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NOTES

ON HIS

Name and Family,

BY

JAMES BURNES, K.H., F.R.S.



EDINBURGH:

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M.DCCC.LI.

“ Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi ;
Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat ;
Quique pii vates, et Phœbo digna locuti ;
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes ;
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo :
Omnibus his niveâ cinguntur tempora vittâ.”

VIRGIL. ÆNEID, VI.

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS



Edinburgh :—James Wilkie.

NOTES

ON THE

NAME AND FAMILY OF BURNES.

PART I.

ON THE NAME IN ENGLAND.

THE Name of BURNES may be clearly traced from a period anterior to the Norman Conquest in connexion with historical places and persons in England. The most remarkable of these places is BURNESBURGH, where Athelstan defeated the Danes and Scots in 938, called by Hume Brunsbury,¹ and by Turner, Lingard, and other historians following Rapin, Brunanburgh, but which is thus distinctly mentioned in Hardyng's Chronicle, written in the reign of Edward IV:—

“Anlaaf, the Kyng of Denmark, full of pride,
Cousin to Kyng Constantyne of Scotland,
With shippis many, arriued on Humberside,
At BURNES-BURGH, and claymed of England
For to have of the Kyng (as I vnderstand,)
The truage which his eldres had afore,
And with hym brought Colbrod to fight therfore.”²

“The position of this famous battle,” says Sharon Turner, “is not ascertained.” Rapin and Camden place it at Bromridge, in Nor-

¹ There is no place of this name now, but the following seems to be Hume's authority:—“Rex Adelstan, decus ducum, nobilibus torquium dator, et frater ejus Edmundus, longa stirpis serie splendentes, percusserunt in bello, acie gladii apud *Brunesburh*.”—Hen. Hunt. Hist. Angl. lib. v, in the Brit. Museum, where all the Historical Records here quoted may be found.

² The Chronicle of Jhon Hardyng, in metre, from the first begynnyng of England unto the Reign of Edward IV. Lond. 1543. Republished by Sir H. Ellis, 1812.

thumberland, although the former adds, that some think it was nearer the Humber. It is not improbable, then, that it was at BURNES-ton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which is so much nearer the point where Anlaf disembarked, since with that place also the name of BURNES can be identified from beyond the conquest. "Though the Hilom," says Dr Whitaker, "flows through this parish, it is scarcely sufficient to have given it a name even in a country where 'burns' are rare; and we must apply the general rule for local names, that where the genitive case is prefixed to *ley*, *ton*, and *ham*, the previous syllables denote the first Saxon planter of the village." At the time of Domesday (A.D. 1081,) Burneston constituted a large district which had been desolated for the transgressions of Merlswan, its Saxon Lord, and was given to Robert, the feudal retainer of Earl Alan. In the reign of Henry I, it had fallen to the Fitz-Hughs, as is shewn by the charter of Gernagot Fitz-Hugh, living in the time of Richard I. and John, to the monks of St Mary's Abbey at York, whereby he bestows—"totam terram quam pater meus eis dedit . . . quam videlicet terram homines dē BURNES-ton, sæpe calumpniaverant:"¹ and in the Rolls of that Abbey it is accordingly found included at the Reformation.²

Then we have places of the same name in other parts of England. BURNES-ton juxta Ermuldon, in Northumberland, was one of the estates left by Jacoba, wife of John de Stryvelyn, chevalier, 14 Richard II,³ and "the manoure of BURNES-ton" in Derbyshire, pertaining to the Abbey of Welbek, and BURNES-dale, Burne-house, and other BURNES-tons, are all duly entered in the records of church plunder during the reign of Henry VIII, or in the Calendars of Pleadings, &c. in that of his daughter Elizabeth.⁴ As far more ancient, however, I may mention Burnstead in Kent, designated BURNES-stede so early as 814, in a charter of Cœnulf, King of Mercia, recently printed at length by Mr Kemble,⁵ along with other charters of nearly the same period, referring to the lands of Burne or Burnan, in that county; and likewise the Castle of Burne in Lincolnshire, alluded to in Leland's Itinerary, as the place where St Edmund, King of the East Saxons, was crowned; and I may point out also Burnstede in Norfolk, which belonged to Beatrix, Countess of Arundele, 18 Henry VI;⁶ as well as BURNES-head in Cumberland,

¹ Hist. of Richmondshire, vol. ii, p. 125. Lond. 1823.

² Dugdale's Monasticon. Lond. 1830. Vol. iii, p. 573.

³ Calendar. Inquisition. post mort. Lond. 1821. Vol. iii, p. 127.

⁴ Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Hen. VIII. Lond. 1825; and Ducatus Lancastriæ. Lond. 1827.

⁵ Chartæ Anglo-Saxonicae. Lond. 1839. Vol. i, p. 256.

⁶ Calendar. Inquisit. post mort. vol. iv, p. 197.

the seat of an ancient family of the same name, up to the reign of Edward I, when it passed by an heiress to the Bellinghams;¹ and the rectory of Burnnus, presented by Robert de Brus of Skelton, ancestor of the Scottish King, to the Priory of Augustine monks at Gisburne, in Yorkshire, in 1129.² There was also a messuage named Bournes at Isleworth, 21 James I, which had formerly belonged to Syon Monastery.³

These are instances of the antiquity of the name in connection with places, but the National Records prove that it was borne also by persons of note from the same early Saxon period; and if the principle be admitted which is laid down by the learned Mr Skene, and very fairly urged by Lord Lindsay in supplying an imperfect link in his own pedigree, that "the possession of a territorial name of barony as surely marks out a descent from some of the ancient barons as if every step of the genealogy could be proved,"⁴ the bearers of it have no reason to blush for their lineage. It enjoys the distinction of being repeatedly mentioned, precisely in its present spelling, in the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror, in which Godric de BURNES⁵ appears as the Lord of ample domains in Kent, in the reign of Edward the Confessor (A. D. 1050); and although despoiled of the chief portion of his lands at the conquest for the benefit of Hugo de Montfort and the Bishop of Baieux, as still allowed certain privileges in common with the religious houses and a few other Saxon nobles;⁶ and it is probable that it was a near descendant of his, mentioned some years later as Marjerie de Bornes, who conveyed by marriage the manor of Borne (Patrick's-borne Merton) to John de Pratellis, by whom it was bestowed on the Priory of Beaulieu.⁷ But be this as it may, the original name can be further and readily traced through the reigns of Richard I. and John, by the official registers of the King's Court (Curia Regis) at Westminster,⁸ wherein

¹ Burn's Cumberland. Lond. 1777. Vol. i, p. 124.

² Dugdale's Mon. vol. vi, p. 265.

³ Aungier's Syon Monastery. Lond. 1840.

⁴ Skene's Hist. of the Highlanders, quoted in the Lives of the Lindsays. Lond. 1849. Vol. i, p. 3.

⁵ Ellis's Introd. to Domesday, vol. ii, p. 63.

⁶ "Has foris facturas ht Rex sup. oms alodarios toti. Comitatus de Chent. et sup. hoes ipsor. Et quando morit. alodarius, rex inde habet releuacione tra. excepta tra S. Trinitatis, et S. Augustini, et S. Martini, et exceptis tris Godric de Burnes et Godric Carlesone, &c. Sup. istos ht Rex foris facturas de Capitib. eor tantumo et de terris eor ht. releuamen. qui hnt saca et soca."—Domesday Book. Printed by Command of His Majesty, 1816. Chent. p. 1.

⁷ Hasted's History of Kent. Canterbury 1799. Vol. iii, p. 720.

⁸ Placitorum Abbrevatio, temp. Richard I, &c. of which the following are extracts:—

Placita de Termino Sti. Michael. Ao Regis Jhannis, 2do.—Kanc'.—"Godeholt que

Godeholt, the widow of Eustachius de BURNES, Rogerus de BURNES, and Willielmus de BURNES, are all duly designated in connection with claims for property in Kent; and through those of Henry III. and Edward I. by the Rolls of Knight's Fees and Serjeantries,¹ in which Stacekinus de BURNES, a minor, and Willielmus de Bethe are both assessed for estates named "BURNES," in the same county. Then follow a Bull of Pope Nicholas IV. in which Johannes de BURNES Miles is welcomed to Rome as Edward the First's envoy, in 1290,² and a Charter of King Edward II, in which Willielmus de BURNES is included amongst the earlier benefactors to the hospital founded by St Thomas-à-Beckett at Eastbridge, in the city of Canterbury;³ thus bringing down the name almost uninterruptedly, by means of the great Records of the Kingdom, from the middle of the 11th to the early part of the 14th century.

At this point the prosecution of the enquiry becomes hopeless, from the want of printed documents—even if it were probable that a trace could be kept of any name, not very prominent, through the

fuit ux. Eustac. de BURNES petit vsus Susanna de Plane' 4 acras tre in Godalming quas clamat ptinere ad ronabilem dote sua qm habet ex dono Eustac. quonda viri sui qui illas ei dedit et concessit die quo ea desponsavit p. assensu Robti patris sui," &c.

In xv post Pascha Ao Regis Johannis, 4to.—Kanc'.—"Willus de Alding et Avic. uxor ej. petunt vsus Willum de Bec 40 acras tre cum pertinen. sicut jus et ronabilem proconem Avic. uxor sue in Limingburn sicut illas que eam contingit et raconabili porcone sua de tris que fuerunt Rogi de BURNES avunculi pdicti Willi et Avic." &c.

Placita de temp. Reg. Ric. Prim. Ao 7to.—Kanc'.—"Roger de Everings, Willus de Aleha, &c. electi ad eligendu 12 milit. ad faciend recognic. elegerut istos Stephum de Kanardinton, Willum de BURNES," &c.

¹ Testa de Nevill sive Liber Feodorum in Curia Scaccariæ, temp. Hen. III. et Edw. I, 1807, p. 219, as follows:—

"Kancia.—Stacekinus de BURNES qui est infra ætate, et in custodia R. de T'nehm ten' BURNES in s'jant' et valet Xli. in man' Robti de T'nehm p. dno R."

"Wills. de Bethe tenet BURNES in s'jantia, et valet Xli. et deb' invenire dno R. j. nave ad svic suu et offerre Dno R. iij mr."

The Manor of BURNES is again mentioned about the same date in the Calendar. Rotulor. Patent, p. 10, and in the Rotulor. Norman, p. 140. See also Sommers's Antiquities. Canterbury. Lond. 1640.

² "Nicolaus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio Edwardo Regi Angliæ illustri, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Regiæ celsitudinis litteras, quas nobis dilecti filii Johannes de BURNES miles, et Gulielmus de Lincolnia juris peritus, tui nuncii, præsentarunt, affectione paterna recepimus, et tam quæ continebantur in eis, quam quæ prædicti nuncii ex parte regia coram nobis proponere voluerunt, benigne audivimus, et intelleximus diligenter."—Bulla Nicolai IV. Papæ.—Rymer's Fœdera. Lond. 1816. Vol. i, Part 2, p. 740.

³ "Et insuper remissionem et quietam clamantiam, quas Ricardus de Becco filius Willielmi de Becco, Militis, par cartam suam fecit magistro et fratribus hospitalis prædicti de sex denariatis redditus, quos eidem Ricardo de 26 acris terræ cum pertinentiis quas habuerunt de dono Willielmi de BURNES annuatim reddere consueverunt."—Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. vi, p. 692.

disturbed period of the invasions of France and wars of the Roses,—but in the 16th century we again recognize the ancient patronymic borne by a family in Staffordshire, who must long previously have achieved local distinction, since they were then lords of the manor of Aldershaw, an old moated castle, near Lichfield.¹ Of this branch were John BURNES, a person of high consideration in that city at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and his grandson of the same name, an active Parliament man and Justice of the Peace under Cromwell, who died in 1682, leaving his estates to his posterity, together with the family name, which they retained till 1767, when, as appears by the will of Richard BURNES, Esquire of Aldershaw, proved by Anne BURNES, his widow, on the 18th February of that year, their only son John BURNES assumed the appellative of Floyer on succeeding to the extensive property of John Floyer of Longdon, Esquire.² The same will mentions an only daughter, Favoretta BURNES, who was married to Trevor Jones, Esquire, and whose son and daughter, the Rev. T. O. BURNES Floyer, and Mrs Panton Corbett, are now the only representatives of the family, which never appears to have been numerous. It is a scion of this stock, doubtless, who is alluded to in Elias Ashmole's diary, as John BURNES, High Bailiff of Lichfield in 1666. In the county of Middlesex again, we find Thomas BURNES recorded under date 1684, and a marriage license granted by the Bishop of London in 1742 to Robert BURNES and Elizabeth Glentworth. I may here state that the name of BURNES is also very ancient in France; so ancient, that were it not for the charter of Cœnulf above quoted, which proves that it existed in Kent 250 years before the Conquest, we might conclude that Godric de BURNES was one of the many Normans who preceded the Conqueror.³ In tracing the genealogy of the noble house of De Riencourt in Normandy, it is given in the Armorial General de France as a proof of their antiquity that their remote ancestor was witness to a gift made by Raoul de BURNES to the Abbey of St Acheuil in 1188.

But while the original name survived in another part of England, it had undergone, apparently in the 13th or 14th century, a modification in Kent similar to that which took place in many other

¹ The name of *Burne* is very old at Lichfield. *Johes de Burne* appears for the Prior of Lichfield, 9 Edward II, *v.* Calendar. Rotul. et Inquisit. ad quod Damnum. Lond. 1803.

² Shaw's Staffordshire, vol. i, p. 358, and information derived from Mr Burnes Floyer and Mr Albert Woods, Herald's College.

³ "Strong as the presumption is that an individual who held lands in England under Edward the Confessor must have been a Saxon, it is by no means proof of the fact. The influx of Normans at Edward's Court, and his partiality to them, are well known."—Sir H. Nicholas's Grosvenor Roll.

surnames for the purpose of meeting the Norman-French pronunciation. This will be best explained by the following passage from the local historian of Kent :—" Bishopborne is called in Domesday BURNES, that is, *borne*, from the *ourn* or stream which rises in it being the head of the river called the Lesser Stour, and it had the name of Bishopborne from its belonging to the Archbishop, and to distinguish it from the several other parishes of the same name in the neighbourhood. . It was in very early times possessed by a family which took their name from it. Godric de BURNES is mentioned in the very beginning of the survey of Domesday for this county, as the possessor of lands in it. Eustace de *Burne* is in the list of those assessed in the second scutage of King John's reign. John de *Bourne* had a grant of free warren for his lands in *Bourne* and Higham in the 16th King Edward I."¹ The Eustace de Burne here mentioned is manifestly, from the date and place, the Eustachius de BURNES specified in the pleadings of King John's reign, already quoted, and to this I may add that the names of Bourne and Borne are used by old authors indiscriminately. Leland makes them the same, and in Thorn's Chronicle, "Dominus Johannes de Bourne" on receiving charge of the Augustine Abbey at Canterbury by order of Edward I, on the resignation of the Abbot in 1283, is called "Borne," while on relinquishing the same charge three years afterwards he is called "Bourne." The same author mentions in the reign of Edward III, another "Johannes de Bourne, rector ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, et Georgius de Borne, frater ejus."² All this, together with the fact that the manors of Braborne³ and Bekesburne⁴ are likewise entered in the Domesday-Book as "BURNES," sufficiently identifies that name with those of Borne, Bourne, and Burne, which two last are considered so completely the same by Sir Francis Palgrave that he includes them together in his Index to the Parliamentary Writs,⁵ and we may therefore not unreasonably conclude that Hasted's John de Bourne was the John de Burne who, 2d Edward I, was appointed by patent to the Wardenship of Dover,⁶ a post so important in those days that it was conferred in the following reign on the king's own brother Edmund de Woodstock, and also the Johannes de BURNES accredited to the Pope in 1290 by King Edward I, whom we trace in almost every important transaction of that active monarch's reign. In 1282, he was commanded to seize all money landed from abroad at Dover and Sandwich, and to inspect the same, and sixteen years

¹ Hasted, vol. iii, p. 745.

² *Histor. Angl. Scriptor. cur.* Twysden. Lond. 1652.

³ "Ipse Hugo ten. Breburne. Godric de Burnes tenuit de Rege E." &c.

⁴ "Isde eps in dno Burnes, p. 2, solins se defd." &c.—Domesday Book.

⁵ Vol. ii, p. 578.

⁶ Hasted, vol. ii, p. 85.

later he was deputed to enquire into the burdens of the people in the counties of Buckingham, Bedford, Oxford, Leicester, and Warwick.¹ In the 22d, 23d, and 24th years of the same reign, we find him Sheriff of Kent, bearing for his arms—*Ermine, on a bend azure three lions guardant or*, as the same were painted on a window in Doddington Church;² which, I may observe in passing, differ³ from those which were borne by Sir Thomas de Bourne in the lists at Dunstable in 1313, thus described in the Roll of “*Les Arms de Noble Chivaliers q’ furent a’l Tornement faict a Donstaple l’an du Roy Edward tiers, apres le conquest septisme, de goules, ove un lyon rampant d’or ove le queue fourche, la bordule engrele d’argent*”; but it is worth notice that both coats are entered by Mr Burke in his General Armory for Borne, and that this name and Bourne are likewise held as identical in Berry’s *Cyclopædia Heraldica*. A reference to the *Rotuli Hundredorum* of Henry III, and Edward I, will however show the confusion of the names from difference of spelling and contractions which prevailed in that age, and which was so great in the time of Edward III. that there is a document of his in the *Placita de Quo Warranto*, wherein a John de Burne, canon and prebendary of Bedford, is first called Burne, then twice Burn, then thrice Bourn, and at last Burn again, all in the space of about thirty lines, and he is moreover apparently the Johannes de Bourne, Clericus, who receives a protection when about to travel, 38 Edward III, as well as the John de Burn who is pardoned three years after for over-staying his leave,⁴ so that in his case alone we have the name repeatedly in four different aspects.

The whole Kentish family appear to have been mixed up in the troubles of the time of Edward II, for there are pardons issued in the 17th year of his reign to John de Bourn, Margaret de Bourn, his wife, and Eustace de Bourn, all of Kent, for having adhered to the Earl of Lancaster and the Barons in rebellion:—and also in the 12th year, to Richard de Bourn for the same offence, but not extending to his crime of having plundered the Cardinal Legate.⁵ In the first year of Edward III. however, he directs his writ to the Sheriff of Kent to restore to John de Bourne all his manors, lands, &c., in that county, forfeited in his father’s reign on account of the perse-

¹ Ruding’s *Annals of Coinage*, and Rymer’s *Fœdera*.

² Hasted, vol. i, p. lxxxii.

³ The oldest form of arms appears to have been *ermine, a bend azure*, which is appropriated both to the names of Borne and Bourne by Mr Burke. From an entry in the *Calendar. Inquisit. post mortem*, vol. iv, p. 437, *temp. Edward III*, the family seems to have been connected with that of “*De Valoniis*.”

⁴ Ayloffe’s *Callend. of Anc. Chart.* Lond. 1774.

⁵ *Parl. Writs*, sup. cit.

cutions of Hugh Le Despenser, the elder and younger.¹ His son, John de Bourne, was Knight of the shire in the 2d and 3d King Edward III,² and had a writ of the Great Seal for levying his wages as such. He married the heiress of Sharsted, where the family remained till the reign of Charles I, when James Bourne, the eldest of three brothers, disposed of the estate to Abraham De Laune, merchant, of London. Bishopsborne, it may be added, having gone in the female line from the first John above-mentioned, became known as Haut's bourne, from William de Haut, Knight of the shire, 12 Hen. IV, and Sheriff, 8 and 9 Hen. V, who married Elizabeth Woodville, sister of the Earl Rivers, father of Edward the Fourth's Queen ;³ while Bekesburne, after being for many years in the possession of the family of Beke, returned to that of Bourne in the reign of Edward III.

Bekesburne is entered in the Testa de Nevill, in Henry the Third's reign, as Bernes,⁴ a circumstance which connects that name also with Burnes, and it may be interesting, therefore, to say that the family of Bernes has long been noble and distinguished in France,⁵ where Nicholas and Adam de Bernes made ample gifts to the Abbeys of Beauvais and Beaupre in the 12th century, and that a great family of a similar name in Piedmont, "Bernez," boasted of having given Cardinals and other eminent dignitaries to the State.⁶ In tracing the name in England, I find a William de Bernes canon of St Paul's, London, in 1290 ;⁷ an Adam de Bern, who was deputed to the Pope from the Abbey of St Albans in 1247 ;⁸ a Robert de Berne who, 8 Edward II, was one of the knights elected in Yorkshire "ad obviandum aggressibus Scotorum ;"⁹ a John Bernes, whose residence in Northamptonshire was, 1 Edward III, occupied by Alice Pierce, the king's mistress ;¹⁰ a Thomas de Bernes-ton, Dominus de Cotes, who, in the 8th year of the same reign, was peremptorily summoned by a writ dated from "Rokesburgh, 1st

¹ Hasted, vol. ii, p. 694.

² A Thomas de Bourne was the other representative.

³ Hasted, vol. iii, p. 745.

⁴ Hasted, vol. iii, p. 714.

⁵ It bore arms, "D'argent, a la hache d'armes, et au doleur de gueules; support deux levriers; cimier un levrier."

⁶ Dict. de la Noblesse. Paris, 1771. Vol. ii. There was a Marquis de Bernez serving in the French armies in the middle of last century. Mr Burke, in his "Landed Gentry," also mentions a Seigneur de Beaurnez connected with the Montmorencies.

⁷ Newcourt's London Diocese. Lond. 1708.

⁸ Matt. Paris, vol. ii.

⁹ Rotul. Scotiae. Lond. 1814. Vol. i, p. 129.

¹⁰ Bridges's Northamptonshire.

February 1334," to attend the king at Newcastle;¹ and a Johan Bernes, first Sheriff, and subsequently Lord Mayor of London in 1350-70,² who is probably the person mentioned in the Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, Lord High Treasurer, as having had various money transactions with the king. Fifty years later there was another John de Bernes, goldsmith in London, who made the money-weights for the new coinage of nobles, and who, as appears by the Exchequer Issues, 2 Henry VI, received "for his labour, costs, and workmanship, in riding to the king's castle at Windsor at his own costs, and there engraving the Great Seal with the Privy Signet, and also new engraving an inscription round the king's Privy Seal, the sum of *twenty* shillings."³

The modifications of Burne and Borne are also frequently met with in old writings both in England and on the Continent. Dugdale specifies the lands of Oward de Burne as the original boundary of Glastonbury Monastery; and Camden relates that Hereward, son of Leofric, Lord of Burne in Lincolnshire,⁴ at the time of the Conquest, having received knighthood from Bran, Bishop of Peterborough, successfully resisted Ivo de Talbois, the Norman intruder on his estates, and obtained favourable conditions for his family. Albertus Dapifer de Burne was surety to the Emperor Otho IV. for Theodric, Margrave of Missen, at the Convention of Frankfurt, 20th March 1212;⁵ and Sancta Maria de Burne, Dominus Radulfus de Borne, and Egidius de Burne, are all mentioned in the charters of the Priory of Hastings in Sussex of the 12th century.⁶ Willielmus de Born stands on the Roll of Humphry de Bohun, Constable of England, as one of the knights deputed by the Abbot of St Albans to the muster held at Carlisle on the eve of St John the Baptist, 28 Edward I;⁷ and Sir Roger de Borne is referred to in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments as having been buried at Strandon in 1331. John de Bornes, Lord of Polaenen, married Maria, daughter of John III, Duke of Brabant, in the 14th century;⁸ and in 1467, "the noble Jaucelin de Borna," officiated at the marriage of the Count de Malbosq with Maragde de Beauvoir.⁹ In 1554 Dr Borne, chaplain to Bishop Bonner, had a

¹ Rot. Scotiæ, vol. i, p. 307.

² Allen's London, vol. ii.

³ Ruding's Annals of Coinage. Lond. 1840, p. 269; and Devon's Issue Rolls of the Exchequer. Lond. 1837, p. 382.

⁴ This estate passed to the "Wakes de Burne," whose heiress conveyed it by marriage to Edmund de Woodstock, Earl of Kent, brother of Edward II.

⁵ Monumenta Germaniæ Hist. Ed. G. H. Pertz. Hanover, 1837.

⁶ Collectan. Topograph. et Geneal., vol. vi, p. 102.

⁷ Palgrave's Documents for the History of Scotland. Lond. 1837, p. 217.

⁸ Histoire Genealogique. Paris, 1726, p. 798.

⁹ Armorial General. Paris, 1752. Reg. III, Part 3.

dagger thrown at him while preaching at St Paul's Cross, and was shortly after elevated to the see of Bath by Queen Mary.¹

The names of de Burna and de la Burne also occur in the annals of the Priory of Dunstable, under date 1280,² and in other old chronicles. Gaufr' de Burna of Hampshire rendered to the Exchequer two ounces of gold to be released from durance, 31 Henry I,³ and Walter de la Burne paid a fine for lands in Derbyshire, 41 Henry III.⁴ As further variations, there are Beornus (Augustus) King of East Anglia in 758;⁵ Bernus, a Northumbrian Prince in early Saxon times;⁶ Erneis and Radulfus de Burun, Norman followers of the Conqueror, to whom numerous manors were granted;⁷ William Brunus the tenant of Queens Hithe, 23 Henry II;⁸ John Burnest, a land-owner in Oxfordshire, *temp.* Edward I;⁹ John Burneux Damias Marchant, 1 Henry IV;¹⁰ and John Bournes, a Chancery suitor, 2 Elizabeth; and as the name of Burnes has been derived by some from Burnhouse, I may likewise add that the latter is very ancient in England. In 4 Edward II, Walter de Gloucester, escheator beyond the Trent, claimed for the Crown the lands of Reginald Burnehus, deceased;¹¹ and in 1415, John Bernhus crossed the sea with Henry V. to be one of that brave Prince's esquires at the battle of Agincourt.¹² That some of these names are identical with Burnes may perhaps be admitted when we consider the known mutations which have taken place in other surnames, as instanced in the eighty-eight diversities of his own name proved by Lord Lindsay,¹³ and were we permitted to appropriate to ourselves the numerous Burns, Bourns, and Borns, spelt with contractions, and scattered through the ancient public records, in the same manner as his family have claimed, apparently with justice, such abbreviations as "Lynse," &c., the name of Burnes instead of being very unusual, might be pronounced one of the most common in England.

¹ Grafton's Chronicle, in black letter. Lond. 1569, p. 1327.

² Chronic. Priorat. de Dunstaple, Thom. Hearn. Oxon. 1733.

³ Magn. Rot. Scaccarii, cur. Hunter. Lond. 1833, p. 43.

⁴ Excerpt. e Rot. Finium. Lond. 1836. Vol. ii, p. 256.

⁵ Florent. Wigorn. Chron.

⁶ Brompt. Chron. cur. Twysden, p. 945: a M. *Bernus* possessed the estate and chateau of Hertheim, near Tubingen, in Wirtemberg, within these few years.

⁷ Ellis's Introd. to Domesday.

⁸ Madox's Hist. Exchequer, vol. i, p. 781.

⁹ Rot. Hundredor., vol. ii, p. 790.

¹⁰ Sir H. Nicholas's Acts of the Privy Council. Lond. 1834, p. 113.

¹¹ Rotulor. Original. Abbrevatio. Lond. 1805, p. 174.

¹² Sir H. Nicholas's Agincourt. Lond. 1832, p. 376.

¹³ Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i, p. 413.

PART II.

ON THE NAME AND FAMILY IN SCOTLAND.

THAT the name of BURNES should have been transplanted to Scotland can excite no greater surprise than to find there those of Sinclair, Maule, Gordon, and others of equally acknowledged foreign derivation; and it is not improbable that persons bearing it, considering their Saxon origin, may have accompanied Edgar Atheling when he fled before the tide of the Norman Conquest to the Scottish Court in 1066. But unless we can suppose that it had assumed the form of Burneville,¹ to meet the Norman fashion of the times—in the same way that More and Blunt are said to have become Moreville and Blondville, while, on the other hand, Murray and Mowat have sprung from Moravia and Monte-Alto,—it cannot, so far as I know, be traced in any of the early Scottish Records, which are far less perfect than those of England, in consequence of the depredations of the Edwards and of Cromwell. Early in the 12th century Robertus de Burneville was witness to the charters granted by King David I. to the Abbeys of Selkirk and Holy-Rood;² and is probably the same nobleman mentioned by Nisbet as one of the “Comites et Barones Regni—all persons of the first rank and condition,” who, with David Earl of Huntingdon, were sent to England as hostages for the ransom of King William the Lion, after he had been taken prisoner at the battle of Alnwick in 1174.³ In 1230 John de Burneville is mentioned in the Statutes of Alexander II; and in 1296 Agnes, the widow of a baron of the same name, recovered various estates in the counties of Berwick, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh, on taking the oath of fidelity to Edward I.⁴ At a later period another Robert De Burneville and his son were witnesses to a charter granted by Patrick, the first Earl

¹ *Scottice Burnhouse.*

² *Scots Acts, vol. i, App. 46.*

³ “*Conventio et finis quem Willielmus Rex Scotorum fecit cum Domino suo Henrico Rege filio Matildis.*”—*Rymer's Fœd. Vol. i, P. 1, p. 31*; and also *Palgrave's Documents, illustrating the Hist. of Scotland. London, 1837.*

⁴ “*Pro viduis Scotiæ, de terris suis liberandis ratione juramenti præstati.*”—*Rymer's Fœd. Vol. i, P. 2, p. 845.*

of March, to the Monastery of Coldingham,¹ at the camp of Dunbar, on the 24th of May 1367; but after this date I can find no trace even of the Norman name in Scotland.

By a charter of Robert Bruce, dated in 1309, the lands of "Bernys, beside Linlithgow," were conveyed to Walter Steward on his marriage with Marjory the king's daughter; and this name repeatedly occurs in that and other localities, under the variations occasionally of Bernis, Bernes, Barnes, and Barns, in other old charters recorded in Robertson's Index,² although the following verbatim copy of an Exchequer entry, 27 David II, will show that it is difficult to ascertain precisely what it was,—“In scaccario apud Edinburgum, die Januarii, A. D. 1368.—ffif, Pendit in manu mauricii de dromud tra de *bnys* valens antiq'tus,” &c.³ Then there are the parish of Burness, now united to Cross, and forming the north-west extremity of Sanday, one of the Orkney isles,—a small lake called Burness in the little island of Westray, one of the same group,—and an estate named Burness in the parish of Firth and Stenness, on the mainland of Orkney, near Kirkwall, the appellations of which are probably of no great antiquity, as the last Statistical Account of Scotland, in which I have found them mentioned, states that the parish of Burness was anciently called St Colms; but I can discover no notice of any individual bearing a similar name till we arrive at the trial of William Lord Crechton and others for treason,⁴ in 3 James III, 1483, in the course of which one of the conspirators presents himself under the designations successively of Robert burn, Robert burne, and Robert of burn, which possibly may have been Burnes, since in the same proceeding Pringle is spelt Pngll,—Chalmers, Chaum—and other names are equally mutilated. Fifty years later we fall upon another public offender, Johnne Burness, who is included in a nineteen years' respite granted by King James V. at Stirling, 19th September 1528, to Edward Sinclair and thirty others—printed in Barry's History of Orkney—for being “art and part of the convocation and gadering of our leiges in arrayit battell agains. umqll Johnne Erle of Caithness, and for art and part of ye slaughter of the said umqll Erle and his friendis.” But considering that a copy of the same pardon as published by Sir John Sinclair,⁵ who had the best means of obtaining correct information, omits all mention

¹ Reg. Magn. Sigil. Reg. Scotor. vol. i, p. 202.

² In a Charter of Robert Bruce, of 1309, the lands of “Bernis, within the thanedom of Aberbothnot,” in Kincardineshire, are granted to John Menteith.

³ Scots Acts.

⁴ “Processus foris facture Willmi. dnj de Crechton et diu'arum aliarum p'sonarum.—Scots Acts.

⁵ Stat. Hist. of Scotland. Edit. 1795, vol. xiv.

of this individual, I may observe that even if he existed, his name was probably a mere *nom de guerre*, derived from the estate of Burness, in Firth and Stenness, the place of his residence, in the immediate vicinity of which the slaughter took place, and entered for want of the real one, according to a fashion very common in old documents, where such names as John at York, Simon Bedford, &c., often appear, and that this supposition is rendered more conclusive, inasmuch as the two next delinquents recorded in the list are John and Magnus Cromarte, who, doubtless, had as much claim to the territorial appellation of the county of that name, as their confederate had to that of the lands of Burness.

