

AFGHANISTAN, No. 2.

FURTHER PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

AFFAIRS OF AFGHANISTAN.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



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CORRESPONDENCE.

No. 1.

No. 32 of 1873.

Government of India.—Foreign Department.

Secret.

To His Grace the DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

MY LORD DUKE,

Fort William, 28th March 1873.

WE have the honour to forward copy of papers relative to the arrangements made for communicating to His Highness the Ameer of Afghanistan the decision of Her Majesty's Government on the Seistan boundary question. These arrangements are fully detailed in the letter to the Punjab Government, dated the 21st March 1873.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

NORTHBROOK.
NAPIER OF MAGDALA.
R. TEMPLE.
B. W. ELLIS.
ARTHUR HOBHOUSE.
E. C. BAYLEY.

Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

Khureeta, dated Fort William, 21st March 1873.

From his Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL of INDIA to His Highness the AMEER of AFGHANISTAN, Wali of Cabul.

WITH reference to Your Highness' letter, dated 13th November 1871, Your Highness will remember that the Commissioner of Peshawur subsequently expressed a hope on the part of my predecessor that when the Seistan boundary settlement was over you would be able to arrange for an interview with an officer of my Government, who would explain the details and lay before Your Highness some considerations affecting the welfare of Afghanistan.

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs having confirmed General Goldsmid's award, I have deputed Mr. Donald Macnabb, Commissioner of Peshawur, an officer of high rank and dignity, in whom I have full confidence, to explain to Your Highness the details of the boundary, and to place before you certain papers relating to the final settlement of the question. Mr. Macnabb will also explain to Your Highness the negotiations which have now been satisfactorily concluded with the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, whereby the Russian Government have agreed to recognize and respect the integrity and independence of the territories now in Your Highness' possession.

Whatever Mr. Macnabb may tell Your Highness on these two important questions, consider as coming from myself.

Enclosure 2 in No. 1. (Extract.)

No. 534 P., dated Fort William, 21st March 1873.

From SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of INDIA, Foreign Department, to SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of the PUNJAB.

IN continuation of the correspondence on the subject of the Seistan boundary, I am directed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council to forward, for the information of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, an extract from a telegram dated

7th March, intimating that Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has confirmed General Goldsmid's award. The Lieutenant-Governor is aware that (under the terms agreed to by His Highness the Ameer in his letter of 13th November 1871 to the Viceroy, received under cover of your No. 451, dated 23rd November 1871,) this decision of Her Majesty's Government is final, and binding upon both parties.

2. On 15th December 1871, the Commissioner of Peshawur was instructed to inform the Ameer that the Viceroy hoped, when the arbitration was over, to arrange for an interview between the Ameer and some officer of the British Government, who would explain the details and lay before His Highness some considerations affecting the welfare of Afghanistan. It is with respect to this proposed arrangement that I am now instructed to address you.

3. His Excellency in Council had hoped that General Pollock would have been able to return to India and be the medium of communicating the settlement to the Ameer. His Excellency in Council felt that, considering the connection of General Pollock with the previous discussions and inquiry in Seistan, this arrangement would probably have been most satisfactory to the Ameer. Circumstances, however, do not admit of General Pollock's return from England at present, and other arrangements must be had recourse to.

4. The Governor-General in Council proposes, if it be agreeable to the Ameer, to depute a British officer with full instructions to visit His Highness at Cabul or Jellalabad or Candahar, or any other place in Afghanistan which the Ameer may name as most suitable. Probably Mr. Macnabb, the Commissioner of Peshawur, would be the best officer to select for this purpose.

5. I enclose, for the Lieutenant-Governor's information, a copy of General Goldsmid's arbitral award, and a map showing the boundary which has now been finally decided on by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as ultimate arbitrator. The evidence on which this decision has been arrived at is already known to Syud Noor Mahomed Shah, the Afghan Commissioner, who has probably explained all the circumstances to the Ameer. His Excellency in Council will therefore abstain from making any reference to the evidence, which (including the appeal from General Goldsmid's award made on both sides) has been fully and carefully weighed by Her Majesty's Government with a view to a settlement in accordance with the rights and best interests of both parties. It will, however, be the duty of the officer deputed to meet the Ameer to explain the details of the actual award with fulness and accuracy, and to leave with His Highness a Persian translation of the award and of the map. Translations will accordingly be forwarded to you in due course for that purpose.

No. 2.

No. 46 of 1873.

Government of India—Foreign Department.

Secret.

To His Grace the DUKE of ARGYLL, K.T., Her Majesty's Secretary of State
for India.

MY LORD DUKE,

Simla, 22nd May 1873.

IN continuation of our Despatch No. 32, dated the 28th March last, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of further correspondence relative to the deputation of a British Officer to explain to the Ameer of Cabul, at a personal interview, the particulars respecting the Seistan Boundary Settlement.

2. It is the wish of His Highness in the first instance to depute an Agent from Cabul to confer with the Viceroy on the subject, and his Excellency has expressed his willingness to receive such an Agent.

We have, &c.

(Signed) NORTHBROOK.
R. TEMPLE.
B. W. ELLIS.
H. W. NORMAN.
ARTHUR HOBHOUSE.
E. C. BAYLEY

Enclosure 1 in No. 2.

No. 67 C., dated Peshawur, 5th April 1873.

From COMMISSIONER and SUPERINTENDENT, Peshawur Division, to SECRETARY to the
GOVERNMENT of INDIA, Foreign Department.

I HAVE the honour to forward translations of two letters from the Agent at Cabul, dated 31st March 1873.

2. The first of these letters is a reply to my letter of the 23rd March, written on the receipt of telegraphic instructions from the Secretary, Punjab Government, directing the Agent to communicate to His Highness the Ameer the wish of the Government that a British Officer shall have an opportunity of meeting His Highness to explain the details of the decision of the Seistan boundary. This letter, though written by the Agent is, as he explains, really drafted by the Ameer's orders by the officials of his Durbar after a lengthened discussion, the details of which are given in the Agent's second letter.

3. There can be no doubt that the second letter was written at the express request of the Cabul Court, as a means of bringing indirectly to the notice of the Government the anxieties and expectations that now occupy the attention of the Ameer's counsellors; but the Ameer himself cannot have been aware of the style and purport of some of the observations made, which I am sure would not have met with His Highness' approval.

This letter is in the handwriting of Moonshee Bukhtiar Khan, attached to the Agency, and is, I conceive, compiled by him from notes made of the discussions in Durbar at which he was permitted to be present. It is signed by the Agent.

4. I have, as authorised by your telegram of the 21st March, told the Agent to inform His Highness of the confirmation by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the arbitral award regarding Seistan; and have also intimated that advantage would be taken of an interview between the Ameer and a British Officer deputed by the Government to make His Highness fully acquainted with the progress and conclusion of the communications which have taken place between the British Government and the Government of Russia, on the subject of the boundaries of Afghanistan.

