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SELECTIONS  
FROM THE  
TRAVELS AND JOURNALS  
PRESERVED IN THE  
BOMBAY SECRETARIAT.

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BOMBAY  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS  
1906.

[Price—Rs. 7 or 10s. 6d.]



## P R E F A C E.

The documents in this volume were brought together by me when I was Director of Records, Bombay Government. They have been buried in the archives of that Government or in old journals not easily accessible. To bring them to light and to preserve them "from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion" is the object of this work. They have been printed, letter for letter, exactly as they are in the original papers. Many words occur which are not easily accounted for, many names are spelt contrary to orthodox rules, many sentences war against the laws of grammar. It has been suggested that the text should be edited and the geographical information brought down to the present time. To alter the text would, however, destroy the old flavour of these travels and their main charm. It was proposed to give a list of *errata*, but after much labour it was abandoned as an impossible task. No two experts agreed as to what the list should contain. Under these circumstances, being but an amateur student of Central Asian geography, I sought the advice of Sir Thomas Holdich, one of the greatest living authorities on the subject, and he most kindly read the volume for me and came to the decision that it should be published exactly as it has been printed. He writes: "I am glad to find that so useful a series is now put together under one cover. They are all of them most valuable, although there is hardly any part of the regions dealt with that has not been recently either explored thoroughly or actually surveyed" If the lands which these adventurous pioneers first opened have now become familiar fields of enterprise, the freshness of the tales of their exploits still remains, for they are as simple, strong and masculine as the great men who wrote them.

I have to thank Professor Margoliouth for having kindly read the proofs of the Introduction and for having provided me from his vast store of knowledge with notes essential to the quotations from some of the travels.

It affords me much pleasure to acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered me in the preparation of this volume by my former Head Assistant Mr. Balvant Mahadev whose labours as Custodian of the Bombay Records can only be appreciated by those who have seen their results.

The introduction has no official character or authority.

GEORGE WILLIAM FORREST.

IFFLEY, OXON.,

28th July 1905.





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## INTRODUCTION.

The first record in these selections is an Itinerary from Yezd to Herát and from Herát to Kábul *via* Kandáhar. In a letter, dated Kábul, 29th August 1839, Major Neil Campbell, Acting Quartermaster-General of the Army, requests the Secretary to the Bombay Government to submit to the Honourable the Governor in Council the journal of a ride from Yezd to Herát and again from Herát to Kábul *via* Kandáhar. The journey, he informs us, was undertaken in 1826 by a French Officer now in "the Sikh service at the request, I believe, of Count Yermal, the Russian Governor of Georgia." The translation was made by Major Campbell himself. The journal gives a graphic account of the places visited by the traveller, and though nearly eighty years have rolled on since it was written, the information has not been superseded by modern travellers.

The second paper in the volume is the account of a journey made by Major D'Arcy Todd from Simla to Herát in the year 1838. Major D'Arcy Todd accompanied John McNeill, the British Envoy at the Court of Persia, on the march to Herát from Tehrán. The object of the mission was to dissuade the Sháh from continuing the siege of Herát. The story of that long siege is of perennial interest to Englishmen, because a single young British subaltern was the life and soul of the defence. Early in 1837, Eldred Pottinger, a Lieutenant in the Bombay Artillery, started in the disguise of a Cutch horse-dealer to explore the then unknown regions of Afghanistan. On reaching Kábul he determined to push through the wild mountainous country inhabited by fanatic hordes to Herát, the famous frontier city of Afghanistan. He assumed the disguise of a Syud or holy man from Hindustan, and, accompanied by a guide, started forth on his perilous venture. Through hardships and imprisonments, suspected of being an infidel (which if confirmed meant death), the valiant English lad held his way, and on the 18th of August he reached Herát. A month later the news came that the Shah of Persia acting under Russian influence was about to advance on Herát. The fall of that city, Pottinger saw, would be calamitous to the Afghan people and inimical to British interests. As an Artillery Officer he might be of service to the defenders. He therefore made himself known to the ruler of the state, Shah Muhammad, and his Vuzier Yar Muhammad, who saw the advantage of having the advice and assistance of a skilled English officer. The Persians invested Herát, and it was mainly due to the fortitude, ability and judgment of the young artillery officer that it did not fall into their hands. The siege had gone on for some weary months when the English Minister arrived in the Persian Camp. He at once sent Major Todd to negotiate with the Herátees, and as it was the first time a British officer had appeared in Herát in full uniform, "a vast crowd went out to gaze at him. The tight fitting coat, the glittering epaulettes and the cocked-hat all excited unbounded admiration." The negotiations failed and Todd was sent by McNeill to convey despatches to the Governor-General and to inform him what was the actual state of affairs. On the 8th of May 1838 he wrote: "I am now

under sailing orders and shall weigh anchor in the course of a few days charged with dispatches to Lord Auckland. The route which I now contemplate is that which leads through Kandahár, Kábul, Pesháwar, Attock, and thence through the Punjáb to Ludiana, whence Simla is distant only a night's or a couple of night's dák. I shall travel as an Englishman, but in the dress of an Afghán, without luggage or other encumbrances, save a pair of saddle-bags on the horse I ride. This mode I believe to be the best in every respect. All the difficulties that Europeans have encountered in these countries have arisen from their foolishly endeavouring to personate natives." On the 22nd of July he wrote from Simla: "I left the Persian Camp before Herát on the 22nd of May and after a very interesting journey of about sixty days *viâ* Kandahár, Kábul, Pesháwar and the Punjáb, I arrived without accident at this place on Friday last the 20th. People tell me that I have made a very rapid journey—a fact with which I am pretty well acquainted, knowing as I do the difficulties and detentions and dangers which a traveller must meet with in the countries which I have lately traversed."

Two months had not elapsed after Todd had arrived at Simla to report the failure of the negotiations when Eldred Pottinger wrote to W. H. Macnaghten, Esquire, Political Secretary, Supreme Government, Calcutta: "Thanks be to the Almighty God, I have the honour to report the cessation of hostilities in this quarter for the information of His Lordship the Governor-General. In consequence of the Persian King having agreed to the message brought to him by Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart from Her Majesty's Envoy at Tehrán, the Persian Army yesterday broke up from their quarters and commenced their retreat towards their territory." Two other letters from Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger discovered in the Bombay Archives, now printed for the first time, recall to memory a striking episode and one of those characters which give a dramatic life to the annals of our Empire.

When the first Afghan war was declared, Major D'Arcy Todd was gazetted as Political Assistant and Military Secretary to the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Sujah, the ill-fated monarch whom we were about to place again on "the throne of his ancestors" by British bayonets. Todd accompanied the Army of the Indus, which reached Kandahár in April 1839, and Shah Sujah was proclaimed King of Kábul. As Yar Muhammad, the Vuzier of Herát, was the first to congratulate the monarch on his restoration to the throne, it was considered an opportune moment for sending a special mission to Herát to make a treaty with the ruler. After the Shah of Persia had abandoned the siege "Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger of the Bombay Artillery had been appointed to be Political Agent at Herát, subject to the orders of the Envoy and Minister of the Court of Shah Sujah-ul-mulk." In June, Todd started for Herát, accompanied by Captain Sanders of the Engineers and Lieutenant James Abbott of the Artillery, with Lieutenant C. F. North and Assistant Surgeon Login. On the 25th of July, the special mission reached the city, and was "received with every mark of respect by the Monarch and his Prime Minister." A treaty of friendship and alliance with Shah Kamran was concluded. The ruler of Herát was to receive from the Indian Government twenty-five thousand rupees a month on certain conditions, the chief being that he should hold no intercourse with Persia without the knowledge and consent of the British Envoy. In September, 1839, Pottinger left Herát and Todd succeeded him as Political Agent. Three months later he sent James Abbott on a friendly mission to the Khan of Khiva. "An opening was offered me," he wrote, "so I took advantage of it on my own responsibility and I am happy to say that the Governor-General has approved of the measure. James Abbott was well received

by the Khán, and has been employed as a mediator between Khiva and Russia, the troops of the latter being on their march towards the Khan's capital. James Abbott will probably have to proceed to St. Petersburg ! I cannot guess what the powers will think of this bold step, but I have done my best to defend it." One of the objects of Abbott's mission was to release from cruel bondage the Russian captives in Khiva and to put a stop to man-slavery and the traffic in human beings. But Yar Muhammad and the Central Asian Chiefs were all engaged in a trade that yielded profits large enough to counteract its perils, and their stern bigotry went hand in hand with their thirst for gain. Slavery was sanctioned by their creed and Abbott's action was regarded as a blow to their religion by an infidel sect. Todd, like Burnes at Kábul, did not understand the nature of the man with whom he had to deal. "All is quiet here," he wrote on the 1st of April 1840. "We are on the best possible terms with the authorities of the place, and I believe that Yar Mahomed Khan, who is the *de facto* ruler of the country, is beginning to understand that honesty is the best policy." The letter had hardly been despatched before Todd received substantial proof of the Vuzier's treachery. A copy of a letter written by the Vuzier, in the name of Shah Kamran, to the King of Persia was sent to him by the British representative at the Persian Court. The ruler of Herát "declared himself to be the faithful servant of the Shah-in-Shah (King of Kings), that he merely tolerated the presence of the English Envoy from expediency, although to give him his due, he was by no means niggardly in the expenditure of money, jewels, etc., and that his (Shah Kamran's) hopes were in the Asylum of Islam." It did not suit the policy of the British Government to have an open rupture with the Vuzier and his master, and their treachery was condoned. A policy of this yielding tentative order bore its natural fruit. Matters grew worse month by month, Yar Muhammad's aim was to blind the British Government without sacrificing the liberty of the state, and he played the game with marvellous skill. The Afghan is a master in political lying, but in the profusion and recklessness of his lies Yar Muhammad stood without a peer. Todd writes to Sir W. H. Macnaghten on the 29th of January 1841 that the Vuzier had sent a secret Mission to Meshed. "On ascertaining the fact, I immediately addressed a note to the Vuzier, expressing my regret at his having taken this extraordinary step and my fear that it would be attended with the most disastrous consequences to himself." Yar Muhammad in answer to the note "expressed great surprise at the serious view which I had taken of this trivial matter, and asserted in excuse that I had given him permission to send a man to Meshed for the purpose of demanding the restoration of Ghoriani, which had been the reason of his despatching Fyz Mahomed Khan." Todd had given him permission to send a man or a letter, "but this could never be applied to the departure of his most confidential servant with a train of 40 or 50 followers." The British Envoy adds: "I may here mention that there is but one opinion in the town of the real object of his mission, namely an alliance with Persia based on our ejection from Herát. A strong and general feeling of insecurity prevails; many persons are preparing to send their families to Kandíhár, and the only question about our treatment is whether we are to be seized and plundered to-day or to-morrow."