Nearer our own times the name occurs distinctly in the public records, both as applied to property and persons. From 1628 and 1645, three successive Gordons of Lochinvar and Kenmure were served heirs to claims on the estate of BURNES, in Kirkcudbright;¹ and between 1644 and 1677, the lands of BURNES, in Sanday, Skail in BURNES, Holland in BURNES, and Kirklands in BURNES, all in Orkney, and inherited respectively by Malcolm Sinclair, William Sklatter, John Grott, and Robert Stewart, are duly recorded in the special Inquisitions of the Kingdom. On the 16th December 1584, William Burnis sat as a juryman on a Crown assize at Glasgow for the trial of John Holmes and others, arraigned "for abiding from the raid of Stirling;"² and on the 5th April 1637, John BURNES, servitor to Sir Alexander Strauchane of Thornetoun, attached his name at Edinburgh, to a deed—now in the possession of my father—granted by the Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, in the name of the Exchequer, to Alexander Straitown of that Ilk. In 1690, "Collonell John BURNES" profited amongst others by the Scotch Act of Parliament of William and Mary, "rescinding the forefaultures and fynes since the year 1665;" and in 1699, John BURNES in Tradonock, was returned heir to his grandfather the Rev. John BURNES of Kirkoswald.³ Considerably before this period however, my great-grandfather's grandfather, James BURNES, appeared on the scene in Kincardineshire, where, within a few miles of Thornetoun, the habitation of the John Burnes of 1637, who was probably his near relative, he was born in 1656, as shewn by the date inscribed on his tombstone at Glenbervie.⁴ He and his brother William are the first members of the family respecting whom any precise information has reached us by so unmistakeable a memorial,

¹ Inquisition Special. Abbrevat. Lond. 1811.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i, Part 2, p. 138.

³ Inquisit. General. Abbrevatio, No. 8166.

⁴ See Part III. of these Notes, No. 1.

or by written records ; but no doubt can exist that their forefathers, for 150 years previously, had been occupying the same farms of Bogjorgan, and Bralinmuir of Inchbreck, where we first find them, as the fact was positively affirmed to me by the late G. A. Stuart, Esq. of Inchbreck, whose ancestors had possessed that estate since 1547, in a conversation which I had with him some years ago in India.¹

As to the origin of the name and family in this locality much speculation has arisen. A tradition prevailed, which reached me early in the present century, through, I believe, my grand-aunt, Mrs Hudson, at Bervie, that they were derived from a stranger of another district ; and to this story John Burness of Stonehaven, the author of *Thrummy Cap*, and a descendant of the William I have now mentioned, gave an air of such credibility in a letter to my father of 1824,² by combining a Campbell of Burnhouse with it, and presenting the Rev. Alexander Greig, episcopal clergyman at Stonehaven from 1743 to 1793, as his authority for its truth, that after ascertaining from the parish-clerk of Glenbervie that he had also heard it,³ and receiving a favourable report on it from two professional genealogists, the late Mr A. Deuchar, and Mr A. Macdonald, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, I submitted it, when called on in 1837 to register my arms on receiving the Guelphic Knighthood from King William IV, to the Lord Lyon, who so far recognized it as to grant me, amongst numerous other bearings, one of those pertaining to Campbell. This occurred during the hurry of my departure for India ; but having discovered afterwards that the statement assigned 1688 as the date when Campbell of Burnhouse established his family and territorial appellation, corrupted into our name, at Glenbervie, and made James Burnes, born 1656, his youngest grandson, I relinquished the bearing in question, and have finally, since my return home, had it officially removed by a fresh matriculation, rather than let it appear on the Medals founded in my honour, for educational purposes, by the citizens of Bombay. How the tale originated it is difficult now to surmise, but it is only justice to John Burness's memory to say that, independently of him, I have traced it in two other channels. My own impression is, that it found its source in some obscure hint thrown out by Mr Greig, a devoted partisan of

¹ The fact is also vouched for in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of the 26th April 1851, by a Reverend gentleman writing on the ancestry of Robert Burns, who declares expressly that he had it, many years ago, from the lips of the late Professor Stuart of Inchbreck, the father of Mr G. A. Stuart, and a man of profound and correct antiquarian research, who died at an advanced age in 1827. He states also that the rental of Bralinmuir was about L.300 Sterling. It forms with Bogjorgan the estate of Inchbreck.

² Part III, No. II.

³ Part III, No. III.

the Stuart Family,¹ and doubtless in their secrets, as to the clandestine correspondence carried on by the great Duke of Argyle with the Pretender, under the name of Burnes, a circumstance which Horace Walpole's Letters have recently exposed,² but which 70 years ago was necessarily enveloped in much mystery. There was no want of Campbells of Burnhouse however to fortify the story. Mr Deuchar discovered a sasine granted to George Campbell, 17th February 1627, of a property named Burne, at Mauchline, which he reasonably enough concluded would be called Burnhouse; and in 1691 and 1695, Sir George Campbell, Lord Justice-Clerk, and the Earl of Argyle, were respectively served heirs to lands named Burnhouse, in Ayrshire, and Bernis, in Argyle.³ There was, moreover, a Burnhouse of Kair, in the immediate vicinity of Inchbreck,⁴ and it is singular also that at the very date given by John Burness, the Hon. James Campbell of Burnbank was a fugitive, and concealed in Scotland to escape the consequence of his abduction and forcible marriage of Miss Wharton, for which his accomplice Sir John Johnston of Caskieben suffered death at Tyburn, 23d December 1690.⁵

But the poor author of *Thrummy Cap*, who, after a life of penury and hardship perished in a snow-storm in 1826,⁶ is not the only one who has offered speculations as to our name and origin. In combating his statement, another writer has recently substituted in its stead a conjecture that the name was derived from Burness in Orkney, and that the first who bore it was an exposed infant that received its cognomen, according to the practice of the times, from the name of the parish in which it was found,—adducing the physiognomy and temperament of the family as strikingly those of the northern highlander, and confirmatory of this hypothesis. To this, the basest derivation that could be assigned to the name, and a

¹ It is recorded in the Black Book of Kincardineshire, that when the Duke of Cumberland halted at Stonehaven in 1746, he ordered his soldiers to set fire to Mr Greig's chapel, "because the minister and the greatest part of his hearers had embraced the cause of Prince Charles; there being very few who attended the Parish Church at Dunnottar, and not above a dozen of Presbyterians in the Old Town at this period." The Chapel however was spared at the intercession of Sheriff Young, and converted into a stable for the Duke's dragoons, though the pulpit and pews were taken out and burned in the High Street.

² Vol. i, p. 275,—he spells the name Burnus.

³ Inquisit. Spec.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burke's *Patrician*, vol. v, p. 275.

⁶ The author of "*Rambles in Forfarshire*" thus alludes to him in conjunction with Dr Gillies. I need not object to their being mentioned together, considering that the one was of my father's blood, the other my mother's cousin-german.—"It may appear strange mentioning the author of '*Thrummy Cap*' in the same breath with Dr Gillies; but such men as the Doctor are already well known, while few know, and many have wondered who wrote the *Nursery Tales*. If the boys and girls of Scotland knew where poor Burness, the author of '*Thrummy Cap*,' was buried, they would annually strew his grave with flowers."

sort of travestie on the fabulous origin of a well-known English family, my reply, putting aside the physiognomy and temperament as unknown to us, was, that if we were to have "vain imaginings" why might we not suppose that John de BURNES, so often mentioned as Edward the First's trusty adherent, may have been with that monarch when he received the submission of John Baliol¹ in Kincardineshire in 1296, and left some of his kindred there?—adding, that as the writ summoning him to the expedition I believed existed, and as *he* undoubtedly lived, which was more than could be said of the foundling, my theory was the less outrageous, as well as the more pleasing of the two. And—waiving the supposition hazarded at the beginning of this chapter—unless this conjecture, which so far tallies with the belief that the family was derived from a stranger, and with Professor Stuart's declaration that it was settled on his patrimonial property for three hundred years prior to the commencement of the 19th century, be accepted, I know of no other solution that can be offered to the difficulty, except by assuming that some of the same numerous family may have immigrated from England during the troubles in which they were involved for the Le Despenser's in Edward II's reign, or at a more recent period. It should be remarked that Castleton of Kincardine, the ancient capital of the county, and the site of which was Phesdo,² within a few miles of Inchbreck, was, at the period of Edward the First's oppressions, an important military post, which must have been occupied for years by English soldiers, and that there is nothing improbable in the belief that some of these may have established themselves in the locality, however unpalatable it may be to suppose that the man who wrote "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," was the descendant of one of the followers of the "proud usurper." A precisely similar instance occurred, in fact, in the history of our own family last century, when George Hudson, an Englishman, of Lord Robert Manners's regiment, settled himself at Montrose, and was the grandfather of Provost Hudson of Bervie, a man of mark in his day, who married my grandfather's

¹ It appears by the Diary of the expedition, in the Cottonian Collection, written in old French, and believed to be coeval with the events it describes, that Edward I. passed the Tweed 28th March 1296, reached Montrose (where he stayed three days) 7th July, Kincardine in the Mearns on the 11th, and Bervie on the 12th; and that again, on his return from Elgin, he was at Kincardine on the 2d August, and Brechin on the 4th. On the subsequent occasion, when he overran Scotland, he was once more at Kincardine on the 17th August 1303. "The scroll of Baliol's resignation," says Mr Tytler, "was prepared at Kincardine on 2d July, his humiliating penance performed in the churchyard of Stra'cathro on the 7th, and his final renunciation made to Edward in person at the Castle of Brechin on the 10th;" all of which tallies with the above, in consequence of the places named being so near each other.

² Stat. Account of Scotland, Edin. 1845, vol. xi.

sister, and was the progenitor of a numerous race in Forfar and Kincardine.¹

In addition to the above, I may urge that the name, from remote antiquity, has been BURNES, not Burness, resting my proof of this on the Great Public Records, the spelling of which I have carefully followed in the preceding pages. I am aware that contemporaneously with the John Burnes of 1637 at Thorneton, and James Burnes of 1656 at Bralinmuir, and within a few miles of these places, there was a "Patrick Burness, Clerk to the Presbiterie of Brechin," whose name is attached to a grant by John Lindsay of Edzell, of "ane hundreth merks and six bolls of oatmeal, &c., to the Reader of Loghlie," under date 26th August 1659, and who, with the exception of the doubtful Johnne Burness of 1528, whose appellation I believe I have satisfactorily accounted for, is the first and only instance of the double s on record prior to 1705, the date of the document published by Mr Robert Chambers, wherein William Burnes of Bogjorgan is termed Burnasse, in the hand-writing of a clerk, but which is only initialed by William himself;² but in the case of my own ancestors, from the earliest date to which they can be traced, the name, with a single deviation on the part of my grandfather, which will be presently explained, has invariably been BURNES. In proof of this I refer to the name of my great-grandfather's grandfather, the James of 1656 already so often mentioned, as inscribed on his tomb at Glenbervie; to that of his son Robert at Clochnahill,

¹ Provost Hudson is creditably mentioned in the last Statistical Account of Scotland as the Commandant of the Bervie Volunteers about the beginning of the present century. He died in 1808, and his widow, my grand-aunt, died in 1820. They were both much esteemed and respected.

² Ane note of the biging off Bogjorgine Belonging to William Stuart heritor thereof given up be William Burnasse present tenant of the sd. Rowm and James Burnesse late possessor of the half theroff upon the seventainth day of July 1705 years.

Imp [a ffyr] houss consisting off thrie couplles ffour horses two taill postes ane middle wall with ane post ffrom the ground with ane rooff two pairs in the syd with ane door bandet locked and bared and with ane window off two lightes bradet bandet and snecked with ane loume all to be sufficient

Item ane barne consisting of ffyve couplles four horses two taill postes ane Rooff thrie pares in the syd with ffor door locked and bandet and back door bared and steepled all to be sufficient

Item ane byre consisting of four couplles two in the syd ane rooff with door and door cheikes bandet all to be sufficient

It is declared be both parties that if ther be no other inventur ffound betwixt this and Whytsonday nixt 1706 yeares that this shall be ane tr[ue] inventur off the said William Burness at his removell from the said Roum In witness

. beffer these witnesses Robt. Middletoun in Broombank and David Watson in Polburn wryter hereoff

Will. Stuart
1705

R. Midletone witnes
D. Watson wittnes and wrytr.

W B

my great grandfather's father, as repeatedly entered with those of his brothers, George and James, in the parish records of Dunnottar between 1725 and 1732;¹ and to the signature of my great grandfather himself, which stands in the archives of the burgh of Montrose, of which he was a councillor about the middle of last century, to attest his adherence to the patronymic of his fathers, as well as to the letters of his brothers, Robert and William, the father of the Poet, to their nephew my grandfather, which still exist to prove that they employed the same orthography.² In deference to a relative, William Burness,³ a man of some local eminence in his day as a town-councillor of the then close burghs of Montrose and Bervie, who had previously amplified the ancient name, and who took charge of him as a child on his father's death, my grandfather adopted the double s; and his cousin the Poet was so far misled by his letters, he being the only correspondent of the family in the north country, that he imitated his example until the time arrived when he assumed the modification he has rendered so illustrious—a circumstance which has caused some perplexity to his biographers;⁴ but it should be

¹ Part III, No. v.

² EDINBURGH, July 5, 1851.—I had this day an opportunity, in company with Mr Robert Chambers and my father, of scrutinising the signatures of the three brothers at the same time. The documents submitted to us were—*1st*, A Charter of Alienation by the Magistrates and Council of Montrose to Captain William Ouchterlony, dated 20th March 1754, to which the signature of James BURNES, Councillor, is appended in bold letters; *2d*, A letter dated Lochlee, in Ayrshire, 14th April 1781, to my grandfather, congratulating him on the birth of my father, from William BURNES; and *3d*, A letter from the same place, dated February 17, 1784, informing my grandfather of the death of his brother William Burnes, and requesting the friendly intercourse still to be maintained—from Robert BURNES. William, in his letter says,—“I have a family of four sons and three daughters. I have the happiness to hope they are virtuously inclined. My eldest son is named Robert, my second Gilbert, &c.” Little did the worthy man anticipate how great the name of the Robert thus unobtrusively mentioned would afterwards become! I may add, that the infertment following on the above charter was likewise shown me, containing the name of James BURNES, and that I have, moreover, seen another Charter of 1754, from the Magistrates of Montrose, and now in the possession of the Harbour Trustees, bearing his signature, *ipsissimis literis*. Many other public documents are still extant to attest his spelling of the name.

³ He was the son of James at Hawkhill, (vide Part III, No. vi,) whose own name stands BURNES on his tombstone.

⁴ “James Burness, son of the Poet's uncle, lives at Montrose, and has seen fame come to his house in a twofold way, viz.—through his eminent cousin Robert, and dearer still, through his own grandson, Alexander Burnes, with whose talents and intrepidity the world is well acquainted. He is now, as may be surmised, descending in the vale of years; his faculties are still unimpaired, and his love of his own ancient name nothing lessened. He adheres, and we honour him for it, to the spelling of his ancestors, and is not at all pleased at the change made in the name, and even sighs, it is said, because his grandsons have adopted in part the Poet's modification.”—Cunningham's Burns, Lond. 1834, vol. vi, p. 17. The writer

added that my grandfather specially enjoined his son, my father, on his entering life, to return to BURNES as the true name of his ancestors, which was accordingly done.

The transition to Burness to meet the north-country¹ pronunciation, which assigns to such names as Burnes, Forbes, &c., two syllables, was as natural as that to Bourne and Bournes, to suit the Norman-French of England, and too much importance need not be attached to the spelling when we consider the variations which surnames undergo, as in the instance already quoted by me of the eighty-eight diversities of that of Lindsay. No one will doubt that the ancient Burnes and modern Burness are as much the same as Burnet and Burnett, or any other name equally synonymous; and that the spelling has been a mere matter of caprice is proved by a letter from the parish-clerk of Glenbervie, now before me, dated the 23d May 1851, containing extracts from the baptism-register and session minute-book of that parish from 1722, when the records commence, to 1787, showing the name in the register throughout, with one exception, as Burness, while in the minute-book, of ten persons mentioned, five, from 1723 to 1755, are called by that name, and the remaining five, from 1757 to 1787, are entered as Burnes. In the lists of banns of marriage also from 1756 to 1775, containing five proclamations, the three first (in 1756) are recorded as Burness, while the two last (in 1766 and 1775) are Burnes,—from all which it would appear that about the time Robert Burns and my grandfather were adopting the double s, the good people of Glenbervie were discarding it, and returning to the original spelling on the old tombstones.² Turning to the parish records of Montrose from their commencement, we find (March 4, 1730) the burial of John BURNES, and (January 12, 1746) the baptism of my grand-aunt Elizabeth, daughter of James BURNES, duly enrolled; but the Session-Clerks there appear to have exercised even greater latitude than those at Glenbervie, for besides Burness, we have repeated instances of Burnice, Burnace, and Burneis, showing, that having once deviated of this did not know that the grandsons took their name from their father as they found it, and that their grandfather very much approved of their doing so.

¹ In the south country the name never appears to have become *Burness*. In the Edinburgh Scottish Journal of Topography, &c., for September 4, 1847, it is stated—“we meet with the following entry in the Ayr Parish Records ‘John BURNES, son of John BURNES in Burrowfield, and Agnes M’Millan, his spouse, born 12th February 1666.’ There are a number of other entries of the same name written indiscriminately, and sometimes applying to the same parties, BURNES and *Burns*, but never *Burness*.”

² I may mention that an official requisition exists in the archives of Stonehaven, dated 7th October 1745, calling on Robert BURNES, writer there, and others, to aid in cleansing the harbour. The old parish records of Glenbervie were destroyed in the Rebellion of 1715.

from the ancient spelling, the writing of the name had become quite arbitrary, and at the discretion of the registrar.

As I purpose adding various genealogical tables in the next Chapter, it is only necessary to state here briefly, that James Burnes at Bralinmuir, whose ingenuity in protecting his money from highland robbers is, by the way, pleasingly noticed by Mr R. Chambers,¹ married Margaret Falconer, and that they died respectively at the ages of 87 and 90 years, in 1743 and 1749, having had, besides two daughters, five sons, William, Robert, George, James, and Thomas, all of whom were respectably established in life. Thomas died in 1734, aged 29, and the eldest son remained at Bralinmuir, but no trace of their families now exists; William having been succeeded in the farm at his death by his youngest surviving brother James, from Hawkhill, whose son David only relinquished it in 1807,² when the connection which had subsisted between it and the family for above three centuries was finally closed. The second and third sons, Robert and George, became lease-holders on the domains of the Keiths Marischal, at Clochnahill of Dunnottar, and Elfhill of Fetteresso; and the former, who is honourably mentioned by Mr Chambers as having, in conjunction with some of the neighbouring farmers, built the first school-house in the district, and engaged a teacher,³ was the father of three sons,

¹ "In the time when James Burnes lived, the Highlanders still kept up their old habit of making predatory incursions into the Mearns. On one occasion, when some *catterans*, as they were called, made an approach to Bralinmuir, the goodman adopted the expedient of hiding his loose cash in the nave of an old cart-wheel which usually lay in the *jaw-hole* before the door to perform duty as a sort of stepping-stone. Both ends of the aperture being plugged up, and the wheel laid down, as usual, in the puddle, the *catterans* stepped upon it in entering the house without the faintest suspicion of what they were treading upon. James Burnes had five sons, all of whom he set up in farms."—Chambers's *Life of Burns*, Edin. 1851, p. 334.

² For this date I am indebted to Alexander Burness, Esquire, of Prospect Place, Aberdeen, to whom, as well as to Francis Edmond, Esquire, Advocate, in the same city, I am under great obligations for much courtesy and aid while prosecuting these family enquiries. It was through the kindness of the latter gentleman that the old document printed at page 17 was obtained. Mr Alexander Burness is the son of David above-mentioned, and the grandson consequently of a brother of Robert at Clochnahill, the Poet's, and my grandfather's, grandfather. His nephew, Mr D. Burnes, is the reverend gentleman alluded to in the Note to page 14.

³ "It is an interesting circumstance regarding the Poet's grandfather, that, notwithstanding his poverty, he had a liberal sense of the value of education for his children. He, in conjunction with some of the neighbouring farmers, built a school-house on the farm of Clochnahill, and engaged a teacher. It was the first school built in that part of the country. It will be observed that this was precisely the conduct afterwards pursued by his son William Burnes at Alloway; so that two generations of our Poet's family had distinguished themselves by what was, even for Scotland, an extraordinary as well as most honourable sacrifice in behalf of education. The lease of Clochnahill expired about 1740; two of the farmer's sons, including William, then a mere youth, intended to renew the *tack*, but it was taken over

James, Robert, and William, the two last of whom proceeded to the south country, where William married Agnes Brown, and became the father of Robert Burns the Poet; while James, the eldest, settled at Montrose, "where," to quote from a recent article in Hogg's *Instructor*, "he was a person of great integrity and worth; for many years an elder of the Established Church, and having attained to civic honors—a burgess and town-councillor of that ancient burgh."¹ He died in 1761, aged 44, leaving by his wife Margaret Grub, an only son and daughter, the former of whom was my grandfather, a man of intelligence and ability, whose generosity to the Poet in his extremity is recorded by all his biographers. He died in 1837, aged 87, leaving also, by his wife Anne Greig, an only son—my father,² so that it will be seen that beyond the immediate circle of our own family our nearest relatives of the name are the sons of the Poet and of his brother Gilbert,—the descendants of the younger brother of my great-grandfather.

The only subject which remains for notice is the connection of the family with the rebellions for the House of Stuart. Every one knows that Robert Burns asserted that his forefathers had welcomed ruin and shaken hands with infamy for the old line of monarchs, and information to the same effect had reached me very

their heads. They were thus put out of their little possessions; their stock was sold to pay their debts; the old man retired with his three unmarried daughters to a small farm called Denside, in the same parish, while the sons went off to push their fortunes with empty pockets."—*Chambers's Life of Burns*, Edin. 1851, pp. 334-5.

¹ He settled at Montrose in 1730, his burgess ticket is dated 11th September 1751, and he was elected a councillor 26th September 1753.

² Hogg's *Instructor* makes the following allusion also to him:—"James Burnes, son of the above James, and second cousin of the sons of Burns, is a very remarkable man. He was formerly Provost of Montrose, and Justice of the Peace for Forfarshire, and held several official appointments in that locality. He was born, April, 1780, is now in his 70th year, and may truly be characterised as 'the old man eloquent.' He may be called the father of borough reform in Scotland; and to those who have listened to the copious stream of his eloquence in those times, pregnant with illustration from the stores of a reflective and cultivated mind, it may be a matter of regret that Mr Burnes had not a wider field for the exercise of his rare talents. But bodily infirmity and heavy domestic affliction, though, fortunately, they have not broken the elasticity of his spirit, have pressed with a heavy hand on his declining years. Need we refer to the slaughter of his sons at Cabool. Into the political causes that led to the lamented fate of Sir Alexander Burnes we do not feel called to enter; but that event, in connection with his travels in India, tracing the mighty footsteps of Alexander the Great, will long consecrate the fate of him and his brother Charles with sorrow, and render the name of Burnes illustrious in the civilized world. It will be seen that James Burnes is the actual head of the kith, clan, and kindred of our great national Poet—and he is worthy of the name. He married, early in life, Elizabeth, daughter of Adam Glegg, Esq., Provost of Montrose, and is the father of a numerous family, every way worthy of the illustrious name which they bear."

early in life at Bervie, along with the tradition I have already mentioned that his and my grandfather's grandfather, Robert Burnes at Clochnahill, was, at the beginning of last century, one of five substantial brothers in the Mearns, displaying at one time silver vessels, and other indications of wealth unusual in that county, at their family meetings, but finally involved in ruin by his attachment to the House of Stuart under the banner of George Keith the tenth and last Earl Marischal, who, at the head of his retainers, proclaimed the Pretender King of Great Britain on the 28th September 1715, at the Market-Cross of the neighbouring city of Aberdeen; and again in December following, after having fought bravely at the Battle of Sheriffmuir, at the gate of his own house of Fetteresso, where that unfortunate prince and his general the Earl of Mar were then his guests; and who, after maintaining the struggle in Scotland for the Stuarts so late as 1720, relinquished his all to join the fortunes of the exiled House on the Continent. Mr R. Chambers has placed this subject on so clear a footing, that instead of entering upon it minutely myself, I shall extract the following from his *Life of the Poet* :—

“Regarding the cavalier character of Burns's ancestors, it is to be observed that he has affirmed it in the most direct manner. His first reference to the subject occurs in the original manuscript of his autobiography addressed to Dr Moore. There, after stating that his father was from the north of Scotland, he spoke of his ancestors as renting lands of the noble family of the Keiths, Earls Marischal, and as having had the honour of sharing their fate. ‘I do not,’ continues he, ‘use the word honour with any reference to political principles; loyal and disloyal I take to be merely relative terms in that ancient and formidable court known in this country by the name of club-law, where the right is always with the strongest. But those who dare welcome ruin and shake hands with infamy for what they sincerely believe to be the cause of God or their King, are, as Mark Antony says in Shakspeare of Brutus and Cassius, honourable men. I mention this circumstance because it threw my father on the world at large.’ Again, in his Address to William Tytler, he says with equal directness, speaking of the name of Stuart,—

‘ My fathers that name revered on a throne,
My fathers have fallen to right it;
Those fathers would spurn their degenerate son,
That name should he scoffingly slight it.’

“Afterwards, writing to Lady Winifred Maxwell Constable (Dec. 16, 1789), he says—‘With your ladyship I have the honour to be connected by one of the strongest and most endearing ties in the whole

moral world—common sufferers in a cause where even to be unfortunate is glorious, the cause of heroic loyalty! Though my fathers had not illustrious honours and vast properties to hazard in the contest; though they left their humble cottages only to add so many units more to the unnoted crowd that followed their leaders, yet what they could they did, and what they had they lost; with unshaken firmness, and unconcealed political attachments, they shook hands with ruin for what they esteemed the cause of their King and Country.’ What Gilbert Burnes says on the other side is as follows:—‘I do not know how my brother could be misled in the account he has given of the Jacobitism of his ancestors. I believe the Earl Marischal forfeited his title and estates in 1715, before my father was born; and among a collection of parish certificates in his possession I have read one, stating that the bearer had no concern in the late wicked rebellion.’

“It cannot fail to strike the reader that Gilbert here contradicts something which the Poet did not assert. The question is not as to the father, but as to ‘fathers,’ meaning evidently more remote predecessors. William Burnes might have been innocent of this honourable guilt, while his father was not. James Hogg reported his having heard from an old Kincardineshire gentleman named Hutchard,¹ that Burnes’s grandfather and uncles were out in both

¹ What Hogg says is as follows:—(Hutchard is, I presume, a misprint for Hutcheon.) “When I was engaged in collecting the Jacobite relics, my pleasure as well as interest led me very much among the Old Jacobite families of Angus and Mearns settled in Edinburgh, for all the Episcopalians of those districts were wonderfully attached to the House of Stuart. In these gentlemen’s houses we had numerous supper parties, into which none were invited save sterling Jacobites. There all the songs and anecdotes were Jacobite, yet the toasts perfectly loyal, as they had no successor to turn their eyes to out of the reigning Family. There was one old man, a Mr Hutchard, about a hundred years of age, who would never drink King George’s health either by one denomination or another, asserting that he was of the race of an usurper, and had no right to be there. It was either from this old emblem of a former age, or Mr Skinner, brother to the late Rev. Bishop of that name, and son to the celebrated poet and divine, that I heard one night in the house of Mr Moir, by mere chance conversation, that Burnes’s grandfather and uncles were out in both rebellions, and that it rendered them obnoxious to the intolerable whigs of that country, and reduced them in circumstances. This, in conjunction with what Burnes says himself, is in my opinion quite conclusive. William Burnes, the father of our Poet, left his native district at the age of nineteen to push his fortune in the Lowlands as a gardener; and from the painful sensations described as having taken place at his parting with his father’s family, I have no doubt in my own mind that the circumstances of that family were altered owing to the above cause; and as William Burnes ultimately settled in one of the most Antipretelatic districts in Scotland, he would naturally keep his thumb on the proscribed politics of his ancestors. He had even dreaded it so much that he had brought a certificate from his parish ministers tating that he had no hand in the late wicked rebellion. This shows plainly that the family had been sufferers on that score, else he would never have

rebellions, and that it rendered them obnoxious to the whigs of that country, and reduced them in circumstances. There is certainly no great improbability in this statement, but rather the reverse, for the natal district of the family was remarkable for the attachment of the people to the House of Stuart. The very laws of the country placed Robert Burnes of Clochnahill, like all the other tenants of the Earl Marischal, under an obligation to follow his lord to the field. Something to the same effect as Mr Hutchard's statement, only a little more general, was lately reported to Dr Burnes by a man named Taylor, eighty-seven years of age, residing at Drumlithie. After saying that he had heard that the original name of the family was Campbell, and that it had been changed in *consequence of a duel*, Taylor stated it as being notorious in his young days that 'the Burneses had been out for the Stuarts.' They were chiefly, he added, of the Episcopal communion. Another circumstance favourable to the Poet's account of the family is its having such a person as the Rev. Mr Greig connected with it. On the whole, considering how weak is the contradiction brought forward by Gilbert, I see little reason to disbelieve that the Poet's grandfather and grand-uncles were *out* in the affair of 1715-16, in attendance on the standard of the Earl Marischal. The fact was perhaps imparted as a family secret by William Burnes to Robert, in consequence of the interest which the young bard took in such matters, and the sympathy which he felt with the ruined cause of the Stuarts; while to Gilbert, whose prepossessions were of an opposite complexion, the old man might not feel the same provocation to be communicative."

On this, I may observe, that although the Ettrick Shepherd states on authority that Burns's grandfather and uncles were *out* in both rebellions, yet, in regard to the first at least, he must have meant *grand-uncles*; and this indeed is manifest, for he knew perfectly that neither the Poet's father, nor either of his brothers, could have borne

thought of asking such a testimonial, as it must have been manifest to every one that looked at him that he could not have been in the rebellion, else it must have been in his infancy. From the superior sense and fair education of William Burnes, as well as the anxiety he manifested in promoting the education of his family, I am further convinced that he was of a good stock, cadets of the Earls Marischal, and crushed by the change of times. The Mearns was far from being a forward county in literary qualifications, generally taken; for though the higher ranks were well educated, the peasantry were far behind. Now William Burnes appears to have been a very superior person—of fine religious feelings, a high sense of honour, integrity, and the dignity of moral worth. The head farmers of all Scotland have no more education than he has been allowed to have had, independent of what he possessed as a botanist, florist, and planter; yet in his humble and laborious employment he had no use for anything farther than reading, writing, and arithmetic."

—Hogg's Life of Burns.

arms in 1715; the eldest of the three in fact, James, my progenitor, was only born in 1717. But that the Poet's grandfather, and some of his grand-uncles may have taken the field in the second as well as in the first insurrection, is quite possible, for the former was alive, in distressed circumstances, according to Gilbert Burns, even after William Burnes was established in the south country,¹ which must have been considerably after the rising of 1745. And although Gilbert Burns treated the notion of his father's having been *out* as "a mere fiction,"—referring to a parish certificate in support of his belief—and even felt himself authorised to strike out of his brother's letter to Dr Moore the allusion to the family's having fought and suffered for the Stuarts—yet I consider it far from being proved that both the Poet's father and uncle, Robert, did not join in the rebellion of 1745; for if, as is expressly declared,² the former was 19 when he quitted the Mearns, and *above* 50 in 1773, as Gilbert indicates, when the Poet was 15,³ he must have emigrated to the south country before 1745, and what then becomes of the certificate from the minister of his native parish? Except simply that he went to Edinburgh, there is no trace of William Burnes till about 1753-5, the period when, as indicated by Mr Murdoch, he settled in Ayrshire, and thus there is a blank in his history embracing the period of the second rebellion, of which no explanation is given, and which would account for the report that certainly did prevail, of his having fought for the young Chevalier, and which his reserved stately manners, as well as his anti-Presbyterian views of religion, and his appearance, far superior to his position, would naturally tend to confirm.⁴ Nor, strange as it

¹ Chambers's Edition of Currie's Life of Burns, Edin. 1838, p. 16.

² Ibid, p. 15.

³ Ibid, p. 18.

⁴ Ibid, p. 20. Hogg's observations as to William Burnes will carry conviction to the mind of all who, like myself, know that even at this day, much less 90 or 100 years ago, such acquirements as characterised him could not be obtained in a Mearnshire hamlet. Dr Grant in his Memoir of me, pronounces him "as remarkable a man in his own way as his incomparable son was in his;" and Professor Wilson in his splendid speech delivered at the Burns Festival on the Banks of the Doon, on the 5th August 1844, approached nearly to the same sentiment when he exclaimed, "Was anything greater in the son than the austere resignation of the father!" On the same great occasion the eloquent Professor thus touchingly alluded to my father, myself, and the misfortunes of our family—"And there is one whose warmest feelings I have the best reason to know are now with you and us, as well on your own account as for the sake of your great parent whose character he respects as much as he admires his genius, though it has pleased Heaven to visit him with such affliction as might well deaden even in such a heart as his all satisfaction even with this festival. But two years ago, and James Burnes was the proud and happy father of three sons, all worthy of their race. One only now survives, and may he in due time return from India to be a comfort, if but for a short, a sacred season, to his old age! But Sir Alexander Burnes—a name that will not die—and his gallant brother have perished, as all the world knows, in the flower of their life—foully murdered in a

may seem in these days, will those who are old enough to know how strongly party feeling agitated society in Scotland in regard to the House of Stuart even at so recent a date as the close of last century, when Gilbert Burns made his emendations on his brother's letters for Dr Currie, probably wonder that he may have deemed it advisable, circumstanced as he was, to obliterate all trace of the attachment of the family to a race of whose principles he disapproved, and whose cause certainly had never been popular in the district where he was located. I agree with Allan Cunningham, that as the Poet was accurate in all things else there is no reason to doubt his statements as to the Stuarts.