Enclosure 2 in No. 2.

TRANSLATION of CABUL AGENT'S LETTER, dated 31st March 1873, to the COMMISSIONER and SUPERINTENDENT of Peshawur Division.

THE Ameer, after perusing your letter to me of the 23rd March, received by me on the 27th March, and after consultation with the officers of his Durbar, said: If it is the wish of the British Government that one of their officers should proceed to Cabul to explain the details of the decision, it would be a cause of satisfaction to my mind if I were first informed, in general terms, what decision has been arrived at, that I might reflect on it. If this decision is in accordance with my sentiments good and well. Should it be out of my power to carry out the conditions of the decision, I will explain the circumstances to the Government. If the coming of the Sahib, in addition to Seistan matters, concerns the prosperity, consolidation, and other arrangements of the affairs and frontiers of the whole kingdom that God has given me, I should wish to be kindly informed of this beforehand.

This letter is sent after perusal by His Highness the Ameer.

Enclosure 3 in No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Agent at Cabul, dated 31st March 1873, to COMMISSIONER and SUPERINTENDENT, Peshawur Division.

AFTER receipt of your letter of the 23rd March, there was consultation among the officers of the Durbar for three days as to whether the deputation of an English officer was merely to explain the decision of the Seistan boundary question, or whether he would be entrusted with the communication of some important information concerning the frontiers of Afghanistan. There was lengthened discussion on this point. Some said it had been mentioned in the murrasillas of his Excellency the Viceroy to the Ameer, that on the conclusion of the Seistan decision a Sahib should be sent to Cabul with a view to the advantages of the State. And though nothing was yet known of what the advantage referred to was to consist in, many of the

Durbarees indulged in extravagant hopes, in the belief that the Sahib would be sent not alone to explain the decision of the Seistan boundary, but because of the near approach of the Russians, and the obvious tendency of their policy, which is to extend their power in Asia; he may be sent to arrange for the strengthening of Afghanistan, and the determination of its limits, as the boundaries of Afghanistan may be termed the frontiers of Hindoostan, and there is no possibility of establishing the frontiers of Afghanistan firmly without the intervention of the English Government; and that strength cannot be established without assistance in the munitions of war and large sums of money before any emergency actually arises. If the coming of the Sahib is only with reference to the Seistan question, and not for the lasting advantage of Afghanistan, it will be a great injury to the Afghan Government, as there exists in some quarters a great respect and consideration for the Afghan Government derived from its association with that of England, which will disappear if the support of England is withheld, especially the neighbouring countries will note any falling off in interest taken by England in the welfare of Afghanistan. The facts of the case as regards Seistan are these: that at this time had it not been for the constant restraint of the servants of this Government, in accordance with the wishes of the English Government, there would not have been the slightest difficulty in taking advantage of the disturbances in Seistan and the disposition of its people to occupy the whole as the Persians did. In fact, if the people in that direction were allowed to act, and the Turkomans stirred into action, it would be easy to take not Seistan alone but Meshed also; and, as Meshed could so easily be brought under the power of Afghanistan, it would not be difficult to put Afghanistan in a position of superiority to Persia. But what can be done when, because of their desire to preserve the goodwill of England, the officers of Afghanistan have made no move? If the Government of England has upheld General Goldsmid's decision of the Seistan boundary, it will be a cause of great injury both apparent and real; as, in the first place, Ibrahim Khan and Mahomed Shureef Khan, and others, who have lands both in Seistan Proper and Outer Seistan, will be disheartened, and the lot of those who are at the same time subjects of both the Persian and the Afghan Governments will be a hard one, and as it will be unavoidably necessary for both Powers to keep a certain number of troops on their respective borders, it will be difficult to avoid small misunderstandings and collisions which will one day lead to serious disturbances. It will be impossible to demarcate the line drawn by General Goldsmid through the uninhabited country without great expense.

Again, when increasing the numbers of the Afghan army, we hoped that the English Government would help us with arms and money, and give us a hint, either secretly or openly, to advance our frontiers in the Seistan direction. Had we not expected this, our original forces were sufficient for our country as it existed. If we should now reduce this newly-raised army, all those evils which are to be dreaded at some distant day would come on us at once in consequence of our weakness. One reflection arising from the Seistan decision is that, as the British Government, though considering Seistan to belong of right to Afghanistan, has divided that country between Persia and Afghanistan in order to avoid dispute, it may be that one day the Government of Bokhara, acting under Russian instigation, may lay claim to a portion of Balkh on the ground that it is part of Turkistan, and the English Government may, in order to prevent an open rupture, agree to the cession of Maimena or Budukshan or any other Province, and in this way Afghanistan may become dismembered. It is to be remembered that whenever the Russians, either in the current year or the next, take possession of Merve, only 12 marches will separate them from Herat, and there are no mountain ranges or other obstacles on the road. Undoubtedly, as soon as they have established themselves in Merve, the Russians will begin to enter into negotiations of friendship, trade, and political relations with the Cabul Government either openly or secretly, and we shall be placed in a most difficult position on account of our alliance with England in dealing with the questions brought forward by Russia, so that extreme emergencies will arise with which we shall be unable to cope. From all that appears in the English papers about the preparations for the advance of a Russian army, and all that the merchants tell us of the intention of Russia to open up Western Asia, it is clear the day will come when the Ruler of Afghanistan will either have to agree to all that Russia proposes, or to abandon his country, as neither are the Afghans able to contend with and check the Russians, nor is there any hope of an English army being sent into Afghanistan to protect it. Nor has the English Government as yet fixed on any place or provision in Hindoostan or Europe to which the nobles of Afghanistan may retire if driven from their own country. Taking all these matters into consideration, it would seem to be advisable that an Agent should be sent to ascertain first of all the views of the English Government

on the Seistan boundary, and all other questions affecting the interests of Afghanistan. Some of the councillors advised that before sending an envoy to Hindoostan, a written explanation of the Seistan decision should be solicited. If the decision is one that is acceptable to the Cabul Government, and no injury to Afghanistan is to be dreaded from it, and if the British Officer be empowered to make communications indicative of the care of the British Government for the firm establishment of all the boundaries of Afghanistan, and such intention of the British Government be communicated to us by letter, it will be advisable to make arrangements for the reception of the officer deputed to Cabul, and if the result of the interview with him be not satisfactory on all points, it will then be necessary to send an envoy to Hindoostan. If the English officer is to be sent simply to explain the Seistan boundary decision that could be done by written communication, and there is no necessity for a Sahib to undertake the trouble of the journey on this account; indeed, that would be a distinct loss to the Afghan Government. There are only two results to be expected; either the decision will be pleasing to the Cabul Government, or it will be displeasing; if it is displeasing to the Cabul Government, and that Government, seeing injury to its own interests in the proposed arrangements, should have any objection to urge, the British Government would certainly be annoyed, and it would become generally known that there was a feeling of dissatisfaction between the two Governments, and if the decision is accepted the ancient rights of Afghanistan must be abandoned. If the decision be communicated by letter, an answer can be sent by letter after mature consideration such as shall best conform to the interests of both countries.

