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E P I T O M E

OF

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

REGARDING OUR RELATIONS WITH

AFGHANISTAN AND HERAT

L A H O R E :

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EPITOME OF KABUL CORRESPONDENCE.

SYNOPSIS.

CHAPTER I.

| | PAGES. |
|---|--------|
| Occupation of Kalát-i-ghilzái by the Govt. of the Amír, ... | 1—2 |
| Restoration of Kalát-i-ghilzái to Kandahár demanded, and formation of an alliance by Persia, Kábul, Kandahár, and Herát, proposed by the Sháh of Persia. The offer rejected by the Amír, ... | 2—3 |
| Rumoured assistance in arms, &c., to the Kandahár forces by Persia, ... | 3 |
| Encroachments by the Kandahár brothers on the territory of Herát. Assistance of the Amír entreated by Sayad Muhammad. The Amír orders an advance on Kandahár, but the expedition is stopped by news of an insurrection in Balkh, instigated by the Amír of Bukhára, ... | 4 |
| Russians and Persians active in their advance in Central Asia. Position of the Amír difficult, ... | 5 |
| Alliance with the British discussed at Kábul. The expedition to Kandahár abandoned, and an envoy despatched to Pesháwar with letters to Major Edwardes, the Chief Commissioner, and the Governor-General, ... | 5—6 |
| The Amír's overtures favorably received by the Governor-General, who proposes a treaty of friendship. Return of the envoy with Faujdár Khán to Kábul, ... | 6—7 |
| The insurrection in Balkh ended, ... | 7 |
| Arrival of Faujdár Khán at Kábul, and favorable reception there, ... | 8 |
| Ghulám Haidar Khán deputed by the Amír to conclude a treaty of friendship. The Chief Commissioner directed to proceed to Pesháwar and negotiate with the Sardár, ... | 8—9 |
| Draft of treaty proposed by the Government of India, and instructions to the Chief Commissioner, ... | 9—14 |
| The Chief Commissioner and Haidár Khán meet at Pesháwar. Treaty concluded on the 30th March 1855, ... | 14 |

| | |
|--|-------|
| Discussion with the heir-apparent regarding the misdeeds of the Lalpura and Pindiali Momunds. The curbing of these tribes promised by the Sardár, failing which the British Government itself to punish the offending tribe, ... | 14—15 |
| The valley of Daur claimed by the envoy for Kábul, and the claim admitted by the Governor-General, ... | 15—16 |
| Misconception of the Amír regarding the form of ratification of the treaty, ... | 16—17 |
| The Amír intercedes for Rahmdád Khán, chief of the Michní Momunds. Clemency to that chief considered impossible by the Governor-General, ... | 17—18 |
| The appointment of a British representative at Kábul discussed ; the measure considered premature, ... | 18 |

CHAPTER II.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Death of Sardár Kohandil Khán at Kandahár ; dispute between the Sardár's son and brother ; assistance of Dost Muhammad invited by the latter. Intention of the Amír to depute Sul-tán Muhammad Khán to Kandahár changed by news of the usurpation of Herát by Sháhzáda Muhammad Yusaf, supported by Persia, ... | 19—23 |
| March of the Amír to Kandahár, ... | 23—24 |
| Secret messenger deputed by the Amír to Téherán ; the circumstance reported to Supreme Government. Major Edwardes instructed to state that the British Government cannot object to the maintenance of friendly relations between the Amír and the Sháh, ... | 24—25 |
| Dost Muhammad Khán takes possession of Kandahár, ... | 25 |
| The usurpation of Herát stated by the Amír to have been effected by Muhammad Yusaf as the avowed vassal of Persia ; account of the Herát rebellion by Mr. Murray, the British representative at Teherán, opposed to this view ; balance of evidence as to the share of Persia in the Herát rebellion, ... | 25—32 |

CHAPTER III.

| | |
|--|-------|
| The position of the Amír at Kandahár in the beginning of 1856 very critical, ... | 32—35 |
|--|-------|

| | |
|--|-------|
| The Amír seeks the advice and assistance of the British Government; the Commissioner of Pesháwar and the Chief Commissioner recommend the Supreme Government to give an assurance of British friendship and sympathy in order to strengthen His Highness' hands; the Governor-General declines to act on the recommendation, ... | 35—36 |
| Aspect of affairs at Herát materially changed; misunderstanding between the British minister at Teherán and the Persian Government; and departure of Mr. Murray from Teherán,... | 37 |
| Army sent by Persia to Herát, ... | 37—38 |
| The Amír applies again for advice and assistance; reply of Lord Canning in May 1856, ... | 38—42 |

CHAPTER IV.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Khán Bahadur Fatah Khán deputed to Kábul to exchange ratified copies of the treaty; attempt by a man of the Shinwári tribe to shoot Fatah Khán in the Khaibar pass; blockade of the Shinwáris proclaimed at Pesháwar; delivery of the copy of the treaty to the Amír on the 28th April, ... | 42—44 |
| The raids of the Momunds and Pindiális brought by Fatah Khán to the notice of the heir-apparent, and repression of the outrages promised, ... | 44—45 |
| Parties at Herát; commencement of the Persian siege, ... | 46—48 |
| Fatah Khán's final audience with the Amír at Kandahár; his return to Pesháwar; Colonel Edwardes' account of Kábul affairs, as derived from Fatah Khán and Gholám Ahmad, ... | 49—55 |

CHAPTER V.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Attack on the Balkh frontier by the Turkamáns and Uzbaks, aided by the forces of Bukhára, repulsed by Muhammad Afzal Khán, ... | 55—56 |
| Friendly overtures made by Bukhára to Kábul. The Amír enquires if an alliance with Bukhára would be pleasing to the British Government, and is informed that the Governor-General desires to leave the matter in the hands of the Amír himself, ... | 57 |
| The Amír leaves Kandahár for Kábul, ... | 57—58 |

| | |
|--|-------|
| An envoy to the Kábul court arrives from the Sháh of Persia, and is dismissed by the Amír, . . . | 58 |
| Instructions received by the Governor-General from England regarding affairs at Herát. The Amír to be encouraged to advance against the Persians ; pecuniary assistance to be given by the British, . . . | 59 |
| Probability that the Governor-General's letter announcing the proposed subsidy was received by the Amír before the Persian envoy was dismissed, . . . | 59 |
| Two lakhs of rupees transmitted from Pesháwar to Kábul in October 1856 ; arrangement to send three more lakhs, and some ammuni- tion, prevented by the season being too far advanced, . . . | 60 |
| Offer of the Sartip Isá Khán to hold Herát for the British Government communicated to the Government of India ; Chief Commissioner authorised to send two lakhs of rupees to Isá Khán to enable the Herát garrison to hold out against the Persians, . . . | 60—61 |
| Transmission of the money to Isá Khán delayed ; inability of the Herát garrison to hold out any longer, and their surrender to the Persians on 25th October 1856, . . . | 62—63 |

CHAPTER VI.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Request of the Amír for a consultation with the British authorities before proceeding against Herát ; referred to the Supreme Government ; the Chief Commissioner authorized to tell the Amír that a periodical subsidy would be granted by the British Government on certain conditions ; His Highness invited to an interview, . . . | 64—65 |
| Intelligence received of the fall of Herát. Question as to whether the subsidy should now be granted, decided in the affirmative by the Governor-General, . . . | 65 |
| Arrival of the Amír at Pesháwar on 1st January 1857 ; consultations with the Chief Commissioner, . . . | 65—74 |
| The proposed expedition of Kábul against Herát being considered unlikely to succeed, the Governor-General decides to furnish the Amír with aid to defend his present possessions, . . . | 74—75 |
| Draft of Articles of Agreement, . . . | 77—80 |
| Articles of Agreement signed 27th January 1857, . . . | 80—83 |

| | |
|--|-------|
| Return of the Amír to Kábul, ... | 83 |
| British mission to Kandahár ; instructions issued by Supreme Government for guidance of the mission, ... | 83—85 |

CHAPTER VII.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Farah attacked at instigation of the Persians, the garrison reinforced by Kábul, ... | 85—86 |
| Arrival at Kandahar of an envoy from Persia, who offers a subsidy to Kábul ; the Amír enquires from the British Government what reply he should give. Government reply that the envoy should be dismissed, and no communications maintained with Persian officers, ... | 86 |
| Conclusion of the war between England and Persia ; previous to withdrawal of the Persian troops from Herat, Sultan Ahmad Khan installed by the Shah as ruler of the place, ... | 87 |
| Ali Naki sent by Colonel Edwardes to Herat to report on the proceedings there ; is made prisoner, but escapes, and returns to India, bringing with him several letters from Sultan Ahmad declaring himself friendly to the British Government, ... | 88 |
| Arrival at Herat of Major Taylor's mission from Teheran, ... | 88—89 |
| State of Herat affairs at the end of 1857, ... | 90—91 |
| Instructions from the Supreme Government regarding Herat,... | 92—93 |
| Infraction of the treaty by the Persians, in not relinquishing the provinces of Lash and Jawín ; demand of the Amír that these provinces should either be made over to Kábul or Herat. Special assurance of the Shah to the British minister at Teheran that Lash and Jawín should not be retained by Persia, and that the reading of the Khutbah and coinage of money in the Shah's name at Herat should be discontinued, ... | 93—94 |
| Sultan Ahmad Khan unwilling to throw off allegiance to Persia ; his attachment to Persian interests, ... | 94—95 |

CHAPTER VIII.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Expedition under Sultan Muhammad Khan against Bajaur and Swat. The Amír informed that it was expected he would give no authority for such a measure without first consulting the Government of India. The expedition disavowed by the Amír, ... | 96—97 |
|---|-------|

| | PAGES. |
|---|---------|
| Position of the British mission at Kandahar insecure; its recall, ... | 97 |
| Dislike of the British alliance by the religious party in Afghanistan; the Amír is incited to a holy war, but remains faithful to his engagements with the British, ... | 97—98 |
| Death of the heir-apparent in July 1858; Sher Ali Khan chosen by the Amír as successor, ... | 98—99 |
| Discontinuance of the subsidy of one lakh of rupees per mensem on return of the Kandahar mission. The Amír's application for a continuance of the payment, ... | 99—100 |
| The Khaibar hills and the Kurram river declared the boundaries of the British possessions north-west of Peshawar, ... | 100—101 |

CHAPTER IX.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Intrigues of Ahmad Ali and Zainulabadin at Herat; formal denial by the Indian Government of complicity in their proceedings, ... | 101—103 |
| Arrival of a Russian mission at Herat; their request to visit Kabul declined by the Amír, ... | 104 |
| Instructions from the Supreme Government regarding future policy with Herat, ... | 105—106 |

CHAPTER X.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Friendly relations with Kabul undisturbed during 1859-60; conquest of Kúndúz by the Afghans; Major James' account of that State, ... | 107—110 |
| Death of Rahm dil Khan, ... | 110 |
| Visit of Sultan Ahmad Khan to Teheran, ... | 110 |
| Russian envoy at Bukhara, ... | 110—111 |
| Envoy from the Kokan State to the Lieutenant-Governor; description of Kokan, ... | 111—113 |
| State of trade in Central Asia, ... | 113—114 |
| Exchange of embassies between Bukhara and Kabul; death of the Amír of Bukhara, ... | 114 |
| Afghan conquered provinces of Balkh and Kunduz, ... | 115 |

| | |
|---|---------|
| Anxiety of the Amir regarding pretensions of the Khan of Khelat to the <i>suzerainty</i> of Kharan, allayed by the Governor- General's declaration of non-interference, ... | 115 |
| The peace of Afghanistan dependent on the life of the Amir; apprehensions for the future by his subjects, ... | 116 |
| Occupation of the district of Gour by Muhammad Sharif Khan, | 116-117 |
| Attack on Farah by the Herat chief; march of the Amir towards Kandahar, ... | 118-119 |
| Death of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan; his antecedents, ... | 119-120 |
| Hostilities between Bukhara and Kokan terminated by a treaty, | 120 |
| Origin of quarrel between the Amir and Sultan Ahmad Khan, | 120-121 |
| Surrender of Farah to the Amir on the 29th March 1862, ... | 121 |
| Seige of Herat by the Amir; death of Sultan Ahmad Khan; capture of Herat, ... | 122 |
| Death of the Amir, at Herat, on 9th June; succession of Sher Ali Khan, ... | 123 |

APPENDICES.

1. Genealogical Tree.
2. Treaty of 1857 with Persia.

NOTE.

The system of orthography followed in the conversion of native names and words in the work, is that of Sir W. Jones.

It is as follows :—

a short as in America, or as u in but.

i short as in fit, fin.

u short as in full, put.

á long as in war, water.

o long as in pole, no.

ú long as in rule.

au as ou in sound.

e as in obey.

í long as in police, machine.

ai as the German ai in Kaiser.

E P I T O M E
OF
C O R R E S P O N D E N C E
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CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1854.

In the year 1854 the Amír of Kábul, Dost Muhammad Khán, appointed his grandson, Fatah Muhammad Khán, to be Warden of Kalát-i-ghilzaí. This province had been, for many years, a feudal dependency of the Sardárs of Kandahár—the Amír's half brothers. The reason given by the Amír for the occupation of Kalát-i-ghilzaí was the continued neglect of the Government of Kandahár to secure the comfort of travellers on the high road from Kábul to Kandahár, and to protect them from the assaults of the highway robbers who infested the country round about.

The road from Kábul to Kandahár passes through Kalát-i-ghilzaí.

When Kohandil Khán and his brothers were driven from Kandahár, more than 20 years before this time, they took refuge in Persia. On the final expulsion of the Saddozaís, in 1842, they returned, and from that time friendly relations seem to have existed between them and the court of Persia. When the Amír of Kábul took possession of Kalát-i-ghilzaí, the Sardárs lost no time in asking the aid of the Shah against their powerful brother. In the month of August 1854, an envoy from Persia, by name Abdulláh Khán, arrived at Kábul,

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. C, September 21, 1854.

Letter from Syad Hissám-ud-dín.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 1113, November 6, 1854.

Letter from Amír to Shah of Persia.

Letter from Amír to the Shah above quoted.

A. D. 1854.

Letter from Abdul Ghyás Khán, nephew of the Amír; enclosed in Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 1113, November 6, 1854.

Translation of the Shah's letter, enclosed in above.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. D, September 22, 1854; with enclosed letter from Nas'ir Khán of Kábul, to Fayúdár Khán Alizai.

Kábul news letter, dated 19th September 1854.

Original letter from the Amír to the Shah.

bearing a letter from the Shah to the Amír. The Amír was told in very plain terms, that his quarrel with his brothers of Kandahár was highly displeasing to the King of Persia. "We have always considered it due to our imperial dignity," wrote the King, "that whenever any one of the chiefs of Afghánistán should oppress and disturb another, our assistance should be given to the weaker party. * * * * We do not for a moment entertain the idea that, in the face of recent promises of friendship, any thing contrary to them should emanate from your Highness. * * * * But if any of your sons should have raised any disturbance on that frontier, you should forthwith peremptorily forbid such proceedings, * * * * and your Highness should, in conformity with treaties, keep in view a friendly policy towards the Kandahár Sardars, * * * consider yourself responsible for doing so."

The avowed object of the Persian envoy was to demand the restoration of Kalát-i-ghilzái to Kandahár, but it was generally believed at the time that Abdulláh Khán was charged with a private message or letter to the Amír, in which it was proposed that Persia, Kábul, Kandahár, and Herát should form an alliance, and make common cause against their mutual enemies. This offer seems to have been at once rejected by the Amír and his son, Sardár Ghulam Haidar Khán, the heir apparent. The envoy was treated with honour during his stay at Kábul, but was dismissed with a flat refusal. The reply of the Amír to the Shah's letter was delivered to the envoy at Kalát-i-ghilzái on his return, viâ Kandahár, to Persia. The Amír wrote in a very respectful tone; he recapitulated the circumstances of his brothers' connection with the Persian court; made light of their present grievances; explained that his anxiety for the

security of travellers compelled him to hold Kalât-i-ghilzaï, and concluded by asking for the continuance of the Shah's favor.

A. D. 1854.

Major Edwardes, the Commissioner of Peshawur, in forwarding copies of these letters to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, remarked,—
 “ the tone of the Shah's letter is that of a paramount to a dependent power, and must have been deeply felt by Dost Muhammad, as an arrogant assumption ; yet his reply represses all resentment and even sarcasm, and puts his own non-compliance in a light most conciliatory and humble. It reads as if the Amír thought it was unnecessary to obey, but unwise to defy Persia.”

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 1113, November 6, 1854.

The envoy, Abdulláh Khán, on his way to and from Kábul, passed through Kandahár. He is said to have brought with him 1,000 muskets and a quantity of ammunition for the use of the Kandahár forces. Some Persian drill instructors were also sent to Kandahár, and it was even rumoured that money had been promised for the pay of a new regiment ; that the Sardárs had declared themselves vassals of Persia, and had ordered the coinage to be struck in the name of the Shah. These rumours, though not without foundation, were not altogether true. The Shah appears to have promised to assist the Sardárs to recover Kalât-i-ghilzaï, on condition of their entering into an alliance with him, and acknowledging him, in some degree, as their suzerain. We do not, however, find that Kohandil Khán and his brothers made much show of their allegiance after the failure of the Persian mission to Kábul, and it is quite certain that coins were not struck, nor the Khutbáh read in the name of the Shah.

Kábul news letter, September 19, 1854.

Letter from Abdul Ghyás Khán, above quoted, &c.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 1197, dated 28th November 1854.

At this time the Ruler of Herat was Sayíd Muhammad, the son of Yár Muhammad, the

A. D. 1854.

Letter from Abdul
Ghyás Khán.

Alakkozái Wazír, who had usurped the throne on the death of his master Shah Kámrán. Sayíd Muhammad was an imbecile profligate. The Kandahàr Sardàrs had encroached on his territory, and taken from him the province of Faràh. In his difficulties he had frequently applied to the Amír for assistance. A letter, dated Herat, 22nd August 1854, addressed by the Ruler to the Amír, must have reached Kàbul about the same time as the Persian envoy. Sayíd Muhammad again entreated the Amír to aid him in resisting the encroachments of Kandahàr, and threatened to ally himself with the British if his application were unsuccessful.

The Amír replied : " I seek only friendship—
" you may ally yourself with whom you please ;
" but I recommend you to have nothing to do
" with the British. Their friendship can do you
" no good. Be patient till I can proceed with
" a force to Kandahàr, and then I will restore
" your provinces."

Letter from Syad Hi-
sám-ud-dín, October
9, 1854.

Letter from Abdul
Ghyás Khán.
Kàbul news letter,
September 17, 1854.

The Amír then ordered his advanced tents to be pitched on the road to Kandahàr, but his preparations for the expedition seem to have stopped there. It is very doubtful whether he had ever any real intention to do more than make a show of his displeasure. However that may be, the news of an insurrection in Balkh, at that time governed by Muhammad Afzal Khán, the eldest son of the Amír, and the rumours of the assembling of a British Army on the Indian frontier, were quite sufficient to repress, for a time, the Amír's desire for new conquests. Muhammad Afzal Khán wrote in great alarm. He reported that 20,000 troops of Bukhàrà had come down to the Oxus, of whom 8,000 had crossed over to Shibarghàn. The Amír of Bukhàrà had stirred up the tribes into insurrection ; Muhammad Zamàn Khán, a son of Dost Muhammad Khán,

had been forced to fall back on Balkh. Wali Muhammad Khàn, another son, was besieged in Akchah ; and the Governor believed that he himself would soon be in the same position unless the Amír should come to his assistance. The Russians and Persians were at this time most active in their advances in Central Asia. The former established a cantonment at Akmasjid, and the Persian Governor of Mashhad marched with a large force to co-operate with the Russians against Khiva. The position of the Amír at Kàbul was a difficult one. Major Edwardes believed " that from the simultaneous assaults " on Dost Mahammad Khàn, with war and policy, " by the Amír of Bukhàrà and the Persian envoy " —together with these rumours of Russian " advance in the north, that unusual efforts of " Russian policy were being made and felt in " Central Asia."

A. D. 1854.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 1113, dated 6th November 1854.

The question of an alliance with the British had for some time formed a subject of discussion in the councils of Kàbul. A correspondence had arisen between the Commissioner of Peshawur and a son of the Amír, Muhammad Azim Khàn, the Governor of Kurram. The latter professed himself most anxious for a British alliance, and Major Edwardes told him he had little doubt that a letter addressed from the Amír to the Governor General would receive a favourable answer. Muhammad Azim Khàn read Major Edwardes' letter, to his father, and appears to have exerted himself to the utmost to bring about the alliance. The Amír, from the first, seems to have been inclined to make friendship with the British. His position was a critical one. Menaced by the threats of Persia on the one hand, and alarmed by the rumours of the advance of the Russians and of the disturbances in Balkh, on the other, he felt alone in

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. B, dated 15th September 1854, No. C, dated 21st September 1854, No. H, dated 23rd October 1854.

A. D. 1854.

Letter of Abdul Ghy-
as Khan, &c., &c.

Commissioner of Pe-
shāwar's No. 1197, 28th
November 1854.

Commissioner of Pe-
shāwar's No. H, dated
23rd October 1854.

Secretary to Chief
Commissioner Punjab,
to Secretary to Govern-
ment of India, No. 916,
28th October 1854.

Secretary to Govern-
ment of India, No. 106,
November 14, 1854,
with enclosures.

the midst of his enemies. To conciliate England or Persia was imperative. Sultan Muhammad Khān, the elder brother of the Amīr, and many of his counsellors, were most anxious that the offers of Persia should be accepted. But Dost Muhammad had no reliance on the promises of Persia, and he knew by experience the stability and good faith of the Indian Government. He therefore abandoned the expedition to Kandahār, and appointed his confidential Secretary, Mirza Muhammad Husain, to be the bearer of letters of good will to Peshāwar.

On the 23rd October Major Edwardes reported the arrival of the envoy to the Chief Commissioner. The Mirza brought four letters from Kābul: "one from Muhammad Azin Khān, and one from the Amīr himself to Major Edwardes; a third from the Amīr to the Chief Commissioner, and a fourth from the Amīr to the Governor General."

Sir John Lawrence received the Kābul envoy at Abbottabad. The latter, "with much earnestness expressed his assurance that the sole object of the Amīr, in his overture, was the establishment of friendly relations with the British Government."

No doubt was felt as to the sincerity of this overture. The Amīr's letter to the Governor General was forwarded to Calcutta, and a most friendly answer was returned. The Governor General expressed his pleasure at receiving the Amīr's letter; informed him of the successes of the English and French in the Crimea, and proposed that the friendship of the English and the Afghāns "should be recorded in a valid treaty." The Amīr was invited "to depute a Sardār of high rank and wisdom to Peshāwar to meet a British officer, who would be appointed to act as the Agent of the Governor General, and

"who would have full power and liberty to enter into and execute a treaty."

A. D. 1854.

Khàn Bahàdar Faujdàr Khàn was appointed to accompany the envoy, Mirzà Muhammad Husain Khàn, on his return to Kàbul, and to deliver the Governor General's letter to the Amìr. He was not "authorized to enter into any negotiations, but was instructed to hold friendly language, and to assure the Amìr that he might fully rely on the friendship of the British Government, more especially if the Amìr should give proof of his own sincerity by signing the treaty* which he had been invited to negotiate."

The Kàbul envoy, accompanied by Faujdàr Khàn, left Peshawur on the 4th December. Major Edwardes believed "that he was sensibly impressed with the kindness that had been shown to his master by the Government of India, and with a feeling that its sincerity and forbearance are more to be relied on than the flattering promises of other courts."

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 1230, dated 5th December 1854.

Before his departure the Mirzà informed Major Edwardes, that the Amìr had "abandoned all intention of an expedition against the Sardars of Kandahàr, a mediation having been made between them by other members of the family; also that Muhammad Afzal Khàn was advancing to the siege of Shibarghàn, and that little opposition was expected, for though the place was strong, the Turcomans were not courageous."

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 1197, dated 28th November 1854.

This anticipation was justified by the result; for, on the 13th December, Mirza Muhammad Husain delivered to Faujdàr Khàn the copy of a letter to the Amìr from the Governor of Balkh, reporting "that the insurrection on the borders of Balkh had been closed by the surrender of the walled town of Shibarghàn and its dependencies."

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 1287, dated December 19th, 1854.

A. D. 1855.
 Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 85, dated
 January 27th, 1855.

Faujdar Khàn was well received at Kàbul. On the 2nd of January he was feasted by Muhammad Sharif Khàn, a son of the Amir; and on the 5th by Sultàn Muhammad Khàn. The latter, who had betrayed Major George Lawrence, in 1848-49, into the hands of the Sikhs, was much opposed to the British alliance. The Governor General, in his letter to the Amir, especially mentioned that the treachery of Sultàn Muhammad Khàn would be forgiven. Faujdar Khàn was at first unwilling to accept the invitation of the betrayer of Major Lawrence, but the Amir reminded him that the Governor General had overlooked the past. The Khàn therefore agreed to go, "and was conducted in " a kind of sacrificial triumph to the house of " Sultàn Muhammad, who exhausted politeness " on the occasion. In the course of conversation " he introduced the campaign of 1848-49, and " tried to excuse his share in it. Faujdar Khàn, " however, gave him an answer, and the Sardar " was silent."

The Amir deputed his favorite son, Sardar Ghulam Haidar Khàn, the heir apparent, to act as his plenipotentiary in the negotiations with the British. The Sardar and Faujdar Khàn left Kàbul on the 8th January 1855, and marched through Jalàlabàd to Peshawar. Faujdar Khàn forwarded from Jalàlabàd the copy of a letter from the Amir of Kàbul to the Governor General. Dost Muhammad, after innumerable compliments, wrote thus: " At your Lordship's " desire I have appointed my son, the beloved, " the most upright * * * the pupil of the eye " of dignity and majesty, Sardar Ghulam Haidar " Khàn, the heir apparent of this powerful " Government. * * * * The Sardar will proceed to Peshawar, and with the British representative endeavour to arrange the alliance of

"the two powers, and make every effort to conclude a treaty of friendship."

A. D. 1855.

The Governor General had at first resolved to entrust to Major Edwardes the duty of negotiating with the expected envoy from Kábul, but when it was known that the Amír had appointed the heir apparent to represent him at Peshawar, and had specially expressed a wish that the Chief Commissioner should meet his son, the Governor General considered that such an act should be met in an equally friendly spirit by the Government of India. The Chief Commissioner was accordingly directed to proceed to Peshawar, and was invested with full powers to negotiate with Sardar Ghulam Haidar Khán.

From Secretary to Government of India, No. 16, dated 3rd February 1855.

The following is the draft of the Treaty proposed by the Government of India :—

From Secretary to Government of India, No 15, dated 25th January 1855.

ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honorable East India Company and His Highness Dost Muhammad Khán, the Amír of Kábul, his heirs and successors.

ARTICLE II.

The Honorable East India Company engages to respect and never to interfere with the territories now in possession of His Highness the Amír.

ARTICLE III.

His Highness Dost Muhammad Khán engages, on his own part, and on the part of his heirs and successors, to respect the territories belonging to the Honorable East India Company, to be the friends of its friends, and the enemies of its enemies.

The Secretary to the Government of India thus explained the provisions of the Treaty :—

"By the first article a formal renewal of friendly relations with the Amír of Kábul is declared, and amity is, at the same time, established with his heirs and successors. The second article relieves the Amír from all apprehensions

A. D. 1855.

“ of aggression or interference on our part, while
 “ it contains not a word which could involve
 “ the Government of India in an engagement
 “ to support Dost Muhammad Khàn in any ag-
 “ gressive movements which, under whatever
 “ pretext, he may desire to undertake against
 “ other chiefs or states. And whatever we
 “ promise or exact in the third article is of a
 “ purely defensive character. But while the
 “ Governor General would be glad to obtain a
 “ treaty in accordance with the foregoing draft,
 “ the Chief Commissioner should make the 1st
 “ article the basis of his negotiation, and offer
 “ the additional provisions to the acceptance of
 “ the Amír’s envoy as being in conformity
 “ with what His Highness himself is believed
 “ to have contemplated. It is not the wish
 “ of his Lordship in Council that these latter
 “ provisions (which are expressed in the 2nd
 “ and 3rd articles of the draft), should be pressed
 “ upon the envoy, or that they should appear
 “ to originate with the Government of India,
 “ but that they should be put forward as a con-
 “ cession to the wishes of the Amír, and as a
 “ specific assurance that the apprehensions which
 “ the Afghàn nation is believed to entertain of
 “ our desire to obtain again a footing in Kàbul,
 “ are wholly groundless.