How the name has been upheld in more recent times, first in the instance of the Poet, and secondly in that of my lamented brothers, it suits me not here to enquire. The unanimous voice of Scotland proclaims the glory of the one, while the annals of the British nation in India are not silent as to deeds done and sacrifices made for their Country by the others.

barbarous land. For them many eyes have wept; and their Country, whom they served so faithfully, deplores them among her devoted heroes. Our sympathy may not soothe such grief as his; yet it will not be refused, coming to him along with our sorrow for the honoured dead. Such a father of such sons has far other consolations."—Blackwood's Magazine, September 1844.

PART III.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FAMILY OF BURNES.

I.

RECORD OF A VISIT TO THE CHURCH-YARD OF GLENBERVIE, BY
 JAMES BURNES, ADAM BURNES, AND ADAM BURNES, JUNIOR, ON
 THE 3D JUNE 1850.

“**W**E visited the burying-ground of Glenbervie this day together, and after a little search found an erect stone standing about twenty yards east from the old church, now in ruins, bearing the following inscription, which appeared to have been re-traced within the last few years: (under a flying cherub) ‘Erected in memory of James Burnes, some-time tennant in Bralinmuir, who died April 3rd, 1778, aged 88 years. Also George, his son, who died October 16th, 1769, aged 28 years.’ This is manifestly the grave-stone of James Burnes, at Bralinmuir, son of James Burnes and M. Falconer. It stands at the top of another flat stone, imbedded in the earth, and almost entirely covered with turf, which, with the assistance of the Rev. Mr Drummond, the minister of Glenbervie, and his farm-servant, who had joined us in the burying-ground, we cleared away. We found that the upper part was entirely scaled off, but that the lower part was divided into two compartments, and that inscriptions had gone round the edges and down the centre. Each compartment contained a representation of an hour-glass, a crossed mattock and spade, and a death’s head. Round the bottom could be traced the words . . . ‘band to Margrat Greig, He died, . . . of Januari:’ and at the bottom of the centre, remained the letters ‘alkhil, of age 37, 1735.’ Being unable to find anything more of interest, we retired to the Manse with the minister, who, however, explained to us that there was an old man in the parish named Hugh Clark, between 70 and 80 years of age, who was well versed in the records of the dead, and who could probably give us information. To this individual we accordingly repaired, and with

him returned to the burying-ground. He said that the parish had consisted at one time almost entirely of Burneses and Brands, and that he could point out at least three tombstones pertaining to the former family. He observed also that the former sexton, whom we understood to have been his father, had laid down (*i. e.* buried) 1370 persons in the kirk-yard. He added that he knew positively that the old flat stone pertained to the Burneses, and that the erect, more recent one, had consequently been placed over it; it had been probably a record of several persons. He conducted us to another part of the grave-yard where he pointed out another flat stone nearly concealed by the earth, 12 yards from the north-east corner of the ruined church, and two paces direct north from the new tombstone erected to William Nicol. The stone was almost entirely concealed, but on removing the soil and moss it was found to be of a coffin shape, highly ornamented, with the letters W. B. and C. F., between an ornamental heart and flourish at the top. Below these could be faintly traced—‘Here under lies . . . Burnes,’ with several other words which were illegible, and a date, which appeared to be 1715. Below this were the following letters:—‘I. B.; W. B.; I. B.; R. B. ;’ and underneath, these words **DISTINCTLY VISIBLE**, ‘And here lies his son John Burnes, who departed the 10th of April 17... , being of age 3...’ Underneath this, between cross bones and death’s heads, was the date of erection, 1719, clearly sculptured. This is doubtless the stone erected to William Burnes and his wife Christian Fotheringham, mentioned by John Burness of Stonehaven in his statement. We were now about to leave the burying-ground when the minister’s farm-servant appeared, and pointed out another stone, about two or three yards north from the last, which had been displaced and turned on its face. On raising this it was found in complete preservation, and bearing the following inscription under a death’s head and **MEMENTO MORI**.—‘Here under lyes the body of James Burnes, who was tenant in Bralinmuir, who died the 23rd of January, 1743, aged 87 years. Also the body of Margaret Falconer, his spouse, who departed this life the 28th of December, 1749, aged 90 years—Altho’ our bodys worms destroy, our reins consumed be; Yet in our flesh and with our eyes, shall our Redeemer see. Here is the grave of Thomas Burnes, son to the above, who departed this life June ye 8th, 1734, aged 29 years; also his lawful and only daughter Margaret, who departed this life March 24th, 1741, aged 8 years.’ This is evidently the stone mentioned in John Burness’s letter, as erected over James Burnes and Margaret Falconer, although he has made a mistake of some years as to the date of the former’s death. It should be remarked that all these tombstones bear the name

BURNES. No obscurity hangs over any of them, except the second, which, had it been legible, would have probably illustrated the family history. (Signed) James Burnes, Physician-General, Bombay Army, J. P.; Adam Burnes, of Montrose, Notary Public; Adam Burnes, Jun."

"*P. S.*—We were afterwards directed by Mrs Reith (a Burnes) in Auchinblae, to another old man at Drumlithie, named James Taylor, 87 years of age, said to be connected with the family. He was evidently an intelligent person, and boasted that he still recollected his Latin Rudiments. His grandmother, he said, was a BURNES, and he had heard that the original name of the family was Campbell, and had been changed in consequence of a duel. It was notorious, he added, in his early days, that the Burneses had been out for the Stuarts. On being asked whether they were Presbyterians or Episcopalians, he said they were chiefly of the latter community—which was evidently his own. This old man is not improbably the grandson of William Taylor at Whitebog, and Elspet Burnes, mentioned in William Burness's statement as the daughter of the second William at Bogjorgan."

II.

LETTER FROM JOHN BURNES OF STONEHAVEN, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—According to promise I have here drawn up a rude sketch of the origin of our family of Burness, as communicated to me above 30 years ago by the Rev. Mr Alex. Greig, Episcopal Minister in Stonehaven, then a very old man, and well skilled in the records of the family, his mother being a Burness, and grand-daughter to the after-mentioned Walter.¹ Walter Campbell, proprietor of a small domain in Argyleshire, named Burn-house, took part with King James the 2nd at the Revolution, by which means he incurred the displeasure of the Duke, and the whole family (who espoused the side of King William) was, much about the time of the noted massacre of Glencoe, obliged to abandon his native country, and wander to the Lowlands as a fugitive, accompanied by his only son Walter, then a boy: he dropped the name of Campbell, and was known by that of Burness, probably a corruption of Burn-house, the place of his birth,—he settled in the Parish of Glenbervie, and there died in indigent circumstances; his son Walter learned a trade, and being a very industrious lad, he saved a little money; he married

¹ He was born in 1707, and died in 1793, and was the son of James Greig, tenant at Stonehouse of Mergie, and his wife E. Taylor, whose sister married the second William Burnes, at Bogjorgan.

and commenced business for himself at a place called Stonehouse of Mergie, and lived there several years; he then took a lease of the farm of Bogjorgan in the same parish, where he lived till his death. His eldest son William succeeded him as tenant, and three generations from father to son, all of the name of William, succeeded in the same farm, the last of whom was my father, who died in the year 1784. Walter had other three sons, viz.—Robert and John, who settled in the parish of Benholm, and from them are descended all of the name who reside about Johnshaven and Bervie. Walter's youngest son James took the farm of Bralinmuir, and married a woman of the name of Margaret Falconer, and died about the year 1730, and a neat tombstone is erected to his memory in the churchyard of Glenbervie. James left four sons, viz.—William, who succeeded him in Bralinmuir; Robert, who took the farm of Clochnahill, in the parish of Dunnottar; George, who took the farm of Elfhill, in the parish of Fetteresso; and James, who took that of Hawkhill of Glenbervie, but afterwards removed to Bralinmuir on the death of his brother William. This James had several sons, two of whom were William, late tide-waiter in Montrose, and James, farmer in Higham. Robert in Clochnahill had three sons and four daughters—William, the father of Robert the Poet, and Robert his brother, who both died in Ayrshire; and James, your grandfather; the daughters were all married in the Mearns. By this imperfect sketch you will observe that all of the name in this part of the country are originally sprung from the same stock. I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN BURNES.

JAMES BURNES, Esquire, Provost, Montrose.

III.

STATEMENT OF MR ROBERT HENRY, PARISH CLERK OF GLENBERVIE.

DRUMLITHIE, *July 24, 1834.*

DEAR SIR,—I have made enquiry at some old people in this neighbourhood with a view to collect some information for you, but have obtained nothing satisfactory, nor is there anything regarding the matter can be gleaned from the tombstones in the church-yard. I however saw to-day by chance an old woman whose name is Mary Burnes, who resides in Stonehaven, and claims relationship to the poet Burns, and can tell all the genealogy. She says the original name was Campbell—that the race of the Burnesses sprung from a man named Campbell, who had an estate in Argyleshire called Burnhouse; that at the time of the Rebellion he was forced to leave his

country,—that he came to this county, and took the farm of Stonehouse, on the estate of Mergie, in this parish, and changed his name from Campbell to Burness, or Burn-house, the name of his estate in Argyleshire ; that he had a son named *Wattie*, who took the farm of Bogjorgan in this parish ; that this *Wattie* had four sons, one named William, who succeeded to the farm of Bogjorgan, and who was her (Mary Burness's) great-grandfather, and the father of the James Burness who was in the farm of Bralinmuir, and the same to whom you trace your family, &c. Her father lived and died in Bogjorgan—his name was William Burness ; the family left it at his death. She says a nephew of her's, William Burness, in Stonehaven, has in his possession some records relating to the family if you consider it worth while to make any application to him for information. I remain, &c.

(Signed) R. HENRY.¹

Dr JAMES BURNES, Montrose.

¹ The following remarks by Mr R. Chambers had their effect in inducing me to apply to the Lord Lyon to have the Campbell bearing removed from my shield:—“ There is a story which would seem to throw the date of the family sufferings for the Stuarts back into the seventeenth century. The first Walter Burness is represented as having been in reality named Walter Campbell. He is described as having been originally proprietor of a small domain in Argyleshire called Burnhouse. It is stated that having offended his chief the Duke (Earl) of Argyle, by siding with the cause of the Stuarts at the Revolution, “ he was, much about the time of the noted massacre of Glenco, obliged to abandon his native country, and wander to the Lowlands as a fugitive, accompanied by his only son Walter, then a boy.” He dropped the name of Campbell, and was known by that of Burness, a corruption of Burnhouse, the place of his birth. He settled in the parish of Glenbervie, and there died. . . . The story, however we are to receive it, requires at least some correction in point of date, for it is inadmissible that the grandfather of a person born in 1656, which was the case of James Burnes of Bralinmuir, could be liable after the Revolution to change his residence on account of his political principles. If he had been represented as suffering in the troubles of the period between 1638 and 1660, belief would have been attended with less difficulty. It is, however, not impossible that in the course of its transmission from mouth to mouth, the tradition suffered to this extent, and that the time of the Civil War was that actually referred to. On the other hand, it is certain that however Walter Burness acquired his name, it was one which did not take its rise in that manner, for it occurs in public documents of the age of Bruce. What is more to the purpose, the name of John Burnes, servitor to Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, Knight Baronet, appears as witness to a disposition granted in 1637 by the Earl of Traquair, Treasurer of Scotland, in the name of the Scottish Exchequer. Thornton is situated within a few miles of Bogjorgan and Bralinmuir, on the estate of Inchbreck, ‘ whence,’ says Dr Burnes, ‘ our family is known to have come.’ Our finding a Burnes in the district in 1637 certainly reduces the likelihood of the family being Argyleshire refugees of the time of the Civil War. It must at the same time be admitted as not impossible that the supposed Walter Campbell might be the more ready to adopt his territorial appellation as a surname in consequence of finding men of that name already in the country.” —Life of Burns, vol. i.

IV.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM BURNES OF STONEHAVEN,
AUGUST 22, 1834.

William (at Bogjorgan) married Christian Fotheringham, and had two sons and several daughters; he died in the year 1715, and a flat tombstone is erected over his remains in the churchyard of Glenbervie. His eldest son William married Elspet Taylor; he succeeded his father in Bogjorgan. His brother James was sometime in partnership with him, but afterwards took the farm of Inches for himself. William had one son and two daughters, viz.—William, who succeeded him; and Christian, who was married to James Ker; and Elspet, who was married to William Taylor, in Whitebog. This second William died in the year 1748. The third William married Helen Thomson, daughter to William Thomson, merchant in Drumlithie; he was the last of the family in Bogjorgan; he died in 1784, aged 65 years—his wife died in 1779. He had twelve children, viz.—William, James, Jean, and Janet, who died in infancy; a still-born daughter; and seven who survived their parents, viz.—Margaret, Isobel, Jean, Sarah, Robert, Mary, and John, two of whom yet survive, viz.—Isobel and Mary. Robert married Ann Paul; he settled in Stonehaven, and died there in 1816. John married Margaret Davidson, a Peterhead woman; he perished in a snow-storm on his way from Stonehaven to Aberdeen on the night of the 12th of January 1826. He was the author of “Thrummy Cap,” &c.

James (at Bralinmuir) had four sons and several daughters, viz.—William, who succeeded him in Bralinmuir; Robert, who took the farm of Clochnahill, in the parish of Dunnottar; George, who took that of Elfhill, in the parish of Fetteresso; and James, who took that of Hawkhill of Glenbervie. When William died at Bralinmuir—notwithstanding he had a family—he was succeeded in it by his brother James from Hawkhill, whose sons were, James, farmer at Higham, near Montrose; William, late tide-waiter in Montrose; Thomas, who was bred a gardener, and went to England, but returned after many years' absence, and died about thirty years ago. David was his youngest son by a second marriage—he succeeded his father in Bralinmuir, but he removed to the Boghead of Kintore, where he died a few years ago. He had a large family, viz.—James, farmer in West Mains of Barras, in the parish of Kineff; George, who succeeded him in Boghead; David, who took Milltimber, in the parish of Peterculter; Alexander and John, merchants in Aberdeen. George at Elfhill, had one son, viz.—James, who succeeded him there, but removed to

the Middtown of Barras, in the parish of Kineff, where he died. His son James is present farmer there. Robert, in Clochnahill, had three sons and four daughters, viz.—James, who settled in Montrose; he married a woman of the name of Margaret Grub, and had a family. Robert's second son William (father of Robert the Poet) went to Ayrshire; his brother Robert went after him; they both died there. The four daughters married as follows, viz.—one to John Caird in Denside of Dunnottar; one to James Walker, farmer in Gallowtown; one to John Burness, sub-tenant in Bogjorgan; and one to William Brand, at Auchinblae. There were some other sons in the different families, which are omitted here, who had children.

v.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PARISH REGISTER OF DUNNOTTAR, REFERRING TO ROBERT BURNES AT CLOCHNAHILL, MY GRANDFATHER'S, AND ROBERT BURNES'S, GRANDFATHER, AND SHOWING THE SPELLING OF THE NAME.

1725, August 18.—Robert BURNES in Clochnahill had a daughter baptized Elspet; witnesses James BURNES in Bralinmuir, in Glenbervie parish, and James Murray in Lumgair.

1727, May 24.—Robert BURNES in Clochnahill had a daughter baptized; witnesses James BURNES in Bralinmuir, in Glenbervie parish, and James Murray in Lumgair.

1729, April 9.—Robert BURNES in Clochnahill had a son baptized, called George; witnesses George Barclay in Nether Crigie, and George BURNES in Elfhill.

1730, August 18.—Robert BURNES in Clochnahill had a daughter baptized, called Isobel; witnesses George Barclay in Nether Crigie, and George BURNES in Elfhill.

1732, October 26.—Robert BURNES in Clochnahill had a daughter baptized, called Mary; witnesses George BURNES, and Mr George Ross in Clochnahill.

From 1710 to 1721, embracing the period of the first rebellion for the Stuarts, the Session-Clerk states that the Register is almost a blank, which prevents our finding the name of James, Robert's eldest son, my great-grandfather, and his brothers William and Robert in it. In the Parish-Register of Fetteresso for 1728 and 1729, George BURNES at Elfhill again appears as a witness, and there is the following record of the marriage of one of Robert at Clochnahill's daughters:—

1770, November 10.—William Brand in Fordoun, and Isobel BURNES in this parish, gave in their names for proclamation of banns.

VI.

MY GRANDFATHER'S RECORD OF THE FAMILY.

James Burnes, at Bralinmuir, and Margaret Falconer, left, besides two daughters (Elspeth married — Gavin, at Drumlithie, and Christian, married — Crabb, at Craigniston) four sons, viz:—

I. William, succeeded his father at Bralinmuir, (his family extinct, or lost trace of).

II. Robert, at Kinmonth and Clochnahill, of whom hereafter.

III. George, at Elfhill of Fetteresso (two or three of his family went to London, and his son James took the farm of Midtown of Barras, in which he was succeeded by his son James).

IV. James, at Hawkhill of Glenbervie, who succeeded William at Bralinmuir, born 1690, married 1st, — Christie, and had issue, James, first at Auchtochter and then at Higham, William, Thomas, and Catharine; and 2dly, — Beattie, and by her had David (father of Mr Alexander Burness, Mrs Reith, &c.) and George.¹

Robert at Clochnahill, had ten children, viz:—

I. James, born 1717, died 1761, of whom hereafter.

II. Robert, went to Ayrshire, died at Elliesland, 1789.

III. William, father of the Poet, married Agnes Brown, died 1784.

IV. George, died young.

I. Margaret, married Andrew Walker at Crawton.

II. Elspet, married John Caird, Denside of Gossessly.²

III. Jean, married John Burnes, sub-tenant at Bogjorgan.

IV. Isobel, married William Brand at Auchinblae.

V. Mary, died unmarried.

VI. Another child, whose name is lost.

James Burnes, the eldest son, married Margaret Grub, and while his brothers Robert and William proceeded southward, settled at Montrose, where he became a burghess and town-councillor. He died 1761, ætat. 44, leaving—

I. Elizabeth, married, January 8, 1768, George Hudson, Provost of Bervie, and had issue—1. John, married Jean Forster; 2. George, dead s. p.; 3. William, dead; 4. Elizabeth, dead; 5. Margaret, dead; 6. Christian, married A. Guthrie; 7. Anne, married J. Pirie, dead s. p.; 8. Sarah Anne, dead; 9. Margaret, dead; 10. Elizabeth, married Dr Douglas, Elie; 11. Sarah, married Dr Davidson, Edinburgh.

¹ This part has been corrected from a Memorandum by Miss Reith of Auchinblae, to whom, as well as to her worthy mother, I am greatly obliged.

² John Caird is mentioned in the Poet's letter to my grandfather, June 21, 1783; and he and William Brand are both alluded to in his letter to Gilbert, September 17, 1787.

11. James, writer in Montrose, born 1750, married, January 6, 1777, Anne Greig, and had issue—1. John, died 1779; 2. James, born 1st April 1780, of whom hereafter; 3. George, died 1801; 4. Anne, died 1785; 5. Christian, died 1815; 6. Elizabeth, died 1818; 7. Sarah, died 1814; 8. Robert, died 1790.

James Burnes, married April 22, 1800, Elizabeth, daughter of Adam Glegg, Provost of Montrose, and has issue.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE BY MY FATHER, 1851.

Provost Hudson was of English descent, his grandfather and father having come with Lord Robert Manners's regiment (formerly Fleming's) in 1745 to Montrose, where the latter married Elizabeth Carnegie, daughter of William Carnegie, Convener of the Trades, and had issue—George, as above, born at Gibraltar; and Margaret and Christian, married respectively to John Mill and Andrew Robertson of Montrose. Anne Greig was born 16th July 1749, and was the daughter of John Greig, by Jean his wife (whom he married 16th October 1741), daughter of Robert Watson, of Sheilhill, Forfarshire. She had two brothers, and two sisters,—John, who died at Montrose, s. p.; James, Surgeon, R. N. lost in the Lively Frigate off the coast of South America, 1781, also died s. p.; Catherine, died unmarried, and Elizabeth married William Guthrie. Her mother's brother, John Watson, had a son, David Watson, Physician in Montrose, who married Elizabeth Brand, sister of John Brand, Esq. of Lauriston, and had issue, John and Jean, both deceased; which explains our connection with that family. Dr David Watson had two sisters—Mary married William March, whose family is settled in Canada, and Elizabeth married James Anderson, whose family is extinct.

VII.

NOTE ON THE GLEGG (MY MOTHER'S) FAMILY BY MRS OGILVIE, 1851.

ON a question arising lately relative to the Gleggs' Arms, Mrs Ogilvie made the following declaration before a Magistrate for transmission to the Herald's College, London:—"I, Mrs Christian Ogilvie, relict of the late John Ogilvie, Esquire of Burnside, and daughter of the late Adam Glegg, Esquire, twenty-two years Provost of Montrose, who was born in 1731, being now in my eighty-fourth year, do hereby solemnly declare that the Armorial Bearings (namely, when colored, a white shield, black engrailed bend, and two red lions,¹) engraven on

¹ Argent, a bend engrailed sable between two lions, passant contré-passant gules.

the seal impressed on the margin hereof, which was obtained in China by my brother, the late Dr James Glegg, Surgeon Royal Navy, in the year 1781, were, to my positive knowledge, used by my said father for at least thirty years previous to that date on his seal, plate, and china ware, and likewise by his ancestors at a far earlier period, as proved by a painting on oak wood of the same arms which descended to him from his great-grandfather—who was buried (as shown by his gravestone) at Marykirk, April 1698—and which bears the date of 1413, as examined by myself within the last ten years, and was traditionally believed to have been brought from France.

“ Given under my hand at Montrose, this 25th day of January
1851. (Signed) “CHRISTIAN OGILVIE.”

In explanation of this, Mrs Ogilvie stated that she had learned from her father and grandfather that the first of the Glegg family came from France on account of the death of a person by his hand, and landed at Gourdon, whence he moved to Marykirk, where he married and had a family, and that the coat of arms in question was found in his chest at his death, along with a valuable collection of Latin books. He was the ancestor of “ Adame Glyge, howsband to Isobel Low, died in April 1698, aged 86,” as recorded on an old gravestone at Marykirk, which, with the bones under it, was removed out of the church there by direction of the family, when it was enlarged about fifty years ago, into the burying-ground, and on which also the decease of two of “ Adame’s,” descendants has been inscribed in more modern letters, viz. John Gleig, died March 15, 1737, aged 85; Isobel Glegg, died May 4, 1761, aged 78.¹ This John was the grandfather of Provost Adam Glegg, who was born in 1731, and died in London 1st June 1807. This gentleman had two brothers—John, who had an only son, who died the Captain of an Indiaman in India, without issue; and Thomas, who had one son and three daughters—the son married in Perth, and their only child is Elizabeth Glegg, now wife of Thomas Dick, LL.D., of Broughty Ferry. On 28th June 1757, Provost Glegg married his cousin-german, Anne (born November 8, 1738, died December 22, 1811), daughter of John Smith, Provost of Brechin, by his wife, Christian Colvin (one of the three co-heiresses of Alexander Colvin, Burgess of Montrose, by his wife, Christian Ramsay, daughter of Thomas Ramsay Citiner of Brechin, of the Balmain family), and besides John, Robert, Colin, Thomas, Alexander, Joseph, and Anne, who all

¹ “ Adame Glyge,” was also the progenitor of the late Bishop Gleig, Primus of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and of his cousin-german the late Rev. George Gleig of Arbroath, who married the sister of Governor Duncan of Bombay.

died in infancy or unmarried—had issue ; 1. Adam, born November 19, 1760, died at Calcutta November 27, 1803, married Mary Hepburn, deceased, and had issue, Harriet Juliana and Henry Vibart, Captain and Recruiting Officer for the East India Company's Army in Scotland, who married his cousin Mary G. Anderson, 14th November 1839, and has issue ; 2. James, Surgeon, R. N., born May 19, 1762, died s. p. at Montrose, 26th December 1807, married Jean Gardiner of Kirkton Hill ; 3. Christian, born August 22, 1767, married John Ogilvie of Burnside, deceased s. p. ; 4. Margaret, born January 12, 1773, died at Comlongan Castle December 23, 1825, married her cousin, Joseph Smith, deceased s. p. ; 5. John, born April 1, 1774, died at Montrose June 26, 1831, married Helen Gibson, deceased, and left issue, Helen Ann ; 6. Cecilia, born 12th March, 1775, died at Arbroath September 28, 1841, married Patrick Anderson, deceased, leaving issue ; 7. David, R. N., born June 27, 1776, married Jane Scrogie, deceased, and has issue, James and four daughters ; 8. Anne, born October 5, 1777, married the Reverend D. Russell, D. D. deceased, and has issue, David ; 9. Elizabeth, born April 5, 1779, died at Edinburgh February 25, 1851, married James Burnes, and has issue ; 10. Jane, born July 29, 1781, died in Jamaica December 26, 1817, married Charles H. Phillips of Milkspring, s. p. Provost Glegg is mentioned in Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides, as having conducted the great lexicographer to the English Chapel at Montrose.

Provost Smith and Christian Colvin had issue, 1. John, married Cecilia Chalmers and had issue ; 2. Margaret, married Mr Gillies, son of the Reverend Mr Gillies of Careston, and had issue ; John (LL.D.), Colin, Adam (Lord), Thomas of Balmakewan, James, William, and four daughters, of whom Cecilia married her cousin John Smith, both deceased, leaving Colvin, the Rev. Robert, and Margaret ; 3. James, married Miss Gibb, and had fourteen children, of whom Joseph, married his cousin Margaret Glegg ; 4. Christian, married Mr William Robb, and had issue, William deceased, and Jean married Lieutenant Johnston, R.N., both deceased, leaving Catharine ; 5. Colvin, married Miss Wise of Dundee, and had issue ; 6. Anne, married Adam Glegg, as above ; and 7. Jean, married Mr Dakers, and had issue.

VIII.

RECORD IN THE HERALD'S COLLEGE, LONDON, 1851.

James Burnes, Town-Councillor of Montrose, born 1717, died at Montrose 17th July 1761, buried in the old churchyard there ;

married at Montrose in 1745 Margaret Grub, who died at Bervie, circ. 1795, and was buried there. They had issue, besides Elizabeth, married George Hudson, and two sons and two daughters, died unmarried:—

James, Notary-Public, born at Montrose 24th December 1750, died there 12th June 1837, and buried in the old churchyard there; married at Montrose, January 6, 1777, Anne daughter of John Greig (she died February 12, 1796, and was buried in the old churchyard there), and besides three sons and four daughters, all died unmarried, had issue:—

James, of Brunton Place, Edinburgh, J. P. for Forfarshire, and late Provost of Montrose, born there April 1, 1780, and baptized there; married, April 22, 1800, Elizabeth (died at Edinburgh 25th February, and buried in the Dalry Cemetery there, 1st March, 1851, æt. 71), sixth daughter of Adam Glegg, Chief Magistrate of Montrose, and, besides Robert, William Maule, Edward Phillips, George Patrick, and Margaret, all died young, has had issue:—

1. James, Knight of the Guelphic Order, LL. D., F. R. S., J. P. for Forfarshire, and late Physician-General of the Bombay Army, born at Montrose February 12, 1801, and baptized there; married March 28, 1829, at St Thomas's Church, Bombay, Sophia, second daughter of Major-General Sir George Holmes, K. C. B.,¹ and has issue:—

1. George James Holmes, born at Bhooj, in India, December 9, 1829, and baptized there; Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of Fusileers,—received a medal and two clasps for the Punjab, Moultan and Guzerat.
2. Fitz-James Holmes, born at Bhooj September 6, 1831, and baptized there; Ensign, 33d Regiment, Madras Native Infantry.
3. Sophia Holmes, born at Bhooj September 6, 1832, and died there February 1, 1833.
4. Holland Ward Holmes, born at Bhooj September 15, 1833, and baptized there; Midshipman, Indian Navy.
5. Isabella Cecilia Holmes, born at Edinburgh February 4, 1835, and baptized there; died there May 24, 1835; buried in the Canongate Churchyard.

¹ "This distinguished officer, who was of a Cumberland family, died October 1816, leaving issue by his wife, Dame Sophia Hamilton (descended from the noble family of that name, and who died August 1831):—1. Charlotte, died May 1832. 2. Sophia, married James Burnes, as above. 3. Isabella, married Jeffrey Amherst Sinclair, son of General Sinclair of Lybster. 4. John, Captain 12th Bombay Native Infantry; and 5. Frances."—Burke's Gentry.

6. Hamilton Farquhar Holmes, born at Edinburgh November 27, 1836, baptized there. (King's College School, London.)
7. Dalhousie Holmes, born at Bombay April 5, 1839, and baptized there. (King's College School, London.)
8. Sidney Holmes, born at Bombay August 13, 1841, and baptized there.
9. Alexander Burnes Holmes, born at Bombay April 11, 1843, and baptized there.

II. Adam, Notary Public at Montrose, born there February 19, 1802, and there baptized; married 1st, at Montrose, September 3, 1827, Horatia Gordon, who died November 2, 1834, ætat. 28, leaving issue:—

1. Adam, born at Montrose June 12, 1832, and there baptized.
2. Alexander Horatio, born at Montrose October 19, 1834, and there baptized.

And, 2dly, at Montrose, 18th June 1838, Isabella Scott, and by her has surviving issue:—

3. Anne Eliza Glegg, born at Montrose September 15, 1842, and there baptized.
4. James, born at Montrose, May 23, 1844, and there baptized.

III. Alexander, (Sir) Lieutenant-Colonel, C. B. and F. R. S., born at Montrose May 16, 1805, and there baptized; fell at Cabool November 2, 1841, unmarried.

IV. David, M. D., R. N., born at Montrose September 6, 1806; married at Portsmouth October 20, 1838, Harriet, daughter of Alexander Anderson, M. D., Surgeon, R. N.; and died at Montrose February 2, 1849; buried in the old churchyard there;¹ surviving issue:—

1. Charlotte Elizabeth, born at London October 30, 1842, and baptized at St George's, Bloomsbury.
2. James Anderson, born at Montrose January 30, 1845, and baptized at St Peter's Chapel there.

¹ He entered the Royal Navy in 1826, and served on board the *Asia* on the Mediterranean station under Sir Pulteney Malcolm for several years, to the entire satisfaction of his superiors, but in consequence of broken health was forced to quit the service in 1835. He subsequently became a practitioner in London, but was unable to carry out his profession on account of an enfeebled constitution, originally induced by the Levant Fever, and retired to Montrose, where he died.

- v. Anne, born at Montrose August 17, 1808 ; married at Bhooj, in India, April 6, 1833, Captain William Ward, who died at Tanna, near Bombay, July 9, 1845, without issue.
- vi. Elizabeth, born at Montrose August 23, 1809 ; married at St Thomas's Cathedral, Bombay, March 3, 1831, Major-General Richard Whish,¹ now of Clifton, County of Glo'ster, and has issue surviving :—
1. Frederick Alexander, born at Ahmedabad July 27, 1833, and there baptized. Cadet in the Indian Army.
 2. Matilda Emily, born at Clifton April 29, 1835, and there baptized.
 3. Eliza Jane, born at Clifton May 31, 1836, and there baptized.
 4. Flora Thornborough, born at Clifton January 11, 1839, and there baptized.
 5. Annetta Isabella, born at Boulogne-sur-Mer July 21, 1841, and there baptized.
 6. Albert William, born at Clifton July 11, 1843, and there baptized.
 7. Clara Salter, born at Clifton October 19, 1844, and there baptized.
 8. Arthur Richard Lewis, born at Clifton March 1, 1847, and there baptized.
 9. Ernest Burnes, born at Clifton September 12, 1848, and there baptized.
 10. Cecil Holland, born at Clifton March 9, 1850, and there baptized.
- vii. Jane Glegg, born at Montrose October 11, 1810 ; married at Ahmedabad, in India, July 11, 1833, Lieutenant-Colonel James Holland, Quarter-Master-General of the Bombay Army, and has surviving issue :—
1. Trevenen James, born at Bombay May 31, 1834, Cadet in the Indian Army.
 2. Edward Burnes, born at Belgaum, in India, March 20, 1836, Cadet in the Indian Army.²
 3. Charles Wroughton Del 'Hoste, born at Bombay January 20, 1845, and there baptized.

¹ Brother of Sir W. S. Whish, K.C.B., who commanded at Moulton, and son of the Rev. Richard Whish, vicar of Wickford, county of Essex.

² He obtained by public competition the Commission awarded by Lieutenant-General Sir James Lushington, G.C.B., at the Cheltenham College, November 1850, being then only 14 years of age.