In fine, after lengthened arguments between the Ameer and all his advisers, it was resolved to draw out a draft of an answer to your letter to me, and to give it to me with the request that I would transmit a copy of it to you. I have, therefore, copied it word for word, and have sent it to you separately as representing the answer given by His Highness the Ameer to the communication made by me to His Highness under your instructions. The real wish of the Ameer is that he should first be informed by letter of the points on which the British Government wish to make communications to him through the medium of one of their officers deputed to Cabul, so that he may weigh the matter in his mind and give a suitable answer.

Enclosure 4 in No. 2.

No. 77 C.

From D. C. MACNABB, Esq., Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawur Division, to
C. U. AITCHISON, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign
Department.

Sir,

Dated Peshawur, 14th April 1873.

ON the 4th instant I wrote two letters to the Agent at Cabul, one specifying, for the information of His Highness the Amir, the two subjects which it is the wish of his Government should be fully explained to His Highness at the proposed meeting, and the other desiring him to ascertain the wishes of the Amir on the subject of his Excellency the Viceroy's offer of Enfield Rifles for the use of his troops.

The Agent writes on the 10th instant that he has communicated the purport of these letters to the Amir, and that His Highness expressed his intention of deliberating on both matters before making any answer. I have, therefore, the honour to communicate this report of the Agent for your information as explaining the delay in the receipt of an answer.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) D. C. MACNABB,
Commissioner and Superintendent.

Enclosure 5 in No. 2.

TRANSLATION of LETTER, dated 14th April 1873, from the AGENT at Cabul to
COMMISSIONER and SUPERINTENDENT, Peshawur Division.

AFTER mastering the contents of your letter to me, dated 4th instant, which was received by me on the 9th idem, and after consulting with his Durbar officials, the Ameer remarked as follows:—

“As the interests of this Government, which God has given me, and those of the British Government, are virtually in all conditions identical, the meeting of a British

Officer deputed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India with me will afford me much gratification. As regards the Seistan question, full information about the confirmation of the award of Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid has reached me, and I have gleaned information about the ancient boundary of Northern Afghanistan from the murrasillas of his Excellency the Viceroy, dated 24th June 1870, 1st May 1872, and 9th September 1872, and the murrasilla of Von Kaufmann, Russian Governor-General at Tashkend. As for the recently defined boundary of Northern Afghanistan, whatever views the British Government may have entertained about it, great anxiety weighs on me day and night, and I am not in any moment relieved from it, that the juxtaposition of boundaries with Russia will involve difficulty in making provision for the security of the borders in the interests of both Governments. Under these circumstances, I consider it advisable that one of my agents should first wait on his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India to ascertain the real views of the British Government in both of these two matters, and other major or minor border affairs, satisfactorily, and to represent my views about the interests of both Governments carefully and in detail, in order that, on receipt of full information about the views of the British Government, these matters may be satisfactorily settled after deep consideration and the most careful deliberation on their probable consequences. However, if the British Government prefer to depute an English Officer to me, notwithstanding their cognizance of my views on the considerations above mentioned, and my anxious precautionary reflections, or consider it desirable to do so after granting a meeting to my Agent, bearing the representations he will make on my part, and acquainting him with the views of the British Government, I have no objections to either course. Information should be kindly sent to me as to which of these views has been approved of by the British Government in order that I may make arrangements accordingly."

This letter has been submitted after perusal by the Ameer.

Enclosure 6 in No. 2.

TRANSLATION of LETTER, dated 14th April 1873, from the AGENT at Cabul to COMMISSIONER and SUPERINTENDENT, Peshawur Division.

IN reply to your letter to me of 4th instant, which reached me on the 9th idem, on the subject of the proposed deputation of a British Officer to Cabul, I beg to submit the observations made by the Ameer in the Persian language under a separate letter after perusal by His Highness. After the receipt of your letter under reply, the Ameer held a private Council for some days with his Durbar officials. Some said that the decision in the Seistan question is the same which is contained in the award of Major-General Goldsmid there is no necessity of illustrating it further. They, moreover, said that regard should be paid to the fact that if an English Officer deputed by the British Government presses it on them to accept this decision, and they refuse to do so in the interests of the Government, such direct refusal at a personal interview will undoubtedly weaken the friendly relations existing between the two Governments. Further, that if the said British Officer makes any communications in the form of advice or instructions regarding the internal affairs of Afghanistan about Sirdar Mahomed Yakoob Khan and other Sirdars or Chiefs, it will clearly be most injurious to their interests. In addition to these representations they stated that if the deputation of an English Officer is intended for the discussion of some important matter of decision of boundaries, the settlement of such a question is hardly possible without the conference of the Ameer with his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. His Highness remarked that, though in reality the settlement of border affairs is impossible without such conference, he will see about it when a wish for it is intimated to him by the British Government; that at present it is advisable that Syud Noor Mahomed Shah should be deputed as an Agent to wait on his Excellency the Viceroy to make and hear communications about boundary affairs, and that the British Government may send their Agent either before the departure of His Highness' Envoy or depute him in company with him on his return from India.

Enclosure 7 in No. 2.

No. 82 C., dated Peshawur, 19th April 1873.

From COMMISSIONER and SUPERINTENDENT, Peshawur Division, to SECRETARY to the
GOVERNMENT of INDIA, Foreign Department.

IN forwarding the translations of the Agent's letters, dated 14th instant, I have the honour to observe that my letter, instructing him to inform His Highness the Ameer, on a suitable opportunity, that the subject of his relations with Sirdar Yakoob Khan would not be broached at the proposed meeting, must have crossed these letters.

In three days more we may hope to learn whether His Highness' views as to the expediency of the meeting underwent any modification after the receipt of that communication.

Enclosure 8 in No. 2.

No. 763 P., dated Simla, 25th April 1873.

From SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department, to COMMISSIONER
and SUPERINTENDENT of Peshawur Division.

I AM directed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council to acknowledge receipt of your letters, Nos. 81C and 82C, dated 19th instant, intimating the wish of His Highness the Ameer to depute one of his Agents to wait on the Viceroy before making arrangements for the conference suggested in my letters to the Punjab Government, No. 534 P., dated 21st March and No. 562 P., dated 22nd March 1873.

In proposing that you should visit the Ameer, His Excellency in Council was actuated by the desire of communicating to His Highness the Ameer the earliest possible authentic information regarding the Seistan boundary settlement, and the progress and conclusions of the communications which have taken place between the British Government and the Government of Russia, on the subject of the extent of His Highness' dominions.