“ That the Afghàns are impressed with this
 “ belief was represented during the course of his
 “ conference with Major Edwardes by Názir
 “ Kheirullah, who, at the same time, intimated that
 “ the Amír would regard with much favor the
 “ insertion in the treaty of an article by which
 “ the British Government should engage neither
 “ to have a cantonment at Kàbul, nor to place
 “ any representative there. The Chief Commis-
 “ sioner, in bringing forward the second article of
 “ the treaty for discussion, should advert to
 “ these representations of Názir Kheirullah, and

A. D. 1855.

"should point out that the article in question
 "does substantially guarantee to the Amír
 "what he is said to have desired, excepting a
 "promise that the Government of India shall
 "never have a representative at the Court of
 "Kàbul, and that it has been proposed for ac-
 "ceptance, with the express intention of meet-
 "ing his wishes as they are believed to have
 "been expressed by the Názir Kheirullah. The
 "envoy may be assured, at the same time, that
 "the Government of India has no intention of
 "sending and no wish to send a representative
 "to the court of Kàbul, but it should be pointed
 "out to him that this Government could not
 "in prudence bind itself never to depute a re-
 "presentative to the Amír, for if Russia or
 "other powers should be represented by envoys
 "at Kàbul, the interests of the British Govern-
 "ment would plainly suffer injury if no envoy
 "were present on its behalf.

"If, however, the envoy should not be satis-
 "fied with this assurance, but should press on
 "the part of the Amír for specific stipulations re-
 "garding our having no cantonment at Kàbul,
 "and no representative there, the Chief Com-
 "missioner may deliver to the envoy, in the
 "event of his signing the treaty as proposed in
 "the draft, a formal note, which shall explain
 "that, in engaging not to interfere with the
 "territories of the Amír, the Government of
 "India intends to repudiate all desire to have a
 "cantonment in any part of His Highness'
 "dominions, and that the Government, in like
 "manner, intends, by that article, to repudiate
 "all desire to have any representative at Kàbul,
 "unless representatives from other powers should
 "be admitted there.

"If the envoy from Kàbul will not agree to
 "any treaty unless these two stipulations shall

A. D. 1855

" be embodied in it, the Chief Commissioner
 " is authorized to introduce them, in the modi-
 " fied sense described in the preceding part of
 " this paragraph. In the course of the negoti-
 " ations upon the 3rd article of the proposed
 " treaty, it is possible that the envoy may object
 " to assume, on the part of the Amîr, the obliga-
 " tion to resist our enemies to the utmost unless
 " some equivalent advantage should be conceded
 " to His Highness by the provisions of the
 " treaty. In this event the envoy should be
 " reminded that, in obtaining from us a treaty
 " of friendship at all, the Amîr obtains a full
 " equivalent for all that he is asked to give in
 " return. The Chief Commissioner should point
 " out to the envoy that, at the present time, the
 " Amîr has no security, except in our forbearance,
 " against the infliction by us of such just retribu-
 " tion as we might please to exact from him for the
 " unprovoked hostilities which he directed against
 " us some years ago. His Highness will do well
 " to recollect that his army was moved against
 " us ; that he came at its head ; and that it was
 " the act of one of his family which delivered
 " our officers, their wives and children, as pri-
 " soners into the hands of the Sikhs. If His
 " Highness the Amîr shall obtain, by virtue of
 " the proposed treaty, complete immunity for
 " such acts as these ; if he shall obtain by it
 " the relief and assurance which he will derive
 " from possessing the plighted friendship of a
 " great Government whose displeasure he incur-
 " red ; whose power is irresistible, and whose
 " frontier touches his own ; the Amîr may well
 " be content to give in return that assurance of
 " common resistance to a common enemy, which
 " is all that the British Government now pro-
 " pose to him. * * * * *

" It may be anticipated that the Amîr's
 " envoy will, in the first instance, manifest much

A. D 1855.

“ dissatisfaction at the limited scope of the proposed treaty. He will probably contend for an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the States. * * * If the envoy *should* contend for a treaty offensive and defensive, the Chief Commissioner may at once intimate that the British Government will under no circumstances enter into such a compact with the Amír of Kábul. The sole effect of such an instrument would be to involve the Government of India in the disputes and hostilities of the various States which lie beyond its western frontier, and wholly to defeat the desire which it sincerely entertains to be at peace with all of them, and to abstain from any interference in their interests and concerns.

“ If, again, the envoy should represent that, from whatever cause, he considers the territories of the Amír to be in danger from the Sháh of Persia, and should require that the treaty should convey to him some guarantee against Persian aggression, the Chief Commissioner should bear in mind the express injunctions which the Governor-General in Council has received, that the Government of India must not make conditions or use language which would occasion just cause of umbrage to Persia, and he should refuse to give the guarantee that may be sought—* * * at the same time full assurance may be given that the British Government sincerely desires the continued maintenance of the independence of Afghánistán, and would not view with indifference any attempt by a foreign power to subvert it; and the Amír may be informed that last year the British Government concluded an engagement with the Sháh of Persia, which had for its object the maintenance of the territory of Herát indepen-

A. D. 1855.

"dent of Persian rule ; and at the same time
"took occasion to declare that it will not allow
"any systematic attempt on the part of Persia
"to effect a change in the state of possession
"in the countries lying between the Persian
"frontier and the British territories in India."

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No 133, dated
8th February 1855.

Guided by these instructions, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab met Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán at Pesháwar. The Sardár was accompanied by many influential noblemen of the Amír's family ; among others were Sardár Muhammad Saddík Khán, and Sardár Muhammad Umar Khán (sons of the late Sardár Muhammad Azím Khán), Sardár Sher Muhammad Khán (son of Sardár Pír Muhammad Khán), Sardár Sháh Nawáz Khán (son of Sardár Sultán Ján, and of a sister of Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán).

Punjab report, 1854-55, 1855-56, para 148.

"The treaty was concluded on the 30th
"March 1855. It was guaranteed that we
"should respect the Amír's possessions in
"Afghánistán, and never interfere in them ;
"while the Amír engaged similarly to respect
"British territory, and also to be the friend of
"our friends and the enemy of our enemies.
"Sardár Haidar Khán having been sumptuously
"entertained during his residence at Pesháwar,
"and having received many handsome presents,
"returned to Kábul."

Secretary to Chief
Commissioner, Panjab,
to Secretary to Govern-
ment of India, No.
334-278, dated 3rd
April 1855.

A day or two before the departure of Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán, the Chief Commissioner discussed with him "various points connected
"with the border tribes on the upper part of
"the British frontier. The Chief Commissioner
"recapitulated to the Sardár the misdeeds of
"the Lalpura and Pindiali Momunds (who are
"feudatories of Kábul), and explained to him
"the necessity of curbing these people. If it was
"said that it was not in the power of the Amír

"to effect this, then the British Government might have occasion to consider on the expediency of doing so on its own behalf—*** for the conduct of these people was intolerable, and they should not be suffered to foray our lands, and murder our subjects with impunity."

Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán promised that the Amír would make a point of coming to an understanding with the leaders of the Moomunds, and that, doubtless, satisfactory arrangements would be made, whereby the safety of the border would be secured; but, if such arrangements should not be accomplished, the British Government could do as it pleased, and punish the offending tribe."

In the afternoon of the day on which the foregoing discussion took place, the Chief Commissioner received a letter from Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán, "regarding the small valley of Daur, which adjoins Bunnoo." The Sardár asked permission for his brother, Muhammad Azim Khán, to take possession of the valley, which was an integral part of the kingdom of Afghánistán. At this time, however, Daur was independent; but on several occasions the inhabitants had requested the British authorities to extend their control to their valley. The Chief Commissioner believed that the British Government had no desire to lay claim to Daur, although it might have the right to do so under the 1st Article of the tripartite treaty of June 1838, between the British Government, Maharajah Ranjít Singh, and Shah Shujá-ul-Mulk, by which the Sháh relinquished all claims to the possession of Daur in favor of the Sikhs. The question was referred to the Supreme Government, who, in reply, stated that it had "no wish for the valley of Daur, no claim upon it, and no reason to

A. D. 1855.

Secretary to Government of India, No 206, dated 22nd May 1855.

A. D 1855.

“ object to the assertion of his sovereignty over “ it by our ally, the Amír of Kábul.” Muham-mad Azim Khán, the Governor of Kurram, subsequently entered and took possession of the valley.

(Commissioner of Pesháwar's No 82C, dated 6th August 1855.

Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán carried with him one copy of the treaty of Pesháwar to Kábul. Another copy was sent to Calcutta, to be ratified by the Governor-General. It was intended by the British Government that the Amír and the Governor-General should each sign the copy received by them, respectively. The documents were then to be exchanged. The copy already signed by the Governor-General would then be ratified in a like manner by the Amír, and *vice versa*. The treaties, after these formalities would be deposited among the “ archives of Hindustán” and Afghánistán.

The Amír of Kábul misconstrued the meaning of this proposal altogether. He imagined that the original treaty would be altered by the Governor-General. He despatched a long letter to the Commissioner of Pesháwar, detailing his doubts and fears. The ratified treaty was called an “ amended bond.” The Amír could not understand why the signatures and seals of his son and the Chief Commissioner were not sufficient. Had they not both been invested with full powers by their respective Governments? What more could be required?

Major Edwardes explained to the Amír that the ratification of the treaties by the heads of the two Governments, was merely a formality, in accordance with the custom of the kings of the west. Dost Muhammad was assured “ that “ the English will never repudiate a letter of “ what they have once set their hand and seal “ to, be the result good or bad, or loss or gain.”

As was to be expected, the Amír replied to Major Edwardes that he had never for a moment suspected the English of having altered the text of the treaty. "All that he meant" was to ascertain in what way the Most Noble "the Governor-General's assent and confirmation had been inserted." He was now perfectly satisfied, and would at once depute a messenger to Pesháwar, to bring the ratified treaty to Kábul.

A. D. 1855.
The Amír to Major
Edwardes, 28th August,
1855.

In this letter the Amír took occasion to intercede for Rahmdád Khán, Chief of the Michní Momunds, whose evil deeds on the border had led to the confiscation of his jaghirs in Pesháwar. "Should the British take pity on" him and release his property, I have every "hope that he will never rebel again; so far" from rebelling, he will feel grateful for "forgiveness, and such treatment will also be" beneficial to the British interests."

In forwarding this letter to the Chief Commissioner, Major Edwardes shewed that Rahmdád Khán had done nothing to deserve forgiveness; on the contrary, his people had but recently committed raids upon British territory, and so his case had been made worse since his jaghirs were confiscated. Major Edwardes also pointed out that Rahmdád Khán was only one of a class, and that if the Government were to buy him off many other chiefs who were in exactly similar positions would have to be bought off also. The races on the Pesháwar frontier have not honor enough to behave gratefully for "black mail," and giving money to one only sets up others to extort it.

The Governor-General approved of the view taken by the Commissioner of Pesháwar, with regard to Rahmdád Khán, and requested that the Amír might be informed that it was impossible to extend clemency to

Secretary to Govern-
ment of India, No. 735,
dated 3rd November
1855.

A. D. 1855.

Rahmdád Khan, whose punishment had been necessary and just, and who had done nothing to entitle him to forgiveness. In regard to the general question of money payments to tribes on the frontier, the Governor-General was certain that it is "not good policy for the British Government to consent to pay black mail, however the payment may have been sanctioned by past custom, whatever form it may assume, or under whatever name it may be disguised."

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 110C, dated 24th August 1855.

Secretary to Government Panjáb, No. 640, dated 30th Aug. 1855.

Some months after the return of Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán, the Commissioner of Pesháwar was requested by the Chief Commissioner to give his opinion as to the best mode of maintaining a closer communication with the Court of Kábul. Major Edwardes, in reply, pointed out the great difficulty of obtaining reliable information regarding the internal politics of Afghánistán. He believed "that we should hear quickly enough of any really important event in Central Asia; but, with regard to news from Kábul itself, here all openness and frankness ceases; it is the fancied interest of the court to wrap itself in obscurity; and it will never volunteer any information as to its own politics and parties."

The arguments for and against the appointment of a British representative at the Court of the Amír, were then discussed by Major Edwardes. There seemed to be no doubt of the advantage that would result to the Government of India from the presence of a Vakíl at Kábul; still, the Commissioner of Pesháwar, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb, and the Governor General, were unanimous in thinking that the measure was premature, and that any such proposal "would create alarm and suspicion as to our ulterior objects."

Secretary to Government of India, No. 60, dated 2nd October 1855.

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1855.

In the beginning of August 1855, Sardár Kohandil Khán died at Kandahár. His son, Muhammad Saddík Khán, who was absent at the time of his father's death, returned soon after. He gave great offence to his uncle, Sardár Rahmdil Khán, by seizing the property and valuables of the late chief. Rahmdil Khán wrote to the Amír for advice and assistance, and even went so far as to invite Dost Muhammad to come over to Kandahár, and assert his suzerainty. The Amír at first intended to depute his brother Sultán Muhammad Khán to proceed to Kandahár, and settle the dispute of his brothers and their sons; but the news of the usurpation of the throne of Herát by Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf, a Saddozai, caused a change of plan. The Sháhzádá was said to have been supported in his rebellion by Persia. The Amír feared the result on the Kandahár Sardárs of the nearer approach of Persian power and influence; he therefore resolved to march in person to Kandahár.

Kábul news letter,
from 15th August to
17th September 1855.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 194C, dated 8th October 1855.

The report of the rebellion at Herát reached Kábul towards the end of September. Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán at once communicated it to Major Edwardes. The authenticity of the news was at first questioned. In a few days, however, all doubts were removed. Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf, the grandson of Sháhzádá Firozuddín, a Saddozai, had, with the connivance of Sardár Isá Khán, deposed Sardár Sayíd Muhammad Khán, and made himself master of Herát.

On the 30th September the Amír received a letter from Sardár Rahmdil Khán, giving the following account of the rebellion :—

“ Two months ago a force of 30,000 Persians advanced from Seistan. Sháhzádá Muhammad

Kábul news letter,
from 19th September
to 3rd October 1855.

A. D. 1855.

"Yusaf, grandson of Sháhzádá Fírozuddín, with a son of Sháhzádá Kámrán, and 1,500 men, was pushed forward in advance, and carried on secret negotiations with the Herát chiefs, and when they had fallen into his plans he made a rapid march upon Herát with his 1,500 men, and the chiefs inside seized their own ruler, the son of Yár Muhammad Khán, who, being an imbecile, had been persuaded by the Persian envoy in Herát to despise Muhammad Yusaf, and to make no attempt to drive him back. So he was handed over by his own chiefs to the Sháhzádá, and on the 3rd day after, the whole Persian force arrived. Twelve of the chief men of Sayíd Muhammad Khán were put to death, and he himself was sent off to the town of Kohshán (Koochan). Some say he also has been killed ; others that his eyes have been put out ; at all events Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf has been set up as King of Herát, and 15,000 Persian troops appointed to support him."

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 202C,
dated 11th October
1855

The first detailed account of the fall of Herát was received by Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán from Kilát-i-Ghulzai. The story ran thus : "Sartip Isa Khán, one of the chief officers of Sardár Sayíd Muhammad Khán, has for the last twelve months been in constant communication with the Sháhzádá, and seeing at last an opening, summoned the Sháhzádá, who despatched his brother with 200 horse, and these, concealed in the broken ground of the Farhád mountain, were joined there by the Sartip Isa Khán, with 100 horse. Leaving their hiding place at night, they reached the gate of the city about 2 o'clock in the morning. The warder called out 'who are you?' 'Sartip Isa Khán' was the reply. The gate was opened, and the party entered, and were

A. D. 1855.

"joined in the "Char Chouk" by 2,000 "Sir-baz" who had agreed to that rendezvous.

"To cut the story short, they possessed themselves of every gate of the city before morning, and at dawn sent one man ahead to Sardár Sayíd Muhammad Khán in the citadel, to say : " ' the city is taken ' ; Sayíd Muhammad Khán fired at him with a pistol, and then went out himself. Throughout the citadel was heard the cry, ' Sartip Isa Khán is coming.' Sayíd Muhammad Khán said, ' let him enter, he is my own officer.' The Sartip, with 300 horse and the Sirbáz, entered the Ark,* a fight-ensued, lives were lost on both sides, and the Ark was taken. Sardár Sayíd Muhammad Khán, with his sword in one hand and the Korán in the other, took as one may say his coffin on his shoulder and threw himself at the feet of the Sháhzhádá.

"The Sháhzhádá is now in the city, he has one or two Persians of rank with him, and 2 or 300 horse.

"The whole of the Douránís and Ghilzaís, and Farsiwáns, were of one accord, it is said, in this business."

The question that most concerned the British and Kábul Governments, with regard to the disturbances at Herát, was, what part did the Persians play in it ? The first of the two accounts that have been quoted above would seem to show that the Persians had openly marched on Herát, deposed its ruler, and placed the Sháhzhádá Muhammad Yusaf on the throne. The second account does little more than show that the Sháhzhádá acted under Persian influence, or at least with Persian approval ; and this seems to have been the truth. On the 9th of November, Major

* The citadel of Herát is called the " Ark."

A. D. 1855.

Edwardes wrote to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner as follows :—

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 24C, dated 9th November 1855.

" The Persian game has been played with more
" duplicity than appeared from the first accounts.
" No one doubts that the Saddozai adventurer,
" Sháhzáda Muhammad Yusaf, has obtained Herát
" by Persian support and in the Persian interest : but it seems doubtful whether any
" Persian troops accompanied or followed him
" to Herát itself. It has been stated in some
" accounts that a Persian army halted on the
" border of Seistan. It has now been said to
" have advanced to Ghorian, which is only 30
" miles from Herát ; and it seems certain that
" the deposed ruler of Herát has been transported
" as a prisoner into the Persian territory. While,
" therefore, the aggression bears every mark of
" being Persian, it is not impossible that the Persians may be prepared to disavow it. But let
" words go as they may we should be insensible not to feel that Herát at this moment is Persia's, to do with as she pleases.
" She may prefer keeping a Saddozai in it for
" the present as a sufficient lever on the Amír of
" Kábul, and a veil over the real facts should
" we choose to see them ; or she may occupy
" Herát herself if the Sháhzáda proves too weak ;
" or, lastly, she may offer it for a consideration to
" the Amír of Kábul."

This view of the case was borne out by subsequent events.

The Sháhzáda had doubtless been supported by Persian influence. This fact may have been exaggerated by the Kazilbásh faction and others, who were anxious to see the Sháh paramount in Afghánistán.

It is easy to imagine how the report of a few Persians having accompanied the Sháhzáda may

have been magnified into the rumour of a Persian force besieging Herát.

A. D. 1855.

The Kazilbáshes were Persian settlers in Afghánistán. They belonged to the Shíah sect of Muhammadans, and were consequently much hated by the Afghán Súnínís. The dream of the true Kazilbásh was a Persian conquest of Afghánistán. They were always the first to spread reports of Persian advances on the frontier. Many false rumours of the taking of Herát, and of the designs of the Sháh on Kandahár and Kábul have at times been current in the Pesháwar bazárs, and are believed to owe their origin to the Kazilbásh Shíahs. Many Kazilbáshes have, however, been faithful adherents to the Afghán cause. The Amír, Dost Muhammad Khán, himself was the son of a Kazilbásh woman, and Mirzá Muhammad Husain, his private secretary, who was sent as envoy to Pesháwar in 1854, belonged to this sect.

When the news of the taking of Herát by the Persians reached Calcutta, the Foreign Secretary wrote to the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb that, the Governor-General could not yet give credence to the statement. The Chief Commissioner was desired to observe the most rigid caution in his communications with Kábul on the subject, and to be careful to say nothing which could commit the British Government in the slightest degree, or in the most indirect manner. But whatever may have been the uncertainty as to the exact degree of aid given by Persia to the new ruler of Herát, in his usurpation of the throne, it soon became an undoubted fact that the Sháhzádá, Muhammad Yusaf, was supported by Persian influence in his newly acquired sovereignty.

The Amír of Kábul started on his march to Kandahár in the beginning of October. On

A. D. 1855.

Letter from Sardár
Ghulám Haidar, to
Commissioner of Pe-
sháwar.

the 27th he was within 100 miles of his destination, and he probably entered Kandahár about the middle of November. "It was generally believed that it was not his intention to stop there, but to make Kandahár a basis for fresh designs on Herát."

It must not be supposed, however, that the rejection by the Amír of the proposals of the Sháh of Persia, or his subsequent alliance with the British, or even the change of rulers at Herát, had produced an open rupture between the courts of Teherán and Kábul.

Commissioner of Pe-
sháwar's No. 1197,
dated 28th November
1854.

Do. Do. No. 32, dated
9th January 1855.

A merchant, by name Jáfár Khán, was employed by the Amír as a secret messenger to the Persian Court. He was the bearer of some gifts from the Sháh to Dost Muhammad Khán, in the end of 1854. Mirza Muhammad Husain, when at Pesháwar, made a point of explaining to the Chief Commissioner the circumstances connected with Jáfár Khán's mission. His arrival in Afghánistán at the very time that the preliminaries of the treaty with the British Government were being arranged was somewhat inopportune. The Amír, anxious as to the construction that would be put on it by the British, directed his envoy to inform the Commissioner of Pesháwar that a caravan belonging to Jáfár Khán had been plundered by Alamání robbers some years before, that the merchant went to Teherán to demand restitution of his losses, and that the Sháh had merely taken the opportunity of his return to Kábul to entrust him with the delivery of a few presents to the Amír.

Other accounts, however, said that Jáfár Khán had, in the first instance carried friendly letters from the Amír to the King of Persia; that he remained at Teherán three months, and was treated with marked kindness.

Major Edwardes believed that, from the anxiety

of the Amír to prevent misunderstanding, there could be little doubt that Jáfar Khán went to Teherán for other than private purposes.

A. D. 1855.

The circumstance was reported to the Supreme Government, and Major Edwardes was instructed "to state in reply to any further allusions which might be made to the interchange of envoys between Kábul and Persia, that the British Government will not view such missions with disquietude; that it maintains friendly relations with the Sháh of Persia, and can have no reason to object to the maintenance of similar relations between the Amír and the Sháh."

Secretary to Government of India, No. 6,
dated 5th January
1855.

Dost Muhammad Khán made himself master of Kandahár without opposition. On the 6th January 1856, the Amír wrote as follows to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab:—"The affairs of Kandahár have been settled in the best manner, and the people of the country, from the lowest to the highest, have been rendered happy in consequence of the relief they have obtained from newly introduced oppression, and of the relinquishment of newly established usages, and have enjoyed comfort and reaped the fruits of my favour." In the same letter the Amír replied to enquiries that had been made by the British authorities regarding affairs at Herát. He said "It has been repeatedly enquired whether Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf, by his own determination and stratagem, undertook the movement, and has captured Herát, or whether he has done so at the instigation of the King of Persia? * * This is known to the All Wise God, who is cognizant of the secrets of all hearts. But the (considerations) which can be gathered from the conduct and proceedings of both parties are as follows :—

A. D. 1855.

“Firstly. The Sháhzádá was for several years in the service of, and in the receipt of pay from, the Government of Persia, and the whole of his family are still residing at the sacred city of Mashhad.

“Secondly. After the occurrence of this conspicuous event, and after slaying the Zahr-ud-daulah* of that Government, capturing his family and plundering his property, the Sháhzádá was not visited with the Imperial anger; but, on the contrary, he has been treated with royal favor, and honored with a title.

“Thirdly. In consideration of these services, a Persian envoy, viz. Abbas Kuli Khán, arrived lately, and invested the Sháhzádá with a royal robe of honor; and, on the 12th December 1855, returned to Teherán in company with Mirza Rafi Khán as the Vakíl of the Government of the Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf.

“Fourthly. Intercourse is kept up with, and letters are constantly received by, the Sháhzádá from the sacred city of Mashhad.

“The conduct and acts of the Sháhzádá are as follow:—

“Firstly. He does not aspire to strike coin or cause the khutba to be read in his own name, and declares that he is only a subordinate, and has, therefore, no concern with the coin or khutba. He will be guided by whatever orders he might receive from the Huzoor.

“Secondly. Whatever cash or property falls into his hands, he transmits the same immediately, both openly and clandestinely, to the sacred city of Mashhad.

“Thirdly. He despoils the Duraní and

* The title of Zahr-ud-daulah was bestowed upon the ruler of Herát by Persia. He is, therefore, spoken of as the Zahr-ud-daulah of that Government. Zahr-ud-daulah literally means an assistant or ally of the State.

A. D. 1855.

“ other persons whom he considers aliens, of
 “ all their property, and expels them from Herát,
 “ and harbours in the fort all men belonging
 “ to the Kazzilbásh and Hazara, &c., who are
 “ inclined to the side of Persia.

“ Fourthly. By addressing successive and re-
 “ peated petitions he brings himself to the
 “ remembrance of the king of Persia.

“ I know not whether on all these considera-
 “ tions we are to look upon him as bound up with
 “ and established at Herát by the orders of or at
 “ the instigation of the Shah of Persia or not.”

Of course it is quite clear what inference the Amír intended the British Government to draw from this last sentence, viz., that the Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf was avowedly a vassal of Persia. Opposed to this view is the account of the rebellion at Herát written by Mr. Murray, the British representative at Teherán. On the 28th September 1855, he wrote as follows to Her Majesty's Foreign Minister in London. :—

“ Intelligence has lately reached me to the
 “ effect that Syíd Muhammad Khán, ruler of
 “ Herát, the son of the late Yar Muhammad
 “ Khán, having undertaken an expedition against
 “ the Hazárah tribe to compel them to pay
 “ arrears of tribute, the people of Herát dis-
 “ gusted at his incapacity, and his habits of
 “ drunkenness and cruelty, sent during his ab-
 “ sence a secret communication to Muhammad
 “ Yusaf Mirza, (a nephew of Shah Kamran)
 “ who has resided for many years in Mashhad,
 “ and has numerous partisans in Herát, offering
 “ to make over the Government to him. Mu-
 “ hammad Yusaf Mirza immediately despatched
 “ his younger brother, Muhammad Ibrahim
 “ Mirza, to secure his interests in Herát, he
 “ himself following as soon as he could make
 “ his escape. It appears that the Persian an-

A. D. 1855.

“thorities, when they heard of his departure, sent a troop of horsemen to capture, and bring him back, he being at the time in command of a Persian regiment of irregular horse. He evaded his pursuers, and reached Herát in safety. The latest accounts state that the late ruler, Sayíd Muhammad Khán, had been seized and placed in confinement by the people, and that Muhammad Yusaf Mirza had reached Herát, and assumed the reins of Government. It is difficult to form any well founded opinion as to what his future line of policy may be, but he is represented as being a man of ability and energy, and not only popular in Herát, but also among the Herát branches of the Hazara tribe, whom his predecessor had been attempting to coerce. I trust that the new ruler will not prove subservient to Persia. If we base our conjectures on the motives by which men are usually actuated in this part of the world, he certainly will not be so ; for if they have treated him well at Mashhad, it will be considered a mark of high and independent spirit to show a coolness and indifference towards his former superiors ; whilst, on the other hand, he is not likely to forget or forgive the attempt to recapture him, and to prevent his attaining his present position.”

This letter, so far from attributing the change of rulers at Herát to Persian influence, distinctly states that the authorities at Mashhad did what they could to prevent the departure of the Sháhzádá from their city. It is possible however that the Persians did no more than make a reasonable show of opposition. However that may be, it is perfectly consistent with probability, that when the king of Persia saw Muhammad Yusaf established at Herát, and

evidently willing to recognize him as suzerain, he agreed to maintain him in his new position. In this manner Herát would become essentially a Persian dependency, and the rule of the Sháhzádá a convenient stepping stone from the Government of an Allakkozai chief to the open assumption of the sovereignty by the Shah himself.

A. D. 1855.

It may be well to insert here the translation of an account of affairs at Herát, sent to Major Edwardes by Muhammad Alam Khán, a nephew of the Amír of Kábul. The letter was written at Kandahár in the beginning of December 1855. While it confirms in most particulars the account of the rebellion given by the British minister at Teherán ; it differs from the accounts furnished by the Amír and Ghulam Haidar Khán in regard to the part taken by Persia in the disturbance. Dost Muhammad Khán made it his policy to exaggerate the reports of the advance of a Persian army on the Afghán frontier. Muhammad Alam Khán had served with Major Edwardes in the Deraját. His letter was a private one, and was apparently written without any desire to conceal or exaggerate the truth.

“ Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf is now ruler
“ of Herát. He has gone from Mashhad, and
“ his family are still there. The son of Yár
“ Muhammad had gone stark mad ; and the
“ khans and people of Herát were discontented
“ with his rule. A man of great influence in
“ Herat, named Mullah Yusaf, of Hazara, had
“ received an injury from the hands of the son
“ of Yár Muhammad Khán ; and he formed a
“ conspiracy, with Mirzá Rofi, Isá Khán
“ Bardurání, Mujid Khán, Bardurání, Abbas
“ Khán, Ahmud Khán, Abdulla Khán, Tymúrí,
“ and Alí Khán, a slave of the son of Yar

A. D. 1855.

" Muhammad Khán. Having bound themselves together with solemn oaths, they sent for Sháh-zádá Muhammad Yusaf to come and take possession of Herát. The Sháh-zádá sent his brother Sháh-zádá Muhammad Razá, to see : Mullá Yusaf. Meanwhile Isá Khán had been ordered by the son of Yár Muhammad Khán to go to Farrah, and was on his way, when hearing of Sháh-zádá Muhammad Raza's approach, he joined him and entered the city, which was at once plunged into an uproar. The son of Yár Muhammad was in the ark. All the Barduránis took the Sháh-zádá's part, and seized the Allakkozaís wherever they could be found. Isá Khán, the Sirtip, who was in the ark with 1,000 soldiers, maintained an obstinate resistance from morning till evening ; but at last the fort yielded. The son of Yár Muhammad Khán then surrendered, and was sent to Ghorían. Sháh-zádá Muhammad Yusaf was summoned at once with the good tidings that Herát was taken, and on his arrival he recalled the son of Yár Muhammad Khán from Ghorían, and after a few days killed him in prison at dead of night. In the morning his corpse was thrown into the ditch of the ark, where it remained four days unburied, at last a faquir buried it by stealth. Sháh-zádá Muhammad Yusaf then proceeded to dispose of the family of the late ruler Syid Muhammad Khán and his father Yár Muhammad Khán. He took the daughter of Sirdar Amín Muhammad Khán, (brother of the Amír of Kábul) for himself, and the daughter of Sher Muhammad Khán (brother of Yár Muhammad Khán) for his brother Sháh-zádá Muhammad Razá. Kádara, son of Syid Muhammad Khán with his brother were given to Mujíd Khán Bardurání.

* * * * *

A. D. 1855.

"The Amír has received a letter from Herát to the effect that Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf is a harsh man; that he has ruined the Alakkozaís, and is very close-fisted. To each of the Popalzaís who had repaired to him in great numbers from Kandahár he gave a Herát fur postín and pays them one anna a day only. The Sháhzádá looks upon the people of Herát with suspicion; and the letter above quoted, which the Amír received from Herát, came from Abbás Khán, Mirza Raff, Mullá Yusaf of Hazára and others, and invited the Amír to come to Farráh, promising that they would help him in the capture of Herát, and assuring him that as yet the Persians had taken no part in the affairs of Herát."

Before leaving the consideration of Herát affairs at and after the rebellion, it would be well to state what appears from the evidence that has been detailed at length, to be the legitimate inference with regard to the share of Persia in the revolution. Now, if the sources of information are examined, it is readily seen that all the accounts of Persian forces and Persian influence at Herát came through Afghán channels. The Amír Dost Muhammad hardly concealed the fact that he considered Herát an integral part of the kingdom of Afghánistán. There can be no doubt, that at the present crisis, and at many future times, the Amír was most desirous to undertake an expedition against it. He knew, however, that without help from the British Government, either in money or in men, he was himself too weak to make stand against the Persians, who would certainly oppose any encroachment of the Amír in the direction of Herát. The Amír's policy, therefore, was to prove to the British Government that the Sháh

A. D. 1855.

had infringed the conditions of the engagements of 1853, by which non-interference with Herát was promised by Persia. ' Only let there be a war between Persia and England (thought the Amír), and let some pecuniary aid be guaranteed to me, there will then be little difficulty in the annexation of Herát. '

When due weight has been given to these arguments, and when the evidence on the other side, such as the testimony of the British representative at Teherán has been considered, it must be admitted that there is no proof whatever that the rebellion at Herát was brought about by the Persians, and that although Muhammad Yusaf may have been a Persian-hearted prince, yet he was not supported in any open way by the court of Teherán.

A D 1856

CHAPTER III.

The position of the Amír at Kandahár in the beginning of 1856 was a very critical one. His letter to the Chief Commissioner, already quoted, announced that he had proclaimed himself master of Kandahár ; but it made no mention of his failure either to conciliate or to restrain his brothers and nephews, whose territory he had annexed, and whose property he had confiscated. Their indignation was extreme : one by one they fled from Kandahár and took up arms against the Amír, in various parts of the province. Nor was Dost Muhammad more popular with the common people of his newly-acquired territory. Instigated by the Mulláhs, the Kandaháris were taught to believe that to fight against the Amír would be to engage in a holy war. The

A. D. 1856.

Amír had allied himself with the British, and promised to be the friend of their friends and the enemy of their enemies, and “whereas Christ is their friend, and Muhammad their enemy, the Amír had, therefore, renounced his religion, and all Muhammadans were bound to oppose him.”

The following is an account of affairs at Kandahár sent by Muhammad Alam Khán to Major Edwardes, in December 1855 :—“Amír Dost Muhammad Khán has taken possession of Kandahár, and proclaimed himself chief. He has given the office of City Kazí to Khán Mullá Khán, the Kazí of Kábul ; confiscated the estates of the Kandahár chiefs ; and expelled Ghulám Muhiuddín, and Sultán Ali Khán, (the sons of the late Sardár Kohandil Khán) out of the ark. The Amír lives in the Dewán Kháná, and Sultán Muhammad Khán in the Haram Serai. On the 2nd December, the Amír in Council proposed to fix Sardár Rahmdil Khán’s allowance at 3,06,000 Kandahári rupees, half of which to be drawn from Kábul and half from Kandahár ; and he sent Ghulám Muhammad Khán and Khán Mullá Khán to inform Rahmdil Khán of this resolution. Rahmdil Khán would not agree, and urged that he had been invited to come and aid him in quelling the tumult raised by his nephews, and not to deprive himself of his dominions. The Amír, therefore, ought to restore him to the Government of Kandahár, or give him Teeree and the country of the Achakzai ; otherwise Rahmdil Khán would retire to Mecca. On the 24th December, the Amír sat at Sultán Muhammad Khán’s, and sent for Rahmdil Khán, Sardár Sultán Muhammad Khán, Hafiz Ji, Khán Mullá Khán, and others, to tell Rahmdil Khán that he

A. D. 1856.

" must resign all his pretensions to the will of
 " God, or he would ruin himself. Rahmdil Khán
 " at last yielded. * * * * *
 " Sardár Rahmdil Khán now seems contented
 " with the allowance of Rs. 3,06,000, and means
 " to remove with his family to Kábul. Sardár
 " Ghulám Haidar Khán is ruler of Kandahár.
 " * * * * *

Enclosure in Com-
 missioner of Peshá-
 war's No 226, dated
 11th March 1856.

" A Kandahár news-letter, dated 26th January
 " 1856, is a sequel to the preceding. Sardár
 " Khushdil Khán, son of Mehrdil Khán, and
 " Sultán Alí Khán, son of Kohandil Khán,
 " formed a conspiracy with other chiefs ; but, the
 " Amír discovering it, they, together with
 " Akram Khán, son of Abdulla Khán Achakzai,
 " fled from Kandahár. The chiefs and soldiers
 " of Kandahár are displeased at the coming of
 " the Amír. The evening before last he sent for
 " Rahmdil Khán and asked what all this dis-
 " affection was about ? Rahmdil Khán replied,
 " ' they never obeyed their own father, and they
 " ' sent for you as a peace-maker, but you have
 " ' turned them out of doors, and taken their
 " ' guns and arms for yourself, and alienated
 " ' them from you ; they will never submit to
 " ' you, or let peace be in the country.'

" Only three members of the reigning family
 " of Kandahár now remain here, Sardár Rahm-
 " dil Khán, Mír Afzal Khán, and Ghulam
 " Muhíuddín Khán. All the other chiefs, great
 " and small, have fled. On the 19th January,
 " the Amír told Rahmdil Khán he could not
 " trust him ; and required a writing to the
 " effect that Rahmdil Khán would either recall
 " his sons to Kandahár or let them take the
 " consequence at the hand of the Amír. Rahmdil
 " Khán was so enraged at this, that, on the
 " 23rd January, attended by 60 men, he rode out
 " before the Amír's very face, in open day.

" By the time he reached Deh-i-Khwájah, his party had increased to 200 ; no one knows which way he has gone.

A. D. 1856.

" Sardár Khushdil Khán and Sultán Alí Khán, who had fled to Khwájah, have plundered a caravan. The Amír has appointed Sher Alí Khán and Sardár Muhammad Azim Khán, with 6,000 horse and foot, to go against them. The disturbance of the country is very general ; and it remains to be seen what will come of it." * * * * * *6th February 1856.*
 " The Amír has closed the gates of Kandahár to prevent chiefs or horsemen going out. The Government has become greatly embarrassed. There is a union of all classes against the Amír * * * * * As yet no one has been appointed from Kandahár to Farrah."*

There can be no doubt, that although the Amír met the difficulties of his position with apparent equanimity, he was, nevertheless, full of anxiety as to the final result of the expedition to Kandahár. From the date of his resolution to leave Kábul, he did not conceal his desire to receive the advice and assistance of the British Government. With regard to the contemplated advance on Herát, the Amír unhesitatingly asked us to tell him what he ought to do. In the month of November, 1855, the Commissioner of Pesháwar, and the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, recommended the Supreme Government " to give an assurance of British friendship and sympathy to Dost Muhammad Khán, in order to strengthen His Highness' hands."

The Governor General declined to act on the recommendation. The Foreign Secretary was directed to point out to the Chief Commissioner

Secretary to Government of India's No. 1 of 1856.

* Farrah was a dependency of Kandahár. It is situated between Kandahár and Herát.

A. D. 1856.

that "it appeared almost certain, from the despatch of the British Minister at Teherán, regarding the rebellion of Herát, that the Persians had nothing to do with the seizure of that city, and that Her Majesty's Minister, who alone had the charge of the relations of the principality of Herát, saw no risk in the present aspect of affairs (on the Afghán frontier)."

The Chief Commissioner was further informed that, "if the Governor General were to make the proposed communication to Dost Muhammad, it would be immediately construed by the Amír as a direct encouragement to seize Herát, an encouragement which the Government of India was not authorized to hold out."

The Amír more than once formally requested the Chief Commissioner to obtain for him the advice of the Governor General. On the 6th of January 1856, in a letter already quoted, the Amír mentioned the preparations he was making for an advance on Herát:—"My determination is to endeavour to do all that is in my power, yea, within the reach of human exertions, to attain the object; and, inasmuch as the compassing of this object is essentially necessary, * * * the request is now reiterated, that you will obtain the advice of the Most Noble the Governor General of India, and communicate to me whatever may be resolved on, after due consideration of the interests of both Governments."

This letter was forwarded to the Supreme Government, but failed to elicit any opinion or advice with regard to Herát. The Chief Commissioner was directed to inform the Amír, that "he had no authority to correspond with His Highness on subjects of national importance,

"and that, if the Amír desired to know the sentiments of the Government of India on such questions, it would be necessary for him to address a Kharitah to the Governor General." Meanwhile, the aspect of affairs at Herát underwent a material change. In the end of the year 1855, a misunderstanding arose between the British minister at Teherán, and the Persian Government. It is unnecessary to detail the circumstances of the dispute; suffice it to say that Mr. Murray, finding that forbearance was useless, and only likely to bring contempt on the British nation, struck his flag, and, in the month of December, left Teherán.

A. D. 1856.

"Soon after Mr. Murray's departure from Teherán, in defiance of a solemn engagement, Persia sent an army to Herát. * * * It is not easy to give a correct account of the events which followed the advance of the Persian army on Herát. Alarmed by the report of the invasion of the Afghans, and threatened with a rebellion within the walls of Herát, Yusaf Khán, doubtless, in the hour of need, courted the intervention of Persia. But, seeking only a demonstration on the part of the Shah, he brought an army of occupation into the Herátí territory; and soon the city itself was in danger. The Persian army, under Prince Sultán Murád, had commenced its march early in the year; but, not apprehensive of the advance of the Afghans, or of any opposition at Herát, the Prince sent forward only a small detachment to garrison the place. But, whatever may have been Yusaf Khán's desire (and it is not improbable that he is correctly described as a Persian-hearted Prince), the chief people and general body of the inhabitants were averse to the Persian occupation, and were determined to resist it. The

Edinburgh Review.
"India, Persia, and
Afghánistán." January
1857, page 29.

A. D. 1856.

“ Persian detachment, therefore, was turned out
“ of Herát, British colours were hoisted, and
“ Yusaf Khán declared himself to be the servant
“ of our Government. He wrote to Dost
“ Muhammad, and he wrote to the Governor
“ General. He declared that the Herátís were
“ eager to expel the Persians from their territory,
“ and that the Afgháns, as good Sunnis, would
“ never submit to the supremacy of the Persian
“ Shiahhs ; and, calling upon Dost Muhammad
“ to obtain the assistance of the British Govern-
“ ment, he invited the Amír to come to his aid.”

Such was the narrative of the Persian advance on Herát, published in England in January 1857. It is inserted here because it was probably derived from other sources than those from which the present account is compiled, and confirms the reports of the presence of a Persian army at Herát, sent by the Amír to the Indian Government in April 1856. On the 18th of that month, Dost Muhammad Khán repeated his application for advice and assistance, in a letter addressed to the Governor General himself. The following is the translation of part of an original letter from the Amír to the Chief Commissioner, written about the same time :—“ A distinguished
“ general of the king of Persia has arrived at
“ Herát with a small detachment, at the request
“ of Shahzádá Muhammad Yusaf. He has left
“ the rest of his troops in the neighbourhood of
“ Ghoríán. It was his purpose to take possession of the Fort of Herát * * * under
“ the pretence of assisting the Shahzádá, and
“ then, after accomplishing this object, artfully
“ to bring in the remainder of his army. But
“ the inhabitants of Herát, having discovered the
“ real intentions of the Persian general, in-
“ sisted on his being expelled from the city.
“ As the Shahzádá has no independent power

“ of his own, he had no other alternative than
“ to turn the Persians out of Herát.”

A. D. 1856.

After giving some account of a fight between the Persians and Herátís, of the total defeat of the latter, and the subsequent seige of Ghoríán by the Persians, the Amír concludes his letter thus :—

“ The people of Herát have separated themselves from the King of Persia without consulting the wishes of Shahzádá Muhammad Yusaf. * * * * * They are averse to the occupation of the city by the Persians, and have unanimously written to beg me to march to Herát. * * * * *

The Amír enclosed the following letter received by him from the Shahzádá. It had evidently been written under the pressure of the national party at Herát :—

Copy of a letter from Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf, received from Herát in 10 days at Kandahár, on 20th April 1856, by the hand of Alaf Khán, Núrzai ; and written with the pen of Mirza Ismáel Khán, Munshée of the Herát Prince.

(Opens with many exalted titles addressed to the Amír of Kábul, as if from an inferior to his superior.)

“ The news are these, that, after my coming to Herát, I heard that you had taken Kandahár, and intended to come against Herát. I called on the Persian State for help, and asked for Shám Khán, Elkhání, to be sent to me from Teherán ; I also asked for a little money to finish my unfinished enterprise, so that if you (the Amír) were to move against me, I might be able to oppose you. The Persian State, looking on you as bound up with the English Government, wrote consecutive letters, all to this import: ‘ We have sent troops. Make yourself easy !’ They even sent Pashah Khán, Sartíp, with a force of 4,000 men and 5 guns, to Jám ; and afterwards the Elkhání with 1,000 horse. And they told me to call in the troops from Jám whenever wanted, adding that some money was sent with the Elkhání. So I made my mind easy. At this juncture I heard that the flag of the British Minister had been hauled down at Teherán. The Wálí of Mashhad died, and his brother was sent to succeed him, with 4,000 men. Meanwhile troops came in daily to Jám. I wrote to say it was winter, and the Amír (of Kábul) could not come to Herát, and what was the use, therefore, of harassing the soldiers at Jám, and causing alarm to the men of Herát ? My representations were not listened to.

A. D. 1856.

"They replied: 'we fear the English. The Amír is the friend of the English; therefore our army must be ready at Jám.' While this was going on, the Elkhání, in the city of Herát, began to hold interviews and spend money; and one day I discovered that these proceedings were preliminary to the taking of Herát. Still keeping patience for some days: behold, the 'Sword of the State' arrived at Jám with these orders, that, 'if a certain person is bound up in our Government, let him to horse, and come to Teherán! Then all the States will know that Herát is the dust of Persia!' I agreed, on one condition, that the force now in Jám should be withdrawn to Mashhad.

"Let the Shahzádá (*i. e.* of Mashhad) return," I said, "I will accompany him, and then come on to Teherán."

"I sent Khán Mulla Khán. The Shahzádá retired one march towards Mashhad. Twice Shám Khán, Elkhání, saw Najaf Mirza, and Atáullá Khán, Tunoorí, with some Persians, and told them to seize the gate by night, and he would come with his 1,000 men from the Royal garden, and occupy the city.

"To cut the story short, they were not permitted to bring me to grief by seizing the gate. Next day the Elkhání took himself off.

"I then heard that the Persian force had come to Koh-Sán, and thence to Shikián, where the Elkhání joined them, and the force proceeded to besiege Ghoríán. The 'Sword of the State,' with 4,000 men, came up. The men of Ghoríán maintained themselves for 15 days, and then Ghoríán was taken.

"Meanwhile a man turned up who said he was a servant of the English State. He took from me a treaty.

"I hoisted the English flag in the Chár Bágh! Now you know all about it. This is the time for the Amír's Government to show courage and a sense of honor. If you do not render yourself at Herát, Herát is gone!

"The son of Amír Kashí, with 4,000 men, is ordered against Farrah and Isfazár; should he arrive in the next 2 or 3 days, the house of the true faith will be ruined, and you will not be left at rest in Kandahár.

"Render yourself, therefore, quickly at Farrah; by the friendship of God I can keep my own for two months. Quickly send these news to the English; come: Herát is finished!

"After coming to Farrah, whatever advice you may give as to myself or Herát, shall be obeyed.

"There is no difference between you and me.

"Let not the Muhammadan religion be destroyed."

On receiving this important intelligence, the Governor General at once replied to the Amír's letter:—

Enclosure to Secretary to Government of India's No. 21, dated 16th May 1856.

"I am sensible," wrote Lord Canning, on the 16th May 1856, "of the grave importance of the events which are reported as having recently

A. D. 1856.

" occurred at Herát, and of the extent to
 " which they may affect the relations of Eng-
 " land, as well as of Afghánistán, with Persia ;
 " but it is my duty to inform your Highness
 " that, so far as England is concerned, these re-
 " lations are in the hands of Her Majesty's Go-
 " vernment, to whom it belongs, in the first
 " instance, to decide upon the measures to be
 " taken for enforcing the observance, by the
 " Shah of Persia, of the engagements by which
 " he has bound himself to respect the indepen-
 " dence of Herát. The most recent orders of
 " Her Majesty's Government are to the forego-
 " ing effect ; and, acting under those orders, it is
 " impossible for the Government of India to
 " take any step towards aiding or advising your
 " Highness in a hostile movement against
 " Persia. The Government of Her Majesty,
 " however, between whom and the Government
 " of the Shah other serious differences have
 " arisen, will be forthwith informed of the course
 " which events have taken at Herát ; and your
 " Highness may rely upon the assurance already
 " given to you, that the maintenance of Herát,
 " independent of Persian rule, is an object of
 " the British Government, and that Great
 " Britain will not allow any systematic attempt
 " on the part of Persia to effect a change in the
 " state of possession in the countries lying be-
 " tween the Persian Gulf and the British terri-
 " tories in India. I have further to inform your
 " Highness, that the announcement made in the
 " letter from Shahzádá Muhammad Yusaf, that
 " a British Agent had presented himself at
 " Herát, is void of truth ; and that the proceed-
 " ing of the Shahzádá himself, in hoisting the
 " English flag without any authority or en-
 " couragement to do so, has filled me with sur-
 " prise, and I hereby repudiate it, in the name

A. D. 1856.

“ of the Queen’s Government, as a presumptuous
 “ and dishonest action.”

CHAPTER IV.

It is now necessary to give some account of the mission to Kandahár of Khan Bahádur Fatah Khán, Khattak, who had been appointed, in the end of 1855, to deliver the ratified treaty to the Amír, and to receive the duplicate copy signed and sealed by His Highness.

It will be remembered that, after the reason for the exchange of the copies of the treaty had been explained, the Amír readily consented to provide an escort for the British messenger who should be appointed to deliver the ratified treaty.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No 256, dated
 5th March 1856.

Considerable delay, however, took place; the probable cause of which was doubtless the expedition to Kandahár, and the anxiety of the Amír about Herát. On the 5th of March 1856, Colonel Edwardes reported the departure of Fatah Khán from Pesháwar. The Khán was instructed “ not to stop at Kábul, but to push on to Kandahár, and deliver the treaty into the hands of the Amír alone.” The party consisted of the Kábul escort, a Dafadár and Sowárs of the Guide Corps, the British messenger, and the Nazir of Colonel Edwardes’ office, who was sent as Fatah Khán’s Secretary. The Khán was “ strictly enjoined to guide his conduct and that of his party while in Afghánistán, by the remembrance that the Amír was our friend, and that his sole duty was to exchange the ratified copies of a friendly treaty. He was told to keep his eyes and ears open to everything;

“ but, on no account, to be drawn into any parties or intrigues, and not even to accept any invitations of hospitality from the chiefs in the court without first asking the Amír.”

A. D. 1856.

On the 7th of March, a report reached Pesháwar that a man of the Shinwárá tribe had attempted to shoot Fatah Khán, in the Khaibar Pass. Various accounts of the cause of the outrage were at first current. Fatah Khán himself was anxious that the attack should appear to have been prompted by the desire of the border tribes to show their hatred to the alliance between the Amír and the British. On enquiry, however, Colonel Edwardes believed the real state of the case to be this :—“ Fatah Khán had not fulfilled some former pecuniary engagements which he had made with a man of the Shinwárá tribe ; he had been repeatedly pressed in Pesháwar to discharge the debt, but had failed to do so ; and now, in the Khaibar, the debt had been again demanded and refused ; and ultimately a quarrel was got up, in which the claimant of the money, or some supporter of his, tried to take the Khán’s life to clear the score.”

Commissioner of Pesháwar’s No. 263, dated 8th March 1856.

On the 8th March a blockade of all the Shinwárá of Lúwárgaí was proclaimed at Pesháwar, and was to be strictly “ enforced till the would-be-assassin should be given up to justice.”*

The Governor General approved of the blockade, and addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Amír, without, however, making any demand for the delivery of the offender. The Shinwárá stood out against the blockade for some months, and refused to pay a fine of 1,000 rupees, imposed upon them by Colonel Edwardes, in lieu

Commissioner of Pesháwar’s No. 482, dated 25th October 1856.

* The Shinwárá are a large tribe, scattered from the Khaibar to Kábul, in Lúwárgaí, Ningnahár, &c. The assassin was of the Lúwárgaí division.

A. D. 1856.

of the surrender of the assassin. Their trade with Pesháwar was entirely stopped. It is computed that its cessation entailed a loss of 20,000 rupees. At length their patience was exhausted; and, on the 15th of October, the fine was paid at Pesháwar, and the blockade removed.

Fatah Khán and his party reached Kábul on the 19th March. They were detained there about 15 days, "in consequence of the rebellion of Sardár Rahmdil Khán, at Kandahár, having rendered the road unsafe."

On the 5th April, however, they continued their march, and arrived at Kandahár on the 27th of that month. On the 28th Fatah Khán had an audience of the Amír, and presented the copy of the treaty which had been ratified by the Governor General. * * * The Amír having examined the treaty, remarked:—"My seal or ratification was quite superfluous, for Ghulám Haidar, my son and heir, went as my representative." His Highness further declared:—"If this treaty be broken, it will be by the English, not by me. I am weak; the English powerful. For the fidelity of a weak man, his weakness is guarantee. Let the English do as become themselves; I will do the same. Whenever the English are minded to take the country of another, they do it on the pretence that, like a camel, he made water awry (or that he cannot manage his own affairs). If, on the other hand, they are minded not to take a country, they leave the rulers alone for centuries. * * * * The truth is, that the English wait their opportunity."

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 2C, dated 17th May 1856.

In a conversation with Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán, held some days after, Fatah Khán took an opportunity to introduce the subject of the Momund and Pindiálí raids. These incursions had

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 6C, dated 9th June 1856.

A. D. 1856,

by no means ceased, although the Kábul Government had promised to do its best to suppress them. Even since the treaty of 1855, it had been necessary to make a formal complaint to the heir-apparent of Kábul on the subject. The Sardár had replied in a most friendly spirit. He explained that the Amír's attention had been so much taken up with the settlement of Kandahár, that he had not been able to take severe measures to enforce the good behaviour of the marauding borderers. The promise that something would be done at once was reiterated, and Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán expressed great indignation at the outrages complained of.

Acting under the instructions of Colonel Edwardes, Fatah Khán told the Sardár "that the best way of preserving the present good understanding would be to keep the British authorities satisfied on the frontier. Nawab Khán, of Pindiálí, and other Momund subjects of the Amír, have, since the treaty was made, continued their raids on the Pesháwar villages, and an expedition to punish them had been proposed, but it was thought inconsistent with the treaty to do so, in the absence of the Amír from Kábul, and without calling on the Amír to control the Momunds himself. Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán said he had issued orders to the Governor of Jalálábád to make restitution of every thing. The Sardár added that it was his constant endeavour to please the English, and he believed that, so long as the Amír lived, no cause of dissatisfaction would ever arise." The diary kept by Fatah Khán, when in Kandahár, gives some account of the suppression of the rebellion in that province. Very little warfare seems to have been necessary. Muhammad Sharíf Khán, a son of the Amír, was sent with a force against the rebels. The greater

A. D. 1856.

Commissioner of Peshāwar's No 6C, dated 9th June 1856.

number almost at once surrendered. Even Sardār Rahmdil Khán accepted the offers of peace made to him by the Amír. On the 9th June 1856, Colonel Edwardes, writing from information received from Fatah Khán, reported the close of the disturbance :—"The Amír's own possession was improving. By force and persuasion he has brought in the revolted members of the Kandahár family."

The position of the Amír was, however, far from a strong one. Money was very scarce, the troops were badly paid, and the surrounding country was plundered by the dissatisfied soldiers. Great discontent and confusion prevailed. There is no doubt that the Amír had relied on receiving pecuniary aid from the British Government, and was not prepared to wait until his application had been referred to England.

Commissioner of Peshāwar's No 75C, dated 16th June 1856.

Meanwhile a sudden change of rulers occurred at Herát. The Herátís had not been slow to accuse Muhammad Yusaf of having invited the Persians to take possession of their territory. Under the pressure of the national party, the Sháhzádá, after having emphatically denied that the advance of the Persian army was consequent on his invitation, made a show of resistance, and despatched the letters to the Amír already quoted. Soon after this, however, news was received that the Persians had come to terms with the Herátís ; and, after receiving from the Sháhzádá and Isá Khan 22 hostages, agreed to march back to Shikebán, leaving 200 men in the citadel. The Sháhzádá and the Popalzái then formed one party, and Isá Khán and the Fársíbáns formed another ; and, while sitting in council, the son of Haji Ghulám Khán fired a pistol at Isá Khán, which missed. Isá Khán then wounded Haji Ghulám Khán, and put the Sháhzádá in prison. On the following day

Commissioner of Peshāwar's No 62C, dated 13th June 1856.

Do do. No. 75C, dated 16th June 1856.

" the Sháhzádá was put on a donkey, and sent
 " into the Persian camp, with a message from
 " Isá Khán :— ' If you will make friendly terms
 " ' with me, as were made with Wazír Yár
 " ' Muhammad, well and good ; if not, I am strong,
 " ' and will stand your siege ; and, if I find myself
 " ' getting the worst, will call the Amír.' "

A. D. 1856.

Isá Khán seemed determined to hold Herát for himself, though willing to acknowledge dependence on the Sháh of Persia.

Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf arrived at the Persian camp ; he delivered the message of Isá Khán. The Persian General turned his forces, and again laid siege to Herát.

Colonel Edwardes received the following account of the commencement of the siege from his Názir, Ghulám Ahmad, at Kandahár :—

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 183C,
 dated 16th July 1856.

" The Persian army, 22,000 strong (regulars and militia included), had sat down at a distance of 2 koss from the city of Herát. For 8 days there was no sign of fighting. The people of the city came to and fro. Three gates were open and two closed. The Persian Commander sent to Isá Khán to ask ' how long he meant to sit there ' in the fort ? If there was no fighting the force would ' remain for two years before the place. ' The title of the Persian Commander was said to be the Típ Elkhani. But, subsequently, Hamza Mirza, a high officer of the Shah, arrived from Mashhad. He presented dresses of honor to Sháhzádá Muhammad Yusaf, Sardár Ahmad Khán, and Ghulám Khán, and made them his own guests. Men of the Alakkozai and Popalzai tribes, who do not side with Isá Khán, have come out and joined the Persians. * * * There are about 700 horse and 6,000 foot inside the fort of Herát. In the city less than two English seers of flour sell for a rupee."

About the 20th June, the Amír of Kábul and the heir-apparent received letters from Isá Khán, the new ruler of Herát. The Sartíp declared himself willing to be the servant of the Kábul Government, and invited the Amír to march to Herát. From the contents of these letters, it would seem that Dost Muhammad Khán had intrigued successfully with " the Afghán party " in Herát ; that it was he who procured the

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 174C,
 dated 15th July 1856.

A. D. 1856.

“expulsion of the Saddozai adventurer by the hands of the very man who had invited him from the Persian border ; that the fortress of Herát was once more held in the Afghán interest, though closely beleaguered by a Persian army ; and that there lay a great opportunity before the Amír of Kábul, if he only had had means to use it.”