4. Cecilia Agnes, born at Bombay December 20, 1846, and there baptized.
- VIII. Charles, Lieutenant 17th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, born at Montrose January 12, 1812, shared his brother Sir Alexander's fate at Cabool November 2, 1841, unmarried.
- IX. Cecilia, born at Montrose November 10, 1815 ; married at Bhooj, in India, November 12, 1839, Captain John Philip Major, 11th Bombay Native Infantry, and died at Bombay October 16, 1840, eight days after her husband, who died off Gogo, in the Gulf of Cambay, 8th October 1840, leaving issue :—
1. Francis Ward, born at Ahmedabad, August 12, 1840, and baptized there 13th September following.

BLAZON OF THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE FAMILY, AS MATRICULATED IN THE LORD LYON'S OFFICE, EDINBURGH, AND RECORDED IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS, LONDON, (GRANTED TO JAMES BURNES, K.H., AND THE OTHER DESCENDANTS OF HIS PATERNAL GRANDFATHER.)

ARMS.—Ermine, on a bend azure an escocheon or, charged with a Hollybush surmounted by a Crook and Bugle Horn saltyreways, all proper, being the device of the Poet Burns ; and on a chief gules, the White Horse of Hanover between two Eastern Crowns or, in allusion to the Guelphic Order conferred on James Burnes, K. H., by King William IV, and to the distinguished services of him and his brothers in India.

CRESTS.—On the dexter side (one of augmentation, in allusion to the devotion to their country shewn by the late Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, C.B., and Lieutenant Charles Burnes), Out of a mural crown per pale vert and gules,¹ the rim inscribed "Cabool" in letters argent, a Demi-Eagle displayed transfixd by a javelin in bend sinister proper ; on the sinister, that previously borne, viz.—Issuant from an Eastern Crown or, an Oak Tree shivered renewing its foliage proper.

MOTTO.—OB PATRIAM VULNERA PASSI.

Appended to the above the said James Burnes to bear the insignia of the Guelphic Order.

¹ The colours of the Douranee Empire.

REPRESENTATION
OF THE FOREGOING
BLAZON OF THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS.



END OF NOTES.

MEMOIR

OF

SIR ALEXANDER BURNES, C. B.

MEMOIR

OF

SIR ALEXANDER BURNES, C. B.¹

NO incident which could have occurred to any member or members of the Company's service could have caused a deeper sensation of universal and heartfelt sorrow throughout Western India than the death of Sir Alexander Burnes. The feeling of grief which the fearful tragedy enacted at Cabool betwixt the 2d and 6th of November occasioned, is in some measure eclipsed by the lamentation for one individual sufferer, so well known, so greatly admired, and so much beloved by every one who knew him, as Sir Alexander Burnes; carried off in the prime of life "only 36 years old, so young yet so much already done for immortality"; so much time remaining, as it

¹ Written by George Buist, Esq., LL.D., who prefaces it with the following remarks:—
"The following Memoir was originally published in the *Bombay Times* of January 1, 1842, having been compiled partly from printed books and papers, partly from unpublished documents in the hands of the friends and relatives of its subject. The Cabool tragedy opened with the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes, it has closed by the annihilation of a force which, including Camp followers, amounted to from 12,000 to 15,000 men. For the first time since the commencement of civilized war, three British Regiments have, in the course of a couple of months, been slaughtered almost to a man. Sir Alexander Burnes repeatedly warned the Government of the crisis which was approaching; the occurrence of an event such as that which, on the 2d November, swept so many away, seemed to him so probable, that he many months before made all his testamentary arrangements, and transmitted for preservation and future reference sealed copies of all his official papers to his Agents in Bombay. He saw that we rested on a slumbering volcano which might at any moment burst forth, and involve everything around it in ruin. He remained at his post aware of the apparent danger of which he had warned his superiors; they heeded not the warning which might, if attended to, have saved the Cabool Army: and the Monitor himself, together with those who disregarded his admonitions, fell sacrifices to the Ghilzie insurrection.

appeared to us short-sighted mortals, to maintain and to extend his fame.

Sir Alexander Burnes was born at Montrose, in Scotland, 16th May 1805. His father is one of the most active Magistrates in the county of Forfar; was formerly Provost of the burgh, and also Town-Clerk or Recorder; and has for the last forty years taken a leading part in all the agricultural and municipal improvements in the eastern district of the county to which he belongs. His great grandfather was brother to William Burnes, the father of Scotland's immortal Poet; and his grandfather was the relative to whom, on his death-bed, the bard appealed for pecuniary relief. Sir Alexander Burnes having greatly distinguished himself by his precocious proficiency at the Montrose academy, the classical department of which (conducted by the able and most respectable Mr Calvert) was then celebrated over Scotland, obtained the appointment of Cadet for the Bombay Army, and arrived at the Presidency on the 31st October 1821. On the 25th of December in the following year he was appointed Interpreter in the Hindostanee language to the 1st Extra Battalion at Surat, when, on account of his proficiency in the Persian language, his own merit obtained him from the Judges of the Sudder Adawlut the employment of translating the Persian documents of that Court.

His Regiment, the 21st Native Infantry, having been ordered to Bhoj early in 1825, Lieutenant Burnes joined it, and during the serious disturbances which took place in Cutch in April of that year, was appointed Quarter-Master of Brigade, in which capacity he accompanied the field force against the insurgents, affording important aid to the then officiating resident, Captain Walter, and giving early promise of that energy and decision which afterwards characterized him. Although not yet 20 years of age, his superior talents, industry and zeal, had by this time fully attracted the attention of the authorities; and accordingly, in the month of November of the same year he was appointed, on the recommendation of the Adjutant-General, Sir D. Leighton, Persian Interpreter to a force of 8000 men commanded by Colonel M. Napier, of Her Majesty's 6th Foot, assembled for the invasion of Sinde. In August 1826 he was confirmed on the General Staff as a Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General. It was at this period that he drew up an able and elaborate paper on the statistics of Wagur, forwarded to Government in January 1827 by Colonel Shuldham, Quarter-Master-General, with several high encomiums on the industry and research of the reporter, and on the value of the information the Report contained. For this Lieutenant Burnes received the thanks of Government, with

a handsome pecuniary reward, and had the high and much valued testimony of the Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his favour.

Just a year after this, similar marks of approbation were bestowed on him for the elaboration of a valuable Memoir on the eastern mouth of the Indus. In addition to the customary forms of approbation, Lieutenant Burnes was on this occasion specially complimented on the proofs which his labours afforded of a disposition to combine the advancement of general knowledge with the exemplary discharge of his official duties. A few months afterwards he was still more emphatically complimented on handing up a Memoir supplementary to the Report already mentioned. The following letters, and extract from the Cutch Division Orders, indicate the estimate formed of Lieutenant Burnes, then at the age of 23, by his military superiors:—

FROM THE MILITARY SECRETARY TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO
LIEUTENANT BURNES.

“September, 1828.

“SIR,—As the Quarter-Master-General’s health requires that he should remain another year at the Nielgherries, the Commander-in-Chief (Sir Thomas Bradford) directs me to say that from the very favourable opinion his Excellency entertains of your abilities and exertions in the department, it is his intention to bring you to headquarters, and to recommend to Government that an allowance equivalent to that of Deputy Quarter-Master-General should be granted to you.

(Signed) “H. RAINEY, Lieut-Col., Military Secy.”

DIVISION ORDERS BY THE OFFICER COMMANDING IN CUTCH.

“October, 1828.

“The Commanding Officer avails himself with pleasure of the opportunity of publicly recording his acknowledgments of the able manner in which Lieutenant Burnes has always conducted his public duties; the zeal and ability displayed by that officer have been of the greatest assistance to the Commanding Officer, and he parts with Lieutenant Burnes with that regret which is felt on losing the services of a Staff Officer who has deserved and possessed his utmost confidence.”

THE QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY.

“December, 1828.

“SIR,—In handing up, for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council, the accompanying Supplementary Memoir to

the Map of the Eastern Branch of the River Indus, by Lieutenant Burnes, I have again the gratifying task of recording his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's unqualified approbation of the indefatigable zeal, talent, and perseverance of that officer, whose labours have already on several occasions received, and his Excellency feels convinced will continue to merit, the favourable notice of Government.

(Signed) "A. MORSE, Actg. Qr.-Mr.-Genl."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL.

"February, 1829.

"SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 16th December last, handing up a Supplementary Memoir and Map of the Eastern Branch of the Indus, by Lieutenant Burnes.

"The Honourable the Governor in Council requests that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will be pleased to convey to Lieutenant Burnes the high sense which Government entertain of the value of his recent surveys, particularly those which have been directed to exploring the Runn; they display zeal, perseverance, and talent, and afford a prospect of much future benefit from the employment of this promising young officer.

(Signed) "W. NEWNHAM, Chief Secy."

In the early part of this same year (1828) Lieutenant Burnes had presented a memorial applying for permission to visit the line of country immediately beyond our north frontier, and lying between Marwar and the Indus, including the examination of the Loonce river. To this it was answered by the Quarter-Master-General, that the Commander-in-Chief conceived that the proposed investigation, if undertaken by Lieutenant Burnes, would be productive of great and important advantages to the public service, so very little information having hitherto been obtained of the inhabitants, localities, or resources of these parts. His Excellency remarked that "the zeal, talent, and indefatigable industry of Lieutenant Burnes, he had on several occasions had much pleasure of bringing to the knowledge of Government, and with a view to encourage such laudable conduct as had been on all occasions so conspicuous on the part of this officer, the Commander-in-Chief recommends that Lieutenant Burnes's request be complied with." On writing to the Governor-General on the same subject, Sir John Malcolm remarks as follows:—"I shall be very confident of any plan Lieutenant Burnes undertakes in this quarter of India; provided that a latitude is given him to act as circumstances may dictate I dare pledge myself that the public in-

terests will be promoted." Considerable difficulty seems to have been felt by Government in giving sanction to the proposed measure, in consequence of the suspicion and jealousy of the chiefs through whose territories the traveller proposed to pass; and having deferred and maturely considered the question, which had difficulties connected with it not likely to present themselves to a mind so enthusiastic in travel as that of Burnes, it was agreed (January 1829) to refer the matter to the Resident in Cutch. The following is the reply of that officer to this reference:—

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr Secretary Norris's letter, with various enclosures, desiring my opinion of the practicability and expediency of a tour beyond our north-west frontier, projected by Lieutenant Burnes of the Quarter-Master-General's department.

"Of the extremely desirable nature of the undertaking there can, I conceive, be but one sentiment, and I should myself consider its completion, in the manner described in Lieutenant Burnes's despatch, as a highly important and creditable acquisition to our military and geographical knowledge.

"Of the feasibility of the undertaking I can form no reasonable doubt; but it seems to me (notwithstanding its practicability with common prudence) obvious, that to render it completely successful, the gentleman to whom its fulfilment may be entrusted must be gifted with talents of a very marked, and I may perhaps say unusual description; and I trust that the Honourable the Governor in Council will not for one moment suppose that I wish to draw any invidious comparison when I declare my conviction, from long personal acquaintance and experience, that there is no officer of whatever standing or rank in the army, who is so peculiarly well qualified as Lieutenant Burnes to give full effect to the plan which he himself has suggested.

"The manner in which he has on all occasions conducted his statistical investigations and surveys during his residence in Cutch, among various tribes of people naturally suspicious, deserves to be noted; and the happy tact he possesses of conciliating and gratifying the natives by the kind and friendly tone of his intercourse with them, at the very time he is acquiring by that intercourse information from them, is decidedly his own, and strikes me to be peculiarly worthy of example and imitation.

(Signed) "HENRY POTTINGER, Lt.-Col. Resident in Cutch."

The projected journey having been for a time delayed, on the 18th March Lieutenant Burnes was appointed Assistant Quarter-Master-

General to the Army; and about the same time a despatch was received from the Court of Directors, directing "a completion of the map of Cutch commenced by Lieutenant Burnes;" and stating "you will desire that intelligent officer to make a plan of the port of Mandavie, and that of Toonea, and to give a detailed statement of the military communications of Cutch, especially from the port of Mandavie, and an account of the practicability of the Runn from Soranchun to Mallia." We find the following opinion of Lieutenant Burnes expressed at the time by the Governor Sir John Malcolm:—

EXTRACT FROM A MINUTE BY SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

"27th August 1829.

"I can only add, to what I have stated, that the favourable impressions I early received of the character of this enterprising and highly qualified young officer, Lieutenant Burnes, have been fully confirmed by subsequent communication, and I must anticipate the most beneficial results from his labours, in which he will be zealously aided by Lieutenant Holland, whose notes and plans of forts in Cutch, recently transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief, do him great credit. I deem it necessary to state it has been a strong additional recommendation to me of this officer and Lieutenant Burnes, that they enjoy the favor and good opinion of Sir Thomas Bradford, who has had the fullest opportunity of appreciating their respective merits.

(Signed) "J. MALCOLM."

In the following September he was appointed to act as Assistant to the Political Agent in Cutch, in prosecution of the survey of the north-west frontier,—Lieutenant (now Major) Holland,¹ of the Quarter-Master-General's department having been nominated to act with him in the intended survey.²

¹ Sir Alexander Burnes's brother-in-law, now (1851) Lieutenant-Colonel and Quarter-Master-General of the Army at Bombay.

² The following documents refer to this subject:—

Minute by the Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Sir T. Bradford, K.C.B.

"As there are political considerations connected with the proposed duties to be performed by Lieutenants Burnes and Holland, in the survey of the north-west frontier, I perfectly concur with the Honourable the Governor in the propriety of these officers being guided by the instructions of the Political Resident in Cutch. From the great activity and attention which Lieutenant Burnes has shewn in the performance of his duties, and the superior talent he has evinced throughout the whole of the period he has been in the Quarter-Master-General's department, I feel,

The following is the account he himself gives of the expedition—it will be found in the Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1834 :—

“ In the beginning of 1828 I was directed to proceed on duty as an officer of the Quarter-Master-General’s department from Cutch to the station of Deesa ; and by extending my journey on that occasion as far eastward as the mountain of Aboo, I had an opportunity of examining the whole north-western frontier of the Bombay Presidency. I found that our knowledge of the countries in that vicinity was most limited ; nor did the great importance attached to this portion of our Eastern Empire escape my notice. In July of the

in justice to this distinguished young officer, the greatest inclination to advance his interests in every way in my power ; but in doing this, it is my duty to consider how those of the service are to be affected in the mode proposed to that end. The Quarter-Master-General’s Department was at the lowest ebb : it has been my particular object and anxiety to raise it to that efficiency which is expected from a department of the first consequence to an army. Lieutenant Burnes, from the high opinion which I entertained of him, was brought to Head Quarters to assist in this reform. I have found him most useful. If, however, Lieutenant Burnes is desirous of being appointed an Assistant to the Political Resident in Cutch, it is by no means my intention to oppose it ; but with all the sincere good feelings I entertain towards him, I cannot allow myself to be biassed by these when the good of the service is concerned, and therefore cannot in justice agree to his retaining his present appointment on the Quarter-Master-General’s Staff.

(Signed) “ T. BRADFORD, Lieutenant-General.”

From the Quarter-Master-General, on leaving the Department.

“ September 28th, 1829.

“ SIR,—Notwithstanding you have so repeatedly received most flattering approbation and gratifying praise from the highest authorities, I trust my expressing the sense I entertain of your superior talents and abilities will not prove unacceptable to you. I should consider myself wanting in justice did I permit you to leave the Presidency without requesting your acceptance of my best thanks for the various and most important assistance you have rendered me during the period I have had the honour to act at the head of the department. I do not pretend to offer for your acceptance either the praise or approbation so justly your due ; you have already repeatedly received both from too high and competent authorities to render mine either gratifying or necessary. With every wish for your success and prosperity in the tour you have undertaken, I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) “ A. MORSE, Acting Quarter-Master-General of the Army.”

The Chief Secretary to the Resident in Cutch.

“ Political Department, January 1830.

“ Nothing can more fully evince the expediency of combining political duties with those of geographical research than the result of Lieutenant Burnes’s visit to Parkur ; and if through such intercourse the incursions of plunderers cannot be prevented, we shall at least become possessed of information that will better enable us to defeat them.

(Signed) “ CHARLES NORRIS, Chief Secretary.”

same year I therefore made proposals to the then Commander-in-Chief Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Bradford, to enter on an examination of them ; and as the tracts through which I should have moved would be bounded on the west by the Indus, I ventured to suggest that, if there existed no political objections to the measure, I might be allowed to descend that river from where it is joined by the waters of the Punjab at Ooch, to the sea. I stated that, with the permission of Government, I would enter into inquiries both of a general and geographical nature, believing that there was much of interest in these countries as concerned their geography, and the people by whom they were inhabited.

“ His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief brought the plan to the notice of Government in a very favourable manner, and it met with the warm support of the Governor, Sir John Malcolm, who referred it to the Supreme Government of India. Before an answer could be received from Bengal, the Governor was pleased to enter into arrangements for my carrying it into execution. He referred its feasibility, in a political point of view, to the Resident in Cutch, Lieutenant-Colonel Pottinger, who, by his personal knowledge of the countries westward of the Indus, from his own enterprising travels through them, as well as from his present political situation near them, was enabled to judge correctly of the proposal. He expressed, in the strongest language, his entire concurrence in the undertaking, and, to use the words of his own official communication, stated ‘ that it would be a highly important and creditable acquisition to our military and geographical knowledge—that it would in a great measure, if not entirely, fill up the many unknown and vacant spaces in the best extant maps of India—and would clearly and satisfactorily connect the tracts through which Lieutenant Burnes proposed to move with the researches into, and surveys of the more northern and western regions, which were obtained by the missions to Persia, Cabool, and Sinde, in the years 1808, 9, 10, 11, &c.’

“ Sir John Malcolm fully concurring with Lieutenant-Colonel Pottinger, I was appointed an Assistant to the Political Resident in Cutch, and directed to conduct the undertaking under his instructions. The official letter to the Resident set forth that ‘ the Governor in Council leaves it at your discretion to employ Lieutenant Burnes, in whatever quarter he proceeds, so as to make it appear that the survey is a secondary object, and this end, if attained, will vest him with influence with the rulers through whose country he travels, and will tend greatly to allay that jealousy and alarm which might impede, if they did not arrest the progress of his topographical inquiries, if unassociated with any other pursuit.’

“It was considered desirable by the Government that another officer should accompany me in the journey, and Lieutenant James Holland, of the Quarter-Master-General’s department, a talented and enterprising officer, was selected for that purpose. On the 1st of December 1828 we started from Bhooj, the capital of Cutch. That no difficulties might occur at the outset, I was charged with letters of a political nature to the chiefs in Parkur, the territory which would be first entered after passing the frontier. I had also letters to the Rajah of Joodpoor, and to the different political agents under the Bengal Government, to remove any obstacles that might present themselves.

“While on the eve of crossing the desert from Ajmere to Ooch, I received a communication ‘that it was considered by the Governor-General in Council inexpedient to incur the hazard of exciting the alarm and jealousy of the rulers of Sinde, or other foreign states, by the prosecution of the survey in their territories, or those of the chiefs over which they claim sovereignty.’ It only remained, therefore, to collect as much matter as was in our power, and the following papers contain an abstract of the general and geographical information I thus obtained. A personal narrative, which details our various adventures in the desert, was also drawn up, but it is too voluminous, and perhaps not altogether suited for the Geographical Society. It should however be borne in mind that the least interesting portion of the contemplated journey was effected; and that instead of returning on the steps of Alexander and his Greeks, through countries almost unknown in Europe, we followed a more beaten but still interesting path.”

On his return from this journey, and appointment to the political assistantcy at Cutch, he was transferred from the Quarter-Master-General’s department.

Early in the year 1830 a present of horses from the King of England to the Maharajah Runjeet Singh arrived at Bombay, with a letter of compliments from the Minister for India, Lord Ellenborough, to the Seikh Chief. At the recommendation of Sir John Malcolm, Lieutenant Burnes was nominated by the Supreme Government to proceed with these to Lahore, the authorities both in England and India conceiving that much information might be derived from such a journey. In addition to the accomplishment of the complimentary mission in which he was ostensibly employed, he was directed to obtain full and complete information in reference to every thing pertaining to the geography of the Indus. That a better colour might be given to a deviation from the customary route so far as Hyderabad, he was entrusted with presents to the

Ameers of Sind. A regular escort of British troops was declined by him, and a guard of wild Beloochees was found sufficient to ensure protection, while they permitted an intercourse with the natives which a more regular force would have prevented. The expedition moved from Mandavie, in Cutch, on the 1st January 1831, and on the 28th arrived at the western mouth of the Indus. Their voyage having been obstructed by the Beloochees on the river's bank, the little fleet was dispersed and almost destroyed by a tempest on the 10th February. After many annoying delays and obstructions thrown in their way by the jealousy of the Ameers, the party reached Hyderabad on the 18th March. The unlooked-for detention meanwhile had been turned to good account, a full survey of all the mouths of the Indus, and a map of the lower portion of its course, and of the land route to Tatta, having been the fruits. The reception at Hyderabad was as hearty and cordial as could have been desired; Lieutenant Burnes was received with the utmost personal regard, in consideration of the obligation which Dr Burnes had conferred on the Ameer in curing him of a disease some years before:¹ the Mission was feasted and feted for a month. On the 23d April they once more embarked on the Indus—they reached Sehwan on 1st May, Khyrpoor on the 14th, and Bukkur on the 19th; and after visiting the various places of note along the river, they arrived at Lahore on the 18th July. If the reception at Hyderabad had been cordial, that at the Seikh capital was friendly and magnificent past description. A full account of it will be found in the travels to Bokhara. The Mission left on the 16th August, and after receiving numerous presents and a friendly farewell from the Maharajah, they next proceeded across the Sutlej to Loodianah, and here Lieutenant Burnes first met the present King of Cabool—the Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolkh, then living as a guest within the British territories, and maintaining, while a pensioner on our bounty, the forms of sovereignty and ceremonies of state which, ridiculous in his banishment, have proved so offensive on his restoration. His impression of the character of our future ally seems to have been most unfavourable—it has proved most unfortunately just. “From what I learn,” says he, “I do not believe the Shah possesses sufficient energy to seat himself on the throne of Cabool, and that if he did regain it, he has not tact to discharge the duties of so difficult a situation;” an opinion repeatedly expressed up to the time of our resolving to place the chief in a position which he was pronounced, and has been proved to be so incompetent to occupy. From Loodianah the mission proceeded to Simla to

¹ Vide Burnes's Travels,—and Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind, by Dr James Burnes, K.H.

receive from the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, instructions on their further proceedings. They were received with marks of much consideration, and the Secretary, Mr Prinsep, in a long official letter, expressed the high approval of the Government of the extreme prudence and discretion with which Lieutenant Burnes had conducted his intercourse with the native chiefs, and of the value of the geographical and statistical information he had collected. "His Lordship," continues the letter, "considers you to be entitled to commendation for the extent of geographical and general information collected in the voyage, and for the caution used in procuring it, no less than for the perspicuous and complete form in which the results have been submitted for record and consideration. The map prepared by you forms an addition to the geography of India of the first utility and importance, and cannot fail to procure for your labours a high place in this department of science."

Lieutenant Burnes was present throughout the splendid festivities which occurred on the various interviews which took place on the meeting of Runjeet Singh with the Governor-General in the month of October, and gives a graphic account of it in a letter to General Ramsay, first published in the second edition of the Bokhara travels. It was necessary before he should enter on a new and more formidable expedition than that so successfully accomplished, that his charts, maps, and papers should be completed, and for this purpose he quitted the brilliant hospitalities of the vice-regal court, and spent a couple of months with Captain Wade at Loodianah, where seclusion and unintermitting exertion speedily enabled him to bring his labours to a close. In December he visited Kurnaul and Delhi, and was presented to the Great Mogul, the fifteenth descendant from Timour. "The mummery of the ceremony," says he, "was absurd, and I could not suppress a smile as the officers mouthed in loud and sonorous solemnity the titles of king of the world, the ruler of the earth—to a monarch now realmless, and a prince without the shadow of power."

The sanction of the Governor-General for the travellers to proceed into Central Asia having been fully and finally given in the end of December, the journey was commenced on the 2d January 1832—just twelve months from the date at which the previous one had been begun.

The route taken was that along the line of the Sutlej till the river is joined by the Beas or Hydaspes. The travellers having descended as far as Lahore, were once more most graciously received by their old friend the Maharajah. On the 22d of January an earthquake was experienced around the Punjab capital. On the 10th February the party took leave of Runjeet Singh, at whose court on the present

occasion a fortnight had been spent. His Highness loaded them with kindness and tendered presents more than the mission could accept; what was more valuable than either, he presented them with letters of introduction to the Chiefs of Peshawur and Cabool, and other persons of distinction beyond the Indus, with instructions to the officers within his dominions to forward the views of the mission. He requested Burnes to write to him frequently, and give an account of the countries he traversed—a request which was carefully complied with. Letters were afterwards received from Runjeet Singh himself when the travellers were in the deserts of Tartary and Bokhara. Having taken an affectionate leave of the Lion of the Punjab, and his European officers, the travellers left Lahore on the 11th February. They here found it expedient to dress themselves in native attire. They exchanged their light European garments for the flowing robes of Affghanistan, girt themselves with cummerbunds and swords, shaved their heads, and let their beards grow. They gave away their tents, beds, and horses, and broke their tables and chairs, knowing that for many a long day to come a carpet or mat on the ground must be their bed, and a hut their shelter. On the 1st of March they reached the celebrated fort of Rotas, considered to be one of the great bulwarks betwixt Tartary and India. Passing by Attock, through Peshawur and the Khyber country, they reached Jellalabad, and pursuing the route which has of late acquired such unhappy celebrity by the disastrous march of Sir Robert Sale and his troops, they reached Cabool on the 1st of April.

Dost Mahomed was at this time in the pride of his power and popularity, and seemed very quickly to have impressed on Burnes the conviction of his abilities and accomplishments as a ruler—a conviction which further intimacy with the chief seems to have deepened. After a stay of six weeks at Cabool they quitted it and proceeded to cross the Hindoo Khoosh or snowy mountains on the 18th May. Having passed through a long track of dreary and desolate country from 11 to 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and covered thick with snow so late as the end of May, they reached Bameean in June. A rapid descent of 8000 feet brought them to Heibuck, where they found the climate so changed that a march of 150 miles northward brought them into the region of the fig tree. Khooloom was next reached, and here the travellers found their progress obstructed by the jealousies of the custom-house officers, whose interference compelled them to proceed to Khoondooz, the capital of the celebrated chief Moorad Beg. Here they passed themselves off as Armenian travellers, and after some difficulty, and no little danger, they were permitted to proceed on their journey. Crossing from Khooloom to Balkh they passed

obliquely over the great valley of the Oxus, and reached Bokhara, the capital of the kingdom of that name, on the 27th June.

This celebrated city is situated in 39° north; it contains 150,000 inhabitants. Here the travellers remained a month, having left on the 24th July. The chapter devoted to the account of Bokhara is one of the most interesting in the traveller's account of his journey. Proceeding from Bokhara, a very disagreeable interruption occurred on the frontiers of Khiva. The caravan of merchants with whom he had proposed to travel, took the alarm at certain recent proceedings of the notorious robber Khan. While detained waiting an answer to a memorial which had been forwarded to the Khan of Orgunje on the subject of their progress through his territories, he had the means of studying the character of the Toorkomans who roam without settled habitation from Balkh to the shores of the Caspian sea. How this opportunity was improved by one who never let slip an occasion of observation on men and manners more than on the physical aspect of the countries through which he passed, is sufficiently apparent from the admirable chapter of his travels and the opinions expressed on it by the most competent European authorities. On the 27th August 1831 the party continued their journey along the valley of the Oxus, the far-famed stream itself being about 30 miles distant from them. Passing through the arid and sandy plains which skirt the kingdom of Bokhara and fill up the eastern districts of the Khanate of Khiva, the travellers moved towards the Persian frontier, which they crossed, and arrived at Meschid on the 24th September. After a week's sojourn here they proceeded up the valley about 40 miles, to visit Abbas Meerza, Prince Royal of Persia, then engaged in the siege of the strong fortress of Koochan, which, when about to be stormed, surrendered during Burnes's visit. It was occupied by a garrison of 8000 men.

Here Dr Gerrard left the party; and on the 29th September Burnes proceeded alone to explore the western borders of Persia, traversing the mountains of Khorassan to Astrabad, on the shores of the Caspian sea. From this he proceeded southward and westward to Teheran, the capital of Persia. Here he met with Sir John Campbell, our Envoy at the Court of Persia, and on the 26th October was introduced into the august presence of the "King of Kings." At Teheran our traveller felt for some time in doubt whether he should return direct to India by Bushire and the Persian Gulf, or visit Europe, proceeding to Constantinople, then only 20 days' journey from the capital of Persia. After some deliberation he resolved on the former course, and having proceeded through the very centre of the Persian dominions, visiting Ispahan and Shiraz, he reached Bushire, where he

found the H. C. Sloop of War, Clive, awaiting his reception. He sailed on the 10th December, and arrived off Bombay on the 18th January 1833. The outline of his travels just given has been taken for the most part from the admirable volumes afterwards published by him, the concluding part of which gives the following summary of what he had seen and visited :—

“ I shall not pause to reflect on the feelings with which I again set foot in India after so long and weary a journey. In the outset, I saw every thing, both ancient and modern, to excite the interest and inflame the imagination—Bactria, Transoxiana, Scythia, and Parthia, Kharasm, Khorasan, and Iran. We had now visited all these countries; we had retraced the greater part of the route of the Macedonians; trodden the kingdoms of Porus and Taxiles; sailed on the Hydaspes; crossed the Indian Caucasus, and resided in the celebrated city of Balkh, from which Greek monarchs, far removed from the academies of Corinth and Athens, had once disseminated among mankind a knowledge of the arts and sciences, of their own history, and the world. We had beheld the scenes of Alexander’s wars, of the rude and savage inroads of Jengis and Timour, as well as of the campaigns and revelries of Baber, as given in the delightful and glowing language of his commentaries. In the journey to the coast we had marched on the very line of route by which Alexander had pursued Darius; while the voyage to India took us on the coast of Mekran and the track of his admiral Nearchus.”

Shortly after his return to India, Lieutenant Burnes received instructions to proceed to Calcutta. While here he received the special thanks of the Governor-General; the Memoirs he had drawn up having been ordered to be transmitted to the Court of Directors. The Minute in which this is contained is dated 6th June 1833, subscribed “W. McNaghten.” How little did the party who received, or he who conveyed these acknowledgments, think that in eight years they would be virtual rulers of the most important portions of the country Burnes had traversed; or that the secretary would have his life put in peril, and the traveller fall a victim in the capital of Cabool to the policy which placed them in power!¹ While at Calcutta in May, a singular controversy arose betwixt Burnes and the crazy but enthusiastic Missionary Wolfe. The parties had met at Cabool the preceding year. Wolfe appears, while there, to have claimed the apostolic gifts of prophecy and performing miracles, and Burnes was not slow in exposing the character of his proceedings in Affghanistan. Not only the sanity but

¹ The writer of this Memoir was not then aware that both had fallen.

the character of the Missionary as a trustworthy authority suffered in public estimation. The letters which appeared in the papers bore the names of the parties, and the controversy waxed in heat, and for many months agitated or amused the community of India.

In June Burnes received orders to proceed to England as the bearer of his own despatches; the fame of his adventures having long preceded him. Lord William Bentinck writes to the Court of Directors (6th June 1833) "that the Government of India considered the information of Lieutenant Burnes as to the state of the countries betwixt India and Russia of such primary importance that it should be communicated direct to the home authorities by that gentleman himself;" and his Lordship in Council reported to the Court of Directors the high encomiums which the Government had communicated to Burnes in person. He left Calcutta in the ship *Hooghly*, on the 10th June, and arrived in London early in October. His reception at the India House, as well as by the Board of Control, was as cordial as the most ambitious could have desired, and the high appreciation formed in India of his services seems poor indeed compared to that in which they were held at home. On the 30th December he was introduced at Court, and afterwards received the special acknowledgments of the king for the unpublished map and memoir which he had presented to His Majesty. The manuscripts were put in train for immediate publication, and after due curtailment bestowed on them in the Secret Department of the India House, were passed into the hands of the publisher, Mr Murray of Albemarle Street. The success of the work was almost unprecedented for a book of travels. Nearly nine hundred copies were sold off in a single day. Mr Murray gave the author L.800 for the copyright of the first edition. Mr Lockhart called on Lieutenant Burnes and told him that it surpassed in interest any book of travels he had ever read. It was immediately translated into the German and French languages. Curiously enough, Burnes in his next visit to Cabool in 1837, found that the Russian emissaries had been using the French edition, a copy of which they had with them as a hand-book on their way. It was reviewed by no fewer than sixteen of the leading Reviews, Magazines, and Literary Journals, every one of which, with a single exception, received it with almost unqualified praise. The Edinburgh Review, one of the least complimentary, treated it to a minute and eulogistic analysis. The Quarterly pronounced it one of the most valuable books of travels that had ever appeared, for the variety of information which it contained regarding Sindh, the Punjab, and the upper regions of Central Asia,—on all of which countries it might be consulted as a standard work; and it apologized for the

scantiness of the selections it had given, on the ground that where there was such an exuberance of varied matter, the task of selection was no easy one. The concluding portion of the review may be quoted as furnishing a character of the author as well as of his work :—" We cannot part with Mr Burnes without again expressing our high sense of the abilities which he has displayed in action ; and, notwithstanding some defects of plan and arrangement, as a vivid and powerful describer of natural scenes and human manners. Many years have passed since the English library has been enriched with a book of travels in value at all comparable with his. He is evidently a man of strong and masculine talents, high spirit, and elegant taste—and we expect, if the affairs of our Indian Empire are allowed to go on in anything like a proper manner, to have future occasions for noticing the exertions of one who appears in every respect well qualified to tread in the steps of our Malcolms and Elphinstones."