As His Highness the Ameer, however, intimates that full information about the confirmation of General Sir F. Goldsmid's award has reached him, and that he has gathered information on the other subject from various documents, His Excellency in Council is quite prepared to meet the Ameer's wishes in the matter, and postpone further official communication to His Highness on the above subjects until the Agent whom His Highness may depute has had an opportunity of seeing the Viceroy.

I am to request that on the arrival of His Highness' Agent at Peshawur you will report the fact by telegraph, and, with the permission of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, make all necessary arrangements for his journey to Simla with comfort, and for his honourable reception and treatment on the way.

No. 3.

Dated Simla, 13th October 1876.

From CAPTAIN GREY to SYUD NOOR MAHOMED SHAH.

(After compliments.)

BE it known to you that the present Viceroy is as well disposed towards the Ameer as was Lord Mayo; but I am surprised to ascertain from Nawab Atta Mahomed Khan that the Ameer's own sentiments are considerably changed since Lord Mayo's day.

As you have frequently expressed friendship towards me, and must be well aware of my good-will, I have no hesitation in writing freely on this subject.

I know that you consider you have ground for annoyance at what passed in 1873, and all I can say is let bygones be bygones.

At the present conjuncture there can be no doubt that a nobleman of your high feelings and sagacity, who has, all his life, had nothing but his master's interests at heart, will put aside all considerations, save those of the advantage of his country.

What these are will be explained by Nawab Atta Mahomed Khan, and I firmly rely upon your wisdom and foresight to approve them, and to lead the Ameer to do so.

You will see that the Viceroy has accepted all the propositions which you made in 1873, imposing only the condition that he should be enabled to watch a frontier for which he renders himself responsible, and that the Ameer, his friend and ally, should receive his Envoys.

It would, indeed, be a strange friendship which shut the door in the face of the messengers of one's friend.

You know that at Umballa you said that, when affairs in Afghanistan had somewhat settled down, there would be no objection to the residence of British officers anywhere save at Cabul. Now the Viceroy does not the least want to place an Envoy at Cabul. He only requires to have officers at Herat and other points on the frontier.

Again, in 1873, at Simla, you gave your opinion that British officers should come and go to define the Afghan frontier; and that, when the people were thus accustomed to their presence, the Ameer would not object to their permanent residence on that frontier.

At that time the Viceroy objected to assuming the responsibility for the Afghan frontier, so the other arrangement also fell through. Now the Viceroy does assume that responsibility; the other condition ought, therefore, also to be accepted, the reasons being that the Viceroy's arrangements turn upon this condition, and the Treaty itself depends upon it.

In conclusion, your friend has to say: If there was vacillation before, it was on this account that, in the absence of a Treaty between the two States, Ministers at home, and Viceroys in this country, exercised an unfettered discretion; but where a Treaty has been entered into, every one will be bound by its conditions.

P.S.—I very strongly hope that the Ameer will accept the invitation to Delhi. That Assemblage will not be one only of Feudatory Chiefs; but, on the contrary, the Viceroys of the French and Portuguese Powers, and the Rulers of Burma and Nepal, are invited. The Ameer's presence will show his good-will toward the Empress of India, whose assumption of that title will there be proclaimed, and the whole will learn therefrom how close is the bond of union between the two States.

No. 4.

Dated Simla, 13th October 1876.

From Sir LEWIS PELLY to SYUD NOOR MAHOMED SHAH.

Your friendly message, sent by our friend Nawab Atta Mahomed Khan, has reached me, and I am happy in hearing of your health and prosperity. It is agreeable also to me to know that you do not forget the pleasant days we passed together at Candahar, when you so kindly troubled yourself to render my visit all that could be desired.

It seems likely, and I sincerely hope, that we may soon meet again; and I feel I need not assure you that in any duties which I may have to discharge in association with you, it will be my sole wish to aid you in placing the relations of the Afghan and British Governments on such a footing as shall leave no room for questioning the real and intimate friendship, and the permanent unity and policy, of our Governments.

I earnestly trust, too, that the present frank and cordial expression of his views by His Excellency the Viceroy may be met in a similar manner by His Highness the Ameer, and may result in consolidating His Highness' rule, in strengthening his dominions, and in securing the stability of His Highness' dynasty. If civil war in Afghanistan henceforth be averted by good arrangements, and the Ameer's son, Abdullah Jan, and after him, his heir, should succeed peacefully to the *musnud*, Afghanistan would be greatly benefited.

A word is enough between friends. Pray write to me freely, addressing your letters to the care of the Commissioner of Peshawur.

No. 5.

Dated Peshawar, 27th February 1877. (Extract.)

From Sir LEWIS PELLY, K.C.S.I., to the VICEROY.

I HAVE addressed the Envoy as desired in your Lordship's telegram of the 25th instant, and now beg to enclose a copy of my draft.* The
 * Enclosure attached, No. 1. Envoy has at once sent a verbal reply through Atta Mahomed Khan, to the effect that he will lose no time in causing the jehad to be put a stop to, and will send me a satisfactory written reply so soon as he is able to work.

Enclosure in No. 5.

Draft of the Letter to the Afghan Envoy.

AFTER COMPLIMENTS—

I HAVE, on a previous occasion, addressed your Excellency, either personally or through Nawab Atta Mahomed Khan, in a friendly and unofficial way, concerning the reports which reached me from many quarters of the Ameer's misrepresentations of our acts and proposals, and of His Highness' endeavours to excite a pretended jehad against the British Government in India at the very time when you, his Envoy Plenipotentiary, are here,—a public guest on British soil,—for the declared purpose of friendly negotiations. Since the last occasion on which I communicated with your Excellency on this subject, the reports have become more numerous, and have been confirmed from many independent sources, and are all consistent in showing the persistent and public manner in which the Ameer is appealing to his subjects to join in a jehad openly aimed at the British Government. Now the Ameer is free to accept, or to reject, the most friendly proposals on the part of His Excellency the Viceroy, which I had hoped to have the honour of discussing with your Excellency in the intended negotiations. But I must protest against misrepresentations wilfully and publicly made, and against the Ameer preaching a jehad at Cabul, whilst His Highness' Envoy Plenipotentiary is professing to negotiate on friendly terms at Peshawar. And I am instructed to request from your Excellency the favour of explicit explanations—

First, as to the Ameer's public accusations against the British Government founded on statements which both the Ameer and the Envoy must know to be without foundation.

Second, as to the Ameer's repeated appeals to his subjects openly aimed at the British Government.

Third, of the Ameer's reported conferences with the Russian Agents, and of his correspondence with the Russian authorities, regarding his military arrangements.

Finally, the Viceroy has reason to believe that the bearing of the Ameer's officials is increasingly unfriendly towards the British Agency at the Court of His Highness; that intercommunications between the Agency and the people of Cabul has been publicly prohibited by the Mayor of the City of Cabul; that the British Agent is apprehensive as to his personal safety.