On the 24th of January Todd had an interview with the Minister. "In excuse for his conduct he pleaded his fears of our ultimate intentions, thereby admitting his guilt, although he declared most solemnly that the only message with which he had charged Fyz Mahomed was that previously stated. He said that he had yesterday heard of the arrival of 20,000 men at Shikárpur, and asked me whether it was true. I answered that I had only received

intelligence of preparations being made for subsisting 17,000. He then stated that all his advisers and correspondents warned him that the destination of these troops was Herát, and that the English wished to involve him in hostilities with Persia, merely to enable them to crush him with greater facility. I observed that I considered my word of greater weight and more worthy of belief than the reports and speculations of all his correspondents and advisers; that the authorities of Herát were the only people in the world who doubted our word or distrusted us in any way; and that if he had enquired of me regarding the destination of these troops, I could have set his mind perfectly at rest on the subject. I added that, had he reflected for a moment, he could never have feared us, for our conduct towards him up to this moment had been uniformly liberal and friendly, and had we wished to destroy him we should have done so either openly, on our first arrival in the country previously to strengthening him, or secretly by the expenditure amongst his enemies of one-tenth of the sum that had been lavished on him. This, he said, could not be denied, but observed that it was natural for the weaker to fear the stronger, and he therefore requested me to give him a paper of assurance (khatur jum) in order to remove his apprehensions. I replied that it was out of my power to furnish him with the paper he required; that if what we had already done in and for the country had not satisfied him of our disinterested friendship, nothing could; and that it rested with him to counteract the evil he had done and to satisfy us for the future."

On the day following the interview, Yar Muhammad sent his three most confidential advisers to endeavour to procure from Todd the paper of assurance. "This I steadily refused to give for the reasons which I had assigned to the Minister the day before, and to themselves on a former occasion. I consented, however, to take no decided step until the receipt of the intelligence from Meshed." The crafty Minister was in want of a large sum of money, and he was afraid that the handsome monthly allowance paid by the Government would be stopped. He therefore sent two days later his principal adviser to endeavour to discover what terms would be granted to him.

"The Khan made several propositions, none of which, however, appeared to me to promise any security for the future, and at length he stated that if I would give the Minister confidence there would be no objection to our introducing a brigade of British troops into the country, or even into the town, with the express proviso that His Majesty Shah Shujah should not interfere in the matter, and that Shah Kamran should remain as nominal ruler. I was careful not to manifest any anxiety on the subject of the introduction of our troops, although this was the point on which I was desirous of ascertaining the Minister's sentiments, and I therefore dismissed Nujjoo Khan with the promise that I would give further consideration to the question. It is possible, and even probable, that the hint thrown out regarding our troops was merely intended as a feeler."

On the 1st of February the British Envoy intimated to the Prime Minister that he could "under existing circumstances only disburse the monthly allowance (25,000 Company's rupees) to the King and Chiefs, which had been promised for the present year, provided the Herát authorities acted in conformity to the wishes of the British Government. As it seemed to me that a manifest breach of treaty had been committed, I did not feel myself authorized to continue the allowance. In reply, the Minister acknowledged that he had no claim to further pecuniary assistance in the present state of affairs, but expressed a hope of being able to make it appear that my suspicion of the want of faith had been groundless." And Yar Muhammad



did his best to persuade the British Envoy that he was a faithful ally. The 3rd of February, a festival was celebrated, and Todd went to the citadel with the Officer of the Mission. "Dresses of honour were given us by the King and we rode with His Majesty as usual." Two Muhammadans attached to the Mission establishment were, however, grossly and shamefully insulted by two dependents of the Vuzier's establishment. "On being made acquainted with the circumstances," Todd writes, "which had taken place in the presence of a vast concourse of people, I sent several witnesses of it to the Vuzier and advised, especially with reference to the present state of feeling in the town, that the punishment of the offenders should be summary and public. Their guilt was proved, and after being bastinadoed in the market-place, their faces being smeared with mud, they were led through the different streets of the city, while a crier proclaimed with a loud voice their offence and punishment." Having appeased the British Envoy by the punishment of the offenders, the Minister again attempted to gain the money by diplomatic pressure backed by a threat. On the afternoon of the 7th he sent a deputation with a letter in which he stated: "Now this is the last letter that I shall write to you. To-day you will either give me perfect assurance and confidence or take from me all hope. Henceforward into whatever well I may throw myself I have thrown myself. Let there be no complaint on either side." The British Envoy addressed a letter to the Vuzier stating that after what had occurred he was anxious to discuss with him personally the questions under consideration, but that if he objected to an interview, he would treat with anyone to whom he gave written credentials. The next morning the deputation returned with a letter from the Vuzier giving them full powers to adjust matters on his behalf. The British Envoy "opened the conference by begging them to state the requisitions with which they were charged." They mentioned the following:

"(1) A written assurance on the part of the British Government relieving the Vuzier from all apprehensions for the future.

(2) The immediate payment of the Vuzier's debts, amounting to nearly two lakhs of Company's rupees.

(3) A liberal monthly allowance, far exceeding that at present given, to be guaranteed to the Herát Government for one year.

(4) A written promise that the British Government would not embroil that of Herát in any foreign war, until after the present harvests, which are reaped in June and July.

(5) The fortifications of the city to be repaired and strengthened at our expense.

(6) Loans of money to be advanced to enable the Herát Government to recover entire possession of the Char Vilayut, Ghorian, Seestaun and the Tymunee country, and the Herát troops to be subsidised in the field so long as engaged in these operations. I asked what the Herát Government was prepared to grant in the event of the above demands being acceded to by my Government, and in reply was requested to mention what I deemed an equivalent."

It was impossible for the British Envoy to accede to these proposals. He held the opinion that it was both necessary and politic to acquire a supremacy in Herát, but this could only be done, as he had informed the Indian Government, by the occupation of the citadel by a Brigade of British troops with artillery. He promptly told the deputation that "the treaty having been again broken by the authorities of Herát and their promises having been

found valueless, it was for the British Government now to demand security for the future, and that in his opinion "the only satisfactory mode of giving this was by admitting a brigade of British troops with artillery into the citadel of Herát, and the immediate deputation of the Vuzier's son to Girishk to accompany the troops to Herát. Under these circumstances I promised, pending the sanction of Government, to give a written assurance to the Vuzier guaranteeing to him the Vuzarat of Herát during his life-time, the payment of his debts to the amount of one lách of Company's rupees on the arrival of our troops, and an allowance to the Herát Government, for one year, of one lách of Herát rupees, Company's Rs. 33,333½, per mensem, to commence on the arrival of the Vuzier's son at Girishk, up to which date the present allowance of 25,000 Company's rupees a month would be continued. I also agreed to the repair of the fortifications, provided our troops were admitted into the citadel, but in the event of their being located outside the town, I stated that the expense of fortifying a post for their accommodation would be considerable, and in this case the Herátees must repair their own works. This was said with reference to a long discussion which took place on the subject of our troops being quartered in the citadel, to which the deputation objected in the strongest terms as a measure to which they were certain the Vuzier would never agree. On reflection it seemed to me that our object would be equally gained by our holding a strong position in the immediate vicinity of the city; indeed there were considerations which pointed this out as the more desirable arrangement. I waived for the present the discussion of articles Nos. 4 and 6."

This interview, which lasted nearly the whole day, was brought to a close by the deputation informing the British Envoy that they did not think it possible the Vuzier would agree to his terms: "that the Vuzier's wife could not be persuaded to part with her son, and that an immediate payment of money would be required." Finding that Todd was not disposed to make the required concessions, the deputation informed him that "I might select my Mehmandar, as any further stay at Herát would be useless, and that my Hindustáni, Kábul and Kandáhar servants would be allowed to accompany me, but that those of Herát would not be permitted to leave the place. I selected Sirdar Fattéh Khan as my Mehmandar, and remarked that I did not require the permission of the Vuzier to take with me the natives of India or the subjects of Shah Shoojah, and that by the laws of Nations I had a right to retain in my service, at least until I reached the frontier, all my Herát servants who were willing to accompany me."

Yar Muhammad was greatly troubled and much disconcerted at the British Envoy so promptly consenting to withdraw the Mission from Herát. It was, however, the only course open to a Minister who had a due regard for the dignity of the Government which he represented, and the safety of his staff. To withdraw the Mission on his own responsibility was a grave step, but, in his letter to Macnaghten, Todd states: "I must state my conviction that our further stay at Herát would have been productive of no good, and that with the examples of Major Pottinger, Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Loveday before me, I should not have been justified in exposing the officers of the mission to insult and danger by remaining at Herát in opposition to the expressed wishes of the Vuzier." And Todd had good ground for his conviction. When it became known that the Mission was about to depart, "the greatest excitement prevailed throughout the town, the inhabitants armed themselves, guns were discharged in every direction, and large crowds collected round the residence of the