The Foreign Quarterly Review was not less eulogistic than the Quarterly, and as we have quoted the estimation in which the author was held by the one periodical, we may give a short extract on the same subject from the other :—" The historian, the antiquarian, and the lover of classical learning, have in Lieutenant Burnes's delightful work the best account that has yet been given of Alexander's route through the provinces of the Indus, and the impress which his mighty mind has stamped upon remote Asia ; in the same pages alone can they find accurate information respecting the Bactrian kingdom, where Greek civilization flourished like an exotic, brilliant during a brief existence, and then lost for ever. From these volumes the statesman will best learn the policy of those countries that border on our dominions in India, and see whether they can be established as bulwarks against aggressive ambition, or whether they are to be dreaded as future agents in our expulsion from Hindustan. The merchant will consult the work to learn by what means the new commercial routes here developed may be turned to advantage ; the general reader will delight in the novelty of countries previously unexplored, and races hitherto unknown ; while the philosopher will rejoice in witnessing the devotion of great energies to a great purpose. It is impossible, we think, for any reader to rise from the perusal of Mr Burnes's interesting volumes without the strongest impression of his accuracy of observation, patient inquiry, close adherence to truth, and abstinence from mere speculation.

"We shall not accompany Lieutenant Burnes in his visit to the Court of Lahore, as in our recent review of Jacquemont's Letters from India we entered at large into the subject of the constitution of the Sikhs, and the character of their able sovereign, Runjeet Singh.

A translation of Jacquemont's interesting correspondence, enriched with some additional letters addressed to influential British noblemen and gentlemen, which were unknown to the French editor, has just appeared, and we really know not a more interesting and curious illustration of national character than the 'alike but different' accounts which the Briton and the Frenchman give of the Court of Lahore. Jacquemont's dash of lively enthusiasm, his characteristic mixture of the frivolous and the serious, his rapid arrival at conclusions without taking any particular notice of the premises, contrast strangely and strongly with the cautious investigation, cool reasoning, and plain common sense of Burnes. In both are exhibited a daring spirit of enterprise, a zeal for knowledge not to be conquered by danger or difficulty; and it is singular that two such richly endowed travellers should at the same time have been engaged in exploring Asia."

The Earl of Munster was at this time President of the Royal Asiatic Society, when Burnes was elected a member, and had all the honors heaped upon him which the Association could bestow. The noble chairman, who conferred on him the Society's diploma with his own hands, was not only unwearied in his attentions to the Bombay Lieutenant, but wrote an able and laudatory review of the Bokhara travels for the United Service Journal, with a few sentences from which we shall conclude our extracts:—"Where each page of three volumes teems with interest and merits comment, it is difficult to select details; but the reflection that Mr Burnes is the first European, for twenty-one centuries, who has sailed the whole length of the Indus, naturally excites inquiry as to existing traditions of its first great navigator. These can scarcely be said to exist; but the numerous confirmations of the voyage of Nearchus are constant and undeniable, and make us regret that the late Dean of Westminster should not have survived to enjoy so much new and interesting matter. . . . We think we have shewn, without any idle panegyric, the value of this work; and whether as to statistical, geographical, geological, commercial, military, or political information, we hardly know which most to praise. Scarce a point, previously doubtful, has not been elucidated; and when any *lacunes*, which may exist, are filled up by the MSS. of the lamented Moorcroft, (which Mr Burnes assures us are all recovered, and we regret he does not state where they exist in order that the public might claim their production,) as well as the Journals of M. Court, and of a Hindoo companion of whom he speaks highly, our knowledge of these hitherto dark countries will be complete. . . . Mr Burnes's style is concise and agreeable, nervous without constraint, and the reader will follow his pages without abstraction of thought from deficiency of ready conception. We congratulate

him on his appearance before the public, and predict the full reward which his talent and enterprise must ensure him in the brilliant profession to which he belongs, and in the career in the political department in which his peculiar fitness cannot fail to make him stand on a par with its brightest ornaments."

Beyond the commendations of critics, or praises of reviewers even of such name as those we have quoted, was, in the estimation of Lieutenant Burnes, the compliment bestowed by the Baron Humboldt—himself the most eminent scientific traveller of the present or of any preceding age, and who, beyond any man, was entitled to be critical in his judgment. By this illustrious man he was pronounced to be the most distinguished of the travellers who had ever penetrated the interior of Asia; but we must give the whole of the note written to Mr Murray the eminent publisher, without curtailment:—"Berlin, 16th November 1834. Monsieur,— . . . J'ai été touché des marques de votre bonte par l'envoi de l'ouvrage admirable du Lieutenant Alexandre Burnes. Plus occupé de l'Asie que jamais, l'immense et courageux voyage de M. Burnes a du fixer toute mon attention. Aucun autre ne repand par autopsie un plus grand jour sur des parties de l'Asie devenues inaccessibles depuis des siecles. Je me plairai a proclamer cet excellent jeune officier le *premier* des voyageurs qui ont parcouru l'interieur d'un Continent. L'ouvrage a en outre le merite d'une noble simplicité de redaction. Vous êtes heureux d'avoir donné a l'Asie au-deça de l'Indus Elphinstone et Burnes.—Votre très-humble, et très-obéissant serviteur,

"ALEXANDRE HUMBOLDT."

Almost simultaneously with the Bokhara travels appeared the short Memoir of the Journey of 1829 into the Desert between Cutch and the Indus, from which we have already quoted. It was published in the transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of London, Burnes having been made a member by acclamation, and received the highest mark of distinction that eminent body could confer on him—the Gold Medal of the Society. He at this time received a letter of compliment from a member of the Institute of France, by direction of the Royal Asiatic Society of Paris, from which the following is an extract:—"Vous avez tracé sur la portion peut etre le plus obscure de l'Asie une ligne lumineuse, et vous avez porté au plus haut degré dans votre voyage les merites precieuses de ce que vos compatriots appellent direct observation;" while at the same time he had the Silver Medal of the French Geographical Society bestowed upon him. The reception he met with on making a flying visit to the French capital, shortly after this, will be best understood by an extract from a private letter to

his brother:—"PARIS, December 23, 1834.—My reception at Paris has been enthusiastic. I have been invited to the reunions of the Savans; admitted yesterday at the sitting of the Institute; and the day before the Geographical Society. At the Institute I saw Arago, Biot, and Dupin the politician, and heard Baron Larrey read a paper, as well as Magendie the physiologist. The translator of my book, M. Eyries, is a co-partner of Klaproth. He gave notice of me in the bulletin of the Geographical Society, and thus names you,—'M. Alexandre Burnes, Lieutenant d'Infanterie de la compagnie Anglaise des Indes, est frère de M. James Burnes, Chirurgien-major à Bhoudj dans le Cotch. Ce dernier fut appelé en 1827, à Haiderabad, pour donner ses soins, à un des Emirs. Il a publié une relation de son voyage. Ainsi les deux frères ont bien mérité de la géographie, en nous donnant des détails sur des pays peu connus.' My work is translated, the plates lithographed, and I have happily arrived in time to transpose the order of the volumes. The French critics give me even greater praise than the English. Is it not curious I have been reviewed in France, Germany, Russia, and England, and not yet in my native country."¹

He afterwards heard from Lord Brougham that Louis Phillipe had sent his Lordship in search of him while in Paris after he had left it; His Majesty having expressed a wish to confer on him the decoration of the Legion of Honour with his own hands. On his return to London the Athenæum Club admitted him as a member without ballot, and the following notice of this is given in a letter dated January 1835:—"The Athenæum Club has elected me over the heads of 1130 candidates as a member, on account, as they are pleased to say, of my 'distinguished eminence.' I took my place yesterday, and you will judge of the Club when I name the first men I met—Hallam, Sir G. Staunton, Sidney Smith, D'Israeli, Crawford of Java, &c. I have the Edinburgh Review. I am well out of the scrape. Mr Cooly is the author, a London Geographer: he has done me great injustice in complaining of defective information regarding the passes of the Hindoo Koosh, when I plainly say in my book that Government refused to publish the information: but in all truth I have got enough praise. I am to have an emblazoned diploma conferred on me on the 7th February, at the Royal Asiatic, Lord Munster, I believe, in the chair. My book has been out of print for five weeks.—See the Review on Jacquemont in the Quarterly—they are again at me."

¹ This refers to the delay in noticing his work on the part of the Edinburgh Review, whose criticism on the Bokhara Travels made its appearance in February 1835, nominally the Review for January.

When we keep in view that Burnes was at this time only 29 years of age, and still but a lieutenant in the Bombay Army; that he was without political influence or other aristocratic patrons than his own merits had procured him; that as a traveller he had only been for a few months known to the English public, and as an author for a still shorter period; that the dry labours of the geographer or commercial statist, in which character he was most prominently known, give but few claims of admission to the resorts of wit, literature, or fashion; and that the entire period of his stay in London, from the resignation of the Melbourne Cabinet in November (14th) 1834, through a violent general election, and some of the fiercest and closest contests that ever occurred in Parliament, until Sir Robert Peel's retirement from office in April (8th) 1835, was one of the most intense and engrossing political interest, where the public had no leisure or inclination to think of any thing beyond the fights and champions of faction, the conviction can no longer be resisted that before he received the attentions everywhere heaped on him at this period, he must in his own person have impressed on all with whom he came in contact that a small part of his worth was known by those who took their estimate of his character from published documents alone. He was waited on by the most distinguished men then in London, and without solicitation introduced to all the leaders of fashion, literature, and politics. The Marquis of Lansdowne put himself prominently forward as his friend, and on the approach of his departure gave a farewell party on purpose, where Lords Auckland, Morpeth, Howick, and Lord John Russell and the Rev. Sidney Smith were amongst the guests. His Lordship afterwards expressed the anxiety he felt for a continuance of his correspondence. Lord Brougham sent for him to compliment him on the opinion entertained of him by the philosophers of France, and made him aware of the intentions of Royalty towards him. He was taken under the special patronage of Lord Holland, and became the lion of the hour at the brilliant Literary Soirees of Holland House. Such was his reception among the Whig coteries at a time when all attainments were apt to be overlooked, save such as savoured of politics.

The Tories had it in their power to tender still more substantial marks of their consideration, and they were not tardy in making the offer, not the less indicative of their feelings though unaccepted by its intended object. Lord Ellenborough,¹ wished to have him

¹ In a letter dated 22d January 1835, he says—"Lord Ellenborough is considerably kind to me, and we are doing already more than Mr Grant did in a year." This refers to Lord Ellenborough's doings as Chairman of the Board of Control, to which he had been appointed in the end of December. He had only been one month in office.

appointed Secretary to the Legation at the Court of Persia. He was to have a dormant commission under the sign-manual, granting him the appointment of British Minister at the Court of Teheran, on the death, retirement, or sickness of Mr Ellis. The situation, however, could not be permanently guaranteed, and he declined it; preferring, under the circumstances, to adhere to the service of the Company. His refusal caused much surprise to his friends in the Ministry; the Earl of Munster and Sir Robert Inglis pressed the matter particularly upon him, but he was resolute in his refusal. A letter of 7th January contains the following passage:—"By the advice of Mr Elphinstone and Mr Mill I went to-day to the Board of Control to decline Lord Ellenborough's offer to go to Persia, but told his Lordship that I should be glad to accompany Mr Ellis as an attache, if my situation as Governor-General's agent on the Indus were secured to me. Mr Elphinstone estimates my claims and character in a way that staggers me."

In a letter of a few days later date, he says—"I was to have been *second* in the mission, not *third*, and I was to have had a dormant commission to succeed, *pro tem.*; but I laugh at Persia and her politics; they are a bauble. I must go, even if I am compelled to return as assistant to Cutch. What are a Colonelcy and a K. L. S. to me? I look far higher, and shall either die or be so." In another he says, when writing on the same subject, "I feel the compliment, but what care I for second-hand situations when I may be first. To be sure I might have been made a K. L. S. and a Colonel; but would I have been any more honoured thereby? No! my greatest glory is to have done what I have done so young in rank and honour." He soon after this prepared to take leave of England. On the 2d March he writes, "I have got a flaming despatch from the Court of Directors to the Supreme Government, stating that my claims have been in no way overrated." On the same occasion he says, "I have never seen M'Neill since I demurred against going to Persia. He (Sir John M'Neill, now Ambassador at Teheran) is an able fellow, and by far the fittest person in England for the situation."

After a sojourn of eighteen months in his native country he left London on the 5th April 1835, and reached India on the 1st June, by France, Egypt, and the Red Sea. A curious circumstance occurred on his approach to the shores of India. His brother Charles, the unhappy sharer of his fate at Cabool, had been appointed a Cadet, and sailed from London on the 13th January. The vessels met when 200 miles from Bombay, and the steamer having taken on board part of the passengers of the sailing vessel,

the brothers who had left England three months apart, and sought India by routes so different, sailed into the port of their common destination together. On his arrival at Bombay he was directed to resume the duties of Assistant to the Resident at Cutch, Colonel Pottinger.

The following letter is from the late Governor Sir James Rivett Carnac, then Deputy Chairman of the India House. The appointment made at Simla in October 1838, shows how the views entertained by the Governor-General elect and Deputy Chairman of the India House were carried out:—"East India House, 22d January 1836.—When I heard of your reaching Bombay, I was mortified at finding that you were remanded to your station in Cutch in the ordinary way; I had expected that you would have gone round to Bengal to await the arrival of the Governor-General. I have no doubt that Lord Auckland will avail himself of your services in some prominent station, and that he will confer upon you, if he can, some distinguishing mark of his confidence and approbation. Before he quitted England he spoke much of you, and of his having met you at Bowood, and I think his views will embrace your employment in a quarter which will give you an opportunity of augmenting your claims to distinction. You may be sure there is no one connected with the authorities in this country who will hear of your success with more sincere satisfaction than myself, or who will be more ready to promote it by any means in my power from a sense of the eminent services you have rendered to India.

"J. R. CARNAC."

In the following October he was deputed on an important mission to Hyderabad in Sinde, when matters had got into such a position that the Supreme Government had ordered the country to be blockaded. We were in fact on the eve of a war. He mentions his appointment in a letter dated Bombay, October 6th,—“I am doomed,” says he, “to live a vagabond for ever; but all this is in my way, and I am in great spirits.” He reached Hyderabad early in November, and proceeded rapidly with his duties. His sojourn with the Ameers of Sinde was destined to be but of short duration. Events were now a-foot requiring him to undertake an important political mission to Cabool. In the end of August 1836 a plan was proposed to be carried into effect, with a view to the fulfilment of the line of policy beyond the Indus chalked out by Lord William Bentinck. And as Captain Burnes’s abilities, in the words of the Governor-General, “were wasted as an assistant to the Resident in Cutch,” he was placed under the orders of the Supreme Government,

and desired to proceed to Bombay to prepare himself for his future progress. He arrived at the Presidency in the end of October. Here he remained for as brief a space as permitted the completion of his arrangements. Lieutenant Wood of the Indian Navy,¹ Lieutenant Leech of the Bombay Engineers, and Dr Lord, afterwards Political Agent in Kohistan, were appointed members of the mission under Captain Burnes. Dr Lord was shot in the battle of Purwan Durrah, on the 2d November 1840. It was afterwards resolved to add to the mission Mohun Lal, a student in the Delhi College, who was to act as moonshee or interpreter; and a Parsee of talent and education from Bombay, Nowrojee Furdoonjee.

The mission left Bombay on the 26th November 1836, and having touched at Mandavie, entered the Indus on the 17th December, and reached Hyderabad on the 18th January 1837. The character of the mission was at first almost purely commercial, as appears from the instructions contained in the Minute of the Governor-General, 5th September 1836. Captain Burnes was to negotiate with the Ameers of Sindh for the protection of the free navigation of the Indus from Tatta to the sea; to endeavour to obtain the establishment of an annual fair at Tatta, and to put an end to the plundering system carried on against the traders on the Indus.

He was to proceed thence through the Punjab, by Attock and Cashmere, to Cabool, and to enter into commercial arrangements with Dost Mahomed; and proceed from Cabool to Candahar, to negotiate similar arrangements with the western chiefs, and to endeavour if possible to open up the route betwixt Afghanistan and the coast at Sonmehanee, through Beloochistan, and by Kelat. He was to institute enquiries as to the state of trade and the means of carrying it on; and having completed the objects of his mission, to return by the Bolan Pass and through Sindh to India. By the time they reached the capital of Lower Sindh the character of the mission was altered; and events were hastening on on the Persian frontier and in Candahar which made it expedient that Sir John McNeill and Captain Burnes should continue in close communication with each other. Mahomed Shah had in 1836 prepared an army of 60,000 men, with 100 pieces of artillery, for the attack and subjection of Herat—which appears at this time to have alarmed the Government of India, accompanied as it was with fearful stories of Russian intrigue, gold, and assistance. Burnes himself indeed was satisfied that could the Persians succeed against Herat, Candahar would be at their mercy; and it was not till the fruitless siege and protracted defence of this fortress, which could not be begun till late in 1837, and ended

¹ See Wood's Journey to the Oxus.

in mishap ten months afterwards, had shewn how little we had to fear from Persian invasion, that these alarms, with which at the time all India rung, were dispelled. The Ameers of Sind, it was found, had changed their political tone prodigiously since 1831, when the traveller formerly visited them. They now took him and his party to hunting feats, and sights, and entertainments of every sort, to show on what intimate and familiar terms they were with the British Government. For the first time they gave permission for the residence of a Political Agent at Shikarpore.

Quitting the line of the Indus the party proceeded to the last named point, where materials were collected for the admirable Report on the commerce of this great mart of Upper Sind, completed and dispatched a month afterwards (dated Bhawalpore, 7th May) to the Supreme Government.

The modification of character which Captain Burnes's mission had received in consequence of the intelligence of the advance of the Persian Monarch on Herat, was destined to experience a still more important alteration from another event of yet more immediate moment. Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabool had, from the time he was stripped of Peshawur by Runjeet Singh, when the attempt of Shah Shoojah to recover his lost Crown occupied his hands sufficiently at home, never for a moment ceased to seek out the means of recovering the territory wrested from him. Less heedful of this than he customarily was of the movements of his enemies, Runjeet Singh had in 1837 withdrawn the bulk of his troops from Peshawur, and collected an army around his capital to give additional éclat to the marriage of his grandson Nao Nihal Singh, where the presence of the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of India was considered to require the utmost parade of military pomp. Seizing on this fortunate moment, the Affghan army, amounting to about 30,000 in all, attacked the Sikhs at Jumrood on the 1st May. The Sikhs were defeated, and the killed of both armies are said to have amounted to 7,000 men. The Governor-General apprehensive—according to the Simla Proclamation—that this might kindle the flames of war in the very countries where we were trying to extend our commerce, resolved on endeavouring to avert a result so calamitous by interposing the mediation of the Indian Government betwixt Dost Mahomed and Runjeet Singh. For this purpose Captain Burnes was instructed to proceed to Cabool, and if the chief should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maharajah, to inform him that his Lordship would exert his friendly offices with his Highness for the arrangement of a good understanding between the powers. Proceeding to the Court of Cabool under these instruc-

tions, the mission reached Attock on the 21st August, and entered the Khyber Pass on the 3d September, with no other guard than a party of the Khyberries themselves.

On the 20th September Burnes entered Cabool escorted by Mahomed Akbar Khan, the favourite son of Dost Mahomed, with a large cavalcade of horsemen in honour of the occasion. If the impression formerly conveyed to his mind of the talents and accomplishments of the Ameer was high, it was on the present occasion greatly strengthened, and seems to have extended itself to each member of the mission. We have had occasion to study the views of them all, Lieutenant Leech alone excepted, and their testimony is uniform as to the high and princely qualities of Dost Mahomed. So far from being unreasonable, he was most moderate in his expectations, anxious for our alliance, and desirous of showing his zeal in our favour by taking the first opportunity that presented itself of turning Persian and Russian emissaries alike out of his country in the least ceremonious fashion, and with the shortest possible notice. On one point alone he would on no account be gainsaid; he could not be persuaded to consent to any treaty which had for its object the permanent detachment of Peshawur from Cabool. But so anxious was he to deal with us in the most friendly spirit, that he was willing to let the matter be passed over in the treaty, provided that we agreed to permit him to employ whatever means he could use to recover the conquered territory on the demise of Runjeet Singh, then obviously not remote. Upon this point the Governor-General and the Ameer of Cabool were alike immoveable; we refused for a moment to entertain the thought that Peshawur should ever be severed from the Punjab; and the Ameer, rather than sanction its abandonment, seeing that at no other price than this could our friendship be purchased, resolved to forego it altogether and to throw himself on the friendship of Russia. Sir William M'Naghten was at this time understood to have swayed the councils of the Government of India, and to have dictated the proclamation of 1st October 1838, in which the war was declared. So little weight does the Peshawur question—on whose decision the whole subject at this time hinged—appear afterwards to have had on the mind of the Envoy, that before two years had elapsed we find him desirous of detaching the province from the Punjab and annexing it to Cabool in the name of the Shah Shoojah; the interruption of a similar proceeding on the part of Dost Mahomed having occasioned the Affghan war. There remained but one course now for Burnes to pursue, however reluctantly, and he adopted it accordingly. He withdrew from Cabool and returned by the road whence he came, passing through Peshawur in May 1838.

The Governor-General, with his Court, were at this time solacing themselves from the heats of Calcutta in the cool shades of Simla, amongst the Himalaya mountains; and thither Burnes was directed to repair. It is believed that the mind of Lord Auckland was at this time so thoroughly bewildered betwixt peace and war—the voice of Burnes and of the more experienced councillors, it is said, being on the one side; those of Captain Wade, the Resident at Loodianah, and of the secretaries M'Naghten and Colvin being on the other,—that scarcely an hour elapsed which did not witness an alteration in his views, alternating as they did from peace to war and war to peace. It is moreover believed, whether justly or not we know not, that on Burnes's approach to the vice-regal residence having become known, a deputation was sent out to meet him, and to entreat of him that he would not disturb the then warlike mood of the Governor-General, who at that particular moment considered the quarrel a very pretty quarrel as it stood. On such insignificant events do the disputes of Nations depend! Whatever be the weight of this statement, certain it is that the printed papers sufficiently evince an amount of vacillation nearly unprecedented in the councils of India; fortunate had it been had those for peace prevailed. From this date Burnes's life is a matter of history—of history so recent that it is familiar to most; while at the same time it is mixed up with State affairs so secret that, as he himself writes to his brother Dr James Burnes, “he could scarcely speak of any political matter without divulging somewhat of that which he was in duty bound not to reveal.” No man was more scrupulous or cautious on these points, and his communications to private friends from the time of his joining the expedition at Simla are, in reference to official matters, guarded in the extreme.

By the beginning of July the most active preparations were on foot for an expedition on the largest scale. Mr Secretary M'Naghten had gone to the Court of Lahore on a secret mission, to arrange matters with Runjeet Singh in the month of May. On the 1st of October the famous Proclamation of War was issued by Lord Auckland, and early in November the Governor-General of India and the Ruler of the Punjab had long interviews together at Ferozepoor, on the Sutlej. There was at this time but one man amongst the counsellors of Lord Auckland who, from personal observation, knew aught of the countries about to be invaded or the character of the people on whom we had determined to impose an obnoxious sovereign; and who could speak from intimate acquaintance of Dost Mahomed, the ruler we had resolved to remove, and of the Shah Shoojah, by whom we were to replace him. That man was Captain

Burnes, the accuracy of whose observations, whose general soundness of judgment, and the value of whose political views had obtained for him at the age of 29 the strongest recommendations from the Court of Directors, the patronage of two British Cabinets, the honours of the leading learned Societies of Europe, and the admiration and friendship of the most distinguished men of his age.

Had his claims indeed been in other respects on a par only with those of other existing aspirants, the testimony of politicians so profound, and observers so acute, as Sir John Malcolm, the Baron Humboldt, and the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, should have cast the balance immeasurably in his favour had the interest of the public service alone influenced the selection of the Envoy for Cabool. But the interests of the Anglo-Indian Empire were matters of small consideration with the Bengal civilian clique by whom the Government of India was too often guided, in comparison with the advancement of their individual views. The ambition of Sir William Mac-Naghten towered above the Calcutta Secretariat; the desire of his friends at Government House to have him removed from it forwarded his prospects without intending him a kindness. Burnes was set aside in favour of one accomplished, it is true, as an oriental scholar, and approved as a competent servant of Government, yet especially and necessarily most ignorant of all that it most concerned an Affghan diplomatist to know. We have now the results for which the nomination might have led us from the first to look.

That Captain Burnes was ever positively promised the appointment of Envoy we have no evidence; but that he had every reason short of actual promise to believe that he was to be the principal political employé, by whatever designation he might be called, there cannot be a doubt. He was in fact the only man qualified to hold such an appointment, and was, long after Sir William M'Naghten's nomination, led to believe that the Chief Secretary was only temporarily placed over him, and would speedily retire in his favour. As the organization of the expedition approached its completion, he was sent forward with the Commissariat to Shikarpore, to arrange for the reception of an army which, fighting men and camp-followers included, amounted by the month of February to nearly 100,000 men,¹ with upwards of 30,000 camels, besides bullocks and miscellaneous baggage cattle. While at Shikarpore he received accounts of the honours which had been conferred upon him—a copy of the Government Gazette, conveying the intelligence that he had been knighted and advanced to

¹ 15,500 fighting men according to Major Hough. 30,000 camels perished in the course of the expedition.

the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army having been forwarded to him.

From Sindé Sir Alexander Burnes, accompanied by Lieutenant Patterson, 16th Lancers, Lieutenant Simpson, and a moonshee, proceeded on the 25th March on a political mission into Beloochistan to make arrangements with the Chief of Keelat, Neer Meeraub Khan, connected with the expedition. The Khan at first seemed favourably disposed towards us, but put a question which, had the authorities in India maturely weighed, might have spared us our recent calamities. He admitted that we might manage readily enough to get our armies into the country, but "HOW WERE WE EVER TO GET THEM OUT AGAIN?"—a question whose solution will cost the Company some millions of fresh expenditure from the present time. The mission, so far as the procurance of stores was concerned, proved a fruitless one; it rejoined the force on the 6th April. He continued with the expedition throughout the campaign, and on the final restoration of the Shah Shoojah in September 1839, he was appointed Political Resident at Cabool, with a salary of L.3,000 a year, that of the Envoy Sir William M'Naghten being L.11,000; the chief political officer in Sindé receiving a higher salary by L.900 than Sir Alexander Burnes. If these things seem strange to our European readers, they may as well keep in view that Sir William M'Naghten and Mr Ross Bell were Bengal civilians, and that Sir Alexander Burnes was an officer of the Bombay Army; that the Supreme Government of India governs the Presidency of Bengal. He continued to act along with the Envoy at Cabool till the hour of his death.¹

¹ The following extracts from the Bombay Times give some particulars not known at the time the Memoir was published:—

"SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.—Although the most intense anxiety has been manifested on the subject, we have not been able during the month to obtain any minute particulars of the fate of the late Sir Alexander Burnes and his brother, no communications containing details of any sort having, so far as we can ascertain, reached India from our ill-fated countrymen at Cabool. The melancholy fact, however, is confirmed by a manifesto in the Persian language, an extract of which we have seen, and which had been addressed by the Khans of Cabool to some of the subordinate chiefs. In this document they proclaim that, 'early in the morning of the third Tuesday of the blessed month Ramazan (corresponding with the 2d of November last) they, with other brave heroes, 'striving like lions,' carried by storm the house of Sikunder Burnes, rushing from an ambush right and left, and put him to the sword, together with some other Feringees of consideration, and nearly 500 battalion men.' The destruction of Sir Alexander Burnes, thus boasted of, was evidently therefore the first result of a deliberate determination to exterminate the Feringees, by removing him who had at the same time the strongest hold on the Affghan people, as well as the highest and most prominent qualities amongst his own countrymen for checking the designs of the chiefs. How well they calculated has been proved by the event."

Lieutenant Charles Burnes of the 17th Regiment Native Infantry, who perished with his brother, was born on the 12th January 1812. He was appointed a Cadet on the Bombay Establishment in the beginning of 1835, by Mr Loch, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, as a compliment to Sir Alexander's services. In 1838, Lord Auckland applied for his services to the Bombay Government, and he officiated for some time as Political Agent at Ghizni; latterly he was attached to the Candahar Agency, and being in very bad health had gone to visit his brother when the insurrection took place.

The venerable parents of these distinguished young men have of late been visited with a severer measure of affliction than falls to the lot of most. Besides the unfortunate brothers whose loss we have just narrated, and who were not more eminent in the service to which they belonged than distinguished for their dutiful affection and reverence towards their parents, a daughter and son-in-law have within these twelve months died in India under circumstances of great and peculiar distress. Dr. James Burnes, K. H. is now the only remaining brother of the family in the Company's Service.

In endeavouring to analyse the character of Sir Alexander Burnes, we are struck at the outset with the abundance of the elements of true intellectual greatness which characterised his mind. Amongst these, the first which meet us are his utter want of pretension, his capacity for intense observation, the frankness with which

“JELLALABAD.—The letter (of 5th January) from Jellalabad, referred to in our last, gives the following account of the sack of the Treasury and slaughter of the officers residing near it on the 2d November, concerning the particulars of which so little has hitherto reached us. The narrative is taken from the accounts given by the bearer of some of the recent communications from Cabool and Jellalabad—a Jazailchee in the Shah's service; he was one of the party who sallied out from the Balla Hissar to attempt the rescue. The Jellalabad letter proceeds—‘He (the Jazailchee) says that he was wounded at Burnes's gate. The attack on Burnes's house was made before daylight in the morning, and on the news reaching the king he immediately sent the Wazeer Nizam and Dowla with a force to assist him; they penetrated the town and drove the enemy from the street Burnes lived in, but could not enter, as the gateway was in flames, and part of the house. While striving to enter, the enemy rallied and drove them back; at this time my informant was wounded; one of the king's sons, a youth of remarkable bravery, brought a reinforcement, and again penetrated the town as far as Burnes's, and beyond it, but found all over, and retired. The Shah's people lost some hundred men. When the first party reached the gate, Burnes's body was lying in the street before it, hacked nearly to pieces; but a furious fight was going on still in the house, and the cry was that the other Feringee and some sepoy were still defending a room high up.’ The man said he understood young Burnes had been killed early in the affray, but not with his elder brother. All accounts describe the resistance as desperate and prolonged. Burnes's party was 1 havildar, 1 naick, and 12 sepoy; and next door, but without communication, were 30 sepoy over the pay-office of the Shah's Treasury. They are said to have been first overpowered to obtain the treasure.”

he admitted his ignorance on points where he was uninformed, and the alacrity and versatility with which he addressed himself to the task of obtaining knowledge. His aptitude for acquiring the native languages, so essential to the usefulness and advancement of a public man, and the zeal and success with which he cultivated them first brought him into notice and early procured for him the appointments already referred to. Within less than three years of this he obtained the situation of Persian interpreter to the force destined for the invasion of Sindh. At this time he had barely completed his twentieth year; he was without interest or patronage, and owed his advancement to his merits alone. The same qualities which procured for him notice at first, soon afterwards found him patrons; and under the Government of Mr Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, and the command of Sir Thomas Bradford, during which Burnes's career began, it was something for a youth of twenty-one to have done that which caused Government to stretch out its hand to help him. But the acquisition of languages was not with Burnes viewed merely as the means of procuring credit or purchasing promotion; his proficiency in the native tongues exhibits but simply a phase of that versatility and activity of mind which addressed itself successfully, because it did so with enthusiasm, to the objects which presented the nearest and fittest subject for its exercise. In India, the first and most essential of these is the acquirement of the languages of the country; viewed by such men as Burnes as important only as the media of thought and instruments of investigation. Master of this first, with the means now in his hands, he was ready to proceed with the task for which these were essential.