The following is a translation of the letter received by the Amír from Isá Khán :—

“From Isá Khán to the Amír himself.”

“May I be your sacrifice, &c., &c. Things here are as I before represented to your Highness. From the very first, I acted upon the single message with which you favored me through Hafiz-jí ; and, accepting your service, brought the matter to an end. And when subsequently Hafiz-jí forwarded me your written orders, I sent Hají Abdul Karím Bardurrání back with Hafiz-jí’s messenger to convey my representations to you ; and I wrote, that, although I fully believed your sincerity in calling me your ‘son,’ and sending me the Kurán—the word of God himself—with your seal set to it, that ‘you wished me nothing but kindness ;’ yet it was a pleasure to me to become your servant with all my heart. My first object in all these affairs has been the interest of the Muhammadan religion, and a good repute in both worlds ; as, indeed, I wrote you before. I never aspired to be one of your family, or ‘your son.’ I gladly undertook to be your servant, before I experienced any kindness from you. Much more shall I do so now. I recognize in you the Bádsháh of Islám, and of all the Afghán countries ; and, setting aside all worldly objects, thinking only of Afghán honor, and the Muhammadan religion, I have taken hold of the skirt of your Government, and given up all other Governments, and become your servant. It would be contrary to all nobility and greatness, and religious faith and justice, if I were not to reap my reward from you. After these unprecedented services, it would be needless for me to say anything. They speak for themselves.

“May I be your sacrifice ; but, wherever as yet we have had a collision with the enemy, by God’s help, your fortune, and the prayers of good Muhammadans, we have in every instance had the advantage, and inflicted great loss. Do not fear for the city ; it is strong and safe. Now is the opportunity. I have looked only to Afghán honor and the faith of Islám ; and, taking your service, have abandoned the Persians, though they had given me a written agreement. But time is short ! Ruin is going on ! I am not strong enough to drive the Persians off the soil and pastures of Herát ; so I have sent the worthy Adam Khán to your presence, to beg you to

A. D. 1856.

despatch a powerful army here. It would easily defeat the enemy. If you want the land, and do not want to give it to the enemy, I need say no more.

Please God you will send a well-equipped force here without delay. As yet you are master of the situation ; but the opportunity will soon slip away. If you delay to send a force, I shall understand that you do not want the country. But do not afterwards reproach me—I have told you fairly. Adam Khán will tell you all details, and you may believe all he says. Events should be provided for before they happen. You are master. A long reign to you !”

Fatah Khán Khatak took leave of the Amír on the 18th June. The account of his final audience at the Court of Kandahár is contained in his diary ; and, as it is most interesting, may be quoted at length :—

“ On the 18th June, Fatah Khán breakfasted with the Amír. The daily darbar was put off. Only Sardár Sultán Muhammad Khán, and Pír Muhammad Khán, 2 sons of the former, and Sher Muhammad Khán, son of the latter, and Sardár Muhammad Azim Khán, and Hafiz-jí, and a few confidential servants, were admitted. The Amír called Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán and Fatah Khán Khatak near him, and thus addressed the Khán :—‘ You came here, and may think I have not been very generous to you ; but you have seen my own condition ! When you get back, give my compliments to the Colonel, and say, that when I sent Sardár Ghulám Haidar to Peshawar, I gave him my own seal, and made him my own representative ; and the Chief Commissioner came, in the same way, from Lahore. A treaty of friendship was made between them. In doing this, I gave up all hope of help from any other quarter. Formerly I sent 40,000 rupees worth of Pashminá to Muhammad Shah of Persia, by the hand of Jafar Khán Kurt ; but, before he reached, Muhammad Shah was dead ; so he made over the present to the new king Nasiruddin Shah, who sent me in return an Arab horse with gold trappings, and some arms, and a splendid dress of honor. I did not put on this dress, and gave great offence to Nasiruddin, who wrote to me again, and I sent the letter to the Chief Commissioner by the hand of my son Haidar Khán ; who asked the Chief Commissioner whether he would help the Amír with a force, in case the Shah of Persia came against him ? The Chief Commissioner replied that an English army would only come to grief in that country. Haidar Khán then asked if help would be given in money ? The Chief Commissioner replied, ‘ that when the event occurred, it would be dealt with. You have no enemy, and ought to make none. If the Persian or the Russian should come, it will be as an enemy of the English ; and the English will rid you of

A. D. 1856.

their own foes." I have now been here (at Kandahár) about 7 months, and my troops are without pay. Once before I wrote to Colonel Edwardes that the Persian army was coming—now it has actually come to Herát; yet Colonel Edwardes has given me no answer. I send him news of every move; and he replies 'I have sent your letter to Calcutta!' Fatah Khán said, 'the Colonel has no authority. It rests with Government. But you do well to communicate events to him, for he wishes well to your Government. In the same way, when your son Muhammad Azim is in Kurram, he cannot act without your authority.' The Amír then said, 'I hardly know what to make of my own case! Here I sit, and don't know what to do! I am in the same boat with the English; why don't they give me their advice to go on or to go back? Some merchants from Shikárpoor tell me the Sáhíbs down there are all saying, 'What is the Amír about? Why does not he push on to Herát? Has he joined the Persians? What is he sending Jafar Khán Kurt to the Shah for?' Jafar Khán has gone on his own business; not mine. If I had been with the Persians, it would have been seen long before this what line I should pursue! Now, if I go to Herát, I am met by the Persian army drawn up in battle array; and, though the Persian army may not be equal to that of the English, it thinks it is! If I were to be defeated at Herát, they would rise on Muhammad Azim at Kábul. My defeat in one place would be my defeat everywhere. Yet, if the Persians once take Herát, all is open to them as far as Balkh, and neither Kandahár nor Kábul is secure; and when I tell this to the Colonel, he says 'I have sent your letter to Calcutta!' Nay, they have just written to me, that it is of no use my writing to any one at all, except the Governor General. Meanwhile, 12,000 Persians have come and seized Lash; and are near Join. I wrote to the Colonel* once, and asked for 1,000 muskets. The Colonel said 'he had written to Calcutta.'

"One thousand muskets are worth 10,000, or 14,000, or say 20,000 rupees; and thus, in the smallest matters, I find I have nothing to hope for.

"For instance, I asked for Rahmdad Khán to be forgiven and restored to his allowance, to put an end to the disturbances on the frontier, and avoid the Colonel's remonstrances. What was 1,000 rupees? I gave it myself. The Colonel replied that 'it could not be done!' As for this treaty, which you have come all this way to fetch, by God's help I will abide by it. If ever the English accuse me of breaking it, as a plea for ruining me, they may do so; but I will never violate it.

"If they desire me to advance, in my present condition, on Herát, and court my own defeat, it shall be done so. Sardár Ghulam Haidar Khán here interposed that 'the English would never unjustly depart from their engagements, as they would be dishonored before the whole

* A mistake. He wrote to the Chief Commissioner.

world.' The Amír merely said 'very good!' Presently, the Amír said, 'on every occasion they address me as 'Wālī of Kabul.' Sardār Haidar Khān and Hāfiz-jī both said, 'now the addresses run thus, 'to the Wālī of Kabul' and all the countries in his possession,' which is perfectly correct.

"Then Fatah Khān said 'Colonel Edwardes' expressions are always as friendly towards you as it is possible to be.' The Amír said 'very true, God is my witness that I reciprocate those sentiments; as I will prove when the day of trial comes. But the Colonel has left off writing to me altogether, and I cannot understand it. Here's the Persian at the door; and all the Shiāhs in a state of delight! My sincerity will be proved to no purpose when I am either killed here, or reach Peshāwar as an exile." After this Sardār Ghulām Haidar Khān sent for the letter of the Shah of Persia, and shewed it. He also produced the notes he took at the time of the conferences at Peshāwar, and read out his own questions as to the Amír being called Wālī of Herāt, and other points, with the answers which were given to him. At last he said, 'please God, I will render such service that the English will, of their own free will, make me a present of Peshāwar.' After this despatches were delivered to Fatah Khān.

"My Nazir was comparing the two ratified copies of the treaty, along with the Chief Munshi of the Amír, and observed that the Amír's seal was set to the documents, but not the Amír's signature. The Munshi replied, 'His Highness does not know how to write!'"

A few days after Fatah Khān left Kandahār, the Amír received a letter from the Shāh of Persia. The Khān arrived at Kābul on the 6th July, and had "scarcely been seated in the dur-bar of Muhammad Usmān Khān, the officiating Governor, when that chief produced a "copy of the letter. It had no heading or "address. It contained a few lines of good advice "merely; and meant this, that the Amír had "done wrong to break up the power of the Sardárs of Kandahār. Sardār Muhammad Usmān Khān then asked Fatah Khān whether ever "he had received nothing by way of reply to all "the communications which the Amír had made "about Herāt? Fatah Khān replied, discreetly, "that 'he was a mere messenger, and it was not "likely he would be entrusted with secrets of State.'"

A. D. 1856.

Commissioner of Peshāwar's No. 224C,
dated 29th July 1856.

A. D. 1856.

The Amír had appointed his sons, Muhammad Usman Khán and Muhammad Amin Khán, to remain in joint charge of the Government of Kábul during his absence at Kandahár. Fatah Khán was received with much honor by these chiefs. They were exceedingly anxious to find out from him what were the real sentiments of the British Government towards Afghánistán at this crisis. The British messenger, however, did not forget that he had been sent to Kábul merely to deliver the copies of the treaty, and maintained a rigid reserve on all political questions.

The arrival of Fatah Khán at Pesháwar was reported by Colonel Edwardes, in a letter dated the 26th August 1856. The following is an interesting extract from that despatch :—

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 293C,
dated 26th August
1856.

" Khán Bahádur Fatah Khán Khatuk arrived safely at Pesháwar on the 8th instant, having been escorted by the Governor of Jalálábád himself, on a raft, down the Kábul river, from Jalálábád to near our fort of Michnee.

" By the Chief Commissioner's order, the Khán at once proceeded by dák to Murree, and there delivered into the Chief Commissioner's own hands the copy of the treaty which had been sealed by Amír Dost Muhammad Khán ; thus completing his mission.

" The Khán then returned to me, and related his general impression of affairs ; as did also my Nazir, Gholám Ahmud, who accompanied him as Secretary ; and I proceed to report the leading facts of their narration.

" The Amír himself is between 60 and 70 years of age ; has a perfectly white beard, which he dyes black, looks in ill-health ; seldom goes out, and then rides on an elephant (which, for an Afghán and a chief well known for his horsemanship, is considered a decided proof of failing strength). His death is constantly looked for ; and every trifling illness is magnified by the general anxiety as to what will happen after the Amír is gone. While the Khán's party were at Kandahár, even the Amír's family were alarmed for his life ; and one night Sardár Gholám Haidar Khán, the heir-apparent, went so far as to post his own regiments and artillery round the ark or citadel, and tell off detachments, who, immediately on the Amír's death, were to secure the gates of the dwellings of Sardár Sooltán Muhammad Khán, and some other disaffected characters.

" Should the Amír die, great doubts are entertained whether his sons will adhere to the arrangements made by their father for the succession. The sons by several mothers are generally divided into two broad

A. .D 1856.

factions, of which Sardar Gholam Haidar Khàn, and Sardar Muhammad Ufzal Khàn are the heads. But there are endless minor feuds among them. For example, Haidar Khàn has much weakened himself by quarrelling with his own brother, Sher Ali Khàn, the Governor of Ghazni, who is a man of vigorous, though not conciliatory, character. And, perhaps, the worst feature is, that there are many in the court whose game it will be to put the sons against each other, and derive influence and profit from the civil war. Such are two of "the Peshàwar Sardars," as they are called, Sooltan Muhammad Khàn, and Pir Muhammad Khàn. Such, too, is Hafiz-ji (son of the late Mir Waiz), one of the most influential men in the kingdom; whose sanctity is so great and popular (from uniting the Sayyad and the Sunni in one), that it is supposed his disciples in Kàbul and the Kohistan could give away the throne.

"(In spite, however, of all these dangers, and the disturbances which, for a time at least, must follow the Amír's death, I shall myself be much surprised if the Barakzaïs do not soon come to an understanding among themselves. They quarrel, but they do not cut each other's throats. The late absorption of Kandahâr by the Amír, the rebellion, loud talking, little fighting, and gradual submission of the Kandahâr chiefs to the most powerful member of their house, is a good specimen of Barakzaï policy.)

"With reference to the crisis now staring the Amír in the face, no doubt is entertained that the Amír's own wish is to advance upon Herat and save it from the Persians, but that he literally has not the means. He sincerely thinks that British interests coincide with his own in this matter; in which he is confirmed by remembering the vast expenditure incurred by the English in a former war to secure Herat. At present, the fortress and province were comparatively easy of attainment; yet the English take no steps! What can be the reason? The Amír has heard, from Bombay, that his loyalty is freely canvassed among English gentlemen, and that the goings to and fro of Jafar Khan Kurt, from Kàbul to Teheràn, are considered proofs of his double dealing. But the Amír thought that the facts of the present situation must speak for themselves. No one could really suppose that his interests and those of the Shah were the same. They are entirely opposed. And it is the very existence of the Afghàn power which is at stake; for, after the fall of Herat, the Persians would come on to Kandahâr. It would be too late to find out the truth of the Amír when he arrived at Peshawar, a fugitive. Such were his oft-repeated remarks in the private audiences at Kandahâr. In public darbâr, the Amír frequently made disparaging remarks about the English, such as that the reductions of revenue at Peshawar are only traps to catch an unwary people; that the revenue will be raised again gradually; that the English rule can never be fully realized till a husband finds he has no power over his own wife; that the upper classes disappear before the English system, &c., &c.; the object

A. D. 1856.

of which remarks, in Fatah Khan's opinion, was to shew the orthodox that, though allied to us, he was not altogether a "Kaffir"—to shew us that he is not altogether subservient—and to shew the people what a paradise of lawlessness they enjoy under the Barakzais.

"Annexed is a valuable memorandum drawn up by the Nazir, Ghulam Ahmad, of the Amir's military establishment throughout the kingdom; from which it appears that the Amir has not at Kandahar, Ghazni and Kalat-i-Ghilzai, more than 12,000 paid soldiers available to move against Herat. The Herat envoys from Isa Khan have just told us that the Persian army was 16,000 strong in the middle of June. It is probably nearly double that strength now. The Amir, however, Fatah Khan thinks, could also double his own numbers in a month, if he had money; for it is certain that the Persians are hated, with a virulence we can scarcely realize, by the armed Afghan tribes of Kandahar and Herat.

"Invaluable allies are also already in the field. The hordes of Turkaman horsemen, who, urged by religious zeal and the worst form of avarice, prowl round the Persian camp, attack their pickets, cut off the foragers, and carry off their captives to be sold as slaves.

"There is also the Afghan garrison of Herat; and Fatah Khan is of opinion that, if by any means Isa Khan could be induced to co-operate with the Amir, even now, without further levies, the Persian army could not maintain itself four days before Herat.

"Everything, however, is paralyzed by want of money. It is impossible but that the Amir, after an undisturbed reign of 12 years, should have some treasure accumulated, even from so poor a country; but both he and all his sons set aside such savings as a last reserve in the day of possible misfortune.

"The distress of the army is real and obvious. The soldiers are constantly engaged in plundering both the citizens and the farmers. As Fatah Khan vividly describes it, 'Kandahar is like a field of ripe *bajrah*, and the citizens, on the roofs of their houses, like bird-carers in their *machlins*, are day and night crying ha! ha! to scare away the flock of plunderers.' The Amir tells the people they must protect their own property; for he is afraid both to starve and punish the soldiers.

"In the midst of all this, the Amir is never abused. He conciliates all with soft words. 'My son!' or 'my brother!' or 'my child!' goes further than a rupee.

"High and low, Sardars, Khans, and soldiers, long to be back at Kabul; and the Amir sometimes flatters them by talking of going himself; and sometimes covers the murmurers with confusion by proposing to send for their wives.

"In short, it is undeniable that the Amir and his army have got into a strait, and that all hopes are directed to the English to get them out.

"Sardar Muhammad Usman Khan, the present

A. D. 1856.

Governor of Kabul, told Fatah Khan that the Amir would never leave Kandahar till either the Herat affair was settled or the British Government announced a final determination not to interfere.

"The Amir privately writes to Muhammad Usman Khan that he has come to the grave of his father (Payinduh Khan), and means to lay his own bones there also. Fatah Khan and the Nazir say the grave lies about 4 koss from Kandahar, on a bare mound, amid a few wild trees, with a few stones on the top of it, and without any tomb or enclosure, like the grave of a fakir. One of our exiles (Fatah Khan of Hazarkhaní), with Afghan license, said to the heir-apparent, one day when he went to pray at the grave, 'you have often called me a poor Peshawari, though I have got a village or two of my own; and here lies your grandfather with about a plough of waste land round his grave!' Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan has taken up the matter, and ordered a well to be sunk, and a garden to be laid out, around the spot.

"It seems the general opinion that, if help were accorded him at all by the British Government, the Amir would rather have money than troops. The chiefs do not fear encountering the Persian soldiers with their own.

"Isa Khan of Herat continues his overtures to the Amir, and asks him to send his son, Muhammad Sharif Khan, with 1,000 horsemen, to take possession of the ark, as a security. But, in other words, this is only asking for a hostage. No one knows whether the Amir considers union with Isa Khan practicable or not, after all that has passed.

"The real counsels of the Amir are known only to his son Haidar. When they have settled a point, or when a matter is of minor importance, they summon 'the Peshawar Sardars,' and make a show of consultation."

CHAPTER V.

The siege of Herát by the Persians, and the disaffection of the chiefs and people of Kandahár, were not the only causes of anxiety that oppressed the Amir Dost Muhammad Khán during the spring and summer of 1856. The province of Balkh was threatened with invasion both by the Turcomán hordes and the forces of the king of Bukhárá.

A. D. 1856.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 31C, dated 5th June 1856.

The Turcománs had carried on a successful warfare against Khívá during the preceding year. Three kings of Khívá were successively killed. The victorious Turcománs, unable to complete the conquest, applied to the king of Bukhárá for assistance. They promised to relinquish their claim to the sovereignty of Khívá, in favor of Bukhárá, if the king would send his troops against Urgunj, which still held out. The offer was rejected. The troops of Bukhárá were besieging Shahr-i-Sabz. The king was unwilling to withdraw them; and said he could only agree to send officers to rule Khívá after the Turcománs should have subjugated the country. The king of Bukhárá subsequently took possession of Shahr-i-Sabz, and massacred the inhabitants.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 482, dated 10th May 1856; and No. 4C. dated 20th May 1856

A few months after the occupation of Kandahár by the Amír, some of the malcontents fled to Turkistán, and headed an expedition against the Balkh frontier. The town of Shibarghán was besieged by a large body of Turcománs and Uzbaks. They were commanded by the Eshán Aurak,* who had escaped from Kandahár.

Walí Muhammad Khán, the Governor of Shibarghán, maintained a struggle for three days, but was finally obliged to retreat to the fort. Muhammad Afzal Khán marched from Balkh to relieve his brother, and by a stratagem produced dissensions among the besiegers. The Afgháns seized the opportunity, attacked the Uzbaks unaware, and put them to a precipitate flight.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 263C, dated 19th August 1856.

Some months later, Shibarghán was again threatened by the barbarous tribes of Central Asia. On this occasion they were joined by the forces of the king of Bukhárá.

* Eshán Aurák, former chief of Balkh.

On the 13th of August, however, news was received at Kábul that the king had made friendly overtures to Muhammad Afzal Khán. Dost Muhammad Khán was much pleased at this intelligence. Presents were exchanged between the King of Bukhárá and the Governor of Balkh, and the preliminaries of an alliance were discussed. Towards the close of the year, the Amír of Kábul asked the Governor General whether an alliance with Bukhárá would be pleasing to the British Government or not. The Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb was instructed to reply to the Amír, that the "Governor General appreciated the confidence evinced in the Government of India by His Highness, in offering to be guided by its counsels in his communications with the king of Bukhárá; but that it was a matter which the Governor General desired to leave in the hands of the Amír himself."

A. D. 1856.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 430C, dated 29th September 1856.

Secretary to Government of India's No. 89, dated 8th November 1856.

On the 14th September, Dost Muhammad Khán left Kandahár for Kábul. Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán had been made Governor of the new province, and the city was garrisoned by a force of 12,000 men. This move was unexpected by the British authorities at Pesháwar and Lahore. There were, however, many reasons for it :—

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. A, dated 4th October 1856.

1st.—The Amír was unable to undertake an expedition against Herát without assistance. He had frequently entreated the British Government both to aid and advise him; up to the present moment he had received no reply.

2nd.—The Balkh frontier was threatened by the forces of the King of Bukhárá. The Ghilzaí, and other tribes in the vicinity of Kábul, were in a turbulent state. For both these reasons the presence of the Amír at his capital was most desirable.

A. D. 1856.

3rd.—The Kandahár chiefs, although apparently satisfied with the allowances fixed for them by the Amír, were by no means willing to live at Kábul. The only plan to ensure their doing so, was that the Amír should himself march to Kábul, and oblige them to accompany him.

4th.—The army at Kandahár was in a starving condition. The Amír was unable to clear off their arrears of pay. It was impossible to march on Herát with discontented and half-starved forces.

It was necessary that a part of the army should first go to Kábul, and collect their allowances, in cash and in kind, from the villages, who were charged with their maintenance.*

A few days after the Amír had marched for Kábul, an envoy from the Sháh of Persia arrived at Kandahár. He appears to have followed the Amír to Kilat-i-Ghilzái, and to have delivered the Sháh's letter in person.

Dost Muhammad Khán, in a letter to Colonel Edwardes, briefly described the purport of the Persian despatch and of his reply to the Sháh :—

“ The letters and messages brought by the
“ envoy, proved to be merely protestations of
“ friendship and the unity of our interests. I
“ therefore replied, that the Shah's words (both
“ written and spoken) breathed friendship and
“ community of interest ; but his acts were to en-
“ ter and besiege Herát, which is my house and

The Amír to Colonel
Edwardes, dated Kilat-
Ghilzái, 26th Septem-
ber 1856.

* “ The troops are partly paid by the system of *baráts* or assignments on the provinces. For instance, each *Khudaspáh* *sowár* has 6 *tumans*, or rupees 120, a year, of which 3 *tumans* are paid in grain by an assignment on some village. This involves the necessity of sending to many places a sufficient number of men to realize their *barát* by force if necessary. The result is, that as the harvest ripens in the different provinces, the troops must necessarily, to some extent, disperse and betake themselves to the granaries before the grain be made away with.”—*Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. B, dated 5th October 1856.*

"abode. Such words and acts were utterly opposed to each other. If, in truth, the Sháh desired union and friendship with me, let him raise the siege of Herát; Herát and I would then settle it between us, and I should entertain no feelings of hostility to the Sháh. He would keep his own country, and I mine. But if he should not raise the siege, and adopt other counsels, friendship was impossible between me and him."

A. D. 1856.

Meanwhile the Governor-General had received instructions from England, which enabled him to communicate to the Amír the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Persian attack on Herát.

The tenor of these instructions is well known. The Amír was to be encouraged to advance against the Persian army on the Afghán border, and the Government was authorized to give him pecuniary assistance. It is probable that the Amír received the Governor-General's letter announcing the proposed subsidy before he wrote the account of the dismissal of the Persian envoy above quoted. Colonel Edwardes proved, by a comparison of the dates of the despatch of the Governor-General's kharítá from Peshawar, and the date of the Amír's letter, that the former must have reached Kalát-i-ghilzaí before the letter was written, or before the Persian envoy was dismissed.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. B, dated 5th October 1856.

The Amír was, in "all probability, bringing in the Persian envoy to Kábul, to gain time in his perplexity, when the receipt of the Governor-General's explicit letter enabled him to cut the matter short, and dismiss the envoy with a defiant answer.

"It is not credible that the Amír would have written in that tone to the Sháh on the supposition of his being single-handed."

A. D. 1856.

On the 20th October, the Amír, writing from Kábul to Colonel Edwardes, acknowledged the receipt of bills for 2 lakhs of rupees, which had been transmitted from Pesháwar. It had been arranged that 3 more lakhs, and a supply of ammunition, should be sent from Shikárpúr to the Bólán pass. An Afghán escort was to convey the specie from the British frontier to Kandahár. The season was, however, so far advanced, that it would have been imprudent to commence hostilities before the following spring.

In the middle of August, Mirza Zainulábadín and Muhammad Razá, messengers from Sartíp Isá Khán, the ruler of Herát, had arrived at Pesháwar. They brought a letter from Isá Khán to the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb. Their avowed object was to offer, on the part of their master, to hold Herát to the British Government. The Sartíp wrote as follows :—

“ The people of Herát invited Shál záda Muhammad Yusaf from Mashhad to Herát and elected him their sovereign. After a few months, the Sháhzáda applied to the Sháh of Persia for an army to be sent to Herát, with a view to its taking possession of that city. This fact having come to my knowledge, I seized the Sháhzáda Muhammad Yusaf, together with some others of the Popalzai tribe, who were his confederates in the scheme for placing Herát in the hands of the Persian army. The next day the Persian force broke ground, came closer to the city, and commenced hostilities. At this present time, viz., the 11th June, the Herát troops, both horse and foot, issue out in parties every day and attack the besiegers. By the mercy of God and the prestige of the British Government, we have in all such encounters been successful, slaying many and capturing numbers of the enemy. * * * *
“ The gist of this is, that Herát and its depen-

"dencies are at the disposal of the British Government. Its chiefs and its citizens are all yours. Herát is, in truth, your own, for much of your money has been expended on her; and her people to this day feel grateful to you. On the other hand, during their adherence to the Sháh of Persia they have experienced nothing but injury and ruin; for it has ever been his endeavour and anxiety to establish his power over them * * * I, Isá Khán Bardurrání, to whom all the chiefs and people of Herát are subject, with the free will and consent of the troops and people, do enlist myself, in truth and sincerity, in the service of the British Government for life. * * * Whenever you send a force, I will deliver over to it Herát, and all that is in it, and will place all matters, great and small, into the hands of the Commanding Officer." The Herát envoys passed on from Pesháwar to Murree, and had frequent audiences of the Chief Commissioner.

A. D. 1856.

The purport of their mission was at once communicated to the Government of India, and the Chief Commissioner was authorized to send two lakhs of Rupees to Isá Khán, to enable the Herát garrison to hold out against the Persians. Considerable delay occurred before these instructions could be carried out. A native agent, by name Mír Mubárik Sháh, had been appointed to accompany the envoys to Herát, on the part of the British Government. Bills for the two lakhs of rupees were made over to him, and he was instructed to deliver the money to Isá Khán "or to whoever had succeeded to the command in Herát, provided that he was not in the Persian interest."

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 545C, dated 15th November 1856.

Immediately after receiving his instructions, Mubárik Sháh fell sick, and was not able to start on his mission until the 7th November.

A. D. 1856.
Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 496, dated
30th October 1856.

The position of Isá Khán at Herát had, in the meantime, become more hopeless (the Persian forces beleaguered the city more closely than before—the Herátis still looked to the Amír for assistance), and it was impossible for the garrison to hold out unless some external succour should come to their relief.

Isá Khán wrote to the Amír on the 29th August as follows :—

From Isa Khán, Abdulláh Khán, leaders of the Herát Garrison, to the Amír of Kábul.

Your Highness' letter, dated 30th July 1856, reached me by the hand of Zafrán Khan, on the 28th August, and relieved my former hopelessness. It is my duty to keep you regularly informed of our state ; so I now write on this 29th day of August, and am able to thank God that the army of true believers have girded up their loins to the war, and have never yet been found wanting. They rely, however, on you ; and look to you to come and raise the siege, and release the beleaguered Muhammadans. It does not appear why you have delayed thus long ; leaving your subjects and country to be oppressed. We are your devoted servants, and are ready to give our lives for you, because you are the rightful claimant of Afghanistan. If you had any doubt of us, did we not send you written assurances by the hands of Sartíp Muhammad Husain, and Wali Muhammad Khan, and Sayad Haji Abdul Husain (of whom the Haji and Wali Muhammad Husain were taken prisoners by the Persians ; but the Sartíp reached you safely) God knows, it is our hearts' desire to throw our country, and property, and lives, at your feet, and do your bidding. If it be the strength of the besiegers that deters you from moving, be assured that they have not got much real strength that you need debate which way to attack them. Four or five thousand of your soldiers would disperse them ; and your main body would never probably have to set itself in battle array. But come quickly, that we may get rid of these enemies. Not one shall get off with his life.

This very day the Kizilbashs of the city rose, and the Persians attacked simultaneously from without ; and in a trice the Khush Gate, and the fausse brail, as far as the Abdul Misr bastion, were occupied by the enemy ; while the Abdul Misr bastion itself was taken by those inside the city, and the hostile flag planted thereon. But in about 4 seconds the soldiers of the faith defeated them, and put to the sword all those that had got on the bastion. The rest of the Kizilbashs and citizens saved themselves by flight. The ditch was literally choked with dead bodies. This defeat will not tend to encourage the besiegers. We desire only to put our families in safety in your army, and then lead the attack ; so we hope you will be quick in sending troops.