Mission. Our followers and servants were threatened with death, and their families with dishonour; and it was generally believed that we were to be seized and our property plundered." On the afternoon of the 9th of February the Mission set forth from Herát. "Dense crowds had assembled to witness our departure, and I apprehended personal insult, if not violence, being offered to us by some of the Vuzier's lawless soldiery, but by leaving the town at a different gate from that which we had named we avoided the crowd and reached our first place of encampment about four miles from Herát without being molested." Here they halted the next day in order to enable the servants to bring their families from the city and to negotiate the release of Kazi Mullah Muhammad Hussein who had incurred the deadly enmity of the Vuzier on account of the services he and his sons had rendered the British Government. Yar Muhammad who had placed the Kazi under strict surveillance, threatened that he should be put to the most awful tortures, "that the women of his family should be given over to the soldiery, and that the males should, after having been tortured, be paraded through the streets, a crier proclaiming that such was the punishment of all who served infidels." Todd knew he was dealing with a tyrant who would not hesitate to carry his worst threats into execution. He also justly felt "that our abandonment of these families whose only crime in the eyes of the Vuzier was the service they had rendered our Government, would have been as injurious to the British name in these countries as our stepping forward in behalf of persons thus situated would be honourable," and he offered the Vuzier a substantial sum for their release. The love of money is stronger than the passion for revenge. The offer was accepted. On the night of the 12th the Kazi and his brother "with the males of their families, the females having been placed in safety in the harems of their relations," joined the British camp. Next morning arrangements having been made for the payment of the ransom, the Mission made their first regular march to a spot 42 miles from the city. On the 22nd of February they reached the Fort of Girishk about two miles from the right bank of the Helmund, "having performed the journey, nearly 300 miles, in nine days, and though our baggage, cattle, camels and mules suffered much from the long march we were obliged to make, I am happy to say that we sustained no loss of property, public or private, on the road." While waiting at Girishk to hear the policy which the Government intended to pursue towards Herát, Todd learnt that his withdrawal of the Mission had proved fatal to his own interests. Lord Auckland condemned his proceedings and summarily dismissed him from political employment. The Governor-General wrote "What we have wanted in Afghanistan has been repose under an exhibition of strength, and he has wantonly and against all orders done that which is most likely to produce general disquiet, and which may make our strength inadequate to the calls upon it." The policy of the hour was that we might secure safety and peace by gratifying the avarice of a brave and fanatical race. In Herát and Afghanistan money was freely spent. Todd saw that the policy of repose was a policy of weakness and must end in disaster. He withdrew his Mission without the loss of a single life. In less than a year the head of the British Mission at Kábul was slain, and then came that memorable disaster which shook the foundation of our Indian Empire. D'Arcy Todd returned to regimental life, and he devoted with characteristic zeal and energy his whole time to the executive duties of a Captain of an artillery company. His pride in the profession dignified by danger was a solace for the hard measure dealt out to him. At the bloody contest of Ferozeshar he came to the best end a gallant soldier could know. He was struck by a round shot when leading his troop of Horse Artillery into action. The letters now



printed do tardy justice to the memory of a brave soldier. They show that in the most critical affair of his career he acted as the envoy of a great government with clear vision and genuine public spirit.

The documents in this volume bear witness not only to the courage and enterprise of that valiant band of pioneer explorers who, belonging to an army which won for England an Empire, revealed to us by their labours and privations the geographical features of Central Asia, but also to the chivalrous enthusiasm and love of adventure of the officers of the old Indian Navy, a service on whose great actions time can never efface the writing. The first paper is a "Narrative of a journey from the Tower of BA-'L-HAFF on the Southern Coast of Arabia to the Ruins of NAKAB-AL-HAJAR in April 1835." "During the progress of the survey of the south coast of Arabia by the East India Company's surveying vessel the *Palinurus* while near the tower called Ba-'l-haff, on the sandy Cape of Ras-ul-Aseidá, in latitude  $13^{\circ} 57'$  north, longitude  $46\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$  east nearly," the Bedouins stated that there were some extensive ruins erected by infidels and of great antiquity some distance from the coast. "It was an opportunity of seeing the country not to be lost." On the afternoon of the 29th of April 1835, Lieutenant Wellsted and Mr. Cruttenden, a midshipman, having filled their water skins, mounted their camels and set forward accompanied by two Bedouins. After proceeding along the shore for some distance they left the coast and wound their way between a broad belt of low sand hills. At midnight they were in the territories of the "Diyabi Bedouins, who from their fierce and predatory habits are held in much dread by the surrounding tribes. Small parties, while crossing this tract, are not unfrequently cut off, and we were therefore cautioned by our guides to keep a good look-out for their approach. But after spreading our boat-cloaks in the sand, we were little annoyed by any apprehensions of this nature, and slept there very soundly until the following morning, Thursday April 30th." At dawn they proceeded on their journey and after marching for a couple of hours, they ascended a ledge about 400 feet in elevation, from the summit of which they obtained an extensive but dreary view of the surrounding country. "Our route lay along a broad valley, either side being formed by the roots or skirts of a lofty range of mountains. As these extend to the northward they gradually approach each other, and the valley there assumes the aspect of a narrow deep defile. But on the other hand, the space between our present station and the sea gradually widens, and is crossed by a barrier about thirty miles in width, forming a waste of low sandy hillocks; so loosely is the soil here piled that the Bedouins assure me that they change their outline, and even shift their position with the prevailing storms. How such enormous masses of moving sand, some of which are based on extensive tracts of indurated clay, could in their present situation become thus heaped together, affords an object of curious inquiry. They rise in sharp ridges, and are all of a horse-shoe form, their convex side to seaward. Our camels found the utmost difficulty in crossing them, and the Bedouins were so distressed that we were obliged to halt repeatedly for them. The quantity of water they drank was enormous. I observed on one occasion a party of four or five finish a skin holding as many gallons."

After noon they passed a sandstone hill called Jebel Másinah, and leaving the sandy mounds they crossed over "table ridges elevated about 200 feet from the plains below and intersected by numerous valleys, the beds of former torrents, which had escaped from the mountains on either hand. The surface of the hills was strewn with various sized fragments

of quartz and jasper, several of which exhibited a very pleasing variety of colours." At 4 p.m. they descended into Wadi Meifah and halted near a well of good light water. "The change which a few draughts produced in the before drooping appearance of our camels, was most extraordinary. Before we arrived here, they were stumbling and staggering at every step; they breathed quick and audibly, and were evidently nearly knocked up, but directly they arrived near the water, they approached it at a round pace, and appeared to imbibe renovated vigour with every draught. So that browsing for an hour on the tender shoots of the trees around, they left as fresh as when we first started from the sea-coast, notwithstanding the excessive heat of the day, and the heavy nature of the road."

After an hour's halt they mounted again their camels and proceeded in a west-north-westerly direction along the valley. "It is about one and a half mile in width; the bank on either side, and the ground over which we were passing, afford abundant evidence of a powerful stream having but a short time previous passed along it." The country now began to assume a different aspect. "Numerous hamlets, interspersed amidst extensive date groves, verdant fields of jowári \* and herds of sleek cattle show themselves in every direction, and we now for the first time since leaving the sea-shore fell in with parties of inhabitants. Astonishment was depicted on the countenance of every person we met, but as we did not halt, they had no opportunity of gratifying their curiosity by gazing for any length of time on us." When darkness fell the Bedouins lost track of the road and they found themselves clambering over the high embankments which enclose the jowári fields. "The camels fell so frequently while crossing these boundaries, that the Bedouins at last lost all patience, took their departure, and left us with an old man and a little boy, to shift for ourselves." As they were about to bivouac in the fields they met an old woman who guided them to "a sort of caravansera, one or more of which are usually found in the towns of Yemen, and other parts of the East" and here they slept soundly "after a hearty supper of dates and milk." The earliest dawn gave to their view fields of millet and tobacco as far as the eye could reach; their verdure of the darkest tint. "Mingled with these we had the soft foliage of the acacia, and the stately, but more gloomy, aspect of the date palm, while the creaking of the numerous wheels with which the grounds are irrigated, and several rude ploughs, drawn by oxen in the distance; together with the ruddy and lively appearance of the people (who now flocked towards us from all quarters) and the delightful and refreshing coolness of the morning air, combined to form a scene, which he who gazes on the barren aspect of the coast could never anticipate being realized."

At 6 a.m. on the 18th of May, they again mounted their camels. Three hours later they passed over a hill about 200 feet high from the summit of which the ruins were pointed out to them. An hour's march brought them to their goal.

"The ruins of Nakab-al-Hajar,† considered by themselves, present nothing therefore than a mass of ruins surrounded by a wall; but the magnitude of the stones with which this is built, the unity of conception and execution, exhibited in the style and mode of placing them together, with its towers, and its great extent, would stamp it as a work of considerable labour in any other part of the world. But in Arabia, where, as far as is known, architectural remains are of rare occurrence, its appearance excites the liveliest interest. That it owes its

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\* Jowári. Hind *jowár*, *juár*, one of the best and most frequently grown of the tall millets of southern countries. Yale and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*.

† Nakabul-Hajar (more correctly Nakbu'l-hajar) signifies "the excavation from the rock" (rather "the stony pass").

origin to a very remote antiquity (how remote it is to be hoped the inscription will determine)\* is evident, by its appearance alone, which bears a strong resemblance to similar edifices which have been found amidst Egyptian ruins. We have (as in them) the same inclination in the walls, the same form of entrance, and the same flat roof of stones. Its situation and the mode in which the interior is laid out, seem to indicate that it served both as a magazine and a fort, and I think we may with safety adopt the conclusion that Nakab-al-Hajar, as well as the other castle which we have discovered, were erected during that period when the trade from India flowed through Arabia towards Egypt, and from thence to Europe, and Arabia Felix, comprehending Yemen, Saba, and Hadramaut, under the splendid dominion of the Sabacan or Homerite dynasty, seems to have merited the appellation she boasted of."

The day was spent in observing the ruins and the surrounding country. "It stands," says Lieutenant Wellsted, "in the centre of a most extensive valley called by the natives Wadi Meifah, which, whether we regard its fertility, its populousness, or its extent, is the most interesting geographical feature we have yet discovered on the southern coast of Arabia. Taking its length from where it opens out on the sea-coast, to the town of 'Abbán, it is four days' journey or seventy-five miles. Beyond this point I could not exactly ascertain the extent of its prolongation, various native authorities fixing it from five to seven days more throughout the whole of this extent. It is thickly studded with villages, hamlets and cultivated grounds." He was struck with the attention paid to agriculture. "The fields are ploughed in furrows, which for neatness and regularity would not shame an English peasant. The soil is carefully freed from the few stones which have been strewn over it, and the whole is plentifully watered morning and evening by numerous wells. The water is drawn up by camels (this is a most unusual circumstance, for camels are rarely used as draught animals in any part of the East),† and distributed over the face of the country along high embankments. A considerable supply is also retained within those wherever the stream fills its bed. Trees and sometimes houses are also then washed away, but any damage it does is amply compensated for by the muddy deposit it leaves, which although of a lighter colour, and of a harder nature, is yet almost equally productive with that left by the Nile in Egypt. But beyond what I have noticed, no other fruits or grain are grown."