His early appointment to serve in Cutch may in some respects have been fortunate for him. His intercourse with one so active-minded and vigorous as the Resident, Captain (now Sir Henry) Pottinger, himself a traveller of ripe success and experience, may have tended to stamp his mind with a love of travel and geographical research, and shewn him that in no path of investigation could his interests in the service in India find a better assurance of advancement. A Cadet who joins an Infantry Regiment at the age of 16, will not in general be found to have directed much attention to the scholarly accomplishments of his profession, but the enthusiasm with which Burnes devoted himself to the study of Mill's History, and other works on the affairs of India, from the time he received his appointment, astonished his companions and provoked their raillery. His knowledge of engineering, and of the best modes of making geographical surveys, were afterwards acquired under the tuition of a distinguished member of a most distinguished

corps—Captain C. W. Grant of the Bombay Engineers, then engaged in conducting a geological survey of Cutch. The alacrity with which Burnes applied himself to this new branch of study, the modesty with which he admitted, and anxiety and success with which he remedied, the deficiencies of his knowledge, alike surprised and delighted Captain Grant. The teacher was then accumulating the materials afterwards put together in an admirable paper on the Geology of Cutch, read before the Geological Society of London in 1837; and the pupil supplied the map which illustrated the survey when published in their transactions in 1839. Nor may it here be unaptly remarked how completely the clear judgment, energy, and decision of character of Sir Alexander Burnes won the confidence and esteem of all the most eminent Military Officers with whom, during his career in India, he was associated. Sir David Leighton, Sir Thomas Bradford, Sir John Malcolm, Lord William Bentinck, the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Henry Fane, and Lord Keane—admired and appreciated qualities in him which had rendered themselves among the most distinguished of their noble profession. The celerity with which he prepared himself for his exertions in the cause of geographical science is one of the most conspicuous characteristics of his earlier career. Of the various commercial reports drawn up by him, and laid from time to time before the Bombay Government, it was remarked by the merchants who examined them that they were written as if by one who had been a trader, and nothing but a trader from his youth. His controversy with the Missionary Wolfe indicated a knowledge of theology, and dexterity in polemics not frequently found amongst military men.

To these high qualities for the attainment of distinction he added a deep-seated and indomitable ambition which no difficulties could damp or subdue. He had determined on achieving greatness, and he appeared to have had the means within his reach when it pleased Providence to cut short his earthly career. He was judicious and eminently fortunate in his selection of coadjutors, and had the happy faculty of attaching those who had laboured along with him most fervently to his person. He was simple in his manners, and for the most part sprightly and playful in his conversation, with alternating fits of absence and abstraction. His friendships were warm, enduring, and sincere. Not easily soured by disappointment, he submitted with the cheerful alacrity of a well-conditioned mind to the annoyances which came in his way. He was one of the kindest of brothers and most dutiful and affectionate of sons. Had he not been cut off in the flower of his age, at the very time when he had reason to believe that his deferred hopes of enjoying the highest position in

Affghanistan were about to be realized, he might have looked forward to the attainment of honours such as those conferred on a Malcolm and an Elphinstone, with whose names his own had been so often associated, and in whose estimation he so early held a distinguished place. Sir Alexander Burnes was a Companion of the Bath, and was indebted for this and for his other honours to the home authorities.

On the great events in Affghanistan with which Sir Alexander Burnes's character has been, and will ever be, so much identified, we may confidently state his opinions to have been as follows. We give them without hesitation; as, in addition to their being clearly sketched out in his *Travels to Bokhara* (see particularly Chapters 1st, 2d, and 3d of Book Second), we have reason to know that they, and much more, can be proved by more recent documents also in existence. Our readers will wonder at their prophetic truth, while at the same time they may estimate the vast amount of treasure that might have been saved, and the bloodshed, misery, and National disgrace that might have been spared by their adoption:—

1st, That the influence of the Suddozye tribe, to which Shah Shoojah belonged, was hopeless in Affghanistan; that the popularity of the Shah, as set forth in the ever memorable declaration of October 1838, "to be proved by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities," was a delusion; "that he had no head to effect anything;" that his hereditary claims were of no account amongst the Affghans; and if of any value elsewhere, were inferior to those of Kamran.

2d, That the Barukzye tribe, of which Dost Mahomed Khan was the chief, was the most powerful in Affghanistan, and generally prepared to support him in authority.

3d, That Dost Mahomed's expectations from the British Government were moderate and reasonable; he only requiring us to warn off Persia from her meditated attack on Herat, with the necessary consequence of alarm and threat on Candahar; and to assist him in some manner beyond mere general expressions of friendship, by our good offices with the Sikhs to restore Peshawur, which had been an integral portion of the Affghan monarchy. The Dost even consented to pay tribute, and render feudal submission to Runjeet Singh for its possession, and this too at a time when he had but recently defeated the Sikhs in one of the greatest battles of modern times; or he would have awaited Runjeet's death before the cession should take place; arrangements in which Sir Alexander Burnes saw no difficulty.

4th, That as Dost Mahomed's was the only authority which could make itself respected in Affghanistan, the overtures of that chief, who implored our friendship, should have been accepted, with the view of detaching him from the Russian connection into which, through our apathy and the management of the Russian Agent, he was finally compelled reluctantly to abandon himself.

5th, That the mismanagement of the Affghan dominions since the restoration of Shah Shoojah was the cause of the repeated outbreaks and increasing disaffection ; that our support alone enabled him to exercise oppression ; that his unpopularity was greatly increased by the maintaining large bodies of undisciplined and mutinous soldiers, especially foreigners, " to run before the king and keep his subjects at a distance with the but-ends of their muskets !" and of Sikhs, in the costume of their country, as his body guard in a Mahomedan capital, where " their presence was odious to the people and to the last degree injurious." That Shah Shoojah was the mere minion of a base and incompetent Wuzeer, and of four or five favourites who had accompanied him from Loodianah, who were entirely engaged in filling their own purses, and whose conduct alienated from him his original chief supporters (from their hatred of Dost Mahomed) the Kohistanees, by levying unusual duties, demanding taxes which had been pronounced obsolete, and shameful exactions.

It may create surprise amongst those unacquainted with the system of our Indian Government that Sir Alexander Burnes should have continued to serve, when a policy so decidedly opposed to the principles upheld by himself should have been adopted ; but it became his duty to his country to support that policy—" not because it was best, but because it was best under the circumstances which a series of blunders had produced." He had indeed offered to withdraw, but was entreated to remain—he remained at his post—and perished.

Supplementary to the MEMOIR the following appeared in the Bombay Times of the 27th August 1842 :—

In truth there is no inconsistency in any portion of Sir Alexander Burnes's public career. He has himself, in a letter dated the 6th November 1839 (which has been already published), made the following statement :—" I did advocate the setting up of Shah Shoojah, and lent all my aid, name, and knowledge to do it ; but when was this?—when my advice had been rejected and the Government were fairly stranded.

. . . I entered upon the support of his (Lord Auckland's) policy not as what was best, but what was best under the circumstances which a series of blunders had produced."

In proof that this was precisely the case we may refer to his public despatches. In that dated the 26th January 1838, there is the following appeal to the Government :—"Under such circumstances it might be urged that all interference had better be avoided, but this, as it appears to me, would be, under the existing state of affairs, a very doubtful line of policy unless it is intended to put forth the ex-king at Loodianah ; secure through him a footing in these countries ; and sweep the present rulers from their authority, which has happily never been contemplated. Besides the very questionable nature of such a proceeding it would not gain the objects of Government, for we should then be unable to balance one chiefship against another ; and though we might be sure of him whom we advanced to the throne of his fathers, we may experience in his successor all the evils of a powerful Mahomedan neighbour. With the Barukzye family in the three eastern divisions of Affghanistan, we have to deal as it were with but one house, and we have the certainty of their good-will and services for these good offices, which will keep them stable as they are, and prevent them injuring each other. In time, when one chief found he could not destroy another, the family differences will be allayed, and we shall thus force into one mass materials which are less incoherent than they appear, and have all that is wished on this important frontier of our Indian empire."¹

In pursuance of this line of policy, Sir Alexander Burnes took on himself the responsibility which he describes in the following extract of a letter dated Cabool, June 9, 1838 :—"The Chiefs of Candahar had gone over to Persia. I have detached them, and offered them British protection and cash if they would recede, and if Persia attacked them. I have no authority to do so ; but am I to stand by and see us ruined at Candahar when the Government tell me an attack on Herat would be most unpalatable ? Herat has been besieged fifty days ; and if the Russians move on Candahar I am off there with the Ameer and his forces, and mean to pay the piper myself. We have good stuff—46 guns, and stout Affghans as brave as irregular troops need be. I am on stirring ground, and I am glad to say I am up to it in health and all that, and never was more braced in my life."

It is now no secret that the Governor-General expressed in the strongest terms his disapprobation of the proceeding ; and that, from Dost Mahomed's having suspected that he did so, Burnes's position in Cabool became exceedingly perplexing. Burnes to the last, how-

¹ This is suppressed in the Blue Book.

ever, maintained that the course he had adopted, which involved an honest and virtual support of the Barukzyes, was the best ; and that, had it been approved of, none of the evils which followed would have ensued. Notwithstanding the marked disapprobation of the Government of India, Sir Alexander Burnes received his Knighthood and Lieutenant-Colonelcy a few months after ; and Lord Auckland, when congratulating him on these honours in November 1838, was obliged at the same time to confess that opinions at home, for which he had the highest respect, were in Burnes's favour as to the Candahar proceedings. Again we find Sir Alexander Burnes urging precisely the same line of policy in his despatch dated 24th March 1838, reporting the termination of his communications with the Ameer (vide Blue Book, No. V, p. 37) :—" If, on the other hand, we succeed in uniting the whole of the Barukzye family, which I believe quite practicable, we shall raise up in this country, instead of weak and divided States accessible to every intrigue alike injurious to themselves and us, a barrier which will prevent future causes of vexation, and advance commercial and political ends."

All this, however, did not suit the objects of Lord Auckland and his advisers, and the result is well described in Burnes's private letter dated Peshawur, 6th May 1838.¹ Betwixt the date of Burnes's quitting Cabool on the 25th April 1838, under the circumstances there described, and the 23d May, when Mr M'Naghten wrote to him to request that he would report how Dost Mahomed was to be counteracted, the Simla Cabinet appear to have finally revealed their determination on the dethronement of the Dost ; and it will be remarked from a perusal of Sir Alexander Burnes's reply² that, consistent to the last, although he obeyed the orders of Government he still entreated the Governor-General, in terms as strong as a person in his position could employ, to re-consider why we should not act with Dost Mahomed instead of against him.

* * * * *

Burnes had put the ball at the foot of Lord Auckland ; he had proved the intrigues of foreign powers in Affghanistan ; and he had pointed out that they could be effectually counteracted by a cordial support of Dost Mahomed, whose ability, sincerity, and good faith, as well as his attachment to the British nation, he personally vouched for. But Burnes as yet only knew the Simla Cabinet at a distance ; nor, though skilled as he was in Oriental diplomacy, had the conviction yet flashed upon him that the clog which embarrassed his operations lay at the Himalayas, not at Cabool ; and that amongst his

¹ See Extract of that date in the correspondence which follows.

² See Extract dated June 2, 1838.

own countrymen there existed men to whom the mightiest and dearest interests of the Anglo-Indian Empire were but as dross when compared with the advancement of their own personal objects ! The Government continued to send despatches which conveyed no definite meaning either to their own agent or to the Ameer. The latter pressed to know what was meant by our good offices, in so far as protection from the West was concerned ; but Burnes had not been able accurately to discover what the intentions of the Governor-General were ; and at length the noble-minded Dost, driven to desperation, hopeless of support from us, and indignant at the jesuitism and mockery which had been practised on him, reluctantly threw himself into the arms of Persia, open to receive him, and gave vent to his exasperated feelings to Burnes in the following strain :¹—“ He stated that he had been viewed by our Government as no one ; that his friendship was worth little ; that he was told to consider himself fortunate at our preventing the Sikhs coming to Cabool, of which he had no fear ; that he had applied to us for a cure in affairs at Peshawur, but our remedy was beyond his comprehension ; and that though he felt honoured and grateful for the Governor-General’s sending a mission to him, he had now lost every description of hope from us ; that he saw little or no probable benefit to the Affghans as a people, and less to himself,” &c. Again, he continued, “ I do not see what you are aiming at—I am either kept in the dark or misled ; never was there such excitement in this land ; the Persians are before Herat, openly aided by Russia ; that power has sent an agent here, and your Government have deputed you ; I wish no countenance but that of the English, and you refuse all pledges and promises, and mean, I presume, as you are people of your word, to do nothing for me. I am bound in duty to say as I feel, or I would be deceiving myself and you.” We cannot but sympathise with Burnes when we find that all he could urge in reply to this natural outburst was by telling the Dost that he might shape his course as he thought best, and by referring him to Sinde as an instance of the value of a British connection !!!

In communicating this to Lord Auckland, Burnes impressed upon him that the point on which the Ameer constantly dwelt was his belief that he could perform good and useful service under the protection of the British Government, and that under its guidance he could have checked the attack on Herat by Persia. Burnes also reiterated his own conviction that if we succeeded in healing family differences amongst the Barukzyes, and in ridding the eastern Chiefships of Affghanistan from a fear of the Sikhs, (what prevented us ?) we

¹ Despatch dated 24th March, 1838. Vide Blue Book.

should strengthen the country so that it might defend itself against Persia, if properly guided and held to its own interests. But it was a necessary portion of the crooked policy of Calcutta to assume, contrary to the recorded opinions of the Government agent at Cabool, and notwithstanding that the Russian emissary had coveted his alliance, that Dost Mahomed Khan was a man of far inferior stamp and consideration from that represented by Burnes; to affect distrust of him, and to heap contumely and exasperation upon him; and our readers will not have failed to remark that even afterwards, in the Parliamentary Blue Book, expressions which could elevate the Dost in public estimation had been carefully erased,—a systematic and degrading meanness, for which ingenuity must be puzzled to find an apology.

At the time Dost Mahomed was expressing the indignant sentiments we have above recorded, Burnes had instructions to require him to address a conciliatory letter to Runjeet Singh, suing for the continuance of peace. But this was too much in return for nothing on our part. "What," said the gallant Dost, "I have for years past been stirring up the Mahomedan world to war with the Sikhs: I shall be glad to see peace restored, but it would entail on me everlasting disgrace to sue for it." In explaining to the Government the failure of this proposal, Burnes honestly recorded his own opinion that a system of non-intercourse was by far the best for keeping matters right between the Sikhs and the Affghans, as their religious hatred was unbounded. He also intimated that unless some allowances were made for the Ameer he doubted the advantage of further intercourse with him; and pursuing the same subject after his departure from Cabool on the 26th April 1838 (Dost Mahomed having in the meantime given proofs of his new alliance), he added, "that if we could not act with the Ameer we must now counteract him; and that the proceedings of Persia and Russia required to be met with a prompt, active, and decided counteraction."

The moment had thus arrived when the Simla Cabinet could develop that scheme of stupendous crime and unprecedented folly which no doubt had long been planned by some of its members, and the results of which in calamities, involving alike innocent and guilty, it has been our fate to witness.

To reject Dost Mahomed's advances had been folly—the next step was crime. Lord Auckland declared that the Ameer no longer reigned, with as much justice as we should now proclaim that Leopold of Belgium was deposed. The appointment of a successor followed; in this there was both crime and folly, inasmuch as the man chosen, from his odious vices, his bloated pride, and his notorious

imbecility, had been universally "quoted and signed" throughout the Mahomedan world as a *kum-bukht* or *doomed* being,—a circumstance which it was folly for Asiatic politicians to forget. Then succeeded another folly, the appointment of one of the clique—Mr William Hay M'Naghten, a man of no practical experience, a new translator of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, and a gentleman who, having for years issued orders in the name of the Governor-General from under a punka at Calcutta, had dreamed himself into the delusion that he had but to sign his name to carry all before him—to be the guiding star of the new puppet; thus superadding inflation to inflation, folly on folly, and crime on crime. Burnes was referred to as to how the notable exploit was to be achieved, and, much to the disappointment of the clique, he suggested that Shoojah should be sent forward with an agent (no doubt he pointed at Captain Wade, who had been a prominent adherent of the ex-king), with two or three lacs of rupees, to win his own throne. He approved of an escort of one or two native regiments accompanying the agent, as a demonstration by our Government in favour of the Shah; and he did not doubt his success, for the reason stated in his despatch of the 26th April 1838, that the Soonee population of Cabool were horror-struck at the Ameer's joining the Persians, the enemies of their creed; and because he himself was evidently impressed with the belief, which most of us entertained, that the "iqbal," or transcendent destiny of the British nation, would ensure prosperity to any enterprise it favoured in Asia.

But this did not suit the aspiring spirit of Mr William Hay Mac-Naghten; he must have an army, and all the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war" to swell his triumph and gild the rottenness of his protégé. Folly and crime combined to indulge the favourite, and also on this occasion to exclude Sir Henry Fane and Sir Alexander Burnes. A British army crossed the Indus, and passed to a point 500 miles from British resources, and where, without the assured and continued good-will of the people, certain destruction awaited it. All things considered, this seemed the lowest deep of crime and folly; but no—a lower deep remained—the Shah was permitted to turn our troops and power to purposes of oppression and tyranny before unheard of! The envoy still pronounced him the best and most clement of sovereigns. The most earnest appeals on the state of affairs were made by Burnes to Lord Auckland, and utterly disregarded. A bedridden commander, too unwell to do duty at Meerut, was considered by the Governor-General quite sufficient for the Army of Cabool; and the army itself was stinted of its ammunition and supplies. Need we wonder at the fearful retribution that took place?

It is well known that Sir Alexander Burnes has placed on record that if Lord Auckland had listened to reason he might have converted Dost Mahomed into a valuable ally ; even if he had not done so, and listened to reason, that he need not have deluged Affghanistan with British troops and money (we may add blood), but have put up Shoojah through an agent or two, and kept him on his good behaviour to his people. Even after the army had ascended the Bolan Pass we find him advocating these opinions ; and we cannot bring our remarks to a close better than by extracting the following portion of his letter from Kelat, dated the 30th March 1839, in which he with much ingenuity and tact urges the unpalatable subject on Lord Auckland and Mr M'Naghten :—"The Khan (Meerab Khan of Kelat,) with a good deal of earnestness enlarged upon the undertaking the British had embarked in ; declared it to be one of vast magnitude and difficult accomplishment ; that instead of relying on the Affghan nation our Government had cast them aside, and inundated the country with foreign troops ; that if it was an end to establish ourselves in Affghanistan and give Shah Shoojah the nominal sovereignty, we were pursuing an erroneous course ; that all the Affghans were discontented with the Shah, and all Mahomedans excited and alarmed at what was passing ; that day by day men returned discontented, and we might find ourselves awkwardly situated if we did not point out to Shah Shoojah his errors, if the fault originated with him, and alter them if they sprung from ourselves ; that the Chief of Cabool was a man of ability and resource, and though we could easily put him down through Shah Shoojah even in our present mode of procedure, we could never win over the Affghan nation by it. . . . I plainly told him, however, that if we had made errors we had yet time to rectify them ; that if he spoke as a real friend about the mode of using the Affghans differently from what had been the usage, I thanked him ; and I candidly admitted that I agreed his advice was sound and good !"

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After the MEMOIR was published, the following remarkable State document,<sup>1</sup> and extracts from Sir Alexander Burnes's private correspondence appeared in the Indian periodicals confirmatory of the statements contained in it :—

<sup>1</sup> It appeared with various extracts from his public despatches which had been suppressed in the Blue Book, and which formed more than once the subject of Parliamentary discussion afterwards.

LETTER FROM SIR ALEXANDER BURNES TO SIR WILLIAM HAY M'NAGHTEN  
ON CABOOL AFFAIRS.<sup>1</sup>

“ Cabool, 7th August 1840.—My Dear M'Naghten.—The calamitous intelligence which we have just received of the recapture of Kelat, leads me to give additional reflection to the general affairs of this country, and convinces me that I am no longer justified in withholding from you those views which occur to me regarding it, and the *very precarious tenure by which we would seem to hold it*. You are aware that in February last I drew up a paper of ‘ Observations on the restored Government of the Shah,’ and the general views laid down on that occasion, with some trifling exceptions, met with your entire concurrence ; the paper in question was transmitted to Government, but I have never heard that it was received, though it seems to contain much of the information which Government are now seeking ; I allude to this paper because I do not mean to repeat on this occasion the sentiments therein set forth, but at the same time, to add, that I see no reason to change those sentiments ; and every day we have stronger proof that if they be not adhered to we shall make nothing of Affghanistan as a barrier, unless indeed, which God forbid, we throw aside the mask and resolve on converting it into a British province.

“ It has been my very good fortune for the last eighteen months to have been favoured by you with a large share of your confidence ; on every occasion, when you have deemed my opinion or judgment worthy of being called for, I have conscientiously given it ; on all occasions, where my own views differed from your own, I have made

<sup>1</sup> This letter was one of three earnest appeals made by Sir Alexander Burnes in the course of the fifteen months prior to the Cabool outbreak, to the envoy ; but that unfortunate gentleman in forwarding them to Lord Auckland represented them as gloomy and exaggerated. Speaking of the wretched Shah Shoojah, in reference to Sir Alexander Burnes's remarks upon him in the above, he says in his despatch to Government of the 10th August 1840, “ Though stern in the execution of justice (as was exemplified only the other day in the case of the murderer in whose pardon so much influence was exerted), yet His Majesty is merciful and kind-hearted in the extreme ; and if the personal qualities of a monarch could ensure popularity, Shah Shoojah could not fail to obtain it. My longer experience of His Majesty's character more thoroughly convinces me of the truth of what I have already asserted that there is not an abler or a better man than himself in all his dominions.” The subjoined extract from a private journal kept by Sir Alexander Burnes up to the day before his murder, and preserved by Mohun Lal, will show how completely the opinions of Sir William M'Naghten were shortly afterwards changed :—“ Cabool, 1st September 1841.— . . . An expression from M'Naghten to-day, that ‘ the Shah Shoojah was an old woman, not fit to rule his people, with divers other condemnations.’ Aye, see my Travels so far back as 1831.”

it a point to give way. I have gone even much farther, I have resolutely resisted being drawn into any kind of correspondence regarding this country with my official superiors, though I have been repeatedly invited even by the highest authority of the State to do so; I should have ill returned your confidence had I acted otherwise, and most assuredly I should have largely added to the embarrassments both of yourself and Government by setting forth opinions on things different from your own, who are the *responsible agent* of Government. Yet though I have not even a *local habitation or a name*<sup>1</sup> in this country, I find myself so mixed up with it both in the public mind and in the despatches of Government, together with my being in such constant communication with you, that it seems due to myself I should to you at least clearly and candidly state the opinions which I hold, opinions not lightly formed, but based on much personal intercourse with people of all ranks, and vitally affecting the sacred interests of our country in Affghanistan.

“It would be an easy task for me to sit down and do only what Government or yourself directed, until the time should come when the charge of this country fell to myself; but as in youth the mind is formed, so ought it to be in the few first years of our connection here that the foundation of the fabric should be laid, and a *set*, as it were, given to our views and policy, and a system be established, not of expediency from day to day, but of fixity and regularity which may lead to consistency and order. Let me here then, without farther comment, place before you the facts of the past year in every quarter of Affghanistan, and if they be as fairly as they are fearlessly stated, they will, I am sure, arrest your most serious consideration, and lead you to join with me in the conclusion that much reformation is required somewhere; and that if His Majesty has not the power to remedy what is passing it remains for us to guide him through the dangers of the way.

“In the new Affghan province of Shawl, which was annexed to the Shah’s dominions about a year ago, we have just witnessed scenes of a nature most destructive to our name. The town of Shawl has been for days surrounded by armed men, and not only the British agent and his troops abandoned their dwellings and camp, but deemed it prudent even to retreat to a fort, where they remained with the insurgents within gunshot of them, till the whole resources of the valley were wasted, and it pleased them to depart. On the approach of these men to a British post they cut to pieces a British detach-

<sup>1</sup> The embarrassing and anomalous position of Sir Alexander Burnes at Cabool, as well as the state of affairs there, will be understood from the extracts from some of his private letters which follow.

ment at Mustoong ; on their withdrawal they fled not before our troops, but marched to the capital of the country, Kelat, of which they have possessed themselves, thus wresting from us for the present one of the proudest laurels that encircles our name and honour. The inhabitants of Shawl, who had long suffered under the grinding yoke of the ex-chief of Kelat, had hoped for protection from the strong arm of our Government ; their return is plunder and devastation. The party of Shah Nawaz Khan at Kelat had increased in number and strength in the same hope, and it has proved equally futile. That we are bound to make good the losses of these poor people is evident, that we shall have promptly to retrieve our honour is equally apparent ; but the melancholy truth that presents itself is, that our agents were rejoicing in the peace and tranquillity around them when an organized rebellion, which has ended in revolution, was passing before them. *The moral ought not to be lost.*

“ In April 1839, when called upon by you to state officially what should be done to chastise the treachery of the Chief of Kelat, I recommended, in common with yourself and Lord Keane, his deposition, but I as plainly stated in my letter of the 10th of that month, that ‘ while our troops continued at Shawl this may be an unnecessary arrangement (to raise National troops), but both at Mustoong and Cutchee very energetic measures will be required to keep these countries, and happily their resources are such that they will amply repay the labour and expense.’ Was this vigour displayed by His Majesty’s Government on the spot, or by our own authorities ? One of His Majesty’s governors has joined the insurgents, and the political agent was taken by surprise on an occasion which the slightest foresight might have anticipated. What right have we to expect that any chief placed in power by us shall flourish unless his government is better than that which we have overthrown ? Did Shah Nawaz organize or muster even his troops ? did we point out to him the necessity for payment, or the means of making them superior to his adversaries ? we advanced him a lac of rupees, and allowed him to continue inert at Kelat while we withdrew all our troops. Kelat is the capital of Beloochistan, a poor but vast country, stretching from the mountains in sight of the Indus to the confines of Persia. Through this wide tract our discomfiture affects our reputation ; the only solace in it will be found in *our* chief, and not in our troops being vanquished.

“ Adjoining Kelat to the east we have experienced two serious disasters in the province of Cutch Gundava, but though it belongs to the King of Cabool, His Majesty’s control over it has as yet been nominal, and it is not my object to dwell on anything beyond the

limits of Affghanistan. As a link in our policy, however, the calamity of two detachments being destroyed must not be overlooked, the effect of it may have roused into action the insurgents at Kelat, it certainly gives courage to barbarous tribes whom it is difficult to subdue by force of arms, and who, by the fixing of one *large detachment* among them *instead of many small ones*, might have been taught to fear our power, and by that wholesome fear been even, by kindness and conciliation, led to serve as local troops, instead of plundering and attacking us.

“Next to Kelat on the west we have His Majesty’s province of Candahar. The determination on the part of the political agent stationed there to pursue his own policy in preference to that marked out for him by his Government has led you to remove him from his situation, but the effects of that policy are not so readily remedied ; any one conversant with Affghan affairs knows the mercurial disposition of its people, particularly of the Dooranees or Lords of the soil, who predominate about Candahar ; these men declare that they have been materially injured by our approach, and that even the tyrannical regime to which we succeeded, and tyrannical it was in the highest degree, extended to them *more courtesy* than Shah Shoojah’s Government. Let not His Majesty be blamed farther than he deserves ; at Candahar he has lightened the assessment by exacting but one cavalry soldier for every two ploughs instead of one ; but if we blame our political officer, let it be said that His Majesty named a prince who, from his years, was incompetent to the task, and a governor who, from notorious habits of oppression, ought never to have been appointed ; but my object is to shew the future in the past. What is the result of this policy at Candahar ? Major Leech himself reports the fear of an outbreak if things go wrong at Kelat ; what has happened there is now known. Major Rawlinson states the tone of the people to be far from satisfactory, and indeed the only consolation would appear to be found in the presence of Major Rawlinson himself at a place of such high importance, and if that officer be joined, as I know is your wish, by one so amiable, so conciliating, and so willing as His Majesty’s eldest son the Prince Timour, it is to be hoped that our troops *will keep down rebellion* till a better system of government shall have been established, and the chiefs and people see plainly the vast difference between their past and present rulers.

From Candahar we pass on to Herat, and here our affairs have happily arrived at a crisis ; happily I say, because we have seen our errors, and are not liable, I should hope, by perseverance in them, to farther waste our resources or endanger our position by reposing

confidence which *has been from first to last misplaced*. Our connection with Herat began under difficulties, but, as I most respectfully stated in my letter of the 30th December 1838 from Shikarpore, when Colonel Stoddart was driven from Herat we had then an opportunity of remedying the evil of proclaiming two kings in Affghanistan. This advice was not adopted. When the army reached Candahar you were pleased, under the sanction of the Governor-General, to offer to me the embassy to Herat but I could not bring myself to proceed to that State and act in opposition to all preconceived views, for I should thereby have been doing injustice equally to my masters and myself. With that invariable kindness which I have received from you I was spared this journey, and accompanied you to Cabool. In my paper of observations of February last, when speaking of Herat, I ventured to state what security have we at present that we are not repairing Herat *against* our own interests, setting a fort to rights which may be either sold or given into other hands, for it cannot be denied that our position there is precarious in the highest degree; and again in the same paper I add, 'towards Herat I should like much to see our present policy successful, but I *fear that* it must ultimately lead to great embarrassment.' Such were my sentiments as they appear on record up to February last.

"In August, as I now write, what is the test of their truth, the stamp of their justice? Our envoy at Herat began under a firm conviction that he had both the power and the means to work out our ends, and he applied himself diligently to the task; a treaty was made—the Governments became one. With a spirit worthy of a better cause Britain maintained her word inviolate under the faithless duplicity of her new ally; what is the result? We have wasted upwards of L.200,000 sterling, and the last act of Yar Mahomed Khan has been a shameless imposition on our credulity, the recession from an attack on Ghorian, after he had received upwards of two lacs of rupees to embark on an expedition against it. But base as was such conduct, that which preceded proved it must follow. Bound by treaty to correspond with no neighbouring power, this bold man is detected transmitting letters to the Persian Governor of Khorassan; the letters are produced, the offence is forgiven. He next addresses Russia; with General Duhamel's reply before us, he is forgiven. He next stirs up the Khan of Khiva to discredit our agents, and he is forgiven. He addresses Persia, and with the letters he sends before us, we yet allow our agent to continue at his court. As endurance beyond a certain extent damages the reputation in private life, so does magnanimity when carried to excess degenerate into a quality less noble, and it is deeply to be feared that our conduct at Herat

has been much misconstrued. Rely upon it that if Russia had succeeded in her last expedition to Khiva, it would have been annexed to her empire in a year, and if she succeeds in that which she is now planning, Herat will be received into her alliance, and prove to us a wound more dangerous than all she has attempted to inflict on this country by her intrigues, or in Persia by her arms. It would have been well if the Government of India had received your earnest advice in October 1839 to rectify the error of our Herat policy, but since it was then deemed prudent to further temporize, it can no longer be concealed from Government that we are not only endangering our position here by our supineness towards Herat, but that every rupee we give to Yar Mahomed is as ammunition supplied to the enemy. The Vizier there has pretended to doubt our good faith, and his fears have been yielded to till this crisis has arisen. Herat added to Shah Shoojah's government would extend His Majesty's reputation and influence, and with it ours, while it would supplant—by a frontier position of high value—intrigue, and afford honourable employment for many of His Majesty's soldiers and subjects.

“From Herat and Candahar we fall back upon the Ghilzie country, which fills up the space between the latter city and Cabool. This tract has lately been the scene of insurrection. The Government of Lahore, bound by a treaty to befriend Shah Shoojah, received fugitives from his country; besides an asylum it granted them support, and in due time they sallied forth to do what in them lay to subvert His Majesty's Government, in which they signally failed. To me it appears quite incompatible with the spirit or letter of our treaty that the Sikhs ever permitted a Ghilzie to continue in or enter their dominions. We had made large sacrifices to conciliate the Lahore Durbar. We were prepared for opposition and resistance in other quarters, but here where we had a right to expect support, the elements of disturbance were harboured; we had therefore not even negative support,—we had in fact opposition. This is a subject, however, on which you are fully alive to our danger, and I need not say more on it. The effect of the rise, however, is felt in several districts of this country, as Zoormut, Kuttamaz, &c., and the revenues of these will fail, or be partially collected in consequence; but this is a trifling evil compared with the increase of bad feeling to *which such insurrections give rise, and which the king can ill afford in the present state of feeling throughout his kingdom.*

“From the Ghilzie country we pass to Bameean, on the north-west frontier of the Shah's dominions, and here, after a good deal of anxiety, we seem really to have effected our purposes more satisfactorily than in other parts. The family of Dost Mahomed Khan

has thrown itself upon us. The chief himself must follow it ; the rulers of Khoondooz and Khoooloom see their interest in our alliance. All this, viewed with reference to Trans-Oxus politics and Russian designs, is fortunate, and every possible advantage should be taken of it to further strengthen the Shah's power in that important quarter. The arrangements in progress bid fair to secure these ends, but the game is one of great delicacy.