Before the British agent Mubárik Sháh, who was accompanying the envoys, Mirza Zainulábadín and Muhammad Razá on their return to Herát, had reached Kábul, news was received that Isá Khán's garrison, unable to hold out any longer, had surrendered to the Persians. On the 24th October, Isa Khán sent a message to the Persian General, offering to yield on condition of his receiving a written amnesty from the whole of the Persian force. The terms were accepted; the amnesty was signed and sealed; a Persian officer of high rank, by name Sám Elkhání, entered the city at sun-rise on the 25th October, and made himself personally responsible for the safety of Isá Khán. In the afternoon of the same day the Herátí chiefs were escorted to the Persian camp, and the army of the Sháh took possession of the city.

A D. 1856.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 557C, dated 17th November 1856.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 643, dated 20th December 1856.

CHAPTER VI.

The Amír Dost Muhammad Khán gave out, that, in deciding to return from Kandahár to Kábul, he was greatly influenced by a wish to consult the British authorities with regard to the proposed expedition to Herát. Accordingly, a few days after his arrival at Kábul, the Amír entrusted an Afghán Subadár of the British army, who was about to return to Pesháwar from leave, with the delivery of a verbal message to Colonel Edwardes. The Subadár was authorized to say that the Amír was ready to raise troops if the British Government would muster and pay them whilst employed against Herát; but he desired to have a consultation with the British authorities before taking any further steps. Colonel Edwardes was much in

A. D. 1856.

favour of the proposed interview. Sir John Lawrence, in referring the matter for the orders of the Supreme Government, said he did not think much good would result from a meeting, because it could hardly be anticipated that the views of the Amír and the British Government should coincide. If the Amír should fail in obtaining what he wanted, his dissatisfaction would be a positive evil.

The Governor General admitted the force of these objections, but considered that they should be set aside if the Amír was in earnest in desiring a consultation : “ A refusal, or an evasion, “ to comply with his wish, might be misunderstood ; and, although a meeting might lead to “ disappointment and disagreement, it would, at “ any rate, put the relations of the British Government with the Amír, as regards Herát, “ upon a clear footing. * * * With regard “ to the Amír’s desire that his troops should be “ mustered and paid by the British Government “ whilst employed against the Persians at Herát, “ the Governor General believed that one of the “ best securities for success and harmony in “ our dealings with the Afgháns, and for the “ avoidance of embarrassments, consisted in our “ having as few points of contact with them as “ possible. The British Government, therefore, “ should not be brought into relation with the “ troops or with their officers, and that it should “ not become directly responsible for their pay ; “ but that its dealings and engagements should “ be with the ruler of the country alone.”

The Chief Commissioner was, therefore, authorized to tell the Amír that he should receive “ a “ periodical subsidy, to aid him in carrying on “ hostile operations against Persia, on the following understanding :—

Firstly.—That the subsidy shall cease as

soon as hostilities between Great Britain and Persia are ended.

A. D. 1856.

Secondly.—That it shall cease when Herát is no longer menaced by a Persian force.

Thirdly.—That if Herát should fall into the possession of the Persians, the subsidy shall cease, and become subject to reconsideration.

Fourthly.—That the Governor General in Council is to be satisfied that the operations are earnestly conducted, with a force commensurate with the aid supplied."

On receiving these instructions, the Chief Commissioner directed Colonel Edwardes to invite the Amír to an interview. His Highness, in a letter dated the 15th November, cheerfully accepted the invitation, and announced his intention of marching at once for Jamrúd. Meanwhile, the intelligence of the fall of Herát had reached India. It therefore, at once became necessary to consider whether the proposed subsidy should, with regard to the 3rd condition quoted above, be granted or not.

The Governor Général decided that the subsidy should be given, if the Amír would enter into "an engagement to undertake operations for the purpose of forcing the Persians from Herát."

The Amír left Kábul on the 7th December, and marched, by easy stages, to Pesháwar. The Chief Commissioner met him at the mouth of the Khaibar on the 1st January. The consultations took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Pesháwar. Sir John Lawrence wrote full accounts of what took place at every meeting, for the information of the Supreme Government. These letters are very interesting, and are quoted mostly at length.

A. D. 1857.

No. I.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, No 12A., dated Camp 5 miles from Peshawar, the 5th January 1857.

5th January 1857.

At the first meeting, held on the 5th January 1857, the Amir commenced the conversation by remarking, that at the outset he was on friendly terms with Persia. His Highness had taken the opportunity of the return of the merchant Jáfár Khán Kurl to Persia, to entrust him with a complimentary letter to the Sháh ; which the latter had met by sending the Amir a handsome horse and other presents. But at this time the Amir discovered that the British Government were inclined to friendly relations, which induced him to depute his son and heir-apparent, Sardár Haidar Khán, to Pesháwar. The result was the treaty of friendship between the two Governments.

Persia took umbrage at once at this, and instigated Sháhzádá Muhammad Yúsaf to make an attempt on Herát. The design succeeded, owing to the insanity of the ruler, Sayíd Muhammad, who, in his mad freaks, used even to fire on his own wives and children ; and whose deposal was a matter of self-defence to the Wazír Isá Khán.

At this juncture, the Amir's brother, Kohan Dil Khán, died at Kandahár ; when his sons, and their uncle, Raham Dil Khán, and his family fell out. Blood was shed, and a Bárakzai Sardár, with some 500 men, were slain. Both parties entreated the Amir's interference ; while His Highness, seeing that the feud, unless stopped, must end in the ruin of both factions, and the decline of Bárakzai influence in Kandahár, consented to mediate between them. The effect of the Amir's march on Kandahar was to lead Muhammad Yúsaf and Isá Khán to believe that his ulterior designs were against them, to provide against which they called for aid from Persia. The Sháh, irritated at the Amir's alliance with the British Government, readily acquiesced, and Persian troops advanced towards Herát. In the meantime, however, Yúsaf Muhammad and Isá Khán, seeing that the Amir did not move, were anxious that the Persians should retire. This was, however, refused ; and eventually the Persians, finding that Herát was not given up to them, invested the place. The Amir here explained that, although Yúsaf Muhammad and Isá Khán had gained possession of Herát through the influence, and with the connivance, of Persia, they by no means desired to make the place over to the Sháh. They were too staunch Afgháns for such a policy, and desired to maintain the independence of Herát.

The Amir added that, on seeing the course affairs were taking, and that Persia, unless opposed, would become master of Herát, he wrote urgently to our officers at Pesháwar for advice and for aid. For a long interval no answer was received ; and, at last, it was to the effect that the matter had been referred to London. His Highness continued to hope for a reply ; none came, beyond an intimation that the British Government officers expressed

A. D. 1857.

an interest in his affairs, and were sure that the answer, though long delayed, would prove satisfactory on its arrival. At last, the Amir, being pressed by the distress of his army, which had been so long kept together at a distance from their homes, in a country where the crops had generally failed for three successive harvests, found it necessary to turn his face towards Kabul. His Highness had scarcely started, when the answer so long desired, and assurances of money, were received. It was, however, then too late. The game was up for the time, and the only course open was to repair to Pesháwar, and endeavour to ascertain our views and obtain our aid. The Amir, however, felt assured that, could he have advanced on Herát with a few thousand men, the Persians would have retired. This, however, was not possible. He dared not trust Isá Khán, and was afraid lest the latter might have united with the Persians and have fallen on his army. The Amir, however, expressed his conviction that Isá Khán had made the best defence in his power; and only surrendered when no longer able to resist. If this account be true, and it appears to the Chief Commissioner to be very probable, Isá Khán's share in the dishonor of Sayíd Muhammad's family had a decided influence on the struggle.

The Amir further remarked that, such being the state of affairs, he now wished to know our views and wishes; and that for himself he was prepared for whatever course we liked. Here His Highness swore by Allah and his prophet that, from this time forward, he was our firm and true friend; and that the rest of the world might be on the opposite side.

In reply, the Chief Commissioner explained that the Amir must clearly comprehend that, though the juncture was an important one, in which we were much interested, still that the Amir was the principal, and we only his supporters; that the affair concerned him more than us—the Persians were on his border, close to his door, while they were far removed from our territory; that the Chief Commissioner believed that the British Government could not, and, at any rate, would not, attempt directly the recovery of Herát, but would no doubt aid the Amir so far as appeared expedient, if he would declare his policy, explain the course he propose to adopt, and indicate the assistance he deemed necessary.

After much desultory conversation, commenced with the view of drawing our officers from this position, and eliciting their views rather than explain his own, the Amir frankly declared that it was the desire of his heart to recover Herát, the possession of which was essential to the security of the Afghán nation. He affirmed, with considerable vivacity, that, provided the British Government made a strong diversion in the Persian Gulf, so as to prevent the further accumulation of Persian troops at Herát, and assisted him in other respects, he could assemble a force in Afghánistán and Turkistán, with which he could first fight them in the field, and then invest Herát; for that all the inhabitants of the countries on this side of the river Oxus, with the single exception of those of Maimanná, were on his side, and would

A. D. 1857.

make common cause with the Afgháns. The Amir was so carried away with his enthusiasm, that he said, "with your money and your guns I will mine the walls of Herát, blow up its towers, and take the place at the point of the sword." But His Highness eventually concluded by stating that he could kindle such a flame in the country round Herát, up to the gates of Mashhad, that Persia would be glad to withdraw. He added that, with money to feed the Turcomans and Uzbaks, all would unite against their common foe; and, finally, that nothing but a positive order from the British Government should restrain him from making an attempt to recover Herát, the loss of which endangered the rest of Afghánistán.

The Chief Commissioner reminded the Amir of the strength of Herát, how greatly its fortifications had been strengthened by British officers, and what reproach, and even danger, would follow a failure; that many Afgháns, and even some of the Amir's own kinsmen, were in the enemy's camp; that such being the case, it were vain to count on the hatred between Persian and Afghán, between Shiá and Súnní; but that the Amir should see that it was a great struggle, in which the Persians would probably be joined by all the disaffected subjects of His Highness. The Amir admitted the truth of these views; but denied that any man of real influence had deserted him, and said that even those who had gone over would soon return, and were already making overtures.

The Amir, on being recalled to the original subject under consideration, and being reminded that, if His Highness really considered us his friends, it was incumbent that he dealt openly with us, and shewed what were his means, and what was the assistance he deemed necessary, explained that he would take a day to deliberate. The meeting then broke up.

No. II.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb, to the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, No 23A., dated Camp 5 miles from Pesháwar, the 7th January 1857.

7th January 1857.

The conversation commenced by the Chief Commissioner reminding the Amir that His Highness had promised to render an exposition of his views and plans. After some desultory remarks, during which it became necessary more than once to recall the Amir's attention to the subject under discussion, His Highness stated that, so far as lay in his power, it was his determination to attack Herát. His own plan would be to start about "the Nauroz" (two months hence) from Kábul, take a month to Kandahár, and another to Herát. At the same time he was prepared to adopt whatever course we might recommend.

The Amir then produced a memo. shewing an available force of nearly 34,000 men, and 61 guns, exclusive of 1,000 men lately raised in the vicinity of Fardáh, for service on that border. His Highness stated that, in his judgment, it would be desirable to increase this force to

A. D. 1857.

50,000 men, and 100 guns ; and to move on Herát with four-fifths of the former, and the greater portion of the latter. To use the Amir's own words, he said, " if you say take more troops, I will take more ; if you say less will suffice, I will take less. I have given you my own opinion ; but you, sahibs, know Persia best." The Amir added that it would be desirable to move one column from Balkh, and the other by Kandahár.

To these proposals it was remarked that it was no ordinary affair which the Amir proposed to undertake. He was about to leave his own country, to sever himself from his own resources, and move on a strong fortress, well garrisoned, with a large army in the field. That it seemed a mistake to conclude that this army would advance, and meet him as a matter of course. It might take post under the walls of Herát, and there give battle ; and that, so long as it kept the field, the Amir dared not disperse any large body of his own troops, with a view of raising the country, and cutting off the communications of the enemy.

The Amir replied that all the inhabitants of the country round Herát were Afgháns, and would unite against the Persians ; that the latter would have to meet him on the border ; that they could not allow him to enter the Herát territory unopposed ; but that, if they did adopt that course, he would advance on Herát, raise batteries, straiten their communication, and force them to fight. He remarked that he knew the country well, and that it was well known that the Persians could not face the Afgháns in the field ; that his brother Fatah Khán, with only 6,000 horsemen, had fought a Persian army near Mashhad, commanded by one of their Princes, consisting of horse, foot, and guns, and was on the point of routing them when he was wounded ; and that even then it was a drawn battle.

The Chief Commissioner then alluded to the disunion among the leading chiefs in Afghánistán, and expressed a doubt whether the Amir could with prudence abandon his own capital, and advance to so great a distance from his resources, under such circumstances ; that it would not be expedient, by His Highness' own admission, to take such chiefs along with him, while it might prove dangerous to leave them behind. The Amir admitted that dissension did certainly exist, but not to the extent generally supposed ; and that, in the time of danger, all parties would unite against the common enemy ; that the Afghán chiefs were no longer dangerous, for he had long ago severed their connection from their clans and their people. Háfiz-jí, at this juncture, took a prominent part in the conversation, asking when the Afgháns had ever suffered from such dissensions ? Such factions, said he, more or less, exist among all nations, except, perhaps, the English. The Chief Commissioner deprecated offence being taken at aught which might be said, as the British Government was sincerely desirous of proving its friendly feelings towards the Afgháns ; and that, at such a crisis, it was incumbent to speak out, without that reserve which at other times was so expedient. The Chief

A. D. 1857.

Commissioner then reminded the counsellors how the Afgháns had lost Attock, Cashmír, and Pesháwar, owing to internal dissensions and fraternal treachery; how the Seikhs had been ruined from similar quarrels; and how hopeless it appeared for the Afgháns to be strong abroad, while they were divided at home. The Sardárs admitted the truth of these observations, and said that all differences among them would be adjusted. But this seems difficult, and almost impossible, as they were told, "one bad man will do more mischief than a hundred good men can readily remedy."

While this conversation was going on between the Chief Commissioner and the Sardárs, Colonel Edwardes asked the Amir, in an under tone, how he could maintain that the Durránis, as a tribe, made it a rule to unite against foreigners, when his own brothers, the Kandahár Sardárs, had for years notoriously been subsidized by Persia; and, within the last few months, the Amir himself had intercepted a letter in which Sultán Muhammad Khán made overtures to the Persian General before Herát. The Amir admitted the truth of these facts; but said that the Kandahár Sardárs had no longer political existence; that they were powerful so long as they were backed by their tribe; but now they were separated from their followers, while the Amir's conciliatory measures had attached the people to himself. As for Sultán Muhammad, the Amir denied that his heart was with the Persians, the fact being that it was with his harem.

The conversation then turned on the proposed time for moving on Herát. The Amir explained that, owing to bad seasons, it would not be possible to commence the march for two months; that by that time grass and young grain would have sprung up, and would serve for forage; and that, by the time the troops advanced beyond Kandahár, the grain would be ripe; that supplies would be procurable round Herát, for the Afgháns had not abandoned the country, and had sown their crops. The Amir added that the troops, moving day by day, would have little difficulty in obtaining supplies; but that when they came to halt, food would not be easily procurable; and, therefore, that a commissariat must be organized, which would cost money, while he had none.

The Amir was subsequently asked what assistance he would require from the British Government? His Highness commenced by proposing that the expenses of his troops should be calculated, and an estimate formed of what was necessary for the undertaking. It was explained that we had no wish to enter into long details, and still less to take on ourselves the burthen of the whole campaign; all that could be expected was that the British Government might render assistance in a general way. Háfiz-jí, on this asked whether it was our purpose to send British officers to Afghánistán? It was stated that, provided Government consented to assist the Amir, it would be a condition that such officers should be deputed, and receive the countenance and support of His Highness; but that they would exercise no authority, nor any command. Their duty would be to attend the Amir, or any of his sons whom

he might entrust with the charge of a distinct portion of the Afghán force, to give advice when required, and to obtain all the information which our Government might require, for which the Amir would be bound to afford every facility. It was distinctly explained that they would neither interfere in the administration, nor instruct nor pay the troops. To this the Amir and Sardárs expressed their assent, and, indeed, appeared as if they perceived the reasonableness of the arrangement. It was a point on which some difficulty had been anticipated; but the readiness with which it was agreed to was remarkable.

The Amir more than once attempted to explain the nature and extent of the assistance which would be required, but seemed to have some feeling which prevented an expression of his views. At last His Highness stated that he would to-morrow morning send his son, Muhammad Azam, Háfiz-jí, and his chief secretary, with the information in a digested form. We should then see the annual revenue of his country, and the expenses of his administration; and so be able to form a judgment as to what aid he would require to bring into the field against Herát 40,000 men.

During this conference, the Amir produced a letter from Muhammad Afzal, stating that the vakíl from Bukhárá had been in attendance for nearly a month, and begging for instructions. The Chief Commissioner repeated to the Amir the instructions of Government, viz., that the matter concerned His Highness alone, and that there was no desire to interfere. The Amír, however, remarked, with some warmth, that it would be but friendly in us to give an opinion; that if we desired to punish Bukhárá some day for the conduct of its Sháh to our officers, well and good, but otherwise he would like to know our wishes. He was then told that the matter was one in which we did not desire to interfere: but that, if His Highness saw any advantage to himself in making arrangements with Bukhárá, it would be well for him to do so. The Amír replied that, in the event of a movement on Herát, it was a matter of great importance to come to an understanding with Bukhárá, as in that case the Sháh would respect the Balkh territory; while, on the other hand, if no such engagements were concluded, he would harass the border. The Amir added that the Sháh feared the English for his conduct towards our officers; and feared the Amír now that he was our ally. Still, that he dreaded the Russians and their encroachments, and would no doubt make common cause, to a certain extent, against them.

No. III.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb, to the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, No. 24A, dated Camp 5 miles from Peshawár, the 8th January 1857.

In accordance with yesterday's arrangement, Sardars Azam Khán and Usmán Khán, Háfiz-jí, and the Chief

A. D. 1857.

8th January 1857.

A. D. 1857.

Secretary of Amír Dost Muhammad Khán, met the Chief Commissioner and Commissioner of Pesháwar this morning.

After the usual preliminary conversation, the Chief Secretary produced a memo. containing details of the annual income of the territories in the possession of the Amír, of the expenses of the army and administration, and of the probable cost for one year of an army of 50,000 men; 12,000 of which should remain in the country, and 38,000 advance on Herát. To this estimate was subsequently added the expenditure on account of the carriage of magazine stores, ammunition, and such grain as it would be necessary to carry with the army. The Amír considers that the cost of the army, including the troops which ought to be employed in an expedition against Herát, cannot be estimated for one year at less than Co.'s rupees 83,67,510, or, in round numbers, £8,36,750 sterling; of which His Highness will be able to supply out of his own revenues only rupees 20,08,800; and, therefore, that the balance, viz., rupees 63,58,710 must be furnished by the British Government.

The Sardárs repeatedly remarked that this estimate was fixed at the lowest scale of efficiency; that they believed, and anticipated, that it would suffice; but added that, were it not sufficient, they must look for further aid from us, for means of their own they had none. When asked, how it happened that they fixed such pay for the troops as 20 rupees for a horseman, and 8 rupees per mensem for a foot soldier, when it was well known that the Afghán troops barely received pay at half these rates?—the Sardárs explained that the troops were in a state of semi-starvation; their allowances were barely sufficient to exist on, and wholly unequal to admit of their moving to any distance from their homes. They pointed out that, since the Afgháns had lost Cashmír, Pesháwar, the Deraját, and Scinde, and in particular since the loss of Cashmír, the Government had been impoverished, and totally unequal to the support of an army in an efficient state. And, lastly, they enquired, rather significantly, what it would cost us to undertake such an enterprize?

Having extracted from the Sardárs all the statistical information which seemed necessary, and after verifying the detail in every possible manner, by close and searching enquiry, the Chief Commissioner reminded these chiefs that there were two courses open, namely, one to attack Herát, and the other to strengthen themselves on the Farah border, so as to resist further encroachments. The Sardárs replied that it was the earnest desire of the Amír and his counsellors to recover Herát. That provided we gave the Persians full occupation in the Persian Gulf, and supplied the means which had been indicated, they felt confident that they could recover Herát; if not at the point of the sword, or by siege and assault, at least by defeating the Persians in the field, and beleaguering Herát itself, and cutting off its supplies and communications. They further said that this policy of attacking Herát, most accorded with their own views and wishes; but that they were quite willing to be guided by our

A. D. 1857.

councils, and limit their plans to the defence of their present possessions. But the Sardars explained that Farah had originally formed an integral portion of the Herát district, and, consequently, would be desired by Persia; that it was in a measure environed by lands in the occupancy of Persia; that Lash, Join, and parts of Seistan adjoined Farah; so that it would always be a kind of "debateable land," not very easy of defence; and, therefore, for all these reasons, it appeared more expedient to attempt the recovery of Herát, than to maintain the Farah border.

In stating all their opinions, the Sardars more than once remarked that, so far as Persia was concerned, they had no doubt of the result; but that the case was altogether different if Russia came forward; and that, for their own part, they could not believe that Persia, unless assured of such support, could have the temerity to beard the British.

Muhammad Usman Khán here interposed, by observing that now, if ever, was the time to attack Herát with success. The possession of the conquerors was immature, the granaries empty, the minds of men unsettled; but that a year would enable them to make great changes. If, therefore, we desired the recovery of Herát, the attempt should be made during the ensuing spring.

The Chief Commissioner then requested the Sardars to furnish an estimate of the aid which would be deemed necessary for strengthening the frontier, which had now become exposed by the fall of Herát.

No. IV.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb, to the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, No. 26A., dated Camp 5 miles from Peshawar, the 9th January 1857.

Sardár Muhammad Azám and other Afghán chiefs met the Chief Commissioner and Commissioner of Peshawar this morning, with the view of completing the discussion on the means which the Amír would require to maintain his ground on the Farah border against Persian encroachments.

9th January 1857.

Sardár Muhammad Azám stated that, whether the intention was to attack Herát, or simply to raise the population and harass the Persians, the expense of a movement on the necessary scale would be nearly the same. The distance of support would be considerable; and, therefore, it would be expedient to undertake the expedition in full strength. On the other hand, if it was decided that no attempt should be made on Herát, and that the Afgháns should confine their exertions to a defence of their present possessions, the Amír would simply ask for 4,000 more stand of arms with the necessary ammunition, and for such aid in money as the British Government was prepared to render. When pressed further on this point, the Sardars said that they would like to have the means of raising and maintaining 8,000 additional infantry, 4,000

A. D. 1857.

for Kandahár, and an equal number for Balkh ; that the arms lately received would arm those at the former place, and that those now asked for will be for the infantry at Balkh.

The Sardárs, the Chief Commissioner considers, are of opinion that if the Persians are left alone, they will certainly attack Farah in the spring; but that there is no danger of any faction at Kandahár or elsewhere joining them, and that the Afgháns will be fully able, with our assistance, to maintain their ground.

Háfiz-jí whispered to Colonel Edwardes that the question between the Afgháns and Persians was not simply a matter of this world, but of the next, too ; and that Shíá and Sunni could not unite.

The conferences being now concluded, the Governor General in Council may, perhaps, expect that the Chief Commissioner should offer an opinion on the course which it appears most expedient to pursue. Under this impression, I am directed to make the following remarks:—It may be a debateable question whether the Afgháns, if supplied with all the means for which they have asked, could operate effectually against Herát. Colonel Edwardes thinks that they might—the Chief Commissioner does not think that they could; but both officers unite in considering that the Supreme Government will probably not be prepared to give such extensive aid for a doubtful result.

If these views be correct, it remains to consider the other alternative, namely, the mode whereby the Afgháns may, at a moderate cost, be strengthened at home ; and, on this point, the Chief Commissioner and Commissioner concur in thinking that a subsidy of 12 lakhs per annum, to commence from the 1st day of this year, and to be paid monthly, so long as the war may last, and Government is satisfied with the conduct of the Amír, will suffice; the Amír being bound to arrange for the transport of the treasure from Pesháwar—experience having shewn that we cannot remit to Kábul or Kandahár without great risk, expense, and delay. The five lakhs which the Amír has already received to be a free gift, not to come into this account ; and, if necessary, an advance of three lakhs to be made at once.

The Amír also to agree to British officers being deputed to Afghanistan, in order that we may obtain reliable information, as well as to satisfy His Lordship in Council that the subsidy is properly applied. The Chief Commissioner is inclined to think that it would be expedient to have two military officers, and one medical man, at Kábul, and the same number at Kandahár, with a suitable native establishment.

On the receipt of the preceding report from the Chief Commissioner, the Governor General did not consider that the proposed siege of Herát had a reasonable chance of success. It was, therefore, resolved to furnish the Amír with all

the aid required to defend his present possessions, namely, 4,000 muskets, and money to pay 8,000 men.

A. D. 1857.

No. V.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb, to the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, No. 33—46, dated Camp 5 miles from Peshawar, the 15th January 1857.

14th January 1857.

The Chief Commissioner and Commissioner of Pesháwar paid the Amír a visit, and explained to His Highness that the Supreme Government were not prepared to aid the Kábul Government to the extent which had been required for an expedition against Herát, but were willing to grant a subsidy of 12 lakhs per annum, on certain conditions. The Amír assented without difficulty, or hesitation, to the abandonment of the proposed expedition, but seemed to take some exception to the Chief Commissioner's remarks, when he alluded to the disunion which existed among the influential Afghán chiefs. The Amír entered into much detail, with the view of proving that no such disunion existed. Neither the Amír, however, nor any of the Sardárs, seemed at all surprised that the British Government had refused to support the proposed movement against Herát.

After the Chief Commissioner had explained generally the conditions of the intended subsidy, the Amír, in a very marked and decided manner, observed that when he had agreed to British officers being sent to Kábul, it had only been on the understanding that an attempt would be made, by our aid, to recover Herát. The Chief Commissioner, in reply, observed that it was undoubtedly so far true that the Amír had consented to this arrangement in connection with the expedition to Herát; but that the fact was, that all the discussions were carried on with reference to such a move, and that the point regarding the mission of British officers had been so readily acceded to, that it had never occurred that any objection would be raised. However, now that the Amír did appear to object, it was necessary to understand that this was one of the conditions of the subsidy; and, indeed, the one on which Government set the greatest importance: and that it was for the Amír to refuse or accept our aid with its conditions, or not. The Amír, on this, lowered his tone, and remarked that he was ready to do whatever was considered expedient. Subsequently the other conditions were generally indicated, and elicited no particular remarks. The Chief Commissioner then proposed to draw up a memo. of the proposed arrangement, and the Amír agreed that Sardár Azam Khán and other chiefs should come over to the Chief Commissioner's camp on the following day, when they would discuss each point; in the first instance, with our own officers, and afterwards take back the draft for the deliberate consideration of the Amír.

A. D. 1857.

It may be expedient here to observe that, so far from the Afghán chiefs raising any objection, or in any way indicating an unwillingness, to see British officers in Kábul, they had actually shewn, by their remarks, that they were actually prepared to allow our officers to interfere in a manner much more decided than was contemplated. Thus, while the Chief Commissioner was explaining to the chiefs the particular duties which Government required of our officers, Háfiz-jí interrupted his remarks, by saying "they (the officers) can give the Amír advice; they can instruct and drill the troops." There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Amír and his Sardárs were quite prepared for the presence of our officers, in the event of any subsidy being allowed; at the same time, it is now equally clear that such an arrangement is distasteful to the Afgháns. The truth probably is, that the Amír, though fully aware that the presence of English officers would compromise him with the bigoted party of his countrymen, considered the sacrifice well worth making to obtain the large pecuniary aid in his hour of need.

According to agreement, Sardár Azam Khán, his cousin, Sardár Usmán Khán, and Háfiz-jí, came to the Chief Commissioner's camp on the morning of the 15th January, and discussed the draft, which had been in the interval prepared, of the proposed Articles. They expressed their general consent to them all, but conversed at much length regarding the mission of British officers to Kábul.

Major Lumsden had previously mentioned that Sardár Muhammad Azam Khán had sent for him last night, and spoken at great length on this very subject. The Sardár had explained that, neither the Amír nor the Sardárs generally had any personal objection to the presence of English officers in Kábul; but that, to enlist the feelings of the Afgháns thoroughly in the war, it would be necessary to make it an affair of Afghán against Persian, of Sunni against Shiá; and that the force of that national and religious feeling would be weakened by the people seeing British officers in the country. That the Amír and his Sardárs were willing to accept, and grateful for, our aid; but, that it was not expedient to do anything which might abate the zeal of the Afgháns. The Sardár added, that he had always labored to bring about the alliance between the Afgháns and English, but that it must be done gradually, and that we must not go too fast.

