, until he handed me a letter from M. Avitabile, which informed me that my friend had reached Kabul and been very well received.

I remained as an honoured guest until my effects were collected and restored to me, and then having been given an escort, set off for Kabul, where I arrived on the 13th November, 1826. I proceeded to the house of the Nawab Jubbar Khan, where I met my friend M. Avitabile, and with him enjoyed the hospitality of the Nawab, whose courtesy and friendliness quickly obliterated from my memory the very different treatment of his brother.

There are four stages in the journey from Ghuznee to Kabul, these being Chezgu, Sheokabad, and Maidan. At Chezgu we crossed a small river of very clear water, which rising near the Azeres mountains, passes through the Logurd district and empties into the Kabul river, which we crossed near Maidan, the only place where it is fordable.

Alphabetical list of adventurers and travellers mentioned.

A.

Aga Beg (Pole).
Alexander.
Allard, Jean Francois.
Alvarine.
Amise (see Oms).
Argoud, Benoit.
Avitabile, Paolo Di.

B.

Baker, George.
Barlow.
Bates or Battice.
Bell.
Benet, Doctor.
Bianchi.
Bin Toora, Reuben.
Birch.
Boigne, Benoit de.
Bourquin.
Boyle.
Brown, John (see Potter).
Browne.

C.

Campbell, William.
Carron (see Gordon).
Cerron, Monsieur.
Chester, Daniel.
Coryat, Tom.
Court, Auguste.
Oullier, Pierre (see Perron).

D.

De Courcy.
De Facieu.
De La Roche.
De L'ust.
De Turk.
Dick, William.
Dotterweiss.
Dowson, Clement.
Dubuignon.

F.

Farris.
Fendrid.

F—concluded.

Ferrier.
Fitzroy, John.
Ford, Matthew W.
Foulkes, R.
Francis.
Fukinaul, T.

G.

Gardiner, Alexander.
Gervais.
Gillmore.
Gillot or Ghitt (see Quilette).
Gordon (see Carron).
Gould, John.
Guthrie.

H.

Harlan, Josiah.
Harvey, Doctor.
Heaney, Matthew or O'Brien.
Hearsey.
Hest.
Hicks, John or William.
Holmes, John.
Honigberger, Dr. Martin.
Hopkins.
Howell, John.
Hurbons.

J.

Jackson (see James).
James (see Jackson).
Jan Sahib.
Jones.

K.

Kanara.
Kerville (Cazroll).

L.

La Font (1).
La Font (2).
Lairdee.
Lane, Stephen.
Lawrence or Gomez, Allard.

L—concluded.

Leigh, William.
L'Estineau.
Le Vassault.
Lyons, James.

M.

McCulloch.
McDonald, John.
McPherson, Hamish.
Maher, John.
Manucci, Niccolo.
Marchand.
Martindale.
Masson, Charles.
Medoc, Rene.
Metui (see Minchin).
Mevius.
Miller, Peter.
Minchin (see Metui).
Mouton.

O.

O'Brien, Daniel.
O'Brien, Wm.
Oliver.
Oms (see Amise).

P.

Perron (see Cuillier).
Potter (see Brown).

Q.

Quilette (see Gillot or Ghitt).

R.

Rabells.
Ramsay.
Ramsay, John.
Rattray (see Leslie).
Reinhardt, Walter.
Roach, Thomas.
Roote, Jeremy.

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