On the 1st of May at 4 p.m. they started on their return journey and travelled until near sunset when they halted outside one of the villages and were most hospitably treated by the inhabitants. Shortly after midnight they again started and travelled until four, when finding they had lost their way they halted until day-light. "At this time a heavy dew was falling, and Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 58°; it was consequently so chilly that we were happy to wrap ourselves up in our boat-cloaks." When the day broke they resumed their journey and halted at a well to replenish their skins previous to again crossing the sandy hillocks. The march tried their power of endurance to the utmost degree. "From 9 a.m. this morning until 1 h. 30 m. we endured a degree of heat I never felt equalled. Not a breath of wind was stirring, and the glare produced by the white sand was almost intolerable. At 2 h. our guides were so much exhausted, that we were obliged to halt for an hour. At 5 h. 30 m. we arrived at the date groves, near to 'Ain Abú Mabuth, where there is a small village and some fountains of pure water about fifteen feet square and three deep." At 7 h. they arrived at the beach which they followed until they came opposite to the vessel

\* The inscription was interpreted by Praetorius in the *Zeitschrift der morgen ländischen Gesellschaft*, xxvi (1872), p. 434. It does not determine the date.

† Their use seems to have been common in earlier times in Arabia.

"It was, however, too late to care about making a signal to those on board for a boat, and I was, moreover, desirous, from what we overheard passing between the Bedouins who were with us, to defer our departure until the morning. Any disturbance we might have with them had better happen then than during the night. We, therefore, took up our quarters amidst the sand-hills, where we could light a fire without fear of being observed by those on board." The next morning they were discovered from the ship and a boat was immediately despatched for them. "Strengthened now with the boat's crew, we settled with the Bedouins, without any other demand being made on us, and in the course of a few minutes we were on board the vessel, where we received the congratulations of all on our return." It was a bold exploit and it extended the bounds of knowledge. Mr. D. G. Hogarth in the *Penetration of Arabia*\* writes: "The inscription of Nakab-al-Hajar, together with two others found by officers of the *Palinurus* in the previous year on rocks at Hisn Gorab near Makalla, furnished Europe with its first decisive proof that Himyaritic records survived from the great days of Arabian civilisation. Niebuhr had heard of more than one such text in the hill country, and apparently been shown an actual copy at Mokha in 1764; but sick as he was then, he took it for cuneiform, and left to a later generation the fame of the first discovery of a class of inscriptions, now numbered by thousands, and of immense historical value. Himyaritic studies have had most important influence on our knowledge not only of ancient Arabia, but of modern. The present science of no land, except perhaps Asia Minor, owes more to explorers inspired by curiosity about the past. The officers of the *Palinurus* were the forerunners of Wrede, Arnaud, Halovy, Doughty, Huber, Euting, Glaser, Hirsch, and Bent, names with which is associated nearly all the romantic element in the history of Arabian exploration."

The next paper is an "Account of an excursion in Hadramaut by Adolphe Baron Wrede" a mere recital by Captain J. B. Haines, Indian Navy. Baron Wrede, a soldier of fortune, of good Bavarian family, who is said to have resided in Egypt, sailed from Aden disguised as a Muhammadan on the 22nd of June 1843 for Osurum.† On arriving there he travelled by land to Makalla and on the 26th June he set forth for the interior under the protection of a Bedouin of the powerful tribe Akábre.‡ Their route lay through "a continued succession of deep and narrow dales bounded by bare granitic mountains which elevate their serrated summits about 2,000 feet above the level of the sea." On the fourth day the Baron ascended the great mountain of Sidara 2,000 feet above its fellows. "The sides of this mountain are covered with aromatic plants: on arriving at its summit I found myself at the foot of two peaks called Choreibe and Farjalat, which on the right and left rose perpendicularly to the height of 800 feet above my position, and being hardly 10 minutes asunder they looked like colossal pillars of a gigantic gate." The following day he ascended some terrace-like ridges rising one above the other, "the highest of which is named Gebel Drôra."§ He was now about 8,000 feet above the level of the sea and the "view from west to north-east ranged over a yellowish plain of immense extent, on which rose every here and there conical hills and ridges. In the east the summit of the colossal Kar Soban|| towered beyond the plain. Towards the south is seen a labyrinth of dark granitic cones and the view is lost in the misty atmosphere

\* The Penetration of Arabia: by D. G. Hogarth, M.A., p. 148.

† Apparently a misprint for Borum or Ras Borum, in some maps written Barum.

‡ Spelt by Wrede *Aqaybere*.

§ In Wrede's narrative *Tsahura*.

|| In Wrede *Kaur Sayban*.



of the ocean." Across this immense plain with neither bush nor village to break the monotony the road runs till it suddenly reaches the Wadi Doân. "The ravine 500 feet wide and 600 feet in depth, is enclosed between perpendicular rocks, the debris of which form in one part a slope reaching to half their height. On this slope towns and villages rise contiguously in the form of an amphitheatre; while below the date-grounds, covered with a forest of trees, the river about 20 feet broad, and enclosed by high and walled embankments, is seen first winding through fields, laid out in terraces, then pursuing its course in the open plain, irrigated by small canals branching from it. From the description you will, I trust, form a correct idea of the Wadi Doân, of the extent, situation, and character of which travellers have given such contradictory statements." The road that led down to the Wadi was of the steepest and most dangerous description. "On the right, in some places are precipices from 300 to 400 feet in depth, whilst a rocky wall on the left nearly stops up the road, leaving it scarcely 4 feet in breadth; and to add to the difficulty it is paved with pebblestones, which, having been constantly trodden by men and animals, have become as smooth as a looking glass. No kind of parapet or railing whatever has been constructed to prevent accidents."

At Choreibe the Baron was received with all possible hospitality by a local Sheikh who owing to his sanctity had great influence in the country. From thence the traveller made several expeditions into the adjoining Wadis. The account of a visit to the desert El-Ahkaf is given with equal spirit and freshness of colouring.

"After a 6 hours' journey in a north-westerly direction I reached the borders of the desert, which is about 1,000 feet below the level of the high land. A melancholy scene presented itself to my astonished sight! Conceive an immense sandy plain strewn with numberless undulating hills, which gave it the appearance of a moving sea. Not a single trace of vegetation, be it ever so scanty, appears to animate the vast expanse. Not a single bird interrupts with its note the calm of death, which rests upon this tomb of the Sabaean army. I clearly perceived three spots of dazzling whiteness, the position and distance of which I measured geometrically. 'That is Bahr el Saffi,' said my guide to me; 'ghosts inhabit those precipices, and have covered with treacherous sand the treasures which are committed to their care; every one who approaches near them is carried down, therefore do not go.' I of course paid no attention to their warnings, but requested to be led to those spots in accordance with the agreement I had made with my Bedouins. It took my camels full 2 hours' walk before we reached the foot of the high plateau, where we halted at sunset, in the vicinity of two enormous rocky blocks. On the following morning I summoned the Bedouins to accompany me to the places alluded to above, but they were not to be induced; and the dread of ghosts had obtained such complete mastery over them, that they scarcely ventured to speak; I was therefore determined to go alone, and taking with me a plummet of half a kilo's weight and a cord of 60 fathoms, I started on my perilous march. In 36 minutes I reached, during a complete lull of the wind, the northern and nearest spot, which is about 30 minutes long and 26 minutes broad, and which towards the middle takes by degrees a sloping form of 6 feet in depth, probably from the action of the wind. With the greatest caution I approached the border to examine the sand, which I found almost an impalpable powder; I then threw the plumb-line as far as possible; it sank instantly, the velocity diminishing, and in 5 minutes the end of the cord had disappeared in the all-devouring tomb. I will not hazard an opinion of my own, but refer the phenomenon to the learned who may be able to explain it, and restrict myself to having related the facts."

On his return to Choreibe the Baron accompanied by two sons of his host started on a visit to the country of Kubr-el-Hud "which historically and geologically is highly interesting." The party "rested the first night at Grein,\* a considerable town on the right bank of the Wadi Doân," and on the following day the Baron arrived at Seef about an hour after his companions who had preceded him.

"A multitude of people had assembled in the town to celebrate the feast of the Sheikh Said ben Issa ibn Achmudi,† who was buried in Gahdun,‡ situated in the vicinity of Seef. As soon as I had arrived among the crowd they all at once fell upon me, dragged me from my camel, and disarmed me; using me very roughly, they tied my hands behind my back and carried me, with my face covered with blood and dust, before the reigning Sultan Mohammed Abdalla ibn ben Issa Achmudi. The whole of my captors raised a horrible cry and declared me to be an English spy exploring the country, and demanded my instantly being put to death. The Sultan being afraid of the Bedouins, on whom he, like all the Sultans of the Wadi, is dependant, was about to give orders for my execution, when my guides and protectors came in haste and quieted the Bedouins' minds by means of the moral influence they had over them. In the meantime I remained confined to my room with my feet in fetters. I was imprisoned for three days, but provided with every necessary; on the evening of the third day my protectors came to me with the news that they had pacified the Bedouins under the condition that I was to return to Macalla and that I should give up all my writings. At night I concealed as many of my papers as I could, and delivered only those which were written in pencil, with which they were contented. After my notes were given up, the Sultan wished to see my luggage, from which he selected for himself whatever pleased him. The next morning I set out on my return to Macalla, which town I reached on the 8th of September, after a journey of 12 days, and thence took a boat for Aden."

Captain Haines besides forwarding the report from Wrede to the Bombay Government communicated it to the Royal Geographical Society in 1844. Mr. D. G. Hogarth, in *The Penetration of Arabia* writes: "The great Prussian geographer, Karl Ritter, then finishing the Arabian volumes of his 'Description of Asia,' welcomed Wrede's report as an immense gain to knowledge." But neither a map nor a copy of the inscription of Wadi Uhne accompanied the report. The existence of these, however, as well as of certain water-colour sketches and notes was attested by Fresnel, who had talked with the author after his return to Cairo; and this learned Arabist, as well as Ritter, Murchison and other authorities, made no doubt of Wrede's good faith. But the famous Humboldt, who met him after his return to Westphalia, called in grave question the account of the Bahr-el-Saifi, quoted above, and so prevailed on scientific and public opinion that Wrede fell under general suspicion of having compiled a sensational report from hearsay; and that although Arnaud had spoken not only of knowing him before and after his exploit, but of having talked in Marib with a man of Hadramaut who had just come from his native district and seen Wrede there. His story passed into the same category as Du Courret's "*Mystères du Desert*," a fabulous concoction concerning Marib and the Hadramaut, put together from various sources, notably the narrative of Arnaud, and published in 1859.

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\* Grein should be Karrain.

† Issa ibn Achmudi should be Ed Ahmud.

‡ Gahdun should be Kahdum.