At the conference this day the Sardárs asked where was the necessity or advantage of having officers at Kábul? Why not have them at Kandahár, and a native vakíl at Kábul? At the former place the officers would prove useful; at the latter they might become a source of danger. To this it was explained that the Supreme Government attached much importance to the arrangement; that, under any circumstances, some officers must be sent, so that we might have full cognizance of what was going on—of how our subsidy was expended—of what was done to place the Afghán forces on a proper footing; but that the Chief Commissioner was quite willing to consider all their objections, and that the best course seemed to be for them to deliberate with the Amír on

A. D. 1857

each point, and at the next conference express their final wishes. It was further explained that, though it appeared expedient to insert the condition regarding the mission of officers to its full extent, it was quite possible, in practice, that the modifications indicated by the Sardárs would be adopted; and that in any case no more officers than were absolutely necessary would be sent.

From these discussions it was obvious that the Sardárs were not at all unwilling, and, perhaps, well pleased to have British officers at Kandahár; but not to see them at Kábul. At Kandahár, which is threatened by a formidable enemy, where hostilities may at any time occur, the presence and advice of our officers would prove of much value; and the dangers of their position would give the bigoted and fanatic little inclination to declaim, and still less weight to their prejudices. The news, also, of British officers being at Kandahár would probably have some weight in deterring the Persians from an advance. On the other hand, at Kábul the advantage of their presence would not be generally apparent, no immediate danger is to be apprehended; and Kábul is, no doubt, the focus of bigotry, and the hot-bed of intrigue.

To illustrate the foregoing, copy is annexed of the Draft Articles presented at this conference to the Afghán Sardars:—

VI.

Draft of Articles of Agreement made at Pesháwar, between Dost Muhammad Khán, Amír of Kábul, on his own part, and SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, and LIEUTENANT COLONEL EDWARDES, C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent Peshawar Division, on the part of the Honorable East India Company.

1.—Whereas the Shah of Persia, contrary to his treaty with the British Government, has taken possession of Herat, and has manifested an intention to interfere in the present possessions of Amír Dost Muhammad Khan, and there is now war between the British and Persian Governments; therefore, the Honorable East India Company, to aid Amír Dost Muhammad Khan to defend and maintain his present possessions in Balkh, Kabul, and Kandahar, hereby agrees, out of friendship, to give the said Amír one lakh of Company's rupees monthly during the war with Persia, on the following conditions:—

2.—The Amir shall keep his present number of cavalry and artillery, and shall maintain not less than 18,000 infantry, of which 13,000 shall be regulars, divided into thirteen regiments.

3.—The Amír is to make his own arrangements for receiving the money at the British treasuries, and conveying it through his own country.

4.—British officers, with suitable native establishments, shall be deputed, at the pleasure of the British Government, to Kabul or Kandahar, or Balkh, or all three places, or wherever an Afghan army be assembled, to act

A. D. 1857.

against the Persians. It will be their duty to see generally that the subsidy granted to the Amír be devoted to the military purposes for which it is given, and to keep their own Government informed of all affairs. They will have nothing to do with the payment of the troops, or advising the Kabul Government; and they will not interfere, in any way, in the internal administration of the country. The Amír will be responsible for their safety, and honorable treatment, while in his country, and for keeping them acquainted with all military and political matters connected with the war.

5.—The Amír of Kabul shall appoint and maintain a vakíl at Peshawar.

6.—The subsidy of one lakh per mensem shall cease from the date on which peace is made between the British and Persian Governments, or at any previous time, at the will and pleasure of the Governor General of India.

7.—Whenever the subsidy shall cease, the British officers shall be withdrawn from the Amír's country; but a vakíl shall remain always at Kabul, on the part of the British Government, and one at Peshawar, on the part of the Government of Kabul.

8.—The Amír shall furnish a sufficient escort for the British officers from the British border, when going to the Amír's country; and to the British border, when returning.

9.—The subsidy shall commence from 1st January 1857, and be payable at the British treasury one month in arrears.

10.—The five lakhs of rupees, which have been already sent to the Amír (three to Kandahar, and two to Kabul), will not be counted in this agreement—they are a free and separate gift from the Honorable East India Company; but the sixth lakh, now in the hands of the mahajuns of Kabul, which was sent for another purpose, will be one of the instalments under this agreement.

11.—This agreement in no way supersedes the treaty made at Peshawar, on 30th March 1855 (corresponding with 11th of Rujjub 1271), by which the Amír of Kabul engaged to be the friend of the friends, and enemy of the enemies, of the Honorable East India Company; and the Amír of Kabul, in the spirit of that treaty, agrees to communicate to the British Government any overtures he may receive from Persia, or the allies of Persia, during the war; or while there is friendship between the Kabul and British Governments.

No. VII.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, No. 50A, dated Camp 5 miles from Peshawar, the 16th January 1857.

16th January 1857, Sardar Muhammad Azam Khan, Sardar Muhammad Usman Khan and his son, with Hafiz-ji, and the Amír's head secretaries, again visited the Chief Commissioner this morning to state any modifications which the Amír

of Kábul, after consultation with his chiefs, might wish to introduce into the Articles of Agreement.

A. D. 1857.

After expressing the Amír's general approval of the Articles, they said the Amír held the same opinions that they had themselves offered yesterday, as to the propriety of stationing such British officers, as may be deputed, at Kandahár and not at Kábul. His Highness believed that much good would accrue from their presence on the Kandahár frontier; that the Afghán generals would get good advice from them; that the Persians would see that the English were heartily with the Afgháns; and that these advantages would be readily understood and appreciated by the Afgháns themselves. But that at Kábul no such palpable advantage would accrue, and the common people would think when they saw Europeans at the capital that the old days of Shah Shujá were come again. To this the Chief Commissioner replied that there was much force in what the Amír and his Sardárs said; and it was very probable that Government might act on their advice, and begin by sending their officers to Kandahár only; but it was necessary to provide in the agreement full discretion to send British officers to any point where their presence might be required; for instance, the war might take the direction of Balkh, and then Government would send officers to that frontier. With these explanations the point was dropped, and the fourth Article left as originally drafted; Háfiz-jí finally remarking that it was well to proceed gradually, and, after a little while, when the people had got accustomed to British officers at Kandahár, others might come to the capital. He added that the Amír would probably go himself to Kandahár, so there would be the less necessity at present for British officers elsewhere.

With reference to the decided wishes of the Kábul government, above expressed, and the apparent reasonableness of them, the Chief Commissioner recommends that for the present our European officers be deputed to Kandahár alone.

In Clause 7 was then inserted, at the request of the Amír, that the "vakíl" to be left at Kábul permanently, after the withdrawal of the British officers now deputed, was not to be a European.

A strong effort was made by the Sardárs to make the treaty of 30th March 1855 offensive and defensive, by inserting in Clause 11 of the present Articles that the British Government engages to be the friend of the Amír's friends, and enemy of his enemies. All the old ground which had been travelled over in the negotiations of 1855 on this head was this morning traversed again.

The Sardárs observed, with truth, that the Afgháns could deal themselves with Bukhára, or any other power beyond their border, except Persia and Russia; and, as those powers were the permanent antagonists of both England and Afghánistán, they urged that England and Afghánistán should make common cause against them. To this it was candidly replied, that such treaties, though theoretically just, were practically more one-sided than the

A. D 1857.

treaty of Peshāwar; because they are elastic to Asiatic sovereigns, but bonds of iron to Europeans.

It was also pointed out to the Sardārs, that if we were to undertake to be the enemies of the enemies of the Amīr, we might one day have to protect him or his children against the Afghān nation; or one of the Amīr's sons against another son. Hāfiz-jī endeavoured to make out that we had as good as conceded these points by making friendship with "the Amīr and the heirs of the Amīr, and recognizing Sardār Ghulām Haidar Khān as the "heir apparent." But this was at once rebutted by shewing that our treaty was with the sovereigns of the Afghān nation, and that the title of heir apparent was derived by Haidar Khān from his father's choice, and not from the British Government.

That the treaty was not really so understood by the Amīr, was presently proved by Hāfiz-jī expressing the Amīr's wish that the words "naslan bād naslan," meaning "generation after generation," should now be added to it. But the Chief Commissioner said it was impossible to entertain such a proposition, as, unhappily, it might occur that the very next generation might be dethroned.

Two additional Articles were then added—No. 12 at the instance of Hāfiz-jī, to the effect that the forgiveness of the British Government was not confined to the past offences of the Amīr, but extended to those of all his tribes. It is believed that this Article will set at rest much apprehension in the minds of those who were conspicuous in the Kābul insurrection; No. 13 promised to give 4,000 more muskets to the Amīr.

During the conference of to-day, the Sardārs for the first time put the question which had been anticipated at an earlier stage, "whether the Afghāns would be included in the peace with Persia, or be left in the lurch?" They were at once assured that, whenever the British made peace with Persia, the Shah would be bound to make peace with the Amīr and resign all pretensions to the Amīr's possessions. Strangely enough, the Sardārs did not ask to have this assurance entered in the agreement; and, though the Chief Commissioner considered that his verbal assurance pledged Government as much as a written article, yet it seemed unnecessary to lay more stress on the matter than the Amīr himself had done. For similar reasons the Chief Commissioner did not volunteer the assurance which he was empowered to offer, if necessary, that amongst the terms of peace with Persia would be the abandonment of Herāt.

NO. VIII.

Copy to Chief
Commissioner Pun-
jab, No 55A, dated
27th January 1857.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, No. 55A, dated Camp 5 miles from Peshawar, the 27th January 1857.

The Articles of Agreement between the British Government and Amīr Dost Muhammad Khān were signed and sealed in the Amīr's camp. at 4 P. M. The Chief

A. D. 1857.

Commissioner, the Commissioner of Pesháwar, and Major Lumeden, were present on the one side; and the Amír, his son, Sardár Azam Khán, Sardár Pír Muhammad Khán, his brother; Sardárs Usmán Khán, Wazír Gholám Muhammad Khán, Bábu Ján, the Bádshah of Kunar, Háfiz-jí, Sardárs Muhammad Afzal Khán, Shah Muhammad Khán, Mirdád Khán Popalzai, and Názir Khán Alli on the other side.

Previous to the Articles being signed, they were read out in presence of the whole darbár; after which the Chief Commissioner recapitulated those points of the arrangement which appeared most important, or which, for the present, would not be fully carried out. These were, that three British officers would start, as soon as possible, for Kandahár by the Khurram, Paiwár, and Loghar route. That no British officers for the present would go to Kábul; but that a native gentleman, probably Nawáb Faujdár Khán, would be sent there by an early date; and that the Amír should also at once appoint a vakíl, on his own part, to reside at Pesháwar.

It was then arranged that a darbár should take place in the Chief Commissioner's camp on the 27th January, when Sardár Azam Khán and all the chiefs and counsellors, to the number of thirty-four, whom the Amír himself has named, would attend and take their farewell of the British officers. As for the Amír himself, he begged that he might be excused on the ground of his age and infirmities. It is worthy of notice that among this number are neither Sardár Pír Muhammad Khán, the Amír's brother, nor his nephew Shamsuddín Khán, the late Governor of Ghazni; nor Saádat Khán, the Mahmand Chief of Lálpurá.

The darbár accordingly took place at 11 A. M. on the 27th, when Brigadier S. Cotton, and many officers from Pesháwar attended. Handsome presents were distributed among the Sardárs, and that for the Amír himself was made over to Sardár Azam Khán for His Highness.

Articles of Agreement made, at Pesháwar, on the 26th January 1857 (corresponding with Jamá'di-ul-awwal, A. H. 1273), between Amír Dost Muhammad Khán, Ruler of Kábul, and of those countries of Afghánistán now in his possession, on his own part, and Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb, and LIEUT.-COLONEL H. B. EDWARDES, C. B., Commissioner of Pesháwar, on the part of the Hon'ble East India Company, under the authority of the RIGHT HONORABLE CHARLES JOHN VISCOUNT CANNING, Governor General of India in Council.

1.—Whereas the Shah of Persia, contrary to his engagement with the British Government, has taken possession of Herát, and has manifested an intention to interfere in the present possessions of Amír Dost Muhammad Khán, and there is now war between the British and Persian Governments; therefore, the Hon'ble East India Company, to aid Amír Dost Muhammad Khán to defend and main-

A. D. 1857.

tain his present possessions in Balkh, Kábul, and Kandahár against Persia, hereby agrees, out of friendship, to give the said Amír one lákh of Company's rupees monthly, during the war with Persia, on the following conditions :—

2.—The Amír shall keep his present number of cavalry and artillery, and shall maintain not less than 18,000 infantry, of which 13,000 shall be regulars, divided into 13 regiments.

3.—The Amír is to make his own arrangements for receiving the money at the British treasuries, and conveying it through his own country.

4.—British officers, with suitable establishments and orderlies, shall be deputed, at the pleasure of the British Government, to Kábul or Kandahár, or Balkh, or all three places, or wherever an Afghán army be assembled to act against the Persians. It will be their duty to see generally that the subsidy granted to the Amír be devoted to the military purposes for which it is given, and to keep their own Government informed of all affairs. They will have nothing to do with the payment of the troops, or advising the Kábul Government; and they will not interfere in any way in the internal administration of the country. The Amír will be responsible for their safety, and honorable treatment, while in his country; and for keeping them acquainted with all military and political matters connected with the war.

5.—The Amír of Kábul shall appoint and maintain a vakíl at Pesháwar.

6.—The subsidy of one lákh per mensem shall cease from the date on which peace is made between the British and Persian Governments; or, at any previous time, at the will and pleasure of the Governor General of India.

7.—Whenever the subsidy shall cease, the British officers shall be withdrawn from the Amír's country; but, at the pleasure of the British Government, a vakíl, not a European officer, shall remain at Kábul, on the part of the British Government; and one at Pesháwar on the part of the Government of Kábul.

8.—The Amír shall furnish a sufficient escort for the British officers from the British border when going to the Amír's country; and to the British border when returning.

9.—The subsidy shall commence from 1st January 1857, and be payable at the British treasury, one month in arrears.

10.—The five lakhs of rupees which have been already sent to the Amír (three to Kandahár and two to Kábul) will not be counted in this agreement. They are a free and separate gift from the Hon'ble East India Company; but the sixth lakh, now in the hands of the mahájans of Kábul, which was sent for another purpose, will be one of the instalments under this agreement.

11.—This agreement in no way supersedes the treaty made at Pesháwar on 30th March 1855 (corresponding with the 11th of Rajjáb 1271), by which the Amír of Kábul engaged to be the friend of the friends, and enemy

of the enemies of the Hon'ble East India Company; and the Amír of Kábul, in the spirit of that treaty, agrees to communicate to the British Government any overtures he may receive from Persia, or the allies of Persia, during the war, or while there is friendship between the Kábul and British Governments.

A. D. 1857.

12.—In consideration of the friendship existing between the British Government and Amír Dost Muhammad Khán, the British Government engages to overlook the past hostilities of all the tribes of Afghánistán, and on no account to visit them with punishment.

13.—Whereas the Amír has expressed a wish to have 4,000 muskets given him in addition to the 4,000 already given, it is agreed that 4,000 muskets shall be sent by the British Government to Tall; whence the Amír's people will convey them with their own carriage.

The Amír returned to Kábul a day or two after the close of the conferences; and a mission, composed of three British officers—Major H. B. Lumsden, of the Guides, Lieutenant Lumsden, of the Quarter Master General's department, and Doctor Bellew, assisted by Ghulám Sarwar Khán, Khágwání, and accompanied by Nawáb Faujdár Khán, Bahádur (who was to be the vakíl of the British Government at Kábul), left Pesháwar on the 13th March, and arrived at Kandahár on the 26th April. The following were the instructions issued by the Government of India for the guidance of the Kandahár mission :—

Mission to Kandahar,
page 3.

Extract from a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Panjáb, No. 52, dated 26th January 1857.

The Government of India has consented to grant to the Amír an annual subsidy of 12 lakhs of rupees, during the continuance of war with Persia, for the purpose of enabling him to defend the western frontier of Afghánistán against any aggression that may be attempted by Persia; it has also engaged to furnish the Amír with a further supply of 4,000 muskets for the use of his battalions. On the other hand, it has distinctly declared its intention to abstain from all interference with the organization, the discipline, or the payment of his troops, as well as from all unsolicited advice as to the direction and the scope of his military operations.

Major Lumsden, guided by these views, will understand that the principal object of his mission is to satisfy him-

Secretary to Government of India's No. 52, dated 26th January 1857.

A. D. 185

self, without exercising any obtrusive interference or supervision, that the money supplied by the British Government for the specific purpose above described, shall not be squandered or misapplied. The Amír, by accepting it on our conditions, is bound to use it in adding to the military strength of his State, and giving security to his western frontier; the particular means and operations by which he shall accomplish these objects, are entirely discretionary with the Amír.

But, though Major Lumsden will not be authorized, in seeing to the proper application of the subsidy, to dictate to the Amír as to the manner in which it, or any portion of it, should be employed; and though he will exercise no authority, or command, he will be at liberty, and will, indeed, consider it to be his duty, readily to accord his advice and his assistance generally, upon any points of military organization, or defence, or any plans having for their object the protection of the Afghán border from external aggression, whenever they may be referred to him, specifically; or whenever, in a general way, his opinion may be invited.

It is hardly necessary to warn Major Lumsden against direct interference and intermeddling with Afghán affairs. He will be able, without committing any such indiscretion, to watch closely the progress of events in Afghánistán, especially in and about Kandahár; to make himself acquainted with the state of parties in the country, more particularly with the relations of the principal and most influential chiefs, with the Amír, and with one another, and to keep himself informed, through the agency of the vakíl to be stationed there, of all that is passing at the capital. For this latter purpose, the vakíl should be instructed to place himself in communication with Major Lumsden, and to furnish him, ordinarily, with a weekly news-letter, besides reporting to him, specially, any occurrences of importance that may arise.

Major Lumsden should be required to keep up a diary of his proceedings, and to forward to you, for eventual submission to the Government, an extract therefrom, once a week, together with a brief report of such events and circumstances as, for any reason, can be more conveniently and usefully communicated in that form.

It is expected that much valuable information regarding the topography, the climate, and the products of the country, as well as the national character, will be collected by Major Lumsden and his companions during their residence in Afghánistán; and it is requested that Major Lumsden may be instructed to keep these in view, as objects to which his attention should be directed, and to which the Government attach no small importance. Lieutenant Lumsden's practical experience will, no doubt, enable him to prepare a map of the route by which the party will travel to Kandahár, and to collect materials for the compilation hereafter of a topographical sketch of those parts of the country which may come under his observation. Doctor Cox's scientific

acquirements and habits of observation also, will enable him to add largely to the value of the general information which may be obtained, and which may hereafter be embodied in a separate report, to be submitted to the Government.

The Right Honorable the Governor General in Council relies on the judgment and the discretion of Major Lumsden, and the officers associated with him, so to conduct communications, not only with the Afghán chiefs, but with the people generally, as to avoid any offence to their feelings and prejudices, and any act or expression of opinion calculated to create distrust or suspicion in their minds. Too great circumspection in this respect cannot be observed among a people, who are bigoted beyond example, much disposed to be doubtful of our good faith and intentions, and jealous of our presence amongst them, however friendly the purpose of it. Major Lumsden and his brother officers will do good service to the British Power in India, if they can impress upon all with whom they come into contact, that we have no desire to send a single man, armed or unarmed, across the border, except with the good will of the Afghán nation; that their own presence is temporary, and for one single purpose, which will cease with the war; that what we most desire is, that the Afgháns should govern themselves in freedom and independence, defending themselves effectually against aggression from whatever side; that it is for this sole object that our aid is given, and that all we ask in return is their confidence.

A. D. 1857.

CHAPTER VII.

After the surrender of Herát to the Persians, Sartúp Isá Khán was made Wazír of the Province. The Persian Generals remained in the neighbourhood, and Persian troops occupied the city and fort. All intention of a further advance in the direction of Kandahár seems to have been abandoned. Much anxiety was felt by the Amír for the safety of Faráh, which had been partly occupied by Muhammad Sadík Khán, son of Kohandil Khán, one of the Kandahár malcontents. There was no doubt that Muhammad Sadík Khán had been encouraged by the Persians to attack Faráh. Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán at once sent a force against the rebels. Muhammad

A. D. 1856.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 562C, dated 25th November 1856.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 535C, dated 14th November, 1856, and No. 604, dated 10th December 1856.

A. D. 1857.

Sadík Khan was taken prisoner, and the Faráh garrison was reinforced.

Secretary to Chief
Commissioner's No. 11,
dated 4th January 1857.

About the middle of December, a Persian envoy, by name Mirzá Alí Akbar Khán, arrived at Kandahár. He brought letters from a Persian General, Ghulám Husain Khán, to the Amír and the Heir Apparent. The object of the mission was to make another attempt to establish friendship between the Sháh of Persia and the Amír. The envoy even went as far as to offer a subsidy to the Kábul Government as an inducement to enter into an alliance with Persia.

Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán treated the Persian emissary with civility, but received his offer of friendship with coldness. He told him plainly that better than a subsidy would be the withdrawal of Persian troops from Afghán soil; and he enquired what reliance could be placed on the promises of the Sháh as long as his acts were openly hostile. The Heir-Apparent reported the arrival of the Persian envoy to his father. The news was received by the Amír when he was encamped near Pesháwar. Sardár Ghulám Haidar's letter was handed to the Chief Commissioner, and the Amír requested the British Government to say what reply he should give to Persia. Sir John Lawrence, with the sanction of the Supreme Government, replied, "that Persia being at war with the British Government, and the enemies of the latter being by treaty the enemies of the Amír, the envoy should be dismissed, and no communications maintained with Persian officers".

Secretary to Chief
Commissioner's No.
84A, dated 25th Jan-
uary, 1857.

Isá Khán, the Wazír of Herát, was murdered by some Persian soldiers a few weeks after he surrendered the city. Towards the end of the year, a large number of the Persian troops were withdrawn from Herát to move towards Bushire, which had in the meantime been attacked by the

British forces from Bombay. The position of the Persian Generals at Herát was by no means a secure one. The surrounding country was in a state of open insurrection. The Turkamán tribes and the discontented Afgháns seized every opportunity of plundering the invaders. The roads were quite unsafe; caravans could only move under the protection of large bodies of troops. The south-western frontier of Afghánistán, from Herát to Kandahár, suffered the distresses of a famine. Sardár Ghulám Haidar, in writing to his father, on the 21st January, thus described the desolation of the country :—" People live now upon vegetables. Beast and bird have become mad with hunger. The oldest men cannot bring to recollection any time when such scarcity prevailed. The troops are in distress, and the people in yet greater misery."

A. D. 1857.

Secretary to Chief
Commissioner's No.
191, dated 11th March
1857.

On the 26th March, the war between England and Persia ended. One of the conditions of peace was the withdrawal of the Persian troops from Herát. This condition was eventually complied with; but, before the Sháh recalled his forces, he installed Sultán Ahmad Khán, a refugee nephew of the Amír, as ruler of Herát. This Sardár was the son of the late Muhammad Azím Khán, brother of Dost Muhammad Khán. Soon after the occupation of Kandahár by the Amír, Sultán Ahmad Khán, or as he is generally called, Sultán Ján, quarrelled with the heir-apparent, escaped from Kandahár, and joined the Persian army at Herát. He was well received by the Persian Generals. After the taking of the city, Sultán Ján went on to Teherán.

Commissioner of Pe-
sháwar's No. 622,
dated 16th June 1857.

The news of the appointment of the new ruler of Herát was related to the British vakíl at Kábul on the 11th June. Sardár Muhammad Azam Khán handed to him copies of the original letters containing the intelligence. The Kábul Government

A. D. 1857.

expressed great indignation at the success which had attended Sultán Ahmad Khán's flight to the Court of Persia. Colonel Edwardes, in commenting on this intelligence, pointed out to the Chief Commissioner that it by no means followed that the Amír, although apparently dissatisfied, was, in reality, annoyed at the new arrangement. The Sháh had been forced to give up Herát, and to abandon all open pretensions to interference on the Afghán border. The Amír had been saved from the calamity of a Persian invasion which had recently seemed imminent. "These were real and substantial benefits, which no man in his heart appreciated more than Dost Muhammad Khán." The Persians finally left Herát on the 27th July, after having fairly established Sultán Ahmad Khán as ruler.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 817, dated 25th August 1857.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 1156, dated 10th December 1857.

In the early part of the year, Colonel Edwardes had sent a trust-worthy man to Herát to report "what was going on there." The messenger's name was Alí Nakí. Soon after his arrival at Herát he was made prisoner, and was frequently threatened with death. He escaped with his life, however, through the intervention of the Prime Minister of Sultán Ahmad Khán, and returned to India in the beginning of December 1857. Alí Nakí brought with him several letters from Sultán Ján, and other influential men of Herát, to the address of the Commissioner of Pesháwar and the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb. In these letters the new ruler declared himself to be friendly to the British Government.

The arrival at Herát of an English mission from Teherán was announced by the chief of the party, Major Taylor. This officer appears to have been invited to Herát by Sultán Ján. The invitation was readily accepted, and the mission was undertaken with the object of strengthening the Herát Government by an open recognition of the new

ruler by England. Major Taylor informed Colonel Edwardes that the Persians "had quite cleared out from Herát, but not before doing all the mischief they could. They cut down the standing crops and pulled out the beams and rafters from all the houses, scarcely leaving one fit to live in. They are now meditating a grand expedition into Turkistán, but are still keeping an army in the neighbourhood of Herát, to recapture the city, if the complications, which they hope for, take place in India."

A. D. 1857.

The arrival of these letters made it clear to the British authorities in the Panjáb that the appointment of Sardár Sultán Ahmad Khán as Governor of Herát had been concurred in by the British Government. On this point much doubt had been felt, and Sir John Lawrence was unable to give an answer to a letter from the Amír, in which His Highness asked whether the British Government would approve of Sardár Ghulám Haidar's undertaking an expedition against the new ruler of Herát. It was clear that such a movement ought to be discountenanced if England had had any share in the appointment of Sultán Ján. However, no certain intelligence on the subject had been received in the Panjáb. Sir John Lawrence, therefore, referred the question to the Supreme Government. The Amír was meanwhile informed of the contents of the letters received from Herát and of the replies sent, for it was very probable that he would regard with dissatisfaction any direct communication between Sultán Ján and British officers.

Secretary Chief
Commissioner's No.
dated 26th Sept
1857.

The Chief Commissioner, in answer to the friendly overture of the Herát ruler, merely expressed his gratification at the contents of the letter. Dost Muhammad Khán was requested to forward this reply himself to his nephew, in order that the intention of the British Government

Commissioner of
sháwar's No. 7
dated 24th Dec
1857.

A. D. 1858.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No 28, dated 16th February 1858.

to adhere to their present policy in Afghánistán might be apparent to both parties.

Colonel Taylor, in writing from Herát to the Commissioner of Pesháwar, in December 1857, thus described the court of the new ruler :—

“ Ahmad Khán, his son, and minister, continue to treat us with the utmost attention. All the tribes, and people generally, like him as their chief. He is endeavouring to do justice to all, and is very attentive to complaints. Meanwhile his son, Sháh Nawáz Khán, is working daily at his troops. * * * I hope the Government of India will support this man. His recent conduct certainly goes far to shew he has forgotten, or at any rate wishes us to forget, his old animosities. Ghulám Haidar Khán contemplated a march against this place, which, coming to the ears of the Persian Government, they have written a general protest; at the same time intimating to our minister that if Dost Muhammad Khán, or his son, advanced with any hostile designs against this place, they would meet him * * * The old dynasties have no competent persons left; and, among all aspirants here, the people certainly prefer this man.”

The return of the newswriter, Alí Nakí, from Herát, has already been mentioned. The following are extracts from a statement made by him to Colonel Edwardes, which throw light on the state of affairs at Herát, and on the western Afghán frontier, in the end of 1857 :—

“ Before I started from Herát (13th November 1857), Sardár Sultán Ahmad Khán sent for me privately, and said that when he was an enemy of the British, he did his best against them,* and now that he had become a friend,

* He was one of the stoutest partisans of the late Muhammad Akbar Khán in the Kábul insurrection.

A. D. 1858

'he should be equally in earnest. The Persian
 "Prime Minister told me that previous to the
 "arrival of Colonel Taylor's mission, the Sháh of
 "Persia sent to him one Sayad Abdul Hasan
 "Sháh, a man of learning and influence, with
 "3000 gold sequins, and a letter desiring the
 "new ruler of Herát to pay every honor to the
 "English officers, but the Syad was also charged
 "with a private letter, in which the Sháh wrote,
 "'Get all the money you can out of the English.
 "'Pay them all civility, but do not enter into any
 "'agreements with them.' * * *
 "The Prime Minister had me assure you (*i. e.*,
 "Colonel Edwardes) that, as long as he lived him-
 "self, he would keep his master, Sultán Ahmad
 "Khán, straight with the English, who, on their
 "part, ought to shew him kindness. * * *
 "Sultán Ahmad is at heart neither in the interest
 "of the Persians nor of the Amír, and would
 "gladly dispense with both; but, if a great
 "emergency arose, he would unite with Persia.
 "If supplied by the English, he would be inde-
 "pendent of both. Sultán Ahmad Khán is not a
 "man to forget injuries; and the cause of quarrel
 "that is between him and the Kábul family,
 "though small now, will go on growing year
 "by year. * * * The reason
 "why the Sardár can never heartily be in the
 "Persian interest is, that he knows the Persians
 "are not to be relied on, and that their Govern-
 "ment is rotten to the core."