“ Between Bameean and Cabool lie the districts of Koh-i-Damun and Kohistan. There are no parts in the kingdom of Cabool where the feeling towards the present regime is more hostile than here. It was in these districts that Dost Mahomed ruled with a rod of iron. He put to death the most of the chiefs ; he quadrupled the revenues drawn from them ; in fact he was helpless, he could not have held Cabool a week had he followed any other policy, for the *Kohistanees command Cabool and could 'Chappao' the city at any time if united.* To sow dissension amongst them was Dost Mahomed's policy, and in this he completely succeeded : it is the only district in the country where the name of the late ruler is execrated. One would have supposed that *here at least* His Majesty's Government would have found favour, and the more so, as the Kohistanees flocked in great numbers to welcome His Majesty on his entrance into Cabool last year, and exhibited the strongest feelings of loyalty and devotion. I visited, in May last, this country, the change that had followed was fearful ; I found governors levying duties of an unusual nature ; taxes demanded which His Majesty had declared to be obsolete, and a great proportion of the population of the districts of Shukendurra had actually quitted their homes and fled to the hills, from which I drew them by assurances that I would inform the king. I did represent the facts to His Majesty. The Minister Moolah Shikoor pronounced the complaints groundless ; I represented to the king that they were not groundless. The minister imprisoned the complainants, and after much delay meted out half justice, with which the people went to their homes blessing His Majesty. In three weeks they returned to state that the king's officers, in hopes of the affair having been forgotten, had exacted what His Majesty had excused, and again had the process to be gone through. At this time the feeling in the Kohistan *is feverish in the extreme*, many of the more distant parts of it, as Tugao and Nijrow, pay nothing to His Majesty's treasury, and *an insurrection may break out at a moment's warning* in that very part of His Majesty's dominions where circumstances gave him a certainty of the most trusty subjects, and where a hatred of Dost Mahomed assured him of faithful adherents, famed too, above all the tribes in Affghanistan, for their courage and their valour.



“ Without speaking of the capital till I return to describe the management of it and its neighbourhood, I pass to Jellalabad and the eastern district of the kingdom. The affair of Pushoot and the obstinacy of the ejected chief put us to considerable expense, and though nothing could be more just than our grounds for action, the unfortunate results at the outset, and the great subsequent expenditure of money in hunting down Hashem, &c., do not present satisfactory features. We came to this country to *tranquillize, not to subdue*; we handed it over to the Shah Shoojah inhabited by *subjects and not by enemies*. Adjoining the Pushoot country we have Bajour, and no one can deem for a moment affairs there satisfactory, or other indeed than the very reverse. Whatever Government may think of the case, the people in Affghanistan lay blame on the weakness of the Shah's government for the exile of the chief, and the Shah himself takes that blame.

“ In Saadut Khan's country the Momunds are not well affected. I never deemed it just to exclude this chief, but it is useless to recur to the past; it is sufficient to say that without powerful assistance from us the new Momund chief will not hold his ground.

“ Of Khyber I have only to say that no kind of reliance is to be placed on the engagements that have been made, without hostages are taken, and though it may not be prudent to demand such, it must never be lost sight of that without these we have no security for the peace of the eastern frontier but *in our troops*, and the use of them depends as *well on the season of the year* as on the number which can be spared. Of the pressure from the Sikhs and their tributaries I say nothing. I believe their hearts and their heads to be equally united to oppose order being established in Shah Shoojah's dominions. If our Government feel alarmed at the misconstruction of their acts for taking just retribution from a power which, under the garb of friendship, injures us, the only course open is negotiation. The national honour I admit to be above all price, but the national tranquillity of Affghanistan and of India is also of high value; and if the eternal differences which day by day arise on the Peshawur frontier are not to be adjusted by the ‘*ultima ratio regum*’ the British Government should offer to purchase the Sikh possessions west of the Indus. Considering their revenue, a million of money would be a cheap sum to offer. Herat as a possession is of high value without a doubt, but the consolidation of the empire can never be effected without an alteration of affairs at Peshawur. While in Cabool on my mission to Dost Mahomed Khan, I never failed to dwell upon this point, and at the Shalimar of Lahore on the 17th June 1838, when first consulted by you on the old treaty between

Shah Shoojah and Runjeet Singh, which had become the basis of the restoration, I plainly said you could make nothing of Affghanistan if you overlooked the Peshawur question. Every one indeed who had to do with the treaty of Lahore, or the advice that preceded it, knew that the treaty was only applicable to things as they stood in the Maharajah's life; and if, in acting up to the spirit of that arrangement, we now fear we should damage the public honour, there is no remedy left but to draw on the public purse.

“So much for the state of affairs in the kingdom of Cabool on this day, the anniversary of our entrance into its capital. At court I fear we shall not find matters in a better state; much is said of the king's popularity—this is a subject I feel anxious to grapple with thoroughly. To me it would be very astonishing if any Affghan king who had allied himself to the Sikhs and the English could be popular; *it is not in the nature of things*. His Majesty's successor may hope for a better share of the public favour; but Shah Shoojah must, I fear, get on without it. I would not however dwell much on the abstract question of unpopularity; I would rather enquire into the causes for it, if they exist, or are only imaginary. Bad ministers are in every government solid grounds for unpopularity, *and I doubt if ever a king had a worse set than Shah Shoojah*. His principal adviser is an old servant, by name Moolah Shikore, who has grown grey with His Majesty in exile, where he distributed in some hundred fractional parts the pension which the Shah received from the Company. He is not a man of family, but a Moolah; his faculties are impaired by age and disease; he once incurred His Majesty's displeasure, for which he forfeited his ears, a subject fruitful in witticism to the discontented about court, and little calculated to elevate the representative of Majesty. So completely is this poor man's memory gone that he never recognises a man he has once seen; that the commonest business requires half-a-dozen of notes. In fact, of him it might be said that his whole business is to gather money, and to this one end his remaining faculties are applied. Moolah Shikore passes by the name of Wuzeer or minister, but His Majesty gets offended at his being so called, so we may presume he thinks it possible to get on without any minister. By facts that have come under my own knowledge, I shall depict the Vizier's character, *and all of them can be tested by yourself*. In the last winter his notions of political economy led him to seize all the granaries around Cabool, on which he put his seal, and from which he drew forth the grain, and had it exposed for sale in the bazaar by his own officers, at a price fixed by himself. When spring arrived, he conceived it would please His Majesty to adorn the royal gardens, which have

been long neglected, a measure most laudable; to a people so fond of gardens as the Caboolies, highly popular; but this was to be done *gratis*, and by conscription on all around this district. The poor peasantry were dragged in hundreds from their homes at seed-time, when their lands required their care, and compelled to labour without any reward. Discontent rose to such a height that I sent to the minister and plainly told him that he was disgracing his king and himself, and that I would no longer stand silent, as policy dictated I should on all occasions, unless he at least gave the poor wretches bread; and if he would not do it I would from next day open my own treasury and supply it. After this the workmen got two pice worth of bread per diem, while our engineer officers were paying seven times that in the adjoining garden, where our cantonments were erecting. The next freak of this minister was to reduce the number of butchers' shops in this populous city, and to compel these to sell at his own price, thereby ensuring a monopoly of meat to a few, and injuring many. For days the loudest complaints were uttered, till free trade was at last established. As I write, the shops in which flour is sold are now shut, the minister having turned his views from meat to bread, and it is painful to pass through the bazaar in consequence. *With such an adviser can His Majesty be popular—do he and his minister deserve it?*

“ You have frequently pointed out to the king, in which I have humbly seconded you, the utter worthlessness of such a man as an adviser, and His Majesty has promised more than once a remedy to an evil so pressing. You are aware that he has appointed within this past month a man of family and character to take a share in public matters by the title of Nizam-oo-dowla, his own name being Oosman Khan Suddoozzye. This, however, I regret to say, is a pure fiction, the man exercises no authority in the State. His Majesty has given to him the old revenue accounts to examine, and he is to find out such defalcations as he can, a task imperiously necessary I admit, but one by no means furnishing a remedy to the grievances above enumerated. These grievances relate to Cabool, but the surrounding country equally suffers under others. Those in the Kohistan I have described, those elsewhere are fully as common. Besides Oosman Khan, of whom I am bound to speak with favour, His Majesty tells us there is no man fit for trust; I will only say that he deceives himself; but if unworthy of trust, we shall then suppose the Shah carries on this government himself, not at all! he has surrounded himself with four or five advisers who were with him at Loodianah, who are engaged entirely in filling their purses, and who, from long absence in Hindoostan, are quite unfit for the responsible duty which they are called on to perform. To reward old servants is noble and

magnanimous, but other employments may be found for such than those which taint the ends of justice, and with them His Majesty's reputation.

" I have spoken of the duties assigned to Oosman Khan connected with the revenue, and this brings me to that very important subject, and the system on which His Majesty conducts it, if system it can be called, and *which calls loudly for reform*. The collectors of the revenue are the soldiers; they receive assignments on certain districts for their pay, and they proceed there, living at free quarters on the community till the peasant pays the amount of the assignment, causing thus a more fruitful harvest of dispute than any other human invention could have devised. Distant from the capital, the subject refuses to submit to such oppression, and before the snow falls expeditions are sent forth to levy His Majesty's rights; if the snow does fall, the people defy the officers of the Crown, and escape for the year. By one of these expeditions the system will be explained. Khan Shereen Khan, the head of the Persian faction, was despatched in the fall of the year to the countries of Koorum and Koost, south of Suffaid Koh, he levied His Majesty's dues, *and lived for five months with 1800 men at free quarters in the country*. As he is a good man he did his duty with more mildness than an Affghan, but to continue such a system must clearly alienate all the people of this country from Shah Shoojah and from us, *for the force we give him insures what, if left to himself, he could not otherwise command*. It is therefore incumbent on us by sending religious men, or by demanding hostages to live at the capital, as security, to see that some other revenue arrangements be adopted; by the present we can neither govern on the Affghan system nor on our own; for the former implied that if a subject paid his duties one year he was to be called out to plunder the Punjab or Hindoostan the next.

" After adjusting revenue arrangements, the admitted end of Shah Shoojah's Government is to make his troops fit for service; to raise in fact a national force. The Jan Baz corps are assuredly a step towards this, and a very important one, and these with the Affghan infantry, now being raised, promise well; but it is the object of many to destroy His Majesty's interest in them, and as they are not constantly under the king's eye his attention is bestowed on other things,—his own irregular cavalry, his own guns, his own orderly regiment, his Nujeebs, and his Sikh body-guard. I would not advocate the dismissal of the Affghan horse, because I believe, if paid, they will do good service, but it will be seen that all the really serviceable portion of the army, the Jan Baz and the Affghan infantry, are paid by us or have our security,

and that His Majesty *plays at soldiers* with the other branches, which would be well enough were they not a burden on the finances of the State, (or rather *our State*;) for this country more than others cannot afford to support useless troops, and it is not difficult to shew not only how useless are these troops but *how dangerous they are* in this country. Of the irregular horse I shall not speak; of the household artillery however, you are aware that His Majesty left them in Cabool in the winter without pay; they pledged their swords and clothes, then mutinied, collared their native officer, and were ultimately paid by your orders out of our money left in deposit here. The king has a mountain train and two troops of horse artillery in his service, besides an artillery officer to look after his guns. Of what use are these men? Next come the orderly regiment, a body of Hindoostanees some six or eight hundred strong, *who run before the king and keep his subjects at a distance with the butt end of their muskets*, with little or no discipline, though good looking men and capable of it, and to which His Majesty has rejected all your entreaties to appoint an European officer. The result is to be expected. Six weeks ago they mutinied. You were apprehensive that the regular army would be required, but the orderly regiment had only repaired to Moolah Shikore, His Majesty's minister, blockaded the entrance to his house, and told him, which I repeat on the Shah's own authority, that if he did not pay them they would have his nose, his ears being already gone. The men were paid, His Majesty sought to punish this serious breach of discipline and respect, and had the offenders confined; the men laid down their arms before the king, and only took them up from there on General Cotton's approach, and from whom I heard it. With so many fine promising regiments, regular and irregular, of what use can this orderly regiment be, or what use the Nujeebs? One of His Majesty's regiments of the contingent would with pride discharge the duties of the Palace, and mutiny and disrespect would disappear. But if these sentiments apply to such troops, what is to be said to a body of Sikhs in the costume of their country as the king's guard in this Mahomedan capital? A few evenings ago I was saluted by several of them with the Wagerojee ka Futteh<sup>1</sup> in the very streets of Cabool. I assert without fear of contradiction, that no Sikh (Khulsa) ever durst, in the time of the Affghan monarchy, appear thus in this city; and I further assert that their presence here *is odious to the people, and to the last degree injurious*. These then are the troops kept up by His Majesty from our coffers, for his own treasure cannot defray the charge. Are there not two parties to a bargain, and is

<sup>1</sup> The Sikh war-cry.

not Shah Shoojah bound to attend to our wishes in discharging useless mutinous men, some of whom are offensive to the people, and all of whom add to the enormous expense of our occupation of this country? A few of these men were old servants of the Shah when at Loodianah, but any one who has seen His Majesty's establishment there knows how few these are. To use a homely simile, we by keeping up such people are burning the family candle at both ends, and I cannot but doubt that a demonstration to His Majesty of our inability to support such people would readily rid us of such a nuisance. We all know that panic and mutiny are very infectious among soldiers. If Hindoostanees successfully demand their pay with arms in their hands, what will prevent Affghan horse and foot acting likewise, and where men are so irregularly paid, what so probable; and if it occurs, are we to bayonet and slay His Majesty's subjects because it pleased His Majesty to live beyond his means? Place these facts before any soldier and I shall retract all these opinions if he deems them unsound or unprofessional.

"I will not go farther into particular circumstances, but draw this long letter to a conclusion. I could not place such sentiments before you officially, but hope it will not be distasteful my thus doing it privately, for the subjects treated on are of vast importance not only to you and me individually, but to the Government we serve, and likewise to the Shah himself. It is better I think to meet these boldly than to shut our eyes to them. I cannot expect you to adopt all my opinions on matters which admit of so many shades of difference; but if I have, as I believe, discharged a conscientious duty in laying before you the conclusions at which I have arrived, I shall have gained the ends I had in view. Believe me yours sincerely,

"ALEXANDER BURNES."

"*P.S.* by Sir Alexander Burnes, 22d August.—The above paper was written on the 7th of August, or fifteen days ago; it has been deemed too gloomy. The following events have occurred since, and if the facts enumerated were insufficient they may serve to indicate where the truth lies. Captain Hay beyond Bameean, where all was deemed quiet, was invited to occupy some forts a-head of his position; he accepted the offer; 26 of his 100 men were wounded, and 9 killed, and the party only saved from destruction by Lieutenant Hart leading two companies to the rescue! 2. Captain M'Gregor sent 1500 Affghans against a place north of Jellalabad; they were defeated; lost their gun and 100 men—200 went over to the enemy!! 3. The Shah was going to Kohidamun, thirty miles from his capital, the chiefs objected to it; he is obliged to give up his trip and return his

tents into store!!! 4. Kelat has no sooner fallen than the Beloochees have moved against Shawl again, and troops have gone down from Candahar to the rescue!!!! 5. The Chiefs of Khooloom and Khoondooz have joined in a confederacy against us, and prevented Dost Mahomed coming in!!!! 6. A conspiracy has been discovered by myself, and believed by the king and the envoy, implicating all the first men in Cabool and the surrounding countries in a plan to subvert the country!!!!!! 7. Letters from the Sikhs to Dost Mahomed have been intercepted sending money!!!!!! With seven points of wonder I close the result of twice seven days. "A. B."

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"On the Indus, 5th July 1837.—I am literally overwhelmed with business. I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys, and examine passes of mountains, and likewise certainly to see into affairs to judge of what was to be done hereafter, but the hereafter has already arrived, and I have all but deserted my ledger for treaties and politics; my proceedings up to Shikarpore you are aware of. As I approached Cabool war broke out with the Affghans and Sikhs, and my position became embarrassing; I was even ordered by express to pause, and while hanging on my oars another express still cries—pause, but places a vast latitude in my hands, and 'forward' is my motto; forward to the scene of carnage, where, instead of embarrassing my Government, I feel myself in a situation to do good. It is this latitude throughout life that has made me what I am, if I am anything, and I can hardly say how grateful I feel to Lord Auckland. I have not as yet got the replies to my recommendations on our line of policy in Cabool consequent on a discovered intrigue of Russia, and on the Cabool chief throwing himself in despair on Perso-Russian arms. I have at last something to do, and I hope to do it well."

"Cabool, 30th October 1837.—Here a hundred things are passing of the highest interest. I arrived here on the 24th of last month and have had a very cordial reception. Dost Mahomed Khan has fallen into all our views, and in so doing has either thought for himself or followed my counsel, but for doing the former I give him every credit, and things now stand so that I think we are on the threshold of a negotiation with King Runjeet, the basis of which will be his withdrawal from Peshawur, and a Barukzye receiving it as a tributary of Lahore, the Chief of Cabool sending his son to ask pardon. What say you to this after all that has been urged of Dost Mahomed Khan's putting forth extravagant pretensions? Runjeet will accede to the plan I am certain, but Wade is a great little man,

if you comprehend what I mean, and while he is looking to the horizon (to use his own words) of politics and considering, events crowd on, and spoil his speculations. I have, on behalf of Government, agreed to stand as mediator between the parties, and Dost Mahomed has cut asunder all his connection with Russia and Persia, and refused to receive the Ambassador from the Shah now at Candahar; his brothers at that city have however caressed the Persian Elchee all the more for this, and I have sent them such a Junius as I believe will astonish them. I had indeed reason to act promptly, for they have a son setting out for Teheran with presents to the Shah and the Russian Ambassador, and I hope I shall be in time to explain our hostility to such conduct. Every thing here has indeed run well, and but for our deputation at the time it happened, the house we occupy would have been tenanted by a Russian Agent and a Persian Elchee. I hardly know what the Government of India will think of my measures, for my line of conduct is only indicated by them, not marked out. Yet I am inspirited by their free use of laudatory adjectives regarding my proceedings hitherto; I am in a very critical position, and so they tell me—*totidem verbis*;—but I like difficulties, they are my brandy.

“I have found out all the ramifications of the Czar’s emissaries, and an explanation of his coveting Herat. His Majesty sees that that is the entrepôt of Persia, India, Cabool, and Toorkistan, and as his fairs in southern Persia progress to maturity, he looks to increasing the facilities of communication, and from Herat to Bokhara and Nijni Novogorod there are no intervening mountains. In pushing on Persia to Herat he but insinuates his own power in the very direction he desires. All this view of things was gravely propounded at Bokhara the year after I left it, for the Russians took alarm at what we were about, and reduced their duties to keep the traders with them. Is not this something to have been effected by two weary travellers plodding their way into Tartary!”

“Cabool, 9th January 1838.—I am alone in Cabool, having dispatched Lord and Wood to Khoondooz, and Leech to Candahar, whether I mean to go myself if the Kajurs threaten us. I am in a very vortex of business, and never in my life was so responsibly situated . . . we are in a mess here. Herat is besieged and may fall, and the Emperor of Russia has sent an envoy to Cabool to offer Dost Mahomed Khan money to fight Runjeet Singh!!!! I could not believe my eyes or ears, but Captain Vickovitch, for that is the agent’s name, arrived here with a blazing letter three feet long, and sent immediately to pay his respects to myself; I of course received

him, and asked him to dinner. This is not the best of it, the Ameer came over to me sharp, and offered to do as I liked ; kick him out, or any thing ; but I stood too much in fear of Vattel to do any such thing, and since he was so friendly to us, said I, give me the letters the agent has brought, all of which he surrendered sharp, and I sent an express at once to my Lord Auckland, with a confidential letter to the Governor-General himself, bidding him look what his predecessors had brought upon him, and telling him that after this I knew not what might happen, and it was now a neck and neck course between Russia and us, and if his Lordship would hear reason he would forthwith send agents to Bokhara, Herat, Candahar, and Khoondooz, not forgetting Sinde ; how all this hard pill will go down I know not, but I know my duty too well to be silent. So much for one political stroke. The Chiefs of Candahar had gone over to Persia. I have detached them and offered them British protection and cash if they would recede, and if Persia attacked them. I have no authority to do so ; but am I to stand by and see us ruined at Candahar when the Government tell me an attack on Herat would be most unpalatable. Herat has been besieged fifty days, and if the Russians move on Candahar I am off there with the Ameer and his forces, and mean to pay the piper myself. We have good stuff, 46 guns and stout Affghans as brave as irregular troops need be. I am on stirring ground, and I am glad to say I am up to it in health and all that, and never was more braced in my life."

"Peshawur, 6th May 1838.—The game is up—the Russians gave me the *coup de grace*, and I could hold on no longer at Cabool, so I have fallen back upon Peshawur, where I arrived late the night before yesterday. Our Government would do nothing, but the Secretary of the Russian legation, M. Goult, came down with the most direct offers of assistance and money, and as I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got wiggled for talking of it at a time it would have been merely a dead letter to say Affghanistan was under our protection, I was obliged of course to give in, and I had not got half-way to Peshawur before Lord Auckland expresses his fears of my being obliged to quit, and leaves the power to do so, and the National honour at my discretion, so his Lordship will not at all wonder at my leaving. I wish the fault were mine, and not my country's ; but we must now do something, and that too, rapidly, for Herat is on the eve of falling, and Persia and Russia promise to aid Cabool in fighting Runjeet Singh ! I am not so much chagrined at my retrograde movements as you would expect ; but I have a fearful responsibility upon me ; but the more the better ; only save

me from hereafter acting under a 'safe man,' as my chief is designated by his party in England. All I said and wrote received 'high applause,' 'cordial approbation,' and so forth; but when the vessel was sinking, and I cried to the pump, they told me not to be too precipitate, but to wait! Be it so. I await orders at Peshawur, and shall either be ordered to Simla or Sinde, or to await the fall of Herat, or to lead the ex-king against the Barukzyes. This last I will not do; the Barukzyes consigned themselves to us, and merely asked Persia to be warned off, and we would not do it! fear, not will therefore, made them desert us."

"Hussin Abdul, 2d June 1838.¹— . . . I have before said that we cannot with justice to our position in India allow things to continue as at present in Cabool; and I have already, in my despatch of the 30th April, suggested a prompt and active counteraction of Dost Mahomed Khan, since we cannot act with him. But it remains to be reconsidered why we cannot act with Dost Mahomed. He is a man of undoubted ability, and has at heart a high opinion of the British nation; and if half you must do for others were done for him, and offers made which he could see conduced to his interests, he would abandon Persia and Russia to-morrow. It may be said that that opportunity has been given to him; but I would rather discuss this in person with you, for I think there is much to be said for him. Government have admitted that at best he had but a choice of difficulties; and it should not be forgotten that we promised nothing, and Persia and Russia held out a great deal. I am not now viewing the question in the light of what is to be said to the rejection of our good offices as far as they went, or to his doing so in the face of a threat held out to him; but these facts show the man has something in him; and if Affghans are proverbially not to be trusted, I see no reason for having greater mistrust of him than of others. My opinion of Asiatics is, that you can only rely upon them when their interests are identified with the line of procedure marked out to them; and this seems now to be a doctrine pretty general in all politics."

"Simla, 7th August 1838.—I am to have a highly honourable employment in the approaching campaign with Sir Henry Fane, of whose presence in person with the army there is now little doubt. We have had a hard struggle west of the Indus, and it affords me no small gratification that I saw so far into futurity so long ago as to predict the present crisis. Letter after letter told me that the Governor-

¹ Addressed to Secretary M'Naghten.

General thought I exhibited too much of the gloomy side of the picture; but things are now changed! My side is now even too cheerful. Alas! to be behind the scenes, and see how little wisdom governs the world makes one wonder!"

"Simla, 25th August 1838.—I have been employed of late on matters which absolutely involve our existence in India, and I could not write to my intimate friends without saying something on what I had better say nothing, so I abandoned all correspondence, except with The bubble has now burst; Russia has unmasked herself. Persia is no longer even in diplomatic relations with us, and a do-nothing policy lost to us Affghanistan! A more wretched line of procedure was never heard of; but when things are at their worst they mend, so we are now to put up Shah Shoojah, and interpose a strong Soonee barrier between us and Shiah Persia."

"Simla, August 25, 1838.—Of myself I cannot tell what is to become. The chief (Sir Henry Fane) wants to go and take me; but this will not suit, and I believe the chief and M'Naghten will be made a Commission, Wade and I political agents under them. I plainly told Lord Auckland this does not please me, and I am disappointed; he replied that I could scarcely be associated with the chief in equality, and he pledged himself to leave me independent quickly, and in the highest appointment. What more could I say when he tells me I am a man he cannot spare? It is an honour, and not a disgrace to go under Sir Henry; and as for M'Naghten he is Secretary for all India, and goes *pro tem*. Besides I am not sorry to see Dost Mahomed ejected by another hand than mine."

"Shikarpore, November 12, 1838.—You do indeed convey to me news, for I had not the remotest idea of the honours (the Lieutenant-Colonelcy and Knighthood) coming, though they are to me truly acceptable, not as empty honours, but as setting my mind at rest that my conduct in Affghanistan has been approved. You may imagine that this gratifies me the more when I was at issue on it with the Government of India, and had plainly told them that they would sacrifice millions hereafter instead of lacs now."

"25th August 1839.—You will have been deeply interested by the *denouement* of affairs here in the proceedings of Parliament. Who can now doubt that the case of Russian intrigue is made out, though the case of ejecting Dost Mahomed may not be so clear? Strange to say, all my implorations for the Government to act in Cabool are

so put forth as if that I wished them to do as they have done. Now I totally disapproved of the Punjab policy; and Runjeet's death without our getting a slice of it (the Punjab?) shows why I did so."

"6th November 1839.—The exposition of the Governor-General's views in the Parliamentary papers is pure trickery, and I have said so in every company since I have read them. I however acquit Lord Auckland of the fraud, and I am sometimes charitable enough to acquit the other authorities, and to believe that they had not read ere they printed. All my implorations to Government to act with promptitude and decision had reference to doing something when Dost Mahomed was king, and all this they have made to appear in support of Shah Shoojah being set up! But again, I did advocate the setting up of Shah Shoojah, and lent all my aid, name, and knowledge to do it; but when was this? when my advice had been rejected, and the Government were fairly stranded. I first gave opinions, and then asked leave to withdraw; but Lord Auckland proved to me that it would be desertion at a critical moment, and I saw so myself; but I entered upon the support of his policy not as what was best, but what was best under the circumstances which a series of blunders had produced. To have acted otherwise must have been to make myself superior to the Governor-General, and I saw that I had a duty to my country, ill as the representatives of that country in India had behaved to me, and I bore and forbore in consequence. My life has been devoted to my country; like creeping things I may have in the outset looked only to personal advantages, but persons have long since given place to things; I now feel myself, at the age of 35, with an onerous load upon me—the holy and sacred interests of Nations; and much as men may envy me I begin sometimes to tremble at the giddy eminence I have already attained. In some respects it is indeed not to be envied, and I only hope that no passion may turn me from the path I tread, and that I may feel the awful responsibility which I have brought upon myself."

"Cabool, 6th November 1839.—Lord Auckland seems literally to believe that the wheel of Affghan politics would stand still if M'Naghten left the country. Quite otherwise with the man himself, he sees that he is the trout out of the water, and is ardently anxious to be rid of the concern; he hoped to get away in August last, and he now hopes for a release in February. He is a man of no kind of decision whatever, is quite unacquainted with European politics, or even those of Affghanistan, and the *batises* that I every day see make me smile; but all this comes ill from me, it is as much as making myself out a

great hero, and the worthy envoy a block, but he is by no means that, as he is a man of judgment on what is laid before him, of agreeable manners and address towards those he knows . . . the injustice they did me was in not associating me with M'Naghten,—as it is, I am in the most non-descript of situations. I am not an assistant and not a principal.”

“3d December 1839.—Had it not been for a long letter from yourself, and one or two others, with the Governor-General's own solicitation, I never would have been here at all. I was however afraid of being thought a deserter in the day of trial, and I stayed, and by doing so I have had the good fortune to extract from adversaries, as well as friends, the opinion of my not having stopped in vain.”

“19th January 1840.—In my position Government have a right to my support; and when I cannot give it, to my silence. They have in consequence far more of the latter than the former. Did I choose, I could a tale of mismanagement unfold that would make men stare, but I am silent. I see the wish to do good, but I see utter ignorance of affairs, for which abilities however surpassing can never make up, and we have no Wellesleys in these times.”

“6th September 1840.—I have not written to you for sometime past, for by my faith I can write nothing to you but alarming truths; things have now got to such a height that we know not where they will end. This country has gone to the devil. The envoy had persuaded himself, against every advice, that things were all right; the king set up a fool of a minister, and the injustice of his rule has raised the whole country against us. Dost Mahomed reached Khooloom, and got such encouragement from this that he advanced, and his son has had a brush with our advanced post of Bameean named Bajgot. He was licked, but our men have since had to fall back (oh ye gods!) on Bameean, and a regiment has started to their aid this morning. The present force there is about 2000 men and 12 guns, but then half are Affghans, and friendly to the Dost. To add to this we have discovered plots and conspiracies all round us and at our doors, so that the brigade from Jellalabad has been ordered up here. A pleasant state of things you will say. I sent a paper to . . . written this day month, showing my opinions up to that date in a letter to M'Naghten. The envoy called it ‘gloomy;’ but a month, alas! has proved it was not gloomy enough. There is nothing here but downright imbecility; I see no hope of keeping my character any longer; I am not answerable for what goes on, but people think I

am. I get no share of any credit (but alas! there is none for any one) and more than a full share of all discredit. Nothing on earth keeps me from breaking out but a fear of my motives being misconstrued, and people saying that I throw dirt on the envoy and the king to exalt myself. I hope I may be able to bridle myself so as to continue silent to all but M'Naghten and the king, to whom I last night gave the whole of my mind, to their dismay. I however succeeded in getting the minister ejected and a new one set up, and if this is not shutting the door of the stable too late, good will come of it. The Dost seeing he had so many friends here got the Khoondooz and Khooloom men to break their treaties with us, and get up a religious war. My fear is now that he will effect a lodgment in the hills north of us, and avoid Bameean, and if so, we shall have all the country from that to the great road between this and Attock, i. e. the line higher up, against us; Kohistan, Nijrow, Tezeen, Koner, Bajore, Swat, &c., &c., and this too from a quarter where you will see by my letter I had hoped most. I give you all this to keep you *au fait* at what you will read in the papers. We have brought all those things on ourselves, and we must get out of them as we can. Shah Shoojah told us last night that he had no reliance on his own people, and on nothing but us and our force; but I assure you the king may be made a tool of if we choose, and not a bad one. I have written to you all this as a kind of record of my views, for who knows how affairs may end, . . . meanwhile may God keep my 'purda' (character), as they call it here, in these troublous times of mismanagement."

"21st September 1840.—Now that the soldiers have done all this so nobly (Colonel Dennie's affair) comes the question for the politicians—How the deuce could Dost Mahomed think of moving on us? Why, the country, from misgovernment, is fast becoming his; I always said he was a popular ruler, but no popularity ever could have caused such reaction in his favour had we had any kind of policy to guide us. We shall require a couple more brigades here at once—I fear 20,000 men must be kept in Sinde and this country; and I, for one, believe it could have been held by the Shah's Contingent alone if a proper Wuzeer were named, and proper regulations (not the regulations) made."

"30th October 1840.—Kohdwora would have cost us 200 or 300 men, and thank God, we got it without fighting, for we have hardly any shot—not 180 per gun! in the country; never was a country in its politics so mismanaged."

“13th November 1840.—The surrender of the Dost has made this country as quiet as Vesuvius after an eruption ; how long this will last it is impossible to say.”

“6th February 1841.—Affairs are quite quiet, and the Governor-General will not allow a campaign on Bajour, in which he is right ; so the envoy is obliged to be quiet there. Candahar is all wrong however, but solely I think from our interfering in what we have no business, and His Majesty having set a Shiah Governor to rule Dooranee Lords ! In fact, how we get on at all I know not.”

“27th March 1841.—As to the attack on Herat it is to be deplored, but our policy there as elsewhere was little short of insanity ; we set up one king in Affghanistan, and must needs set up another, Kamran, which was bad enough ; but we found a lower deep still, and set up a third, that king’s minister Yar Mahomed. There will be something to do I see in the Ghiljie country, and a brigade probably sent from this, but all these expeditions are useless and worthless ; they are made on grounds of revenue and tribute, cost ten times what we get, unsettle the country, and do a world of eventual harm ; besides, the Ghiljies never paid tribute, and their country is too poor to afford it. In fact, all soldiers here ought, on principle, to be delighted, for there is no longer an *ultima ratio regum*, the sword here is *prima* ; and the clique fancy they are outdoing the world, but *the day of reckoning is nigh*.”