As to the reasons for all these demonstrations no one knows better than your Excellency that the British Government is perfectly sincere in its assurance, repeatedly given, that it has not the slightest intention of attacking the Ameer; and the Viceroy deems the present attitude of His Highness to be irreconcilable with his being in possession of full and faithful reports of that of the British Government.

The Government of India notices with surprise the libels deliberately disseminated on it, and cannot doubt that the Ameer will take the earliest opportunity of explaining these proceedings, and causing the libels to be retracted as publicly as they have been promulgated.

I am also again to request that your Excellency will make such communications to Cabul as may put a stop to wilful and injurious misrepresentations of the objects of the proposed friendly negotiations.

No. 6.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from His Excellency the CABUL ENVOY to COLONEL SIR LEWIS PELLY, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, dated Saturday, the 3rd March 1877.

A. C.—

The letter, dated 27th February 1877, which you sent by hand to Nawab Atta Mahomed Khan, reached my residence in Peshawar Cantonment on Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Safar (begins Tuesday evening), and the tenor of your friendly writing is ascertained.

It is true that either through Nawab Atta Mahomed Khan or personally you have stated that reports have reached you from many quarters, to the effect that the Ameer was exciting a jihad against the British Government. Kind friend! I at that time told Nawab Atta Mahomed Khan that during the time I was there these matters had not place, and even now I am unaware as to what sort of matter this is. Secondly, I verbally told yourself (that kind friend) that this sort of matters pass in a variety of forms from mouth to mouth of the public till at length the news-writers write all sorts of things. Further, I place no reliance upon such statements. How can one rely upon the statements of the common people (public)? For when Captain Cavagnari, Deputy Commissioner, came to the frontier of his own limits on the road to Koorum, what papers and statements did not trustworthy men write, viz., that such a large army is coming to Koorum, and that the British Government has such and such designs? The most noble Ruler (the Ameer) placed no reliance upon them. In what manner, then, can the authorities of the British Government place reliance upon such statements? Kind friend! I again write that I have no acknowledge of these affairs.

In case, however, there should be something of the kind, whether the Government be a great one or a small one, and such an impossible measure be desired by a great Government, then every Government takes counsel for itself of the royal family, and also of the nobles and learned men, as well as of the chiefs of tribes and camps. Therefore, in such a matter, the carrying out of which is recorded upon the responsibility of that people, it is incumbent on the King that he should consult with every tribe in this matter. With every tribe which may be consulted, it is the custom that each one, in consultation, should separately express his own opinion. And those persons, when they return to their own audience-halls, are questioned by their people; for each has his own tribe and people, and each tells them that he advised such and such. And when the matter is talked of in those counsel-chambers, it becomes altered and changed, and then these people, when they go to their own homes, again say something else which produces another alteration. Besides this, there are interested persons who, for purposes of their own, add other matters to it, and send it off to news-writers in a different character. To believe in such sort of statements is far from friendship.

Again, you have written that "it now rests with His Highness the Ameer to accept or to reject the most friendly proposal of His Excellency the Viceroy which I had hoped to have had the honour of discussing with you, his Envoy, in these negotiations." Kind friend! With much deference I beg to say that from the day I arrived in the nine conferences I have veiled nothing of the true state of the case. Whatever has been said in those nine conferences, and especially in the last conference on Monday, the 19th February, no change in that can be accorded.

That which you have written that "I feel bound* you are professedly conducting friendly negotiations at Peshawar." I repeat those very words of that kind one. From the day that I came to Peshawar with what varied arguments have I endeavoured to strengthen the customary friendship on the old footing! And in what manner did I bring it to an end in the last paragraph on Monday, the 19th February? Therefore, it is also surprising to me why you should not trust my word, but rely upon that of news-writers.

In the matter of the accusations you have written of—Kind friend! From the day that I arrived, if there be a single matter on which it can be adduced that it was based on accusation, be pleased to make it clear. It is expected that that kind one will pay attention to my conversations and not to the absurdities of news-writers.

And that which you have written in regard to the Russian Government. This a very great question (*amriazim*), and I am also not instructed in this question that I should say anything. But since I am sorry at the mention of such a matter, I will, by reason of right say, briefly from myself in a friendly manner, that from the day the most noble Ruler (Ameer) returned from Umballa to his capital of Cabul, the paper that came from the Russian Officers was opened, and the wax and seal removed in the presence of this

* Sentence incomplete.

very Agent of the British Government who is now present here, and who was summoned nightly for the purpose. After two or three days' consultation, that very paper, in the original English, Persian, and Russian, was forwarded to Lord Mayo, and by his advice a paper was written to the Officer of the Russian Government. From that day to the present day, what paper has come from the Russian Government a copy of which is now in the record office of the British Government? And what paper from the Ameer has been sent to them which is contrary to the tenor of that first paper which was written in consultation with Lord Mayo? You advance objection to those very writings which in this particular were from the British Government.

As to the Russian Agents: Will you (please) prove when a Russian Agent came into Afghanistan? Couriers of the Russian Officer, who are Mussulmans of the Syud and Sahibzada clan (both religious classes), do come for the purpose of delivering letters. If from the accident of winter, &c., he should remain five days or so; nobody has said to a guest, "Get those out of my house." Since this matter of the Russian Government is a very great question, I cannot say more than this.

When I become honoured by returning to the most noble Ruler the Ameer, having thoroughly informed him of the views of the British Government in this particular, this point will become very well and satisfactorily cleared up. And that which you have written in respect to your own Agent, your Agent is present here with the Ameer, none of the nobles or chiefs are more respected and honoured than he has been. And what is the matter that they have kept concealed from him?

That which you have written that "the people of the city of Cabul have been publicly prohibited by the Mayor of the city of Cabul from going to the Embassy quarters." I have no belief in this.

In the matter that "there is not the slightest intention of attacking the Ameer." My friend! From the day that this friendship has continued, especially in these present discussions at Peshawar, in which the whole discourse has been full of this, that the British Government (has declared that it) will in no manner interfere with or aggress upon the territories of the Ameer and of Afghanistan in which there should be displeasure to the Ameer or his successor, or there should be a decline in the independence of that Government. Neither has the Ameer at any time shown any reliance upon the sayings of people with interested motives in respect to the British Government. The regard has always been and will be for the friendship of the British Government.

And that which you have written, viz., "Retract these libels in the same public manner that they have been promulgated." My friend! I will never admit that anybody can have made an accusation against the British Government. But in the particular of a proclamation in respect to the matters which have come to pass between us when I have reached the Ameer's presence, and there informed him of the friendly views of the British Government so far as I have seen and known, and also of these matters of contrary dispositions as to what is the reality of them and what their nature; having there weighed all these matters together with minuteness, it will be promulgated in a highly satisfactory manner as may be suited to the case, so that those proclamations shall openly reach the British Government.

Written on Saturday, 3rd March 1877.