It seems very doubtful whether the Amír had
 any real intention of undertaking an expedition
 against the new ruler of Herát, after the Persians
 had withdrawn their forces from Afghánistán.
 His communications with the British Govern-
 ment contained many allusions to such an enter-
 prise, and the Amír frequently said he was ready
 to march on Herát at the bidding of the Governor-

A. D. 1858.

General; nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that the Kábul army was not in a fit state for so great an undertaking.

It was clearly the policy of the Indian Government to dissuade the Amír from making an attempt to oust his nephew from Herát. The disturbances in Hindustán in 1857-58, made the tranquillity of all countries immediately beyond the Indian frontier, an especial object to be secured. The Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb was ignorant of the views of the Supreme Government on the subject of Herát politics; and, in reply to the Amír's enquiries as to how he should regard his nephew, Sultán Ahmad Khán, Sir John Lawrence could do nothing more than refrain from encouraging the much-talked of expedition. However, in the month of June 1858, the Foreign Secretary wrote to Sir John Lawrence as follows:—

Secretary to Government of India's No. 1,558A, dated 6th June 1858.

“ In many of your letters, allusion has been made to the intended policy of the British Government towards Herát, and to the position of Sultán Ahmad Khán, who has become the ruler of that principality. I enclose a copy* of the treaty between Her Majesty's Government and the Shah of Persia, which was concluded at Paris on the 4th March 1857.

“ His Majesty the Shah has agreed to relinquish all claims to sovereignty over the territory and city of Herát, and the countries of Afghánistán, and has promised to recognize the independence of those States; while, on their part, the British Government have engaged at all times to exert their influence with the States of Afghánistán to prevent any cause of umbrage being given by them, or any of them, to the Persian Government. In pur-

“suance of this pledge, the Governor-General has thought it right to dissuade the Amír from aggressive designs against Herát, and to advise him to recognise the independence of Sultán Ahmad Khán, the present ruler of that principality. But, if His Highness should at any time disregard this advice, and if in consequence differences should arise between the Amír and the ruler of Herát, it would not consist with the policy of the Government of India, or what are believed to be the intentions of the Home authorities, to exercise any interference whatever. * * * *

A. D. 1858.

“So far as the Government of India is aware, neither the declared consent nor the tacit acquiescence of the British mission at Teherán in the nomination of Sultán Ahmad Khán was asked or given. It must be assumed, as stated in the Governor-General’s letter to the Amír, that the Persian Government, in countenancing the accession of Sultán Muhammad Khán, acted in good faith, and the Governor-General does not see any reason why the Government of India should refuse its recognition of him as the *de facto* ruler of Herát.”

In violation of the clause of the treaty whereby Persia engaged to relinquish all claims to sovereignty over the countries of Afghánistán, it appears that the Shah continued to keep a Persian Governor in charge of the border provinces of Lash and Jawín. The Amír pointed out the injustice of this act of Persia to the British representative at Kábul. He said that Lash and Jawín, which were included in the district of Faráh, had in former times belonged to Herát. “On the death of the Wazír, Yár Muhammad Khán, the late Kohandil Khán of Kandahár seized upon Faráh, Lash, and Jawín, and they remained dependent on Kandahár.”

Commissioner of
sháwui’s No 63, c
17th May 1858.

A. D. 1858.

The Persians availed themselves of the confusion into which the death of Kohundil Khán had thrown affairs at Kandahár to appropriate Lash and Jawín. The Amír demanded that these provinces should either be made over to Kábul or Herát.

Secretary to Government's No. 1984, dated 5th July 1858.

The British minister at Teherán, on becoming aware of this infraction of the treaty of March 1857, obtained a special assurance from the Government of the Sháh that the districts of Lash and Jawín should not be retained by Persia, and that the Persian minister should take measures for the discontinuance of reading the Khutbah and of striking money in the Sháh's name, in the province of Herát. The

Commissioner of Pesháwur's No 78, dated 6th July 1858.

new ruler, however, was not prepared to throw off allegiance to Persia. On the 26th May 1858, he summoned Mirzá Zain-ul-ál idín, who had been appointed British vakíl at his Court, and informed him that he had received letters from the British minister at Teherán, telling him that he was at liberty to coin money and have prayers read in his own name. "But," added Sultán Ahmad Khán "I am grateful for the many kindnesses which I have received from the King of Persia; and it is my intention to coin money, and have prayers read in his name. The English Government says to me, 'Don't do so; coin money and have prayers read in your own name, and you will deserve well of us.' Such language can only mean one of two things: either that the English wish to ruin me by treachery and obtain their own ends,—in which case they will find I am quite able to manage my own affairs,—or else they are sincere; in which case I ask them to shew me what tangible advantage I am to gain by loosening my hold on Persia? When the forces of Turkistán, Balkh, Kandahár, and Herát are all my enemies, am I to make an enemy of Persia? Having

"changed the friendship for the enmity of
 "Persia, how am I, without money or friends, to
 "fight all these enemies? * * *
 "If, however, the English Government is pre-
 "pared to maintain me with men and money,
 "then I am ready to become subsidiary to it."

A. D. 1858.

The attachment of Sultán Ahmad Khán to Persian interests, was shown at this time, by his undertaking an expedition against the Turkamáns, who had successfully opposed the attack of a Persian army, on the town of Marv. The Persian General, Hi-ám-us-Saltanat, with a large force, had been sent from Mashhad to take possession of Marv, and instal Sháh Daulah Khán, another Afghan refugee, as Governor. The Turkamáns strenuously resisted the Persian aggression, defeated the army, and killed the General. The remaining troops were obliged to fall back on Mashhad. The object of the expedition of Sultán Ahmad Khán, was probably two-fold; firstly, to shew his attachment to Persia; secondly, to punish the Turkamáns for having plundered some of the Herát territories. He met with little opposition. The Herát troops were successful in an engagement, and the Turkamáns offered to serve Sultán Ahmad Khán against Persia, and give up all the captives and booty they had carried away from Herát, if he would interdict the use of Persian coin, and reading of prayers in the name of the Sháh. The Turkamáns further admitted their inability to cope with Sultán Ahmad, but they threatened him with continual incursions into Herát, should he continue openly to recognize the sovereignty of Persia.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 42 dated 10th March 1858; No. 78 dated 6th July '58; No. 79 dated 8th July 1858.

A. D. 1858.

CHAPTER VIII.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 1 dated 18th January 1858.

The last chapter having brought the account of Herát affairs up to the end of May 1858; it is now necessary to describe briefly the progress of our more direct relations with the Amír of Kábul. In the beginning of the year 1858, rumours reached Pesháwar of an expedition, under Sardár Sultán Muhammad Khán, against the independent countries of Bájaur and Swat. These districts are situated between Lálpurá and the Indus. "When the Bárakzaís held Pesháwar, Sardár Sultán Muhammad Khán married a daughter of one of the chiefs of Bájaur." The present chief had recently assigned a share of the revenues of Bájaur to a son of the Sardár's by the above marriage. A certain footing had therefore been obtained, of which advantage might be taken to any extent that was deemed advisable. Colonel Edwardes pointed out that the occupation of Bájaur and Swat by Sultán Muhámad Khán "could scarcely fail to unsettle Yúsufzaí, and indeed, more or less, the whole Pesháwar district, by holding up before the eyes of our subjects, what they would consider a standing proof that the Bárakzaí dynasty was only biding its time to recover the Pesháwar valley."

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 5 dated 18th January 1858.

A conversation held with the Kábul Vakíl and the Governor of Jalalabad, in some measure confirmed the suspicions of Colonel Edwardes. He

accordingly instructed the British Vakíl at the Court of Kábul to inform the Amír, that as the movement of Sultán Muhammad could not take place without the permission of the Kábul Government, and as it could not fail materially to affect our border—it was expected that the Amír would give no authority for such a measure without first consulting the Government of India.

A. D. 1858.

These instructions were subsequently approved by the Supreme Government. The Amír took the hint, and emphatically denied that his brother had had any intention of entering Bájaur.

Secretary to Government of India's No 409 dated 29th Jany. 1858.

In the spring of this year, Sardar Gholám Haidar Khán made over the Government of Kandahár to his nephew Fatah Muhammad Khán and returned to Kábul. Before leaving Kandahár, the heir apparent had given offence to the clergy of the city by not supporting them in their fanatical persecution of a Hindu family, one of whose members was supposed to have embraced the Muhammadan faith, and to have been hidden by his father in order to escape circumcision. The angry priests broke out in open riot. The position of the heir apparent and the British mission, appeared most insecure. The Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb strongly urged the immediate recall of the British officers, whose safety was rendered more critical by the departure of Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán. After some delay, sanction was obtained to the withdrawal of the mission, and Major Lumsden and his companions left Kandahár on the 15th May 1858, and arrived at Pesháwar by the end of June 1858.

Kandahár Diaries.

There is no doubt that the religious party throughout the Amír's dominions continued to dislike the British alliance. Faujdár Khán,

From Secretary to Chief Commissioner, to Foreign Secretary to Supreme Government,

A. D. 1858.
No. 148 dated 15th
July 1858, with en-
closure from Commis-
sioner of Pesháwar.

writing from Kábul in the month of June, described the arrival of 150 Ulamás (doctors of law) at the Court of the Amír, with the avowed object of inciting him to a holy war against the infidels in Hindustán. The Amír refused to listen to their temptations, and remained faithful to his engagement with the British Government during all the vicissitudes of the Indian mutiny.

Commissioner of Pe-
sháwar's No. 82 dated
7th July 1858.

The heir apparent died suddenly at Kábul on the 2nd July 1858. In reply to a letter of condolence sent by Sir John Lawrence the Amír announced that he had appointed his son Sardár Sher Alí Khán to succeed to the throne of Kábul. Muhammad Afzal Khán, the Governor of Balkh, and the eldest son of the Amír, was thus passed over a second time. Sardár Sher Alí Khán was full brother to the late heir apparent—and although he had not always lived on the best of terms with Ghulám Haidar Khán, it was generally anticipated that the Amír would make choice of him as his successor. The appointment gave apparent satisfaction to the Afgháns; and even the Governor of Balkh was not backward in congratulating his fortunate brother.

Commissioner of Pe-
sháwar's No 103 dated
7th September 1858

Dost Muhammad Khán was anxious that the new heir apparent should receive a Khilat of congratulation from the British Government. The British Vakíl at Kábul, in writing to Colonel Edwardes, suggested that this wish should be complied with.

From Secretary to
Supreme Government,
No. 2,226 dated 14th
September 1858.

The Amír had however omitted to communicate the intelligence of the death of Ghulám Haidar Khán, and the appointment of his brother Sher Alí to the Governor General himself. The Government of India therefore declined to offer its congratulations, and "authorized Colonel Edwardes

“ simply to acknowledge the notification with
 “ the expression of a hope that the new heir
 “ apparent would, under the tuition of his father,
 “ learn to conduct the Government with the
 “ same wisdom and success.” It was clear that
 any direct congratulation from the Government
 of India would readily be interpreted into a
 promise to support Sardár Sher Alí Khán in
 the complications that might ensue on the death
 of his father.

A. D. 1858.

It will be remembered that the treaty of 1857
 entered into between the British Government
 and the Amír Dost Muhammad Khán, contained
 the provision, that the subsidy of one lakh of
 rupees per mensem promised to the Amír to
 enable him to protect his western frontier should
 cease on the return of the Kandahár mission.
 As might have been expected the Kábul Gov-
 ernment was not willing to lose the subsidy,
 without a struggle to retain it. The Amír
 pointed out to the British Vakíl that if the pay-
 ment was stopped, the additional force that had
 been entertained since the spring of 1857 must
 be disbanded. Such a proceeding, the Amír
 urged, would inevitably throw discredit on his
 Government. The proposal to continue the
 subsidy met with little encouragement from the
 British authorities in the Panjáb. Colonel
 Edwardes instructed Nawáb Faujdár Khán to
 tell the Amír :—

Commissioner of Pe-
 sháwar's No. C. dated
 11th August 1858.

“ 1st.—That the subsidy was originally given
 “ for a specified object, viz., the defence of the
 “ Amír's western border against the Persians,
 “ and that that object had been fully attained.

“ 2ndly.—That a period was fixed for its conti-
 “ nuance, viz., the stay of Major Lumsden's mis-
 “ sion in the Amír's country ; and the Amír know-
 “ ing that it would then cease and determine, no

A. D. 1858.

"doubt must have kept that in view in all his arrangements.

"3rdly.—That for these and other reasons, the Commissioner of Pesháwar could not recommend the continuance of the subsidy."

Secretary to Government of India's No 3234, dated 15th September 1858.

The Governor-General of India communicated his decision regarding the subsidy, in a letter addressed to the Amír himself. Lord Canning wrote as follows :—

"Your Highness states that the disbandment of the additional troops which have been entertained, will bring discredit upon you ; and that without the aid of the British Government, you are unable to maintain them. On this point I have to inform your Highness that, though very willing to regard your Highness' wishes, I cannot admit that any reason exists for a continuance of the subsidy. Your Highness cannot but be sensible that not only the literal provisions but the spirit also of the articles of the agreement dated 26th January 1857, have been more than fulfilled on the part of the British Government ; and your Highness cannot doubt, after what has passed, that the British Government is disposed to be a ready and effective friend to your country in time of danger, although it does not see fit to comply with your Highness' present suggestion."

The payment of the subsidy, therefore, ceased on the 30th September 1858.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. C., dated 11th August 1858.

The important question of the north-western boundary of British India was definitively settled by the Governor-General in the year 1858. The Khaibar hills and the Kurram river were declared to be boundaries of the possessions of the East India Company, north-west of Pesháwar. The immediate inference drawn from this decision, by the Amír. was that all the districts beyond this

boundary belonged to his kingdom. It was, however, pointed out to the Amír that such a conclusion was unwarranted. With regard to the claim of the Kábul Government to the sovereignty of the Khaibar, Colonel Edwardes thus explained the British view of the matter :—

“ We admit it is not British ; we have neither “ possession nor claim. You say you have claim, “ but certainly have not possession. You are at “ liberty to occupy if you can, and wish ; but “ till you do so, or can control the Khaibaris, the “ British authorities at Pesháwar must use their “ discretion as to making arrangements with “ the Khaibar tribes.”

A. D. 1858.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. C, dated 11th August 1858.

CHAPTER IX.

It has been already mentioned that the British minister at Teherán, in the beginning of 1858, had appointed Mirzá Zairulábadín to act as news-writer at Herát. This man, it will be remembered, was one of the two envoys sent in 1856, by Isá Khán, to ask the Indian Government to aid him in his attempt to preserve the independence of Herát. In August 1858, news reached Pesháwar that Mirzá Zainulábadín had been accused by “ the ruler of Herát of attempting to “ revolutionize his Government.” This intelligence was communicated to the Amír by Sultán Ahmad Khán himself, and it was openly asserted that the Mirzá had acted under the orders of the British minister at Teherán. Nawáb Faujdár Khán was at first unable to obtain a reliable account of the supposed conspiracy. In writing to Colonel Edwardes, he expressed doubts as to whether there had been an intrigue at all. Fauj-

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. A, date 20th August 1858.

A. D. 1858.

dár Khán thought it was most improbable that the conspirators should have been influenced by the British Embassy at the Court of the Sháh.

Mirzá Zainulábadín was a native of Herát; and, in his capacity of British news-writer, had probably incurred the dislike of the ruler, or he himself had "got wind in his head from finding "himself installed as representative of the great "English Government in his own native town, "and magnified himself by talking nonsense. "This," added Faujdár Khán, "is a kind of "thing that no Afghán ruler could stand for a "moment, that one of his own subjects should take "up such an independent position; and it is quite "enough to have made Sardár Sultán Ahmad "Khán falsely accuse the Mirzá, so as to get some "other news-writer appointed. * * * *

"The English news-writer at Herát should be a "foreigner, and a man of stability of character, not "a citizen of Herát." It is difficult to guess the real nature of this conspiracy. Sardár Sultán Ahmad Khán was warned of the existence of the plot by his friends at Teherán; at least such was the account given by the Herát Government. Mirzá Zainulábadín and Mirzá Ahmad Ali, a news-writer employed by the Commissioner of Pesháwar, were summoned by the ruler, and ordered to give up the names of the conspirators, and to make a full confession. They at once asserted their innocence, and obtained a day's grace to make secret enquiries. Zainulábadín and his companion, finding that it was impossible to clear themselves of suspicion, escaped from Herát. Ahmad Ali, after undergoing many hardships, reached Kábul in the beginning of September, and appeared before Colonel Edwardes at Pesháwar a month or two later. Mirzá Zainulábadín was sent back to Herát by Abdulah Khan Jamshaidí, and imprisoned by Sultán

† Commissioner of Pesháwar's No. 143, dated 9th November. 1858.

Ahmad Khan. The news-writer, Ahmad Alí, made a full statement to the Commissioner of Pesháwar of all that had occurred at Herát up to the discovery of the plot. He represented himself as the victim of circumstances. Although very unwilling to believe that the British minister at Teherán would resort to underhand means for the overthrow of the Herát Government, yet the news-writer felt bound to credit the assertions of the British vakíl, Zainulabádín, and to fly from Herát rather than compromise the British Government in any way. The real facts of the case were never authoritatively made known to the Panjáb Government. Colonel Edwardes and Sir John Lawrence pointed out to the Supreme Government the necessity of making a formal denial of the complicity of the Indian Government in the disturbances at Herát. It was clear that the uncontradicted report of a plot having been laid by English officers for the destruction of an Afghán ruler, would make a most unfavorable impression on the Amír and his subjects. The Governor-General at once appreciated the worth of this counsel. The ruler of Herát was informed that "the Government of India had not sanctioned or approved, directly or indirectly, any such proceedings as those which were attributed to Mirza Ahmad Alí and Zainulábadín, and it had no cognizance of them."

Sultán Ahmad Khán either believed that the British had made an attempt to expel him from Herát, or was dissatisfied with the results of his overtures to the Indian Government. The effect of the discovery of Mirzá Zainulábadín's intrigues was to change the nature of our relations with Herát. After the flight of the news-writer, Ahmad Alí, the Government of India gave distinct orders that he should have no successor; and it was generally believed that Sultán Ahmad

A. D. 1858.

Secretary to Government's No 5297, dated 20th December 1858.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No 28, dated 11th October 1858

Secretary to Supreme Government's No. 5297, dated 23th December, 1858.

A. D. 1858.

Commissioner of Peshawar's No. 2018, dated 7th July 1858; and No. 248, dated 11th September 1858.

Khán had become unfriendly to the English. Towards the end of 1858, Monr. Khanikoff, a Russian envoy, with a diplomatic suite, arrived at Herát. The Russians were well received by the ruler, and remained at his Court throughout the greater part of the following year. The real object of the embassy was unknown to the British authorities in India.

Secretary's to Chief Commissioner's No. 445, dated 20th January 1859.

Monr. Khanikoff gave out that his mission was a scientific one; but the lavish expenditure of the Russians at Herát, and the distinction with which they were treated by Sultán Ahmad Khán, gave rise to rumours of a different nature. It was affirmed that Monr. Khanikoff's party had for their object the extension of the Russian empire in Asia, and were subsidizing Herát with the sanction of Persia. Soon after the arrival of the Russian mission in Afghánistán, Monr. Khanikoff sent a deputation to the Amír, Dost Muhammad Khán, to request permission to visit Kábul. The envoys were courteously received, but the proffered visit was at once declined. In anticipation of such a proposal, the Amír had asked the advice of the Indian Government as to what reply should be given. But before an answer had been received from Calcutta, Monr. Khanikoff's messengers arrived at Kábul. Dost Muhammad Khán had, therefore, to decide the point himself. His decision gave great satisfaction to the British authorities. The Indian Government could not have approved of the presence of Russians in Kábul, after the opposition made by the Amír, in 1857, to the proposed visit of British officers to his capital.

No event of importance happened at Herát during the year 1859. There was little or no communication between the Amír of Kábul and his nephew, Sultán Ahmad Khán. Nevertheless, Colonel Edwardes, and his successor, Captain

James, frequently urged on Government their conviction that next to the direct dependence of Herát on the Kábul Government the Amír preferred that his nephew should continue in power. It was forcibly pointed out by Capain James that the Barakzais "are united in counsel, however "it may suit them to make a display of rivalry, "and however bitter their private quarrels may be."

A. D. 1859.

Commissioner of Pesháwar's No 93, dated 2nd June 1859.

The following extract from a despatch from the Secretary of State for India (dated 29th August 1859) to Sir Henry Rawlinson, Envoy-Extraordinary at the Court of Persia, was forwarded to the Indian Government as a guide to the policy to be observed in future with regard to Herát :—

Secretary to Supreme Government's No. 53, dated 21st October 1859

"The independence of Herát has long occupied "the serious attention of Her Majesty's Govern- "ment. It has been the object of frequent "negotiations, and of frequent hostilities. The "recent war with Persia was undertaken for the "purpose of checking the encroachments of the "Sháh in this quarter. Recent events, how- "ever, seem to render it doubtful not only how "far our policy in this respect has succeeded, "but how far it is susceptible of being carried "out successfully. It is true that, under the "operation of the treaty of Paris, Herát has "been relieved from the presence of a Persian "garrison, but the Governor, Sultán Ahmad "Khán still observes all the forms of dependence "on the Sháh; and, as far as outward ceremo- "nial is concerned, differs in no respect from the "Governors of the Provinces of the Persian Empire. "It is still of more importance that he is under- "stood to be personally unfriendly to the British "Government, and to have received with cor- "diality the advances which the Russian Govern- "ment has lately been making to him, by sending "a number of Russian officers to Herát ostensibly "for scientific purposes; and, if credit is to be

A. D. 1859.

"attached to the reports from thence, by a
 "system of such lavish expenditure, as almost to
 "subsidizing the whole province. There is rea-
 "son to suppose that this feeling on the part of
 "Sultán Ahmad Khán may have arisen in some
 "measure from an injudicious management of
 "our relations with him, which has caused our
 "motives and our policy to be misconstrued.*
 "Her Majesty's Government are anxious that
 "an effort should be made to efface this unfavor-
 "able impression, and to restore our relations
 "with Herát to their natural condition of friend-
 "liness and mutual respect. * * *

"Any communication to the ruler of Herát
 "would be made most advantageously by some
 "officer selected by you, and sent under your
 "authority. Her Majesty's Government would
 "accordingly instruct you to avail yourself of
 "any opportunity which may occur after reach-
 "ing your post, to send an officer, in whom you
 "have confidence, to visit, but not to remain, at
 "Herát. * * * * *
 "He should be directed to state in the most
 "explicit manner, that the British Government
 "has no other views as to Herát, or its neighbour-
 "hood, than to see the chief of that province in
 "a position of strength and independence, culti-
 "vating friendly relations with all his neighbours,
 "and devoting himself to the extension of com-
 "merce, the improvement of agriculture, and the
 "general well-being of his territory."

* This is the only solution to the doubts, regarding the origin of the Herát conspiracy, which can be found among the records of the Panjáb Government.

CHAPTER X.

EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS OF PUNJAB
ADMINISTRATION.

“136. During the past year, our friendly relations with the Amír of Kábul have been undisturbed. His Highness’ forces, under the command of his son Muhammad Afzal Khán, have conquered the neighbouring State of Kúndúz, and procured the submission of Badakshán ; thus advancing the Afghán frontier to the river Oxus. Captain James, Commissioner of Pesháwar, gives the following account of Kúndúz :—

‘ About two centuries ago, the country north of the Oxus and east of Bukhára, was divided into numerous independent Uzbek States, one of the principal of which was that of Kirári, under a chief named Murád Beg, of the Kataghán tribe of Uzbaks. His son—Muhammad Khán Beg—being driven out of that State by the King of Bukhára, crossed the Oxus, and seized possession of Hazrat Imám, Talikán, and Kúndúz, founding the State of that name, which, with some intervals of dispossession, has remained in the hands of his descendants to the present day. In 1740, Huzrí Beg of the same family, drove the ruling chief into the eastern hills ; and was confirmed in the chiefship of Kúndúz by Nadir Sháh, to whom he submitted himself at Balkh. Shortly afterwards,

A. D. 1859-60

' the State of Kúndúz was annexed by Ahmad
 ' Sháh, Durraní, and formed part of the Afghán
 ' Government of Balkh. In 1785, an Uzbek
 ' chief named Kúat Khán, who had received from
 ' Taimúr Sháh the Government of Narin,—a
 ' district in Kúndúz, to the south east of the
 ' city of that name,—revolted from the Afghán
 ' yoke, and not only assumed the chiefship of
 ' Kúndúz, but spread his conquests over Badak-
 ' shán, and some of the dependencies of Balkh.
 ' When Taimúr, in 1789, marched against
 ' Bukhára, he received the nominal submission
 ' of Kúat Khán, but this was ignored on the
 ' return of the former to Kábul. Many changes
 ' followed, and finally, in 1815, Muhammad
 ' Murád Beg, a 'lineal descendent of the chief
 ' of the same name formerly mentioned, success-
 ' fully asserted the supremacy of his family, and
 ' under him, the Kúndúz State attained its
 ' highest prosperity ; for he included in his
 ' dominions, Badakshán, Balkh, some districts
 ' to the north of the Oxus, and all the country
 ' between that river and Hindú Kúsh. This
 ' was the ruler with whom our officers were
 ' acquainted during our intercourse with Túr-
 ' kistán. He seems to have been a noted
 ' marauder, devoting his life to schemes of
 ' plunder and annexation. He would bring the
 ' people of the countries he conquered to the
 ' unhealthy swamps of the Oxus, where they
 ' died in thousands, their places being soon
 ' taken by others. Muhammad Murád Beg was
 ' succeeded, some few years ago, by his son,—
 ' the present ruler,—Atálík Khán, for whom
 ' no great fear or respect is entertained. He
 ' has gradually lost the chief part of his father's
 ' possessions ; those to the west having fallen
 ' again to the Afghán Governor of Balkh, whilst
 ' Badakshán and the trans-Oxus States have

A. D. 1859-60.

regained their independence. His present dominions comprise only the three districts of Kúndúz, Hazrat Imám, and Talikán. The population consist of Uzbaks and Tajaks. The former are chiefly of the Kataghán tribe, and they occupy the northern part of the province, including the towns of Kúndúz, Hazrat Imám, and Talikán. The Tajiks are generally supposed to be of Persian origin, and were in possession of the country before the Uzbek conquest; they still maintain their independence in some of the neighbouring districts, as Chitral, Darwaz, &c.; but in Kúndúz, they occupy only the southern portion, towards the Hindú Kúsh, including Baghlan, and Anderah, Khost and Fering. They naturally hate their Afghán rulers; and they have a special grievance in the cruel perservance displayed by the late Mír, in transplanting colonies of them to the pestilential fens of the Oxus. Besides the above races, there are several nomad tribes, who visit parts of the province periodically with their flocks, and the population altogether is estimated at 2,00,000. The Mír derives his revenue partly from the produce of agriculture, and partly from taxes on pasture. Both are taken in kind, the former at the rate of one-tenth, the latter at one-fiftieth of the stock, annually. The sheep of the country are celebrated, being the broad-tailed species of Dúmbah. Agriculture is not extensive, except in the proximity of the river. Formerly, the ruler of Kúndúz collected transit duties, on the road from Kábul to Bukhára, but this is now within the Afghán border: the only other items remaining to him being a horse tax, arbitrarily assessed, and a tax on the gold washings of the streams. The whole of his

A. D. 1859-60.

'income may amount to two lakhs per annum. The force at the disposal of the Mír is the militia of the country, who are nearly all horsemen. Every chief holds his estate or office under a military tenure, and is bound to maintain a certain number of horsemen, properly mounted and equipped. He, again, apportions this number amongst the houses under his authority,—from 5 to 10 houses being required to furnish and maintain a horseman. Small presents, and a share in plunder, are the perquisites to which these men look. About three-fourths of this militia are Uzbaks, and one-fourth Tajaks; it may number 8,000 in all. The horses are small but good, and notoriously capable of sustained exertion; they are so reared as to be able to work for several days on the most scanty allowance of food.'

" 137. The policy of the Amír is to carry on the administration through the local chiefs, maintaining strong garrisons of his own troops at some of the principal places, and a line of posts on the Oxus. An attempt at revolt took place at Anderah in the south, but was put down without much difficulty. The King of Bukhára, an Uzbek himself, has not seen, with satisfaction, the advance of the Afgháns. At one time he marched a force to the Oxus, but suddenly retreated. He has endeavoured, but without success, to obtain a celebrated jewel called "Jahángúí" from the Amír of Kábul.

" 138. Rahm Dil Khán, the last of the four Kandahár brothers, died, recently, in Persia. Sultán Ahmad Khán, of Herát, has paid a visit to Teherán, and was favourably received.