The result was that Wrede published no more, but emigrated to Texas, and there, is said to have killed himself about 1860. Thirteen years later Baron Heinrich von Maltzan, who had made the Mecca pilgrimage in disguise in 1860, and had since occupied himself with Arab studies, issued Wrede's journal in full, with map, inscription, notes and a vindictory preface, but no sketches. The words of the original report appeared here and there with a mass of new matter concerning Bedouin custom, recent history, and personal adventure. Notably the passage concerning Bahr-el-Saffi recurred unaltered. Von Maltzan states that he obtained the manuscript from Dr. Karl Andree into whose possession it had come. The map was reissued in a revised form, in 1872, in Petermann's "Mittheilungen."

Humboldt's attitude notwithstanding, there is no real doubt as to the authenticity of either Wrede's journey in Hadramaut, or his journal. To the first an even better authority than Arnaud and Haines bears witness, namely, Van den Berg, in the masterly essay on Hadramaut (1886), which he based on examination of numerous colonists from that country settled in Java. He states that he himself had talked to an Arab of Hanin, who was an eye-witness of the arrest of this "'Abd-al-Hud," (*sic*) a stranger who comported himself like a madman, and was only saved from the populace by the intervention of the Sheikh.

The next paper is the "Memoir of the South Coast of Arabia from the entrance of the Red Sea to Misena't, in  $50^{\circ} 43' 25''$  E., by Captain S. B. Haines, Indian Navy." Haines, who had few superiors in seamanship and the art of command, states that his object was "to give a description of about 500 miles of the southern coast of Arabia hitherto almost unknown—and such an account of its population, Government and commerce as was obtained, during the survey of those shores by myself and the officers of the E. I. Company's ship *Palinurus*, in the years 1834, 1835 and 1836: promising that the longitudes were determined by meridian distances, measured from the flag-staff at Bombay, assumed to be in  $72^{\circ} 54' 26''$  E., by the means of 5 and also of 8 chronometers at different times, and by quick and direct measurements."

He describes Aden, now one of the most famous stages in the world's great highway, then almost unknown to the European world. But that barren rock, as Haines reminds us, was in the time of Constantine considered "a Roman emporium, and celebrated for its impregnable fortifications, its extended commerce, and excellent ports, in which vessels from all the then known quarters of the globe might be met with." Three centuries ago the city ranked among the foremost of the commercial marts of the East. It fell to ruin in the revolutions which followed the British conquest. At the period of Haines' visit, it was a ruined village of 600 persons, "250 are Jews, 50 Banians and the rest Arabs: here is a Dowlah or Assistant-Governor, a Collector of Customs, and a guard of 50 Bedawi soldiers. The present Sultan of the Abdali territory in which Aden is situated is an indolent and almost imbecile man, 50 years of age, who resides at Lahaj." In January 1838, Haines on behalf of the Government of Bombay demanded from the Sultan restitution for an outrage on the passengers and crew of a native craft under British colours wrecked in the neighbourhood of Aden. The Sultan undertook to make compensation for the plunder of the vessel and also agreed to sell the port and town to the English. But his son refused to ratify the agreement made with his father. On the 16th of January 1839, Aden was captured by Her Majesty's steamer *Vulgar*, 28 guns, and a cruiser of 10 guns, with 300 Europeans and 400 Native troops under Major Baillie.

The next paper is a "Narrative of a Journey from Mokhá to San'á by the Tarik-Esh-Shám or Northern Route in July and August 1836, by Mr. Charles J. Cruttenden, Indian

Navy." On the 13th of July 1836, accompanied by Dr. Hulton, "two servants who also acted as interpreters, and four muleteers, all well armed," Cruttenden quitted Mokha at sunset, and travelled along the shores of the Red Sea in a northerly direction about two miles from the beach. After a march of about 15 miles they halted at the small village of Ruweis. The next day, gradually diverging from the shore, they reached, after a march of twenty miles, Múshij or Maushij,\* a large village "celebrated for the quantity of 'yasmin' or jessamine, which grows there; its flower, stripped of its stalks, and strung upon thread, is daily carried to Mokha, where it is eagerly purchased by the women as ornaments for their hair. In each thicket of jessamine there is a well of pure and sweet water, so that these bowers form a very delightful retreat during the intense heat of the day." The journey next day in a north-north-east direction to the hamlet of Sherjah was through "an arid sandy plain covered with a coarse kind of grass and stunted bushes, here and there intersected by the dry bed of a mountain torrent." The next day's march from Sherjah to Zebíd was through a country in many places carefully cultivated. "This valley is mentioned by Niebuhr as the 'largest and most fruitful in the whole of Tehameh,' and in a prosperous season it certainly would deserve that appellation. Four years of continued drought had, however, completely burned up the soil, and the husbandman could not but despond, when he had placed the grain in the ground, and saw no prospects of a return for his labour." At midnight they reached Zebíd, once the Capital of Tehameh.†

"Zebíd is a city of moderate size, not quite so large as Mokha. It had a peculiarly gloomy appearance, owing to the dark colour of the bricks with which the houses are built, and the ruinous state of many of them. It is, I believe, considered as being the most ancient town in Tehameh. The Arabs have a tradition that it has been three times washed away by floods, with the exception of the Mesjid el Jami, or principal mosque, which certainly wears a venerable appearance.

That edifice is very large, and has an octagonal monáreh, which is ornamented with a light net-work of stone, giving it a very elegant appearance. The interior is the same as in other mosques, and consists of one large room, with the kibláh pointing out the direction of Mekkah, and several small adjoining oratories branching off in different directions, containing the tombs of deceased 'welis', or saints. The 'suk', or market, is remarkably well arranged and divided into three compartments for fish, flesh and vegetables. The supplies are ample for the garrison of 700 men, and the inhabitants, who may amount to 7,000 persons."‡

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\* Also called Munched, in Niebuhr's *Arabia*, Vol. I.

† The territory of Yemen is naturally divided into two distinct provinces. That part which borders on the Arabic gulph is a sandy plain, which as it spreads backward, rises by a gradual ascent, into hills, and terminates in a lofty range of mountains. The place is called *Tehameh*. Niebuhr's *Travels*, Vol. I., page 263.

‡ Zebíd is situate near the largest and most fertile valley in all Tehameh. It was dry when I visited it, but in the rainy season a large river runs through it, and being, like the Nile, conducted by the canal through the neighbouring fields, communicates to them a high degree of fertility. Zebíd was once the place of a sovereign's residence and the most commercial city in all Tehameh. But, since the harbour of Ghalefka was choked up, its trade has been transferred to Beit-el-Fakeh and Mokha; and that city now retains nothing but the shadow of its former splendour. Viewed from a distance it appears to some advantage, by means of the mosques and kubbets of which it is full. Several of these mosques were erected by different Pachas who resided here, during the short period while this part of Arabia was in the possession of the Ottoman Porte. Niebuhr's *Travels*, Vol. II, page 282.



On the 17th of July they left Zebid in the afternoon and after "a very long and fatiguing stage of nine hours and a half or nearly thirty miles, in a north-easterly direction" they reached the city of Beit-el-Fakih \* an hour after midnight.

"We found Beit-el-Fakih, a large town of 8,000 persons, with a citadel of some strength in the centre of it. The town itself was unwallled, and consisted generally of a large kind of houses, built partly of brick and partly of mud, and roofed with branches of the date-tree. It is the frontier-town of the Egyptian Government, and as such is of some importance, it being the emporium of all the coffee that comes from the interior. The principal articles of trade in Zebid and Beit-el-Fakih are piece-goods from India, consisting chiefly of coarse, blue and white cloth, English shawls, which are in great request, spices from Java, and sugar from Mauritius, which are bartered for money, wax, gums and frankincense, and a small quantity of coffee that the neighbouring Bedawis bring down in preference to sending it to the San'á market. Indian Bantias are the principal merchants in the place; they are very numerous, but they have to pay a very heavy tax to the Governor, and one of them declared, with tears in his eyes, that they could not make near so much profit as in India under the Government of the English. A heavy duty is here levied upon all káfilahs (caravans) of coffee that arrive from San'á on their way to Hodeidah or Mokha, and so vexatious are the continual demands upon the San'á merchants that it will end, in all probability, in their carrying their coffee to Aden, more especially as it is now under the British flag. The distance is nearly the same, and we frequently heard while in San'á that the merchants contemplated changing the route, if practicable: though of course, when this was said, they knew nothing of the treaty since formed by the Bombay Government with the Sultan of Aden."†

At 6 p.m. on July the 18th they left Beit-el-Fakih and "travelled in a north-east direction for eight hours, immediately towards the mountains" till they reached a pass, and crossing over a low shoulder of the mountain they "descended by a densely-wooded ravine into the beautiful valley of Senniff. Dark as it was, it was evident that the scene was changed. Tall, majestic elm trees mingled with the wide-spreading tamarind, and forming a natural avenue met our view. The babbling of a brook was heard, and the sound of our footsteps was lost in the grass. To us, who for six days had been travelling in a comparative desert, the change was delightful in the extreme." Senniff then formed a large village "built entirely of conical straw huts, with the exception of the Sheikh's house, which was a large barn-like building." Senniff, however, ranked as a market town and was also called "Suk-el-Jum'ah" or Friday market. There are seven market-towns between this place and San'á, in each of which the market is held on a different day of the week, and they are a night's journey distant from each other. The Sheikhs of the different villages levy a tax upon all merchandise, and take the merchants under protection for the time." At Senniff they first saw the "Bedawis" of the mountains.

"They are very slightly but elegantly formed, and their average height is five feet six inches; their colour is lighter than that of the Bedawis on the southern coast, and they have

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\* Niebuhr writes: Beit-el-Fakih meaning the house or dwelling of the sage. Niebuhr's Travels, Vol. II, page 271. He also states: "I arrived early in the morning at Zebid; having travelled in a short time five German miles, which is the computed distance between this town and Beit-el-Fakih."

† The city of Beit-el-Fakih is in a favourable situation for trade.

long, black, curling hair. The dress of the higher classes among them consists of a blue frock or shirt, with very wide sleeves, bound tight round the waist by the belt of their yambé (jambiye) or dagger, and no sash or, as it is termed in India, 'kamarband.' The dagger is different from any other that I have seen, being much longer and nearly straight. Their turban is of blue cloth, with several folds of cotton of the same colour bound round it, the Bedawi disdaining to wear the straw hat used by the cultivators of the soil. They carry a short sword with a very broad, spoon-shaped point, if I may use the term, and a long matchlock. When on horse-back they carry a very long spear, having a tuft of horse hair close to the steel head. They appear to be very quick in taking offence, but their quarrels seldom last long. I have seen a man deliberately draw his sword and endeavour to cut down another with whom he was disputing, nothing but the folds of his turban saving his life, and I have been surprised to see the very same men quietly smoking their pipes together on the evening after the quarrel. We found them inquisitive, but not impertinently so. They would collect round us when we halted and listen to our accounts of 'Wiláyat' or England, or to what they infinitely preferred the musical box which we had with us. Some, indeed, after hearing the box for a minute or two, would exclaim, 'Audhá Billah min Shertáne rájim!'—'God preserve us from the power of the devil!'—and walk away, but they were generally laughed at for their folly. They all expressed the utmost detestation of the 'Turks, or 'El Ahmarán' (the red men), as they designated them, and laughed at the idea of their endeavouring to penetrate into the interior through the intricate mountain-passes."