No. 7.

No. 86 of 1878.

Government of India.—Foreign Department.

Secret.

To the Right Honourable VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

MY LORD,

Simla, 16th September 1878.

WE have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, a copy of further telegraphic reports and orders in connexion with the Mission to Kabul.

2. Your Lordship will perceive that Nawab Gholam Hussein Khan, who was sent in advance of the Mission, left Peshawar on the 30th August, that he has been well received at all the stages on the road, and that on the 4th September he reached Jelalabad, where he was visited and entertained by the Governor. On the 8th September a letter was despatched to the Mustafi informing him that the Mission would leave Peshawar on or about the 16th September. The substance of the letter was also made known to the Afghan authorities at Ali Masjid, Dhakka, and Jelalabad; and

an answer was received from Faiz Muhammad Khan, who commands at Ali Masjid, to the effect that without permission from Kabul he cannot permit the Mission to pass unopposed. It will be observed that subsequently, on the 13th September, he received secret orders by express from Kabul.

We have, &c.
 (Signed) LYTTON.
 F. P. HAINES.
 A. J. ARBUTHNOT.
 A. CLARKE.
 W. STOKES.
 A. R. THOMPSON.
 R. STRACHEY.
 S. J. BROWNE.

Enclosure 1 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 23rd August 1878. (Extract.)

From Major CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

The Mir Akhor has been suddenly summoned to Kabul from Jelalabad, probably in connection with Khaibar negotiations. Order reached Jelalabad 18th.

Enclosure 2 in No. 7.

Telegram No. 1,790 P., dated 26th August 1878.

To MAJOR CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

MUSTAUFU should be told that Mission leaves Peshawar on 16th, and Gholam Hussein might, on arrival at Kabul, intimate quietly that departure of Mission on fixed date is certain, and that attempts to prevent or delay journey will indicate distinctly unfriendly resolutions on the part of Kabul Government.

Enclosure 3 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 26th August 1878.

From MAJOR CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

MESSAGE received. Does your Lordship desire the intimation to Mustaufi to be sent at once, or when Gholam Hussein leaves?

Enclosure 4 in No. 7.

Telegram No. 1805 P., dated 27th August 1878.

To MAJOR CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

YOUR telegram 26th. Intimation should be sent at once to Mustaufi, but delay until 30th morning the departure from Peshawar of Gholam Hussein.

Enclosure 5 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 27th August 1878.

From MAJOR CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

YOUR letter of 23rd, and packet, just received. In accordance with the Viceroy's telegram of to-day, Gholam Hussein Khan will leave on the morning of the 30th instant.

Enclosure 6 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 29th August 1878.

From Major CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

NATIVE Envoy leaves this to-morrow morning, halts for the night in the Khaibar, and proceeds to Dhakka on morning of 31st. I will leave this on 1st, and will reach Simla on morning of 4th. My object in remaining here to-morrow and next day is to note the results of Khaibar arrangements.

Enclosure 7 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 30th August 1878.

From Major CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

NATIVE Envoy left this morning. I am hourly expecting news from Ali Masjid as to his progress.

Enclosure 8 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 31st August 1878.

From Major CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

NATIVE Envoy reached Ali Masjid yesterday afternoon, was hospitably entertained by Faiz Muhammad Khan, Ghilzai; Shinwari Maliks preparing to entertain him at Lwargui. It is expected he will reach Dhakka this afternoon. I leave to-morrow morning; will reach Simla early on 4th. Latest advices from Kabul, dated 21st, state that, on 20th, Amir, after much persuasion from Mustaufi, attended durbar for a short period.

Enclosure 9 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 31st August 1878.

From Major CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

ILAH I BAKSH, Peshawar merchant, has received letter from Kabul, dated 25th: states that Abramoff, accompanied by Mirza Muhammad Hasan, Amir's Mir Munshi, has left for Russian Turkistan, but has left his two subordinate officers at Kabul; and it is given out he will return after consultation with the Governor-General of Turkistan. General opinion in Kabul is that the Amir will receive British Mission.

Enclosure 10 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 31st August 1878.

From Major CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

FROM the open way Faiz Muhammad Khan has acted, he himself having accompanied Envoy from Ali Masjid *en route* to Dhakka, it may be inferred that secret instructions have been issued to Amir's officials, and that Envoy will not be detained at Dhakka. A reply to my communications of 23rd ought, in the course of a day or two, to be received from Mustaufi. Commissioner will receive and communicate contents.

Enclosure 11 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 1st September 1878.

From MAJOR CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

LETTER just received by Bakhtiar Khan in reply to his private communication to Mustaufi. Writer states that all arrangements for Gholam Hasan's journey will be made.

Enclosure 12 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 3rd September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

GHOLAM HUSSEIN reached Dhakka 1st September; was leaving midnight towards Jelalabad. Hospitably entertained by General Gholam Haidar, who gives him escort.

Enclosure 13 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 5th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

GENERAL GHOLAM HAIDAR KHAN has sent back our postal runners from Dhakka. I propose sending any communications for our Vakil to said General, to go to Kabul as before with Amir's post. Inference is, Amir sanctions our Vakil's visit to Kabul.

Enclosure 14 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 6th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

MUSTAUFU writes to Deputy Commissioner, dated 2nd September:—Your letters received, but we cannot act or communicate with Amir. It is necessary for Nawab to remain at Peshawar. Mustaufi writes to Bakhtiar Khan, same date:—Your letters received; matter understood. I have informed Amir of coming of the Vakils. Amir remarked that he was unfit to attend to such business. I privately informed you that this matter must be deferred, perhaps after the Ramzan, Amir replied. Letter ends.

Since 27th, some change has taken place. Nawab is only allowed to make short marches, so that reply may not reach Peshawar by 16th; and Amir probably desires to receive some communication from Russia before sanctioning British Mission.

Enclosure 15 in No. 7.

Telegram dated 6th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

LETTERS received by Bakhtiar Khan from Faiz Muhammad Khan from Khaibar Pass, that he is to send no more letters through him, but through the post office, and advising him that the passing of the Vakil or Envoy is to depend on the permission Amir. This letter was written in Kabul for Faiz Muhammad.

Enclosure 16 in No. 7.

Telegram No. 1907 P., dated 7th September 1878.

To COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

YOURS of yesterday. Inform Mustaufi, both directly and indirectly, that Mission will leave Peshawar about 16th, whether Nawab has reached Kabul or not; that the object of the Mission is friendly, but that a refusal of free passage and safe conduct to Kabul will be considered as an act of open hostility. Letter should also be written to Nawab Gholam Hussein directing him to push on to Kabul as fast as he can, and show firmness in resisting endeavours to delay him.

Enclosure 17 in No. 7.

Telegram No. 1910 P., dated 7th September 1878.

To COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

IN continuation of this day's telegram, tell Mustaufi that it has been arranged that Mission shall not arrive until after Ramzan.