“Cabool, 1st April 1841.—All this plain common sense is however too simple for the great man. I can hardly say of him as a profligate emperor said of Rome, ‘*me pereunte pereat mundus* ;’ but his Lordship’s proceedings look a little like this. If prediction gives credit, my papers three years old, and now in the records of Government, prove that we had made false treaties both at Herat and Lahore, and to the former place I refused in fact to go as ambassador, because the game was impracticable. We have spent L.300,000, and proved it—a fool and his money are soon parted ; that we can restore ourselves by force of arms is true enough, but meanwhile all consolidation and improvement are at an end. War has the double scourge of being hateful in itself and ruinous in its consequences ; there is a brick of my Babel for you, as far as the politics of the land. I am often half disposed, now that I have launched my new Travels, to write on the political events which brought us here, and if I cannot print it in my life, leave my executors to do it, and thus furnish food for reflection on the wisdom of the world when I am food for worms ; but again, while a Government employé, I look upon any breaches

of confidence as dishonest, and I therefore hold my pen, but some day or other, when the cacoethes is on me, I shall record a wrinkle or two as to our advance here, which will make politicians stare, and shew that there are other than State secrets. In fact, I have seen so much in my short life that what you will hardly credit is certainly true, that men look alone to their own advancement and not that of their Government. I placed the ball at their foot here—could have saved ten millions of money, but then I got the credit, others wanted peerages and baronetcies. I am now a highly paid idler, having no less than 3,500 rupees a month as Resident at Cabool; and being, as you lawyers call only counsel, and that too a dumb one,—by which I mean I give paper opinions, but do not work them out.”

“12th April 1841.—I keep things quiet here certainly, but in this country we have done nothing, as you shall see by a new paper I have drawn up, though I am sorely disheartened in doing any thing by the inattention to all!”

“12th July 1841.—I think you overlook that my papers and notes are not to recommend what is best, but what is to be done under the abominable circumstances we have placed ourselves in. If they had listened to reason the ex-chief of Cabool might have been converted into a valuable ally; if even they had not done so, and still listened to reason, they need not have deluged this country with troops and money, but put up Shah Shoojah through an agent or two and a few lacs, and kept him on his good behaviour towards his people, which our present system will weaken every day; but in spite of all these errors it would be highly dangerous I think to interfere in Affghanistan more than we do in India; and if Government will but set up efficient agents, and destroy all the fry and frog spawn, we may yet prosper; but our move across the Indus was undertaken without reflection and to cover a failure at Cabool which we brought on ourselves.”

“31st October 1841.—Supreme at last; you have of course heard that M’Naghten is Governor of Bombay. I fear, however, from what he tells me, that I will be confirmed as resident, not as envoy, which is a bore, but as long as I have power and drive the coach I do not much care. I hope I have prepared myself for the charge by hard study and a knowledge of the country.

“I hardly know what you will say to your new Governor; he is an amiable good man, and has acted a very delicate part towards me when there must have been jealousy lurking; . . . he was good enough to say he was removed to make way for me.”

MEMOIR

OF

JAMES BURNES, K.H., F.R.S.



MEMOIR

OF

JAMES BURNES, K. H., F. R. S.¹

FEW men quit India carrying with them so large a measure of respect, of affection so warm and unmingled, and regret so sincere, as our late Physician-General Dr JAMES BURNES, who, after a period of twenty-eight years' service, this day takes a final leave of India.

Dr Burnes is the son of a gentleman well known in Scotland as a late Provost of Montrose, and an active Magistrate of the county of Forfar. His great-grandfather, a Town-Councillor of the same burgh, was elder brother of William Burnes, the father of Scotland's immortal Poet; and his grandfather was the relation to whom the unfortunate Bard appealed for pecuniary relief when on his death-bed. It is very affecting to read that brief but emphatic appeal of a proud and noble, but broken heart; and it is most consolatory to know that it was promptly, generously, yet delicately responded to by his kinsman, though himself struggling with adverse fortune.²

Dr Burnes was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and

¹ Reprinted from the Edinburgh Memoir, 1850, compiled by W. A. Laurie, Esq. who prefaces it as follows:—"As Dr Burnes, after receiving high honours from the Government and society at large in India, is now on his return to his Native Land where much cordiality and kindness await him, it has occurred to me that a brief record of his distinguished career of Public Service, extracted from the Indian Periodicals which are not generally within reach, would not prove unacceptable to his numerous friends and well-wishers. I have therefore had the pleasure of compiling the following Sketch, which I offer for their perusal; merely observing that it is an abridgement chiefly of the Memoirs published on the same subject by Drs Grant of Calcutta and Buist of Bombay."

² Cunningham's Life of Burns, vol. vii.

Guy's and St Thomas's Hospitals in London, and arrived at Bombay in the Company's Service, with his brother, the late Sir Alexander, on the 31st October 1821. The brilliancy of the progress, and tragic nature of the close of the career of the latter are well known. Having become, almost immediately on his arrival, distinguished for his aptitude in the acquisition of languages—for his enterprise, industry, and zeal in the pursuit of general knowledge—he was permitted by Government to travel through the then almost unknown countries on the Bombay north-west frontier; and the result, in conjunction with his fellow-traveller, Lieutenant, now Major James Holland, was the earliest account ever drawn up of the southernmost of the Rajpootanah States, and the vast dreary tract betwixt Goozerat and the Indus. In 1831 Sir Alexander commenced his travels through the Punjab to Cabool, through Affghanistan and Bokhara to the Court of Persia,—tracing, as remarked by the illustrious Humboldt, a train of light through the most obscure portions of Asia.¹ In 1837 he was despatched to Cabool on a commercial, which was speedily transformed into a political mission. Here for many months he laboured with untiring zeal and assiduity to avert the misunderstanding betwixt the Ameer and the British Government, which ended in the Affghan war. He was invested with the Order of the Bath, raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel by Brevet, and accompanied Lord Keane's army in the expedition of 1839, which ended in the deposition of Dost Mahomed. He remained as Political Agent at Cabool along with Sir William M'Naghten, and repeatedly predicted the approach of the catastrophe which proved fatal to him and so many of his countrymen; and was among the first who fell in the Ghilzie insurrection in November 1841; his younger brother, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, perishing along with him.²

The early career of Dr Burnes can be traced from an official report drawn up under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay,

¹ It was the Asiatic Society of Paris which addressed Sir Alexander Burnes in the remarkable words: "Vous avez tracé sur la portion le plus obscure de l'Asie une ligne lumineuse." Baron Humboldt pronounced him "le premier des voyageurs;" and his journey into Bokhara, "l'immense et courageux voyage;" at the same time that the Geographical Societies of France and England each awarded him their Medal for great Geographical discoveries.

² "Comment ne pas envier à l'Angleterre ces agens intrépides qu'elle trouve toujours prêts à se dévouer à son service? le mérite est d'autant plus grand, que le sort qui les attend dans ces périlleuses entreprises ne saurait être douteux. Pour un Alexandre Burnes, dont le nom se répand dans tout le monde civilisé, combien de victimes de ce patriotisme tombent obscurément, disparaissant sans laisser plus de traces que la paille que le vent emporte dans l'abîme! Ces dévouements sont sublimes; sil meritent d'être signalés à la juste admiration des peuples."—Revue de Paris, Octobre 1844.

and which was subsequently submitted to the late king. After having been successively attached to the artillery at Matoonga; the Convalescent Hospital at Severndroog; the 5th Regiment Madras Native Infantry at Malligaum—the three previous medical officers of which had died of cholera; and the 24th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry at Bassadore; he was posted in February 1823 to the 18th Regiment Native Infantry, stationed at Bombay, where he was also selected to superintend the Institution for the check of cholera. In 1824 the honourable appointment of Surgeon to the Residency in Cutch having been offered by Mr Elphinstone for competition, as a reward to medical officers who would pass in the native language, Dr Burnes was the one of five candidates who was successful. On his quitting the 18th Regiment we find him commended in orders for “his professional abilities, humanity, and feeling towards his sick, and his constant and unwearied attention to his duties.”¹

As a volunteer he accompanied, in 1825, the field force and detachments which expelled the Sindians and other plunderers who had invaded and devastated Cutch, forcing the British Brigade to retire to the Hill-fort of Bhooj. In 1827 the Ameers of Sinde, between whom and our Government a very uncordial feeling had subsisted for years, unexpectedly solicited his services, and sent an envoy to invite him to their capital, where he remained some months under circumstances which will be best explained by the following extract of an official despatch from the Resident in Cutch, Sir Henry Pottinger, to Government, (Political Department, No. 19 of 1828). “The Honourable the Governor-in-Council will perceive that Mr Burnes was only finally allowed by the Ameers of Sinde to come away under a promise of his early return; and although the unsettled state of that country has since led to their Highnesses requesting him to postpone his visit; yet, from the terms in which they speak of Dr Burnes, (who, they say, is not only the most skilful of all physicians, but their best friend, and the cementer of the bonds of amity between the two Governments,) it is pretty certain they will again invite him to their Court. . . . It is due to their Highnesses to mention that they have treated Mr Burnes, during his sojourn at Hyderabad, with the most marked distinction and kindness, both as a professional gentleman to whom they were indebted for advice, and as an officer of the British Government deputed in that capacity, at their special request. In the latter light they received him on his first arrival in a State Durbar, with every honour and formality, and afterwards made him welcome at all times with a degree of cordiality and politeness which, as the Native Agent justly observes in his let-

¹ Regimental Order, November 18, 1824.

ter to me, ' they have never before evinced towards any gentleman.'” The Government sanctioned Dr Burnes's acceptance of liberal presents from the Ameers, and also presented him with a handsome pecuniary donation on his return to Bhooj. He was likewise complimented, in strong terms, on the zeal and ability he had displayed at Hyderabad, and received the thanks of the Government for the highly interesting Narrative of his visit, which, under the orders of the Resident in Cutch, he had submitted for its information.¹ The Governor personally intimated that but for the good use he had made of his time, much that was important would have remained unknown and unnoticed ; the Commander-in-Chief pronounced the Narrative a most valuable addition to the geography in India ; and the Government of Bombay directed it to be presented to the Royal Asiatic Society through Sir John Malcolm ; circulated to public servants ; and printed at the expense of the State. The Narrative of a Visit to Sinde drew from the Geographical Society of France a declaration that Dr Burnes had deserved well of geography.² It was published in England in 1830, and has gone through successive editions both in India and in Europe ; being the best account of the country we yet possess.

Dr Burnes's invitation by the Ameers, and his visit to their Court, were evidently the first link in the chain of those great events which have since taken place in reference to the Indus, and it is not at all improbable that had the request of those rulers to retain him, which has been referred to in the official despatch above quoted, been complied with, much of the trouble and expense which have since been incurred might have been spared. But it did not suit the policy of the day, and it was not till two years afterwards that his brother was deputed again to open a negotiation with the Ameers, and to ascend the Indus. Those who are familiar with that officer's Travels will recollect that the Ameers stated that he was doubly welcome as the brother of Dr James Burnes. Sir Alexander Burnes's visit was followed by Sir Henry Pottinger's embassy in 1832-3, for the purpose of demanding the free navigation of the Indus to British merchants, and the great events to the West, with which we are familiar. In 1829 Dr Burnes married Sophia, daughter of the late Major-General Sir George Holmes, K. C. B.

¹ Government Letter, Political Department, No. 1322, November 17, 1828.

² “ M. Alexandre Burnes, Lieutenant d'Infanterie de la compagnie Anglaise des Indes, est frère de M. James Burnes, Chirurgien-major à Bhoudj dans le Cotch. Ce dernier fut appelé en 1827, à Haiderabad, pour donner ses soins, à un des Emirs. Il a publié une relation de son voyage. Ainsi les deux frères ont bien mérité de la géographie, en nous donnant des détails sur des pays peu connus.” Bulletin of the Geographical Society of France, 1833.

In 1830, the same reputation in the north-west frontier which had induced the Ameers of Sind to invite and welcome Dr Burnes to their capital, led to the Cutch Regency bringing his conduct and services specially to the notice of Government, with a request that they might have the power to remunerate them. He had now been nearly five years in that lately conquered and distracted country; and such was the feeling towards him that the Resident reported, in the words of the Cutch Government, that "there was no one of any class or rank who would not, if sick, reckon upon his services at midnight."¹ The reply of the Bombay Government (Political Department, No. 427 of 1830,) is in the following terms:—"The Governor-in-Council directs me to signify to you his concurrence in the proposal of the Durbar to remunerate the professional services of Dr Burnes, and requests that, in making this communication to the Durbar, you will suggest the mode in which the object in view can be effected with most attention to the feelings of the prince and his family, and to those of Mr Burnes, whose kind and unwearied attention, which the Honourable the Governor (Sir John Malcolm) has had full opportunity of learning, has, the Governor-in-Council is aware, created the most lively sentiments of gratitude, while it has established, in the strongest manner, his claims to the approbation of Government."

Nearly of the same date is a Government letter to the Resident at Bhoj, acknowledging Dr Burnes's History of Cutch, which has since been published, along with his Narrative, and may be found in a compressed form in the last edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica; it is in the following words:—"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 29th March, with a copy of one from Dr Burnes, and to request that you will convey to that officer the thanks of Government for the valuable Sketch of the recent History of Cutch which accompanied it. You will also be pleased to express to Dr Burnes the real satisfaction with which Government observes public officers devote their leisure to such objects of useful research, and to acquaint him that his clear and concise account of Cutch will be brought to the notice of the Honourable the Court of Directors."²

In December 1831, we find Sir Henry Pottinger, on his departure as envoy to Sind, reporting to Government that "in consideration of the long connection which has subsisted between Dr Burnes and himself, he will be excused for bearing testimony to his merits and claims, and strongly recommending him to favourable notice;"³ and

¹ Letter to Government, Political Department, January 27, 1830.

² Political Department, No. 526 of 1830.

³ Letter to Government, Political Department, No. 22, December 28, 1831.

in April following there is a despatch from the new Resident, Colonel Bagnold, which acknowledges that "in conducting the important duties of the frontier he has derived the most valuable assistance from his exertions, talents, and information, afforded by him gratuitously and to the benefit of the public service, in a department distinct from his own, and consequently the more highly to be appreciated."¹ At the end of the same year Dr Burnes's services were again brought to notice as having, in the Political Department, "amply evinced the greatest zeal and ability for the public service."² Other quotations might be made from the paper we have referred to, but enough has been given to satisfy the reader that these services were neither few nor unacknowledged by his superiors.

In October 1833 Dr Burnes was forced to quit Cutch on sick certificate, after having struggled with the fever of the country for many years. In February following he embarked for Europe by the over-land route, and an interesting account of the journey (at that time attended with some difficulty), extracted from his letters, was published in the Bombay newspapers. He took the route of Malta, Sicily, Naples, Rome, Florence, Venice, Geneva, and Paris. While at home, amongst other honours conferred on him, he was created a Doctor of Laws by the University of Glasgow, and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. He was also presented at Court by his friend the late Earl of Dalhousie (who had then returned from the command of the army in India), and received the honour of the Guelphic Knighthood from the Sovereign.

On again returning to Edinburgh to make preparations for his departure to India, a public entertainment was given to him, Lord Ramsay³ in the chair, when he received the present of a magnificent silver vase, bearing, besides a masonic inscription, an intimation that it was a token of "regard and esteem for him as a gentleman." The Committee for its presentation consisted of the present Marquis of Dalhousie, the late Admiral Sir David Milne, G.C.B., Sir George Balingall, Professor of Military Surgery in the University, the late Sir Reginald Macdonald Seton, better known as the hospitable "Staffa," and other eminent individuals. Before quitting Edinburgh he devoted a few leisure hours to his Sketch of the History of the Knights Templars, having been encouraged to undertake the work by offers of valuable documents in the possession of old and noble families, and especially requested to leave amongst his friends some

¹ Letter to Adjutant-General, April 17, 1832.

² Letter to Government, Political Department, No. 123, September 27, 1832.

³ The present Governor-General of India.

such token of remembrance. The book was brought out in a very elegant form ; but only a few copies, besides those for distribution amongst private friends, were printed. It contains illustrations of the curious fact mentioned in Mill's Chivalry, that the Order of the Templars has descended to our own days ; and traces the history of these knights, and of those of St John of Jerusalem, in Scotland. A great portion of his stay in Europe was devoted to visiting the countries on the Continent, and we believe that he has seen and communicated with more of the eminent men of the present day than any other individual from India.

On the 24th December 1837 Dr Burnes returned to Bombay ; and Sir James Rivett Carnac conferred on him, unsolicited, the first vacant medical staff appointment in his gift, namely, the Garrison Surgeony of Bombay. Before the lapse of a year we find his masonic brethren voting him "three massive silver pillars, surmounted by the emblems of Faith, Hope, and Charity, to mark their 'deep-felt gratitude for his conduct to themselves, and their high sense of his brilliant efforts in the cause of *charity, friendship, and love to all men.*'"

In 1840 Dr Burnes paid a visit to Calcutta, the exciting events of which will appear from the following three paragraphs of Dr Grant's Memoir, published at that time, which we give unabridged :—

"The reception of the Provincial Grand Master of Bombay by his 'brethren of the mystic tie' in Calcutta, has been worthy of him and them ; and it was decided, with genuine hospitality and brotherly alacrity, to get up a round of masonic banquets to mark how welcome was his arrival among the fraternity in Bengal. It were difficult to say which of these entertainments was the most delightful, or at which the eloquence of the distinguished visitor shone with greater lustre—and if we mention the banquet at which Dr Burnes was entertained by the officers of the Grand Lodge as one that was remarkable for a brilliant reception, a noble flow of the kindest and most happily expressed feelings, it is more from its masonic rank claiming priority of title to mention that we allude to it, than from any other circumstance. The occasion too was remarkable, as being the first in India on which a Grand Master of the Province had the opportunity and gratification of officially welcoming his brother, a colleague of a sister Province ; to say nothing of the friendship existing between the parties, which greatly enhanced the zest of the scene.

"Dr Burnes has seen much of the world, and his manners and conversation at once give the impression of one who had observed well and benefitted by what he had seen and learned ; being pleasing,

winning, and of a reflective cast. It has been truly said of old, that a good countenance is a perpetual letter of recommendation ; and no one who has once seen Dr Burnes can deny that he bears this enviable missive with him wherever he goes. A family resemblance may be traced in features and occasional turns of expression and manners between himself and his distinguished brother Sir Alexander, but there are, nevertheless, characteristic points of difference. Sir Alexander, when we had the pleasure of seeing him, looked spare and thin compared with his brother, not that Dr Burnes is exactly anything approaching to a 'stout gentleman,' but he has less of angularity of feature and frame than the enterprising traveller and keen politician. The one is sharp, quick, and rapidly decisive, expressive, and penetrating. The other, though full of energy in any matter he engages in, is more subdued in manner and expression, and his bearing more fraught with amenity. Sir Alexander for instance, in an argument, uses a sword-like logic that he thrusts at once, and with a masculine hand, to the point. The argumentative weapon of the other too, is 'of the ice-brook's temper,' and of perfect point and polish, but is like that of Harmodius wreathed with flowers. Both have a marked frankness of address.

"That Dr Burnes is a person of singularly attractive manners and disposition no one who has ever enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance can question for an instant, and a more triumphant proof of this cannot be appealed to than the warmth of his reception by not only the masonic body of Calcutta, but society at large, so far as he could become known to it during his short stay among us. It has appeared to us that a portion of this attractiveness is hereditary ; for the full dark eye, the well arched brow, expressive mouth, and in a word the whole countenance, when lighted up in the brilliance of congenial social intercourse, have often reminded us of the best portraits, graphic and biographic, of his great kinsman the Poet. In regard to his popularity with the Craft this is not the place to dilate on that head, more especially since the public prints have already made the community somewhat conversant with the subject. The two leading reasons of this popularity are his perfect knowledge of the forms and institutes of masonry, and the affectionate cordiality with which, in those forms and institutes, he embraces the *whole* Craft, high and low. This will be understood by the initiated ; it would therefore be impertinent to dilate upon it. Indeed, it is possible that Dr Burnes's connection with masonry has been so prominently brought forward as to give those at a distance from Calcutta the notion that masonry is the chief plume in his cap—the crest and chief quartering of his shield. Nothing can be a greater mistake. Masonry is only

as it were a tongue through which he, in hours of leisure and relaxation, has become known and cherished by a certain class, embracing in itself men of all ranks and grades. But he speaketh other languages—or, in other words, his business hours lie in other tracks, where the philosophic observer, the shrewd statist, and the calm, looking forward politico-economist, may meet also what the mason hails, a well instructed, highly qualified *brother of the Craft*."

Dr Burnes returned from Calcutta early in 1841, having been requested by Sir James Rivett Carnac, then Governor of Bombay, to undertake the office of Secretary to the Medical Board, a post in which it was thought he would be able to afford much benefit to his own department. In that year he presided at the St Andrew's dinner; but, owing to the deplorable Cabool catastrophe, in which his brothers lost their lives, he remained for some time afterwards in retirement. His next prominent appearance was on the occasion of his laying the foundation-stone of the Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital, which ceremony created a great sensation at Bombay, in January 1843. In December 1844 he established the Lodge "Rising Star," for the admission of natives, and a beautiful medal, cut by Wyon, was struck by them in consequence. In August 1844 he presided at the dinner given to Sir Henry Pottinger. In July 1846 he was promoted to be Superintending Surgeon, and a piece of plate was voted to him by his brother officers, "in manifestation of their esteem, and the sense they entertain of his accelerating promotion, and of the uniform urbanity which he, in his official position, evinced on all occasions in his intercourse with all ranks." On quitting the Medical Board Office, the Board brought to the notice of Government the "distinguished zeal and ability" with which he had performed his duty for five and a half years, and in handing up this testimonial the Commander-in-Chief added from himself, that "for several years he had had constant opportunities of having officially under his own notice the untiring zeal and great ability with which Dr Burnes performed his varied duties in the most stirring times ever known at this Presidency in the Medical Branch, and in all the Military Departments."¹ The Board at the same time recorded the following Departmental Minute:—

"Bombay, July 24th, 1846.—The Medical Board cannot permit Dr Burnes to retire from the appointment of Secretary without placing upon record the high sense they entertain of his valuable services during a period of five and a half years, at a time when the pressure of the public service required an unusual degree of ability, energy, and zeal, to carry out the important duties connected with

¹ Adjutant-General's Letter to Government, Military Department, No. 914, August 4, 1846.

of March, to the Monastery of Coldingham,¹ at the camp of Dunbar, on the 24th of May 1367; but after this date I can find no trace even of the Norman name in Scotland.

By a charter of Robert Bruce, dated in 1309, the lands of "Bernys, beside Linlithgow," were conveyed to Walter Steward on his marriage with Marjory the king's daughter; and this name repeatedly occurs in that and other localities, under the variations occasionally of Bernis, Bernes, Barnes, and Barns, in other old charters recorded in Robertson's Index,² although the following verbatim copy of an Exchequer entry, 27 David II, will show that it is difficult to ascertain precisely what it was,—“In scaccario apud Edinburgum, die Januarii, A. D. 1368.—ffif, Pendit in manu mauricii de dromud tra de *bnys* valens antiq'tus,” &c.³ Then there are the parish of Burness, now united to Cross, and forming the north-west extremity of Sanday, one of the Orkney isles,—a small lake called Burness in the little island of Westray, one of the same group,—and an estate named Burness in the parish of Firth and Stenness, on the mainland of Orkney, near Kirkwall, the appellations of which are probably of no great antiquity, as the last Statistical Account of Scotland, in which I have found them mentioned, states that the parish of Burness was anciently called St Colms; but I can discover no notice of any individual bearing a similar name till we arrive at the trial of William Lord Crechton and others for treason,⁴ in 3 James III, 1483, in the course of which one of the conspirators presents himself under the designations successively of Robert burn, Robert burne, and Robert of burn, which possibly may have been Burnes, since in the same proceeding Pringle is spelt Pngll,—Chalmers, Chaum—and other names are equally mutilated. Fifty years later we fall upon another public offender, Johnne Burness, who is included in a nineteen years' respite granted by King James V. at Stirling, 19th September 1528, to Edward Sinclair and thirty others—printed in Barry's History of Orkney—for being “art and part of the convocation and gadering of our leiges in arrayit battell agains. umqll Johnne Erle of Caithness, and for art and part of ye slaughter of the said umqll Erle and his friendis.” But considering that a copy of the same pardon as published by Sir John Sinclair,⁵ who had the best means of obtaining correct information, omits all mention

¹ Reg. Magn. Sigil. Reg. Scotor. vol. i, p. 202.

² In a Charter of Robert Bruce, of 1309, the lands of “Bernis, within the thanedom of Aberbothnot,” in Kincardineshire, are granted to John Menteith.

³ Scots Acts.

⁴ “Processus foris facture Willmi. dnj de Crechton et diu'arum aliarum p'sonarum.—Scots Acts.

⁵ Stat. Hist. of Scotland. Edit. 1795, vol. xiv.

of this individual, I may observe that even if he existed, his name was probably a mere *nom de guerre*, derived from the estate of Burness, in Firth and Stenness, the place of his residence, in the immediate vicinity of which the slaughter took place, and entered for want of the real one, according to a fashion very common in old documents, where such names as John at York, Simon Bedford, &c., often appear, and that this supposition is rendered more conclusive, inasmuch as the two next delinquents recorded in the list are John and Magnus Cromarte, who, doubtless, had as much claim to the territorial appellation of the county of that name, as their confederate had to that of the lands of Burness.

Nearer our own times the name occurs distinctly in the public records, both as applied to property and persons. From 1628 and 1645, three successive Gordons of Lochinvar and Kenmure were served heirs to claims on the estate of BURNES, in Kirkcudbright;¹ and between 1644 and 1677, the lands of BURNES, in Sanday, Skail in BURNES, Holland in BURNES, and Kirklands in BURNES, all in Orkney, and inherited respectively by Malcolm Sinclair, William Sklatter, John Grott, and Robert Stewart, are duly recorded in the special Inquisitions of the Kingdom. On the 16th December 1584, William Burnis sat as a juryman on a Crown assize at Glasgow for the trial of John Holmes and others, arraigned "for abyding from the raid of Stirling;"² and on the 5th April 1637, John BURNES, servitor to Sir Alexander Strauchane of Thornetoun, attached his name at Edinburgh, to a deed—now in the possession of my father—granted by the Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, in the name of the Exchequer, to Alexander Straitown of that ilk. In 1690, "Collonell John BURNES" profited amongst others by the Scotch Act of Parliament of William and Mary, "rescinding the forefaultures and fynes since the year 1665;" and in 1699, John BURNES in Tradonock, was returned heir to his grandfather the Rev. John BURNES of Kirkoswald.³ Considerably before this period however, my great-grandfather's grandfather, James BURNES, appeared on the scene in Kincardineshire, where, within a few miles of Thornetoun, the habitation of the John Burnes of 1637, who was probably his near relative, he was born in 1656, as shewn by the date inscribed on his tombstone at Glenbervie.⁴ He and his brother William are the first members of the family respecting whom any precise information has reached us by so unmistakeable a memorial,

¹ Inquisition Special. Abbrevat. Lond. 1811.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i, Part 2, p. 138.

³ Inquisit. General. Abbrevatio, No. 8166.

⁴ See Part III. of these Notes, No. 1.

boy nominated by the Right Worshipful himself, his heirs or successors.

“ ‘ That in order to mark still further their high sense of the merits and services of this accomplished and gifted mason, the brethren do escort him in masonic order from the Town-Hall to the Apollo Bunder, the place of embarkation ; and that all members of the Craft, of whatever Degree, Lodge, or Nation, be invited to attend.’ ”

He declined the festival and procession, but his embarkation is thus mentioned in *The Overland Times* of the 16th December, published after his departure :—“ Dr Burnes was accompanied by troops of friends and admirers, and nearly every mason on the island. A number of ladies were in carriages, and it took the departing gentleman no short time to pass to each to bid them adieu. Sir W. Cotton, and all the leading men of the Presidency, were present, and the regret at the parting about to take place betwixt the Commander-in-Chief and Dr Burnes seemed to be felt equally by both. Dr Burnes appeared, by the time he reached the boat which awaited him, to have been completely overcome with this last proof from his friends of the sincerity of their attachment to him. On getting on board his boat he turned round and took a final farewell of a large number of the masonic Craft who attended him to the water’s edge.”

He was one of the trustees of the Oriental Bank, and a warm promoter of the schemes for the promotion and encouragement of the arts and manufactures, in an improved form, among the natives. He was also President of the Medical and Physical Society, and Vice-President of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the feelings of those Institutions towards him will be best estimated by a perusal of the following Resolutions, unanimously passed by them on his departure :—

“ That the members of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay in accepting with unfeigned regret the resignation by Dr Burnes of the office of President, gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of placing on their records an expression of the deep sense which they entertain of the many and great advantages conferred on the Society by their much-valued and respected associate, both in his position, for a series of years, as Secretary to the Medical Board, and more recently by the influence of high mental attainments in the discharge of the duties of President of the Society. That the Society can never forget that much of the success of its meetings, their popularity, their correctness of procedure, has been due to the conciliatory disposition and personal character of the excellent president who now leaves them, and carries with him into the scenes of his retirement the affectionate regards and hearty good wishes of his former associates.”

“That in testimony of the long and valuable services of James Burnes, Esq. M.D., K.H., Physician-General of the Bombay Army, the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society do record its deep sense of the great advantages it has derived from his varied talents, his refined taste, and his hearty and energetic assistance for more than a quarter of a century, and its unfeigned regret that it should now be compelled, on account of his leaving India, to accept the resignation of his seat among the Vice-Presidents of the Society.” It may be added that the Geographical Society of Bombay elected him an Honorary Office-bearer for life, “in testimony of their appreciation of his services to the cause of geographical science.”

Though Dr Burnes has rarely appeared before the world as an author, his tastes are eminently refined and literary, and his mind abundantly stored with general knowledge. The account of his visit to Hyderabad sufficiently shows what might have been looked for from his pen, had he found leisure or inclination to write for publication. He has ever taken an active share in the promotion of all intellectual pursuits, and was one of the most elegant and attractive members of general society in Western India. Fond of company, in which he was always the favourite, and where he eminently shone, he was the person most generally fixed upon to preside at public meetings, and do the honours where entertainments were given to distinguished strangers or members of the community; and his Address on the occasion of a public dinner being given to Sir Henry Pottinger on his way from China, was so marked for elegance and aptitude as to be reprinted in all the leading journals of Europe. The eminent official position he so long enjoyed in the Service, to which he was an honour, has always been employed by him in endeavouring to advance merit, and promote unpretending worth—to assist the necessitous, and soothe those heats and irritations which will occasionally arise in the best regulated communities, and which tend so grievously to impair the comfort of public men, and to interfere with the interests of the Service. As a private friend he has ever been warm, constant, and sincere in his attachments. Though generally to be met with in every scene of harmless merriment, gaiety, or festivity, no man more frequently approached the couch of sickness or chamber of suffering—none could strive more to soothe the pangs of sorrow or anguish of affliction. He leaves India almost without an enemy, and with scarcely an acquaintance who is not also an admirer and a friend. The following General Order appeared in the Government “Gazette,” on his tendering his resignation; those who know with what caution commendation is meted out by Government will alone be able to appreciate the value of the praises it bestows:—

“ GENERAL ORDER.

“ BY THE RIGHT HON’BLE THE GOVERNOR-IN-COUNCIL.

“ Bombay Castle, 19th November 1849.

“ No. 590 of 1849.—Physician-General J. Burnes, M. D., Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, is permitted to retire from the Hon’ble Company’s Service on the pension of his rank, agreeably to Jameson’s Code, Section xxxiii, Article 80, from the 20th inst.

“ In submitting this resignation for the sanction of the Government, his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has commended to the special attention of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council ‘ the eminent merits of Dr Burnes, who during his service of twenty-eight years, has ever been conspicuous for the zeal and ability with which he has acquitted himself in every situation of duty in which he has been placed.’

“ This gratifying testimonial will be brought prominently to the notice of the Hon’ble the Court of Directors, and the Governor-in-Council will have much satisfaction in adding that the Records of the Government shew the services of Dr Burnes to have extended beyond the line of his own profession ; and that, on these occasions likewise, he has always evinced the same conspicuous ability, energy of character, and zealous devotion to the public interests, which have distinguished him throughout his meritorious career in the Medical Department, from the head of which he is now retiring with honour.

“ By Order of the Right Hon’ble the Governor-in-Council.

(Signed) “ P. M. MELVILL, Lieut.-Col.,
Secy. to Govt.”

The Governor-General expressed his cordial concurrence in the above Order by courteously intimating that it furnished but “ a fitting close to Dr Burnes’s distinguished career of service.” It will show the English reader that the East India Company has lost a most valuable servant, and the Service a highly honoured and useful member, by the retirement of the late Physician-General. We hear that Dr Burnes, on reaching home, will probably start as a candidate for the East India Direction. Should he succeed in gaining a seat amongst the magnates of Leadenhall Street, his services will no doubt be of great value, not only as regards the interests of the Medical Department, but in reference also to those large and important measures of public policy, into the consideration of which his eminent talents and long Indian experience will so well fit him to enter.



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