At Senniff they were joined by the leader of a large kafilah which was awaiting them twenty miles further and two San'á merchants "mounted on two very beautiful Abyssinian mules." At day light, 20th July, they left Senniff and proceeded through a very romantic valley called "Wadi Koleibah" on their way to Hajir.

"As we gradually ascended, the scenery hourly became more striking and magnificent. The hills were thickly clothed with wood, and we recognised several trees that we had formerly seen in the Jebel Hajjiyeh of Socotra. The villages became more numerous, and the sides of the mountains being in their natural state too steep to admit of grain being cultivated, they are cut away so as to form terraces, which in many places gives them the appearance of an immense amphitheatre. The hamlets are generally built of loose stones with flat mud roofs, and, perched upon overhanging rocks as they generally are, they add considerably to the romantic beauty of the scene. After a halt of an hour during the hottest part of the day at one of these villages called Abu Kirsh, we again pursued our way up a steep ravine where we had to dismount. We here observed many large trees, one in particular, of a spongy nature, the stem about two feet six inches in diameter, and the leaves very large and of a leathery texture. It is called by the natives the 'Tolak-tree' (*Ficus Bengalensis*) and is generally covered with the nests of the 'baia,' a small kind of sparrow. I have seen upwards of 300 nests upon one tree. They are of a pear shape, having a long funnel-like aperture at the base, and the interior divided into two compartments, one for the male and the other for the female and her progeny."

A very steep climb brought them to the fortified serai of Hajir on the side of a mountain commanding the pass on both sides. \* "On another ridge immediately above Hajir is a fortress of considerable strength belonging to the Beni Dhobeibi tribe though nominally one of the

frontier garrisons of the Imam." At sunrise they again set forth and descending the ravine on the east north-east side of Hajir, pursued their way through a broad and cultivated valley called Wadi Sehan till they reached Dakra, "a very strong hill fort on a conical shaped mountain" where it opened out into a broad plain. "The mountains on the north side of this plain are known as Jebel Harráz and on the other side they are called Jebel Burrá." In the ravine bordering on Jebel Harráz resided a small tribe who were in the habit of waylaying any unfortunate straggler and murdering him. "This dreaded part of the plain is known as Khubt ibn Deran, and we were shown several graves which remained as monuments of the cruelty and ferocity of the miscreants." The travellers halted for the night at the village of Samfur and the next day they entered the Harráz mountains.

"The valley now became much narrower, in many places not exceeding twenty yards in width, while the mountains on either side rose to the height of 1,200 or 1,400 feet above the plain, thickly wooded to within 200 feet of their summit, where they presented a barren sheet of grey limestone rock. Under a huge mass which had fallen and completely blocked up the valley, we found a coffee-house and two or three small huts. Understanding that there was a coffee plantation in the neighbourhood, and of the very best quality, we gladly availed ourselves of the suggestion of Sheikh el Jerádi, and halted there for the day. A scrambling walk over the before-mentioned rock, by means of steps cut in it, brought us to the coffee-plantation of Dórah.\* It was small, perhaps not covering half an acre, with an embankment of stone round it to prevent the soil from being washed away."

They found the "fig, plantain, orange, citron, and a little indigo growing among the coffee." The following morning the travellers left Dórah and took the road to Mofhak.

"The valley of Dórah through which we travelled in an east-north-east direction, opened, after three or four miles, upon a large plain, in the midst of which was the village of Sehan.† The country was the same as that we had hitherto passed through, though not so mountainous. At three we reached the village of Mofhak,‡ and found good quarters in a simsereh. This village of 50 huts is situate on the crest of an oblong hill, about 300 feet high,§ the sides of which are too steep for any beast of burden to ascend. It presents the appearance of an immense fort, and with a little care might be rendered impregnable. We here found another plantation of coffee of the 'Uddeini sort. The trees were about twelve feet in height; but, owing to a scarcity of water in the immediate neighbourhood, looked sickly and faded."

The next day they made a short march of four hours to the village of El Hudein¶ from whence they sent on a courier to San'á with a letter of introduction to one of the principal merchants. On the morning of July the 25th they set forth and ascended gradually for about two hours, when they reached the ridge of the mountain, and from the summit a most magnificent view burst upon them.

\* Coffee-plantation Eddórah — Niebuhr, *Reise* 1, 433

† Sehan, Niebuhr, *Voy.* 1, 432.

‡ "We travelled this day onward to Mofhak, a small town situate on the summit of a precipitous hill. The houses in which the travellers lodge stand at the foot of the hill." Niebuhr, *Deser.*, page 250, *Voy.*

"An hour or so later we passed under the strange fortress of Mofhak grandly situated on the pinnacle of a rock some five hundred feet above the valley; and, leaving a large encampment of Turkish troops on our left, once more began to ascend." *A Journey through the Yemen*. By Walter B. Harris (1893).

§ According to Glaser 1690 meters above sea level.

¶ According to Glaser (*Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1886, page 39) its correct name is Al-Haḍaim ('the two cisterns').

"The hills formed an immense circle, like the crater of a huge volcano, and the sides of which from the top to the bottom were cut regularly into terraces. I counted upwards of 150 in uninterrupted succession; and the *tout-ensemble* was most extraordinary. At the bottom of this basin ran a small stream, which, from the height at which we were, looked like a silver thread. Small hamlets each with its little white mosque, were scattered over the sides of the mountains, and added greatly to the beauty of the scene." \* After skirting "the edge of this natural amphitheatre" they reached a long table land "very barren and stony," that extended to the village of Motteneh. Here they halted for the night. The next day they continued their march over a table land till they reached the village of Assur "seated at the eastern verge of this plateau, and saw the city and beautiful valley of San'á stretched before us."

Cruttenden was the first to reveal to the European world the beauty and prosperity of the Yemen Capital, the character of its architecture and the grandeur of its public buildings. The two palaces of the Imam are well described.

"The Imam of San'á has two large palaces with extensive gardens adjoining; the whole walled round and fortified. The first and largest is called *Bustán el Sultán*, or the Garden of the Sultán; the other, which is the most ancient, *Bustán el Metwokkil*. They are built of hewn stone, plastered over with a grey-coloured mortar, having the windows and cornices of a bright white colour, which gives the house a very light and airy appearance. Fountains appear to be indispensable in the houses at San'á, and in the *Bustán el Metwokkil* there are several. The Imam has a stud of very fine horses that are always piqueted in front of the palace. They come from the desert of Jóf, to the north of San'á, and for the first four years of their life rarely taste anything but dates and milk. They are larger than the 'Nejdi' breed, but I believe are not considered as inferior to them in symmetry or speed."

He then gives a picturesque account of the visit of the Imam to the great mosque on Friday.

"Troops were called into the town to assist at the ceremony and during the time of the procession the city gates were, as usual, closed. About fifty armed Bedawis formed the commencement of the cavalcade. They walked six abreast, and sang in chorus. The principal people of the town followed, mounted on horseback, each carrying a long spear with a small pennon. The Imam next followed on a splendid white charger, and very superbly dressed. He held in his hand a long spear with a silver head, having the shaft gilt. His left hand rested on the shoulder of a confidential eunuch, and two grooms led his horse. A very magnificent canopy, much like an umbrella in form, was carried over his head, having the fringe ornamented with silver bells. The *Seif el Khalifah* came next, having a canopy held over his head likewise, but smaller and less costly. The commander of the troops and the Imam's relations and principal officers followed, and about 100 more Bedawis closed the procession. On reaching the square in front of the palace, the footmen ranged themselves round it, and the Imam, followed by his nearest relations, galloped repeatedly round the square, brandishing

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\* "The track was leading us along the summit of a mountain top, which to the north looked straight down into a great valley, thousands of feet below. What a wonderful valley it was, full of coffee-groves, and luxuriating in all the glories of gorgeous vegetation, amongst which banana-leaves could be plainly distinguished, waving their great green heads! Amongst all this verdure, clinging as it seemed to the mountain-sides, were villages each crowned by its *burj* or fort, the whole perched on some over-hanging rock." *A Journey through the Yemen*. By Walter B. Harris, page 327.



his spear, and making a feint of attacking the nearest horsemen. After this had lasted some minutes, the Imam stood still in the centre of the square, and the people rushed from every quarter to kiss his knees. He then retired towards the palace, and as he passed under the archway, a gun was fired to give notice that the ceremony was at an end."

Cruttenden discusses the physical features of the country and the climate and estimates the population to be about 40,000 and "in the four towns of the valley, viz., San'a, Rōdah, Wadi Dhar, and Jeráf there are not less than 70,000 people."\* The merchants formed the principal body of men in the town. "They are generally wealthy and live in good style. The Banias are also numerous, but they are compelled, like the Jews, to conceal what they really possess and however wealthy they may be, to put on an outward show of abject poverty." The Jews of the Yemen are believed to have come from India, and the ghetto was then as it is now separate from the city.†

Cruttenden and his companions went about the city in their uniforms, and not only was no insult offered them but great courtesy was shown them by the inhabitants, as he states in his clear description of the town.

"The old city of San'a is walled round and, including Bir el Azab, is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles in circuit: it has some guns, but in a very bad condition. The houses are large, and the windows of those of the higher classes are of beautiful stained glass. A handsome stone bridge is thrown across the principal street, as in wet weather a stream of water runs down it. The streets are narrow, though broader than those of Mokhá and Zébíd. Great hospitality was shown us on entering their houses; we were always pressed to stay, and never allowed to go without taking a cup of coffee, or rather of an infusion of the coffee husk, called 'Keshr;' for, strange to say, though in the heart of the coffee country, coffee is never taken as a beverage, being considered as too heating.‡ The infusion of the husk is very palatable; and we found it much more refreshing, and nearly as powerful a stimulant as the infusion of the bean itself."