Enclosure 18 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 8th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

Two telegrams (dated 7th) received. Letter will be despatched to Mustaufi through Amir's post this day. I suggest sending similar information to Ali Masjid, Dhakka, Jelalabad. Officer commanding must communicate with Kabul for instructions and regarding supply. Mustaufi's letter may be delayed. Early orders solicited.

Enclosure 19 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 8th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

ORDERS also sent to Nawab Gholam Haidar (?), in accordance with the telegraphic instructions.

Enclosure 20 in No. 7.

Telegram No. 1920P., dated 9th September 1878.

To COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

YOUR telegram 8th. The substance of your letter to Mustaufi may be communicated to Ali Masjid, Dhakka, Jelalabad, for information of what has been written to Kabul, not as a separate notice addressed direct to local officials.

Enclosure 21 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 8th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

LETTER received from Nawab. Has had fever from the heat. On leaving Dhakka was met by Kotwal of Jelalabad. Reached Jelalabad 4th; received by son Mir Akhor; was visited and entertained by Mir Akhor. Leaves 5th for Kabul.

Enclosure 22 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 10th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

YOUR Excellency's orders carried out. Information sent to Ali Masjid, Dhakka, and Jelalabad.

Enclosure 23 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 11th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

REPLY received by Bakhtiar Khan from Ali Masjid to my letter of yesterday that without permission from Kabul he (Faiz Muhammad Khan) will not allow the Mission to pass unopposed. Letter civil but firm.

Enclosure 24 in No. 7.

Telegram, dated 13th September 1878.

From COMMISSIONER, Peshawar.

MUFTI SHAH MUHAMMAD, Manager of Frontier Affairs, visited Ali Masjid and communicated secret instructions to Faiz Muhammad, and returned express to Kabul yesterday.

No. 8.

No. 117 of 1878.

Government of India.—Foreign Department.

Secret.

To the Right Honourable VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

MY LORD,

Simla, 31st October 1878.

WE have the honour to forward the full text of the Amir's letters, as carefully translated at Simla.

We have, &c.
(Signed) LYTTON.
F. P. HAINES.
A. J. ARBUTHNOT.
A. CLARKE.
W. STOKES.
A. R. THOMPSON.
R. STRACHEY.
S. J. BROWNE.

Enclosure 1 in No. 8.

Translation of Letter from AMIR SHER ALI KHAN, of Kabul, to his Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, dated 8th Shawal (6th October).

AFTER the usual complimentary beginning.—Be it known to your Excellency (Janáb) that your Excellency's friendly letter, which was sent by the hands of the highly-honoured Nawab Ghulam Hasan Khan, and which contained the news of the deputation of a friendly Mission, namely, a Mission from the British Government, has been perused by me; and on perusal I have fully informed myself of its contents. But the above-named Nawab had not yet been honoured with an interview, and your Excellency's friendly letter had not yet been seen by me, when a letter addressed by Major Waterfield, Commissioner of Peshawar, to Mirza Habibulla Khan, an official of this God-granted Government, having arrived here, was perused by this supplicant before the throne of God. And great surprise and astonishment was caused by the writing of the officer above

mentioned—that is, the Commissioner. What can be the result, meaning, and advantage of such a vehement* communication to an ally and friend, and of advancing by force a friendly Mission in this manner.

Subsequently three more letters from the same officer, in the same tone and style, to the address of the officials of this God-granted Government, were seen. Moreover, in the course of a few days, several other letters, which were received from that direction, were seen. These were not free from harsh and rough words and expressions, which are inconsistent with the forms of courtesy and civility, and contrary to the mode of friendship and sympathy.

In consequence of the attack of grief and affliction which has befallen me by the decree of God, great distraction has seized the mind of this supplicant at God's threshold. The trusted officers of the British Government, therefore, ought to have observed patience, and to have stayed, at such a time; and this would have been the most commendable and appropriate course. Your Excellency should be pleased to have regard to (mulahaza farmáyand) this harsh (style of) address and provocation, as well as to the altercation with such anger with my officials. How inconsistent is this with the sublime way of friendship and alliance! In any case the officials of this God-granted Government, notwithstanding the threatening communications of the officials of the British Government, which communications are still in the possession of the officers of this Government, will not evince any hostility or opposition to the British Government. Moreover, they do not entertain any hostile or antagonistic feelings toward any Government whatever. But should any Government entertain without cause any hostile and inimical feelings towards this God-granted Government, I

commit all my affairs to the merciful God, upon whose will and intention all matters depend. He alone suffices for us, and He is the best to be trusted.†

† Literally, "the best Wakeel."

The highly-honoured Nawab Ghulam Hussein Khan, who is the bearer of this friendly letter, has, in accordance with the instructions received from the officers of the British Government, asked leave to return, and the requisite permission has been granted.

Enclosure 2 in No. 8.

Translation of Letter from AMIR SHER ALI KHAN to His Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL of India, dated 8th Shawal (6th October).

A.C.—Be it known to your Excellency that your Excellency's most friendly letter, expressing deep sorrow and regret at the death of my beloved son, Sirdar Abdulla Khan, the Heir-Apparent to the God-granted Government of Afghanistan, which your Excellency sent by the hands of Nawab Ghulam Hussein, has been perused by me. The sorrow and regret which your Excellency, in conformity with the forms of friendship and amity, has expressed regarding this mournful event, which has taken place by decree of God, is indeed according to the rules of friendship and concord, and to the behaviour of friends to friends in affliction. But as no one can resist or escape the Divine decree, it is fitting and appropriate under all circumstances to submit and resign one's-self to the will of God. What more of friendliness can be written?

No. 9.

No. 119 of 1878.

Government of India.—Foreign Department.

Secret.

To the Right Honourable Viscount CRANBROOK, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

MY LORD,

Simla, 7th November 1878.

WE have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, a copy of telegraphic correspondence relating to the negotiations with the tribes of the Khaibar Pass.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

LYTTON.

F. P. HAINES.

A. J. ARBUTHNOT.

A. CLARKE.

W. STOKES.

A. R. THOMPSON.

R. STRACHEY.

N. B. CHAMBERLAIN.

Enclosure 1 in No. 9.

Telegram, dated 31st October 1874.

From Major CAVAGNARI, Janrud (through Peshawar).

RECONNOITRED to-day the Kajuram plain, the winter settlements of the Tirah Afridis. Have received a deputation from the principal headmen of the Kambar Khel Afridis, who offer to send in their Jirga. I am now in communication with all the principal Afridi tribes who are connected with the Khaibar. The Shinwaris appear most desirous for a settlement with us, and will supply mules. Six men died yesterday at Ali Masjid.

A man from Turkistan reports arrest by Russians of Takhtamash Beg, son of Abdul Ghafur Beg, in the Oratippa district, and that Russians are advancing on Kashgar.