" 139. During 1859, several reports of the presence of a Russian envoy at Bukhára were received. His objects were stated to be to

obtain free passage through the King's territories for Russian merchants ; to procure the release of certain Russian subjects in captivity at Bukhára ; and to solicit the consent of the King to Russian vessels being admitted to ply on the Oxus. The King is said to have refused the last request, but to have assigned a Sarai in the town for the accommodation of Russian merchants."

A. D. 1859-60.

" 155. Towards the end of August Khodai Nuggur, a Tartar nobleman, the *Kurawul Begee*, or Lord Chamberlain, of the ruler of Kokán, was received by the Lieutenant-Governor at Murree. He was the bearer of a letter from his sovereign announcing His Highness' accession to the throne of Kokán on the 5th of September 1857, in deposition of his younger brother Khodáyár Khán, who, after a reign of some years duration, had been set aside by the nobility. The letter also acknowledged one addressed to his predecessor in 1857, conveying intelligence of the capture of Delhi. On taking leave the Chamberlain received presents, and a letter, for delivery to the ruler of Kokán on the part of the British Government, and returned as he came by way of Kábul.

A. D. 1860-61.

" 156. The situation of the country of Kokán, between latitude 42 and 45° north, and longitude 65 and 73° east, in the valley of the river Sirr, or Jaxartes, on which stand the principal towns Tashkand, Kokán, and Khojend, and enclosed on the north, east and south by the Altau and Gakchal mountains, is one of importance. The soil is fertile and easily irrigated ; grapes, pomegranates and apricots abound. On the east, trade is carried on with the Chinese settlements of Khoten and Yarkand, and an agent is stationed at Kashgár. On the north

A. D. 1860-61.

there is considerable trade with the Russian settlements; the nearest of which, Ak Musjid, is on the Sirr, some 250 miles from the city of Kokán. The State maintains friendly relations with its Chinese neighbours, and with Khiva, Badakhshán, and Afghánistán; but is frequently engaged in hostilities with Bukhára. The following is the account of the revenue as given to the Commissioner of Pesháwar, Captain James C. B., by the envoy.

'The King takes one-fifth of the grain produce, but a money rate of four Kábuli rupees per *jarib* on fruits and of two Kabuli rupees on vegetables. He receives also one in forty on horses, sheep, and goats, which are the wealth of the Khirgiz and Kuzzák tribes. But a principal item of his revenue is derived from the duties collected on merchandize. These at Kokán are farmed at 40,000 *tillas*, and at Tashkend for the same amount. Formerly there was war between Kokán and the Chinese frontier authorities, but Muhammad Ali Khán settled the dispute, and an agent from Kokán is placed at Kashgár, who collects duties and realizes 20,000 *tillas*. There is also an arrangement with Russia, whereby an annual payment of 20,000 *tillas* is made to Kokán, from the duties collected on Kokáni merchandize at Astrakhán. Roughly estimating the sources of revenue, as detailed by the envoy, I calculate them as follows:—

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Customs, | 1,50,000 <i>tillas</i> . |
| Land revenue, | 25,000 |
| Fruit and vegetables, | 25,000 |
| Sheep, horses, &c., | 1,00,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 3,00,000 |
| | <hr/> |

'or 24 lakhs of Kábuli rupees, equal to 21 lakhs 'late Commanv's.'

"The following is the route taken by the
envoy :—

A. D. 1860-61.

| | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------------|
| Kokán to Karateghin, | ... | 10 days journey. |
| to Koláb, | ... | 4 do. |
| to Kúndúz, | ... | 4 do. |
| to Hazrat Imam, | ... | 3 do. |
| to Tash Koorghan, | ... | 4 do. |
| to Kábul, | ... | 12 do. |

Total, ... 37

"157. A recent traveller* states that some English calicoes sent to Yarkand, Kokán, and Tashkand in 1849 were printed at the two latter towns to suit the taste of the people, and bought up by the Tartar merchants for sale to the nomad tribes of Central Asia. The same writer remarks that 'the Tartar merchants are thoroughly acquainted with the tribe, and know all their wants; they are industrious and energetic in their calling; travelling over thousands of miles. They know every part of the country, and where to find the tribes at all seasons of the year; it is by them that Russia distributes her merchandize over Central Asia.'

"The general character of the existing trade in those regions may be seen in the following extract :—

'Many Tartar merchants in Semipalatinsk† are engaged in trade with the Chinese towns of Tchoubachack and Kuldja; also with Bukhára, Kokán, and Tashkand, between which and Semipalatinsk caravans are frequently passing. They take out printed Russian goods, copper, iron, and hardware, returning with tea, silks,

* Atkinson.

† Situated on the frontier between Siberia and the Kirghiz Steppes, in latitude 50° 30' N. and longitude 80° E., on the river Irtisch.

A. D. 1860-61.

‘and dried fruits, which are forwarded to the fair at Irbit, and are then dispersed,—the greater portion being sent into Siberia, the rest into Europe. The dwellings of the merchants engaged in this trade are commodious and clean, and the rooms contain a great deal of valuable property; in some, rich carpets from Persia and Bukhára are hanging on the walls as well as spread on the floors;—in others they are piled up in bales. In another room are magnificent silks, shawls, and Kalats (or dressing gowns) beautifully embroidered with gold and coloured silks. Ornaments and large vases in porcelain from China, tea services, plates, dishes, and similar works, of singular taste and beauty; diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and a few other precious stones, form parts of their stock in trade. At my visit, shortly after entering the house, tea and dried fruits were handed. Besides these merchants there are others who carry on a great trade with the Kirghiz, supplying them with silk dresses, tea, raisins, and wooden bowls from China, Kalats of printed calico from Kokán, Russian hardware, iron, copper and leather; for which they receive in exchange black and grey fox-skins, black lamb skins, horses, lambs, and sheep.* The journey from Semipalatinsk to Kokán occupies seventy days.

“158. The kingdom of Bukhára lies to the south-west of Kokán, and is separated from it by the Khizil kúm desert, which occupies a vast extent of the country between the Sirr and the Oxus, and the Aktagh or Gakchal mountains. The only incidents during the year calling for mention were the exchange of embassies between this State and Kábul; and the death of the Amír, Nasir-ula-Khán, who was succeeded by his son Sayad Mír Mozuffur Sháh, on the 20th October.

* Atkinson.

The new ruler is reported to be unsuccessful in his government.

A. D. 1860-61.

“159. To the south of Bukhára, on the left bank of the Oxus, lie the Afghán conquered provinces of Balkh and Kúndúz. The former district is reported to have advanced in prosperity since its acquisition by the Amír in 1850. Kúndúz was occupied in 1859 by a force under the command of his eldest son, Muhammad Afzal Khán, who has hitherto maintained his ground in spite of the disaffection of the population and the hostility of the petty chiefs of Maimunna, Siripool, Shibberghaum and Andkho, against whom he has not been able to act effectually. They have always been partially under the influence of Herát, and Sultán Ahmad has, during 1860, aimed at a more definite supremacy. As the avowed and recognized vassal of Persia, this ambitious man, the son-in-law and nephew of the Amír Dost Muhammad, is prepared to play an important part in the politics of Central Asia. He has, however, had to cope with rebellion in his country, on the upper river Múrgháḅ, from the Jamshaydi Eimaks, and recently lost one of his sons in action. His friends the Persians also suffered a disastrous defeat in the autumn at Marv. They are said to have committed some oppressions on the Turkamán tribes in the neighbourhood, who unexpectedly attacked the army when moving in the early dawn; and it is reported that, of a force of 40,000 men and 40 guns, only 2,000 men and one gun escaped to Herát.

“160. With the Amír Dost Muhammad Khán himself our relations have continued to be satisfactory. Some anxiety expressed by His Highness, regarding the pretensions of the Khán of Khelát to the suzerainty of the petty chiefship of Kharán, was completely allayed by the Governor General's declaration of non-interference.

A. D. 1860-61.

And although the Amír on two occasions received deputations from the Mahsúd Wazírís, he cautiously abstained from any intervention in their favor susceptible of offensive interpretation. The peace of Afghánistán is dependent on His Highness' life, and a general apprehension regarding the future is felt by his subjects; who see, in the rival pretensions of the heir apparent Sher Ali Khán, of Sardar Afzal Khán, the conqueror of Kúndúz, and of Sultán Ahmad Khán, the vassal of Persia, portents of impending anarchy and disturbance."

A. D. 1861-62.

"168. The south-western extremity of the Hindú Kúsh is known as the Síah Koh, or Black Mountain. On and beneath its southern slopes is the district of Gour. Rugged, with precipitous hills, crowned with forests, its valleys are inhabited by a nomad population, amongst whom the Taimúní tribe hold a principal place. The strength of the country has usually secured to its chief a certain degree of independence. But about the year 1845, the Wazír Yár Muhammad Khán of Herát brought it under subjection; and, transporting many of the Taimúnís to Herát, forced some to reside in the city and others to serve in the army. He subsequently appointed Aktár Khán, Alízaí, Governor of Gour, on account of his known hostility to Kohan-díl Khán, the then ruler of Kandahár.

"169. At the commencement of the year under report, Abdúl Ghafúr Khán was chief of the Taimúnís. It is said that he could summon twelve thousand horsemen to his standard; and enjoyed a revenue of three lakhs of rupees. The chief place is Tybárah.

"170. The strong fort of Farah is situated on the road between Kandahár and Herát, and

commands the frontier district of the Kábul territories abutting on Herát and Gour.

A. D. 1861-62.

"171. The Tamúní chief, instigated by private enmity, procured the murder of a kinsman of his own, resident in the Farah district. The Governor, Muhammad Sharíf Khán, a son of the Amír, resenting this outrage, applied to the Amír for permission to punish its perpetrator ; and, though at first discouraged, ultimately obtained it on the ground that the chief was a feudatory of the Afghán Government, and had formerly been coerced by an Afghán force, under the command of Jalálúdín Khán, son of the late Wazír Muhammad Akbár Khán.

"172. On hearing of the preparations being made, Sultán Ahmad Khán, the ruler of Herát ; remonstrated ; and his wife, the daughter of the Amír, together with her son, Sháh Newáz Khán, anxious to prevent a family feud, went over to Farah and had an interview with Muhammad Sharíf Khán. It was given out that her entreaties had prevailed, and that a pardon had been extended to Abdúl Ghafúr Khán. That chief accordingly disbanded his followers. But Muhammad Sharíf Khán then made a sudden night march, compelling him to flight, and leading in a few days to the complete reduction of his country—the people of which had been alienated by his oppression.

"173. Abdúl Ghafúr repaired to Herát, but Sultán Ján was then endeavouring to reduce the Mír of Maimanna to subjection. He did not ultimately succeed ; and, at the beginning of March, he suddenly advanced to Subzawar, half way between Herát and Farah. He was accompanied by Mír Afzal Khán, son of Púr-dil Khán, and Sardár Ghúlám Mohíúdín Khán, son of Sardár Kohan-dil Khán, who strongly urged him to push on to Kandahár. His force consisted of

A. D. 1861-62.

8,000 regulars and three guns, together with a crowd of militia, which soon moved on Khillat-gah, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Farah, the place where former kings used to hold investitures.

“174. Sardár Saifúlla Khán, the youthful son of the Amír, held the citadel of Farah with four companies of regular infantry, 200 jazailchís, 200 horse, and four small guns, but the gates were in the hands of the Kháns of Farah. After an interval of nineteen days, three of these, Khán Muhammad Khán, Idú Khél; Jabár Khán, Núrzi; and Muhammed Khán, Achakzai; opened the gates, and a day or two after the Sardár was obliged to surrender. Protection was extended to the ladies of the garrison: the troops were disarmed and turned out. The Kandahár Sardárs advanced as far as Ghirishk, on the Hilmand, but did not attempt to make any demonstration against Farah.

“175. The unwelcome news reached Amír Dost Muhammad Khán at Jalálábád. He immediately addressed letters to the principal personages of Kandahár requiring them to obey the directions of Muhammad Amín Khán; and warned the Kháns of the Jalálábád, Kábul, Ghazni, and Kohistán provinces, together with Sádut Khán of Lalpúra, to be in readiness with their partisans for service. The Amír himself, after some unavoidable delays, marched towards Kandahár and reached Ghirishk on the 9th of June.

“176. On the 16th of October 1861, died Sardár Sultán Muhammad Khán at Kábul. He was the son of Payendah Khán, surnamed Saráfráz Khán, the Wazír and victim of Sháh Zamán, and his mother was a Thoki Ghilji. In the partition of the Kábul territories which followed the acknowledgment of the pre-eminence of Sardár Azím Khán, the five brothers, of whom Sultán Muhammad was the third, obtained the govern-

ment of Pesháwar. Having, together with the present Amír, Dost Muhammad Khán, treacherously aided Ranjít Singh's victory at Nowshera, which gave Pesháwar to the Sikhs, he was maintained in possession jointly with Dost Muhammad, who subsequently resided at Hashtnagar, on condition of paying a tribute of horses and rice. Afterwards, when the Kandahár brothers interfered to prevent Dost Muhammad Khán's occupation of Kábul, and at the same set aside the imbecile son of Azim Khán, for the preservation of the balance of power in the Muhammadzai family, Sultán Muhammad was allowed to rule at Kábul. Here, owing to the opposition of the Kizzilbashes, of whom was Dost Muhammad's mother, he favored the Súni sect, and excited religious strife; and being, though not without bravery and capacity, frivolous, indolent, and luxurious, he was in no long time ousted by the more enterprising Amír. Retiring to Pesháwar, he again intrigued with the Sikhs, who, under the guidance of Harí Singh Nálwa, and with the Sháhzádah, Nao Nihál Singh, at their head, occupied Pesháwar with 9,000 men, whilst Sultán Muhammad and his brothers fled across the border. At that time Dost Muhammad had marched towards Kandahár to meet Shah Shújá-ul-Múlk, who had appeared in force from Shikárpúr. Sultán Muhammad, distrusting the fortune of his brother, attempted to establish his own influence in the Jalálábád district, but the complete defeat of the Sháh made him press on to Kábul in time to adorn the triumphant return of Dost Muhammad. A religious war being projected against the Sikhs by the Amír, Sultán Muhammad during the negotiations which followed went over to the enemy. Ranjít Singh then conferred on him the districts of Hashtnagar, the Doabeh, Kohát, and Hangú. He was also made Gover-

A. D. 1861-62.

nor of the fort of Rhotas ; but, subsequently falling under the displeasure of Raja Jawáhir Singh, the Sikh Minister, he was summoned to Lahore and placed under surveillance. The Amír long regarded Sultán Muhammad as an enemy. When urged to settle his differences with the Sikhs, by assenting to his restoration to Pesháwar, he replied that "his brother would gladly compass his destruction ; that with Sultán Muhammad at Pesháwar, he would not be safe for a day , and that he would rather see it in the hands of the Sikhs." On the British occupying Lahore, Sultán Muhammad was released by Sir Henry Lawrence ; and he justified the Amír's bad opinion of him by giving up his liberator's brother, General George Lawrence, and Mrs. Lawrence, who had taken refuge with him at Kohát, when the Sikh troops mutinied at Pesháwar. On this account, Sir John Lawrence declined to accede to the request of Ghulám Haidar Khán, the late heir-apparent of Kábul, that he should be restored to the fiefs which he held under the Sikhs. He afterwards enjoyed a jaghír in Lughman, and resided in the Kábul territories until his death. He was averse to the English alliance. His brother, Pír Muhammad Khán, died a short time before him.

"177. In the first half of 1861 some hostilities occurred between Bukhára and Khokánd ; these have, it is reported, been terminated by a treaty."

A. D. 1862-63.

"249. In order to understand the progress of events at Herát during the year under report, it will be advisable to state briefly the origin of the quarrel between the Amír, Dost Muhammad, and his son-in-law, Sultán Ahmad Khán, ruler of Herát.

"250. The Taimúni chief, originally a feuda-

tory of the Afghán Government, but more immediately subject to the ruler of Herát, caused a kinsman of his own, resident in the Farah district, to be murdered. The governor of Farah, Muhammad Sharíf Khán, one of the younger sons of the Amír, prepared to resent this outrage, but for a time appeared to be appeased by the earnest entreaties of his half-sister, wife of Sultán Ahmad Khán, who travelled from Herát to Farah to prevent the threatened family feud.

“251. But, no sooner had Muhammad Sharíf Khán lulled the suspicions of his adversary, than he made a successful night attack, and occupied the territory of the Taimúni chief, who fled to Herát, and sought the protection and aid of Sultán Ahmad Khán.

“252. The chief of Herát marched with a force of about 8,000 regulars, and 3 guns, against Farah, the garrison of which was obliged, through the treachery of the Kháns who held the gates, to surrender.

“253. This event took place on the 30th March 1862, and the unwelcome news reached Amír Dost Muhammad Khán at Jalálábád. He immediately collected his forces to punish his son-in-law, the ruler of Herát, and marching for Farah, reached Ghirishk on the 9th June. Here the narrative of events during the past year now commences.

“254. On the 16th June the Amír crossed his forces over the river Helmand, and, meeting with no opposition, marched direct upon Farah, the fort of which he closely invested. After a very short siege, and before Sultan Ahmad Khán had made more than one march for the relief of the place, Sardár Mír Afzal Khán, who commanded the garrison, surrendered Farah to the Amír, on the 29th June 1862.

“255. Having accomplished the primary object

A. D. 1862-63.

of his expedition, the Amír declared his intention of not returning until he had taken Herát also, and commenced operations for an onward march by secretly tampering with the chiefs and influential men inside the city.

"Encouraged by the favorable replies of these chiefs to his overtures, the Amír advanced towards Herát on the 10th July, Sultán Ahmad Khán's force retiring before him.

"256. Sundry skirmishes took place between the hostile forces, but without any important result; and, on the 28th July, the Amír, Dost Muhammad Khán, marched to the walls of Herát, and commenced to lay regular siege to the city. It would be unprofitable to detail the progress of this protracted siege. There has been the usual amount of intrigue and treachery, of defection from the ranks of the Amír, and desertion from the garrison of Herát. Abundant protestations of obedience to the Amír were from time to time made by his besieged son-in-law, followed up by vigorous sorties and cannonades. But to all attempts at negotiation, and offers of qualified submission, the Amír only turned a deaf ear, and adhered to his demand, from which his fiery spirit would permit no abatement, for unconditional surrender of the fort of Herát.

"257. His daughter, wife of Sultán Ahmad Khán, who urged in vain before her father the cause of her husband, died at an early stage of the siege; and, on the 6th of April 1863, Sultán Ahmad Khán, also, died. Still the Amír held to his determination of taking the place, which was for some time gallantly defended by Sháh Nawáz Khán, son of the deceased ruler; but, finally, on the 27th May, Amír Dost Muhammad Khán made a vigorous attack, and, not altogether unaided by the treachery of the garrison, made himself master of Herát.

" 258. The news of the fall of Herát was too speedily followed by the melancholy intelligence of the death of the Amír, which took place in Herát, on the 9th of June. Amír Sher Ali Khán, appointed heir apparent in the life time of his father, now rules in his stead.

A. D. 1862-63.

APPENDIX II.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND HIS MAJESTY THE SHAH OF PERSIA.

In the name of God, the Almighty, the All-merciful.

HER MAJESTY the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Sháh of Persia, being both equally and sincerely animated by a desire to put a stop to the evils of a war, which is contrary to their friendly wishes and dispositions, and to re-establish on a solid basis the relations of amity which had so long existed between the two exalted States, by means of a peace calculated for their mutual advantage and benefit, have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, for carrying into effect this desired object, the following, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—the Right Honorable Henry Richard Charles, Baron Cowley, &c.,

And His Majesty the Sháh of Persia—His Excellency the Abode of Greatness, the Favourite of the King, Ferokh Khán, &c.;

Who, having exhibited and exchanged their full powers, and found them to be in due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.—From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the one part, and His Majesty the Sháh of Persia, on the other, as likewise between their respective successors, dominions, and subjects.

ARTICLE II.—Peace being happily concluded between their said Majesties, it is hereby agreed that the forces of Her Majesty the Queen shall evacuate the Persian territory subject to conditions and stipulations hereafter specified.

ARTICLE III.—The high contracting parties stipulate that all prisoners taken during the war, by either belligerent, shall be immediately liberated.

ARTICLE IV.—His Majesty the Sháh of Persia engages, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, to publish a full and complete amnesty absolving all Persian subjects who may have in any way been compromised by their intercourse with the British forces during the war, from any responsibility for their conduct in that respect, so that no persons, of whatever degree, shall be exposed to vexation, persecution, or punishment on that account.

ARTICLE V.—His Majesty the Sháh of Persia engages further to take immediate measures for withdrawing from the territory and city of Herát, and from every other part of Afghánistán, the Persian troops and authorities now stationed therein; such withdrawal to be effected within three months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

ARTICLE VI.—His Majesty the Sháh of Persia agrees to relinquish all claims to sovereignty over the territory and city of Herát, and the countries of Afghánistán, and never to demand from the chiefs of Herát, or of the countries of Afghánistán, any marks of obedience, such as the coinage, or “khotbeh,” or tribute.

His Majesty further engages to abstain hereafter from all interference with the internal affairs of Afghánistán. His Majesty promises to recognize the independence of Herát, and of the whole of Afghánistán, and never to attempt to interfere with the independence of those States.

In case of differences arising between the Government of Persia and the countries of Herát and Afghánistán, the Persian Government engages to refer them for adjustment to the friendly offices of the British Government, and not to take up arms unless those friendly offices fail of effect.

The British Government, on their part, engage at all times to exert their influence with the States of Afghánistán to prevent any cause of umbrage being given by them, or by any of them, to the Persian Government; and the British Government, when appealed to by the Persian Government, in the event of difficulties arising, will use their best endeavours to compose such differences in a manner just and honorable to Persia.

ARTICLE VII.—In case of any violation of the Persian frontier by any of the States referred to above, the Persian Government shall have the right, if due satisfaction is not given, to undertake military operations for the repression and punishment of the aggressors; but it is distinctly understood and agreed to, that any military force of the Sháh which may cross the frontier for the above-mentioned purpose, shall retire within its own territory as soon as its object is accomplished, and that the exercise of the above-mentioned right is not to be made a pretext for the permanent occupation by Persia, or for the annexation to the Persian dominions, of any town or portion of the said States.

ARTICLE VIII.—The Persian Government engages to set at liberty, without ransom, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, all prisoners taken during the operations of the Persian troops in Afghánistán, and all Afgháns who may be detained either as hostages or as captives on political grounds in any part of the Persian dominions shall, in like manner, be set free; provided that the Afgháns, on their part, set at liberty, without ransom, the Persian prisoners and captives who are in the power of Afgháns.

Commissioners on the part of the two contracting powers shall, if necessary, be named to carry out the provisions of this Article.

ARTICLE IX.—The high contracting parties engage that in the establishment and recognition of Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, each shall be placed in the dominions of the other on the footing of the most favored nation; and that the treatment of their respective subjects and their trade, shall also, in every respect, be placed on the footing of the treatment of the subjects and commerce of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE X.—Immediately after the ratifications of this treaty have been exchanged, the British mission shall return to Teherán, when the Persian Government agrees to receive it with the apologies and ceremonies specified in the separate note signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of the high contracting parties.

ARTICLE XI.—The Persian Government engages, within three months after the return of the British mission to Teherán, to appoint a Commission, who, in conjunction with a Commissioner to be appointed by the British Government, shall examine into, and decide upon, the pecuniary claims of all British subjects upon the Government of Persia, and shall pay such of those claims as may be pronounced just, either in one sum or by instalments, within a period not exceeding one year from the date of the award of the Commissioners. And the same Commissioners shall examine into, and decide upon, the claims upon the Persian Government of all Persian subjects, or the subjects of other powers, who, up to the date of the signature of the British mission from Teherán, were under British protection, and who have not since renounced.

—Saving the provisions in the latter part of the preceding

Article, the British Government will renounce the right of protecting hereafter any Persian subject not actually in the employment of the British mission, or of British Consuls-General, Consuls, vice-Consuls, or Consular Agents, provided that no such right is accorded to, or exercised by, any other foreign powers; but in this, as in all other respects, the British Government requires, and the Persian Government engages, that the same privileges and immunities shall in Persia be conferred upon, and shall be enjoyed by, the British Government, its servants, and its subjects, and that the same respect and consideration shall be shewn for them, and shall be enjoyed by them, as are conferred upon and enjoyed by, and shewn to the most favored foreign Government, its servants, and its subjects.

ARTICLE XIII.—The high contracting parties hereby renew the agreement entered into by them in the month of August 1851 (Shawal 1267), for the suppression of the slave trade in the Persian Gulf, and engage further that the said agreement shall continue in force after the date at which it expires, that is, after the month of August 1862, for the further space of ten years, and for so long afterwards as neither of the high contracting parties shall, by a formal declaration, annul it; such declaration not to take effect until one year after it is made.

ARTICLE XIV.—Immediately on the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the British troops will desist from all acts of hostility against Persia; and the British Government engages, further, that as soon as the stipulations in regard to the evacuation, by the Persian troops, of Herát and the Afghán territories, as well as in regard to the reception of the British mission at Teherán, shall have been carried into full effect, the British troops shall, without delay, be withdrawn from all ports, places, and islands belonging to Persia; but the British Government engages that, during this interval, nothing shall be designedly done by the Commander of the British troops to weaken the allegiance of the Persian subjects towards the Sháh, which allegiance it is, on the contrary, their earnest desire to confirm; and, further, the British Government engages that, as far as possible, the subjects of Persia shall be secured against inconvenience from the presence of the British troops, and that all supplies which may be required for the use of those troops, and which the Persian Government engages to direct its authorities to assist them in procuring, shall be paid for at the fair market-price by the British Commissariat, immediately on delivery.

ARTICLE XV.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Bagdad, in the space of three months, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, in quadruplicate, this fourth day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven.

(Signed) COWLEY,

(Signed) FEROKH (*in Persian*).

NOTE.

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of the French, and His Persian Majesty's Ambassador-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his said Imperial Majesty, being duly authorized by their respective Governments, hereby agree that the following ceremonial shall take place, for the re-establishment of diplomatic and friendly relations between the Courts of Great Britain and Persia. This agreement to have the same force and value as if inserted in the treaty of peace concluded this day between the undersigned:—

The Sadr Azim shall write, in the Sháh's name, a letter to Mr. Murray, expressing his regret at having uttered and given currency to the offensive imputations upon the honor of Her Majesty's Minister, requesting to withdraw his own letter of the 19th of November, and the two letters of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 26th of November, one of which contains a rescript from the Sháh respecting the imputation upon Mr. Murray, and declaring in the same letter that no such further rescript from the Sháh, as that enclosed herewith in copy, was communicated, directly or indirectly, to any of the foreign missions at Teherán.

A copy of this letter shall be communicated, officially, by the Sadr Azim to each of the foreign missions at Teherán, and the substance of it shall be made public in that capital.

The original letter shall be conveyed to Mr. Murray, at Bagdad, by the hands of some high Persian officer, and shall be accompanied by an invitation to Mr. Murray, in the Sháh's name, to return with the mission to Teherán, on His Majesty's assurance that he will be received with all the honors and consideration due to the representative of the British Government; another person of suitable rank being sent to conduct him, as Mehmandar, on his journey through Persia.

Mr. Murray, on approaching the capital, shall be received by persons of high rank deputed to escort him to his residence in the town. Immediately on his arrival there, the Sadr Azim shall go in state to the British mission, and renew friendly relations with Mr. Murray, leaving the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to accompany him to the Royal Palace, the Sadr Azim receiving Mr. Murray, and conducting him to the presence of the Sháh.

The Sadr Azim shall visit the mission at noon on the following day, which visit Mr. Murray will return, at latest, on the following day, before noon.

Done at Paris, this fourth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven.

(Signed) COWLEY,

(Signed) FEROKH (*in Persian*).

From the Sháh of Persia, to the Sadr Azim.

December 1855.

Last night we read the paper written by the English Minister Plenipotentiary, and were much surprised at the rude, unmeaning, disgusting, and insolent tone and purport. The letter which he before wrote was also impertinent. We have also heard that, in his own house, he is constantly speaking disrespectfully of us and of you; but we never believed. Now, however, he has introduced it in an official letter. We are, therefore, convinced that this man, Mr. Murray, is stupid, ignorant, and insane, who has the audacity and impudence to insult even Kings! From the time of Sháh Sultán Hussain (when Persia was in its most disorganized state, and during the last fourteen years of his life, when, by serious illness, he was incapacitated for business), up to the present time, no disrespect towards the sovereign has been tolerated, either from the Government or its agent. What has happened now, that this foolish Minister Plenipotentiary acts with such temerity? It appears that our friendly missions are not acquainted with the wording of that document. Give it now to Mirzá Abbás and Mirzá Malcum, that they may take and duly explain it to the French minister and Hyder Effendi, that they may see how improperly he has written. Since last night till now our time has been passed in vexation. We now command you, in order that you may yourself know, and also acquaint the missions, that until the Queen of England herself makes us a suitable apology for the insolence of her envoy, we will never receive back this her foolish minister, who is a simpleton, nor accept from her Government any other minister.

(True copy,)

R. SIMSON,
*Under-Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.*