During their rambles through the city, the travellers discovered some Himyaritic inscriptions and copied them on the spot. "On close inquiry, we found that the stones had been brought from Máreb, about two days journey to the north-east, and that there were many more to be found there. The longest inscription was on a slab of white marble, and, when we saw, it served to cover a hole in the roof of a mosque. A bribe of a dollar had a magical effect on the scruples of a servant, and the stone was brought to our lodgings that night to be copied and carefully replaced before daylight." The two travellers determined to visit Máreb, but they could not accomplish it, as the Imam grew jealous of their proceedings and Dr. Hulton was smitten with a severe illness. As soon as he could be moved they left San'a (20th August), after having resided there for a month. In fourteen days they reached the gates of Mokha. Dr. Hulton died very shortly after he reached the *Palinurus*. He was a man of considerable

\* "The population of San'a, although there is no official census to base one's calculation upon, probably numbers some forty or fifty thousand, of whom twenty thousand are said to be Jews." *A Journey through the Yemen*. By Walter B. Harris, page 312.

"Manzoni's estimate of the population is half that of Harris, made after a lapse of fifteen years, and is probably still the more correct." *The Penetration of Arabia*. By D. G. Hogarth, page 198.

† "The principal artisans are the Jews: these amount to about 3,000 persons, and live in a quarter of the city appropriated to them." *Cruttenden's journey*, page 250.

A chapter on the Yemen Jews is given by Maltezan Reiser in *Arabia*, i. 172-181. He holds that their condition has been improved owing to the growth of British influence.

‡ Glaser from "Hudaída to San'a" in *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1886, page 2, confirmed this

scientific attainments, an intrepid traveller, and of a modest and unselfish nature, which caused him to be loved by all his shipmates.\*

The last paper in this volume is a "Narrative of a Journey to Shoa." On the 24th of April 1841, the Secretary to the Bombay Government writes as follows to Captain W. C. Harris, Bombay Engineers.

"I am directed to inform you that the Honourable the Governor in Council having formed a very high estimate of your talents and acquirements, and of the spirit of enterprise and decision, united with prudence and discretion, exhibited in your recently published Travels 'Through the Territories of the Chief Moselekalse to the tropic of Capricorn', has been pleased to select you to conduct a Mission, which the British Government has resolved to send to Sahela Selassie, the King of Shoa, in Southern Abyssinia, whose capital, Anköbar, is computed to be about four hundred miles inland from the port of Tajura, on the African Coast."

The embassy was composed of Captain W. C. Harris; Captain Douglas Graham, Bombay Army, Principal Assistant; Assistant-Surgeon Rupert Kirk, Bombay Medical Service; Dr. J. R. Roth, Natural Historian, Lieutenant Sydney Horton, H. M. 49th Foot, as a volunteer; Lieutenant W. C. Barker, Indian Navy; Assistant-Surgeon Impey, Bombay Medical Service; Mr. Martin Bernatz, Artist; Mr. Robert Scott, Surveyor and Draftsman; Mr. J. Hatchatoon, British Agent at Tajura. A German Missionary, a Mr. Krauff, acted as Interpreter. The escort consisted of ten European soldiers, Volunteers from the Bombay Artillery, and Her Majesty's 6th Foot. The presents and baggage required 180 camels, and besides they had 33 mules and 17 horses. The embassy first disembarked at Aden, and it was not till the 17th of May that it reached Tajura, a deep bay which runs fifty miles inland at the entrance of the Red Sea. Here they had to stay for some time, in order to procure the necessary number of camels to carry the presents, and they did not commence their journey till the evening of the 1st of June 1841, "the anniversary of one of our greatest naval battles, and hence we considered that we had launched into the desert under rather favourable auspices." The road from Tajura to Shoa crosses the desert for two hundred miles. Shortly after leaving Tajura they encamped on the borders of Bahar Assal, the Salt lake, "six hundred feet below the level of the sea."

"Never shall I forget this day. The heat was indeed fearful, the glare oppressive; in vain we looked for shelter, a few stunted acacias, scattered here and there, as if in very mockery of nature, was all that could be obtained, and even there we were not allowed to remain under in peace, for both camels and mules, throwing off their accustomed fear of the 'lords of the creation,' crowded together and were with difficulty kept off." At 11 p.m. they departed from "the furnace" and had not proceeded far "before man and beast began to sleep by the wayside from sheer exhaustion: in vain every encouragement was held out, their sufferings were too great."

"Our road lay over a broken mass of lava for some distance, and again we gradually ascended, till as the day dawned the foremost of our party arrived at some small pools of water the most refreshing man ever tasted. A supply was instantly sent back to the sufferers, and the party pushed forward, descending again to the south-east corner of the Salt Lake. We there

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\* An account of Mr. Cruttenden's visit to San'a was published in Volume II of the transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society. It differs from the present text, which is the same as the account published in Volume VIII, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

crossed over a mass of salt hard as ice, and at length reached our halting-place about eight o'clock in the morning. The whole party, however, did not get up till late in the afternoon."

A low belt of hills forms the western bank of this field of salt and opens into a mountain ravine. They proceeded up this ravine till they reached Goongoonteh, their halting place. For two days and a half "our cattle had not tasted a drop of water. A small stream of water issuing from some hot springs in the head of the ravine was murmuring along when we arrived: nothing could restrain our animals from making to it. they would not wait to have their bridles removed." The dire Tehameh, an iron-bound waste, had been passed. The gloomy ravine was not a verdant spot. No forage or fuel could be got there. But the animals and men had suffered so greatly that it was determined to halt there for an extra day. Every precaution was taken against being surprised by the Bedouins. "A portion of our Native escort was stationed some yards in advance, and an English sentinel kept watch and ward in our immediate vicinity." All passed quietly the first night. During the day they found shelter in some caves by the side of the ravine, and in the evening moved down to their encampment. The same precautions were taken. "An hour before midnight a sudden and violent sirocco scoured the Wady, the shower of dust and pebbles raised by its hot blast being followed by a few heavy drops of rain with a calm as still as death."\* At three in the morning the stillness was broken by a loud scream. Hurrying to the spot Harris and Graham found Sergeant Walpole and Corporal Wilson, H.M. 6th Foot, lying weltering in their blood. "One had been struck with a crease in the carotic artery immediately below the ear, and the other stabbed through the heart; whilst speechless beside their mangled bodies was stretched a Portuguese follower with a frightful gash across the abdomen." Three men belonging to a tribe on the opposite coast had crept down the ravine and when the sentry was at the other end of his beat had swiftly committed the foul deed. The object was not plunder but to prove their manhood. "For every victim, sleeping or waking, that falls under the murderous knife of one of these fiends in human form, he is entitled to display a white ostrich plume in the woolly hair, to wear on the arm an additional bracelet of copper, and to adorn the hilt of his reeking crease with yet another stud of silver or pewter—his reputation for prowess and bravery rising amongst his clansmen in proportion to the attendant circumstances."† As the day broke, were borne enveloped in a blood-stained winding sheet the remains of the two soldiers to the graves dug by the Native escort. A portion of the burial service was read and three volleys of musketry, the soldiers' last tribute, rang among the dark recesses of the defile. Then the party wound up the ravine till they reached their halting place at Aoolie—signifying fresh water. "To us this place appeared a perfect paradise after what we had suffered in crossing the Tehameh, a large pool of water teeming with wild duck, which ere long garnished our table."

On the 10th of July, after weary marches through the low country of the Adail, they encamped on the eastern bank of the river Hawash. "As we approached its banks the country gradually improved, and game became abundant. Here on its banks the vegetation was most luxuriant, and our weary animals at length, for the first time since quitting the coast, had abundance of grass." However, on crossing the stream, the country again displayed much the same character as to the eastward—a barren desert. The climate was, however,

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\* *The Highlands of Aethiopia* by Major Cornwallis Harris, Vol. I, p. 123.

† *The Highlands of Aethiopia* by Major Cornwallis Harris, Vol. I, p. 125.

much cooler. On the 14th of July they arrived at the frontier station of his Most Christian Majesty Sahela Selassie (Bounty of the Trinity) "King of Shoa, Efat and the Galla—a high-sounding title."

"Verily, I do think that there is not a more inhospitable desert than we have just traversed. *On one occasion only*, on the banks of the Hawash did we ever have grass, wood and water at the same time; out of seventeen horses one only was in a state fit to mount; our mules were almost as bad, for, poor animals! on several occasions they were two and even three days without water. All that can be said of the country is that it is worthy of its possessors, a wild race, whose hand is against every man, who fear neither God nor man—indeed, whose whole life is spent in bloodshed, murders of the most atrocious kind being of daily occurrence. Nature appears to have set her curse upon the country and its inhabitants, for it is scorched and burnt up, the greater portion having been at one time subject to volcanic action, as thermal waters are to be found scattered all about the place. The inhabitants are liars and murderers from their youth."

The embassy had now mounted two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and their camp was pitched at the foot of the lofty mountains of Shoa, which towered some six thousand feet above them. On the 17th having delivered over all the baggage to the authorities, to be carried on men's shoulders, they began their ascent of the Abyssinian Alps.

"What a contrast to the country we had just left! Our road wound round the sides of the mountains, across running streams of the most clear and delicious water—a great treat to us—the hills crowned with villages whose inhabitants greeted us with loud shouts of joy, for we were 'the King's strong strangers,' and accompanied by the Royal troops, the principal of his Governors, and the General of the Gunmen. Our hearts felt quite light as we wound our way cheerily along, for all around smiled peace, and the country had a refreshing appearance. They had had a few showers, though the rainy season had not fairly set in, which caused the green grass to show itself; we heard the warbling of birds; verily it appeared to us a perfect paradise. Who has not read of the happy valley in Johnson's Rasselas? We fancied that he had chosen this very spot for the scene of his tale."

After ascending three thousand feet they halted at the market town of Alio Amba upon the crest of a scarped prong formed by the confluence of two mountain streams. Here they had to stay in some "wretched barn-looking place swarming with vermin" until the 1st August when his Most Christian Majesty consented to receive them at his private residence at Muklewans "only about three miles from this, and about the same distance from his Capital." His Majesty had repented of having invited so large a body of "gypsies," as they termed them. Many were the tales told of their conquests of foreign lands. "True they are few in number," said they, "but they have with them guns, and fire (alluding to the rockets), which, if thrown upon the ground, will destroy whole armies." The next day the Mission was ushered into the Royal presence. "The apartment was a rude thatched building." In a sort of alcove reclined His Majesty, supported by silken cushions. He "had no head-dress or covering for his feet; his hair was frizzled up and well greased; he had silken small clothes, and the usual Abyssinian robe, but adorned with several broad red stripes at each end and also in the middle. He had evidently determined to receive us with reserve, and, as we entered, he glanced at each of us with his one eye (be it observed that he had lost the use of the other), returned our salutation in a scarce audible tone, and then begged us to be covered and seated. We had



previously sent our chairs, which were placed in front of the throne." After the letter from the Bombay Government had been delivered, and the usual compliments, the presents were brought.