In Ghazni the Mullahs are inciting the people to a religious war.

Enclosure 2 in No. 9.

Telegram, dated 1st November 1878. (Extract.)

From Major CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

ALL sections of Khaibaris have separately attended, and have expressed their willingness to resume former relations for Government control of Khaibar. They have promised to furnish levies to assist during any military operations, and will give selected hostages as guarantees of good faith.

Enclosure 3 in No. 9.

Telegram, dated 2nd November 1878.

From Major CAVAGNARI, Peshawar.

TEN days or a fortnight will probably elapse before all the tribes can assemble here to arrange some united course of action regarding their withdrawal from their relations with the Amir. At a week's notice, the sections that have promised active co-operation can collect their armed men.

No. 10.

PROCLAMATION issued by the VICEROY, in English, Persian, and Urdu, on the 21st November 1878.

THE Viceroy of India to the Ameer Sher Ali Khan, of Kabul, to his Sirdars and subjects, and to all the people of Afghanistan. It is now 10 years since the Ameer Sher Ali Khan, after a prolonged struggle, had at last succeeded in placing himself upon the throne of Kabul; at that time his dominion still needed consolidation, and the extent of it was still undefined. In these circumstances the Ameer, who had already been assisted by the British Government with money and with arms, expressed a wish to meet the Viceroy of India; his wish was cordially complied with; he was courteously received and honourably entertained by the Viceroy at Umballa; the countenance and support he had come to seek were then assured to him; he at the same time obtained further unconditional assistance in arms and money. These tokens of the good-will of the British Government, which he gratefully acknowledged, materially aided the Ameer after his return to his own country in their securing his position and extending his authority; since then the Ameer Sher Ali Khan has received from the British Government, in confirmation of its good-will, large additional gifts of arms; the powerful influence of the British Government has secured for him formal recognition by the Emperor of Russia of a fixed boundary between the Kingdom of Kabul and the Khanates of Bokhara and Kokand; the Amir's sovereignty over Wakhan and Badakshan was thereby admitted and made sure, a sovereignty which had till then been disputed by the Russian Government; his subjects have been allowed to pass freely throughout the Indian Empire, to carry on trade, and to enjoy all the protection afforded by the British Government to its own subjects; in no single instance have they been unjustly or inhospitably treated within British jurisdiction; for all these gracious acts the Ameer Sher Ali Khan has rendered no return, on the contrary he has requited them with active ill-will and open discourtesy. The authority over Badakshan, acquired for him by the influence of the British Government, was used by him to forbid passage through that province to a British officer of rank returning from a mission to a neighbouring State; he has closed, against free passage to British subjects and their commerce, the roads between India and Afghanistan; he has maltreated British subjects, and permitted British traders to be plundered within his jurisdiction, giving them neither protection nor redress; he has used cruelly and put to death subjects of his own on the mere suspicion that they were in communication with the British Government; he has openly and assiduously endeavoured by words and deeds to stir up religious hatred against the English, and incited war against the Empire of India. Having previously excluded British officers from every part of his dominions, and refused to receive a British mission; having left unanswered friendly communication addressed to him by the Viceroy, and repelled all efforts towards amicable intercourse between the British

Government and himself, he has, nevertheless, received formally and entertained publicly at Kabul an embassy from Russia; this he has done at a time when such an act derived special significance from the character of contemporaneous events in Europe, and the attitude of England and Russia in relation thereto. Furthermore, he has done it well knowing that the Russian Government stands pledged by engagements with England to regard his territories as completely beyond the sphere of Russian influence. Finally, while this Russian embassy is still at his capital, the Ameer has forcibly repulsed at his outpost an English envoy of high rank, of whose coming he had formal and timely announcement by a letter from the Viceroy, attesting the importance and urgency of the envoy's Mission. Even then the British Government, still anxious to avert the calamities of war, deferred hostile action, and proffered to the Ameer a last opportunity of escaping the punishment merited by his acts. Of this opportunity the Ameer has refused to avail himself. It has been the wish of the British Government to find the best security for its Indian frontier in the friendship of a State whose independence it seeks to confirm, and of a Prince whose throne it has helped to support. Animated by this wish, the British Government has made repeated efforts to establish with the Ameer Sher Ali Khan those close and cordial relations which are necessary to the interests of the two neighbouring countries, but its efforts, after being persistently repulsed, have now been met with open indignity and defiance. The Ameer Sher Ali Khan, mistaking for weakness the long forbearance of the British Government, has thus deliberately incurred its just resentment. With the Sirdars and people of Afghanistan this Government has still no quarrel, and desires none. They are absolved from all responsibility from the recent acts of the Ameer, and as they have given no offence, so the British Government, wishing to respect their independence, will not willingly injure or interfere with them, nor will the British Government tolerate interference on the part of any other power in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Upon the Ameer Sher Ali Khan alone rests the responsibility of having exchanged the friendship for the hostility of the Empress of India.

No. 11.

Telegram from SECRETARY OF STATE to VICEROY, 30th November 1878.

SEND text of letters from Commissioner referred to in Ameer's letter of 6th October.

No. 12.

FROM VICEROY TO SECRETARY OF STATE, 1st December 1878.

YOUR telegram 30th. Following is text of Commissioner of Peshawur's letter, 7th September, to Mustaufi. Letter begins—"After compliments, I write this friendly letter to inform you that the 16th or 17th September has been fixed for the departure of a Mission of high rank from the British Government to Kabul, and that the Mission will start whether Nawab Gholam Hossein shall or shall not by that time have had the honour of waiting on His Highness the Ameer. The object for which Mission is deputed is friendly, and the refusal of free passage to it, or interruption, or injury to its friendly progress will be regarded as act of hostility. I am to explain that the Mission will not in any case enter capital of Kabul before expiry of the month Ramazan. In conclusion may you keep well." Letter ends.

Following is text of letter from Commissioner to Gholam Hossein. Begins same as other down to word "hostility." Then continues thus—"You should, under all circumstances, use all endeavours to reach Kabul soon. Should any impediments be interposed to your journey in such case it is fit you should act firmly." Second letter ends.

Please remember that these letters are a continuation of preceding correspondence between English and Kabul officials, in which the latter said matter must be wholly deferred pending Ameer's pleasure. Letter to Gholam Hossein, opened by Ameer, was private to our own officer.

No. 13.

Telegram from SECRETARY OF STATE to VICEROY, 3rd December 1878.

Yours 1st. Gives text of two letters, Ameer refers to four.
What are the other two ?

No. 14.

Telegram from the VICEROY to the SECRETARY OF STATE, 4th December 1878.

Yours of 3rd. The four letters to which the Ameer alludes in his letter of 6th October are the Commissioner's letter to the Mustafi, and simultaneous communications containing similar notice to the Ameer's Officers at Ali Musjid, Dakka, and Jellalabad. These latter were sent for information and not as separate notices.

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