"A magnificent musical clock, musical boxes, a Brussels carpet, dress, swords, silks, muslins, Delhi scarves, *ad infinitum*, were displayed before the King, to each of which the answer given was "May God reward thee! May God restore it unto thee!" with the utmost gravity. The European escort then made their appearance and went through the manual and platoon exercise. At the moment when the movement was made to receive cavalry, the King exclaimed, "Ah, that will do here, but would they thus kneel before the cavalry of the Galla?" They retired and brought in the muskets; hitherto the King had retained his gravity, but about the time the hundredth musket, with its bright polished bayonet, was laid before him, he gave vent to his feelings in a prolonged shrill whistle. "Ye gods! what an unkingly act! Shortly after we took leave, and were that evening regaled with all the luxuries the royal kitchen afforded." The next day they had a private audience of the King, when the remainder of the costly gifts were spread out for His Majesty's acceptance, with the ammunition and the three pounder field-piece. "To initiate him into the use thereof we had some artillery practice in the evening, at which he appeared perfectly delighted." On the 5th of August, after having another private audience, they took leave and set forth for Ankobar, which they reached after a ride of about an hour along very narrow pathways. Here they were detained, "scarcely ever moving a yard from the house," until the 23rd of September when they were invited to pay His Majesty a visit at Debra Berhan, about twenty miles from Ankobar, to be present at a review of a portion of his troops. On reaching Debra Berhan they were graciously received "and accommodated with bread, raw meat, and mead in abundance." The review commenced "by Itoo Kotama bringing forth his gallant band of gunmen, in number about six hundred, chanting forth songs in praise of the 'Bounty of the Trinity,' and shouting defiance to his enemies, the worthy General, in his cracked voice, screaming 'Behold in me the King's great warrior! I have slain the Galla till their blood flowed like water! I am the King's slave' to which his worthy followers replied by a loud shout of 'Wo—Wo—Wo' in a kind of chant." Having discharged their muskets and matchlocks they advanced to the foot of the throne, bared themselves to the waist and fell prostrate to the earth. They then arose, and marched past, shouting and singing as they came.

"These are the King's favourite troops, and were the only portion allowed to come up to the very foot of the throne, the others not being permitted to approach nearer than three hundred yards. Itoo Kotama was clad in silken small clothes, his loins girded up with some sixty or eighty yards of cloth, wearing a particoloured chintz waistcoat, and the skin of the lion buttoned round the neck and hanging over the left shoulder. He had a silver-sheathed sword, his shield (carried by a young man, his shield-bearer) was studded with silver devices, the Cross predominating. On his arm he wore a silver gauntlet, and armlets of the same metal and ivory above his elbow, and his appearance altogether was the very type of the savage warrior."

Thirteen Governors passed by in the same order as the matchlock men with their several contingents and lastly the Galla Cavalry, under Itoo Mareteh, which had been drawn up on one side of the ground.

"These were the finest body of men, in number about two thousand. They came forward at a hard gallop in a double line, and pulled up so suddenly that their horses were almost thrown upon their haunches. 'I have slain men!' shouted forth Itoo Mareteh as he approached to make his obeisance; he then galloped off along the line of his followers, and returning shouted 'I am the King's slave! Behold in me the Father of Warriors!' and then throwing his spears at some imaginary foe (which were nimbly picked up by his shield-bearer) and throwing his sword, his men gave a loud shout, then galloped past, and were soon lost in a cloud of dust."

Itoo Mareteh was dressed like the Infantry General, but in addition to the ornaments worn by the latter, he had the "Akoo Dama," which was worn only by the bravest of the brave. "It is a silver bar which is fastened across the forehead, and to which there is appended a row of silver chains reaching below the eyes, and at each extremity of the bar down to the shoulders, imparting a peculiarly wild appearance to their swarthy features." Shortly before the Galla Cavalry advanced the European escort were requested to take their places by the gun, in order that "the King's strong strangers" might be seen and to fire the gun quickly. "We fired about thirty rounds, till the little gun danced about in fine style. These valleys had never before been disturbed by the roar of cannon. Great astonishment was depicted on every countenance." A few days after the review the envoy informed the King that he had been ordered to return to his country and requested his assistance to enable him to return to Harrar. The King gave his consent to his returning and promised him a letter to the Emir of that country. Barker went back to Ankobar to prepare for his journey to Harrar and the King set forth on his expedition against a tribe of the Gallas. The success of the foray was complete. "The royal forces fell upon them by surprise, and it is said slew about four thousand men, women and children, drove off all their cattle, to the number of nearly twelve thousand, and destroyed the whole of their crops by fire." On the 18th of November the King made his triumphal entry into Ankobar. "Not having my uniform with me I could not witness it. For the first time the glorious ensign of old England was displayed at the *Residency*." The envoy reminded the King of his promise to give him a letter of introduction and after a considerable pressure the document was drafted. "He tried to dissuade me from attempting the journey, and begged I would remain in his country; but at length, finding me determined, he carefully perused the letter to the Emir of Harrar which had been written in Amharic, having a translation in Arabic, ordered his seal to be brought, and attached it to the document." The letter was as follows:

"May this letter from Sahela Selassie, King of Shoa, Efat, and the Galla, reach the hands of Aboo Bekr, the Ruler of Harrar! How are you? Are you well? Are you quite well? I am well. The bearer of this letter is Captain Barker; he is an Englishman and commands a vessel in the sea of Tajura. He has been ordered by his Queen to return soon to his country; now, in order that he might do this, he wished to return by the nearest road, and begged of me a letter of recommendation to you. I am thinking of him very much; and I wish that on his road, and when he passes through your country, nothing should do him harm. I therefore wish that you should protect him perfectly, and assist him in all that he wants. The love which you show to him I will consider as shown to myself, and it will give me pleasure to hear that he has reached the sea-coast in safety by your assistance. He came to me by order of his Queen, and I am in great friendship with her; if you will show kindness

to him, my name as well as yours will be honoured beyond the Great Sea. A traveller when in a far country has no father, no mother, no relations; it is therefore becoming in the watchmen of kingdoms, in the Kings and Rulers of Provinces, that they should protect travellers and assist them in all that they desire. If they do this they will be blessed by God and honoured by men. I command you this; I command you this."

Having obtained this important document Barker returned to the village of Alio Amba about five miles from Ankōbar where he had resided for some time. It was chiefly inhabited by Harrar Merchants, "who reside here until they have disposed of their merchandise, and then return with slaves to their native country, a fresh swarm taking their place." It was these Harrar merchants who raised the greatest obstacles against Barker travelling through their country. However, by patience, courage and tact the difficulties were surmounted, and on the 15th January, he left Alio Amba "accompanied for several miles by the villagers, who evinced great sympathy with us, many of them crying bitterly." The sailor had won their hearts by attending on them when sick and curing their simple ailments. A caravan left Alio Amba at the same time for Tajura, and Barker joined it. It consisted of about fifteen of the natives of that place, who had with them fifty camels laden with provision for the journey, about fifty male and twenty female slaves (mostly children of from six to ten years of age). After a tedious journey of eight days, they arrived at the lake Yoor Erain Murroo where they fell in with a great number of Bedouins, "who were watering their cattle, to the amount of at least three thousand head of horned cattle, and sheep innumerable." Datah Mahomed, to whose charge Barker had been entrusted, was fortunately their Chief, and he invited Barker and the caravan to pay a visit to his village. "We accordingly set out thither, and found him, with the principal people of his tribe, seated under the shade of a venerable acacia, indulging in a luxurious feast of raw beef. Six bullocks were slaughtered immediately on our arrival and we were desired to 'eat and be merry'." The next day they were summoned to the dwelling of the old chief to witness his marriage with a new wife. They found the bride "a comely maiden, well formed and of moderate stature" about fourteen years of age, seated on a wicker frame about six inches from the ground.

"After the opening chapter of the Korán had been recited by a venerable sage, to which all devoutly responded 'Ameen,' a large bowl of sour milk was produced, thickly sprinkled with red pepper, not at all savoury in smell or pleasing to the eye. What was the surprise of the old man when I declined partaking thereof! Not drink sour milk! 'There is no God but God! God is great!' he exclaimed; however, he had the civility to send for a bowl of fresh milk, and I partially regained his favour by the ample justice I did to this, almost equal to the relish evinced by my Tajuran friends to the former bowl. Fresh ghee (clarified butter) was then handed round, with which all anointed their bodies, and we then took our departure."

Soon after the ceremony the old chief returned the visit and said to Barker, "My son, you see I have treated you with great honour, I have feasted you with meat and milk in plenty; now I want a mule and plenty of cloth, for all my people want cloth and as yet you have given me nothing." I became angry, and told him that I had given him the horse and cloth, etc.; he smiled and said "Yes, I know that, but I want a mule; my horse has been stolen." He also said he wanted some blue cloth, and he took a great fancy to my Arab cloak, my only covering at night. My portmanteau being torn, he thrust his fingers in between the outer leather and the lining, and said, with a most avaricious grin, "What have

you here?" Upon this I arose and said, "I see now that you are no longer my father. The Wulasma Mohamed said you would be kind to me; is this your kindness?" He begged pardon, and said, "Don't be afraid, my son; I will take nothing but what you give freely. People have been telling you bad things of me, but don't believe them. I am an old man now, and have given up plundering people."

The Bedouin Chief dared not infringe the rites of hospitality so sacred in the East. "Had we not feasted together at Gouchoo, had we not eaten salt together, this man would assuredly have plundered me, aye, and have thought as little of murdering me as of killing any animal by whose death he would have been benefited." At 2 p.m. on the 26th of January "the welcome order was given to load the camels and prepare once more to move forward." But Captain Barker had to abandon all idea of reaching Harrar. "By remaining with the Bedouins I should but be bandied about from one chief to another, and the constant demands of Datab Mahomed for tobacco, cloth, etc., in fact, for all that his covetous eyes lighted upon did not give me any encouragement to trust myself with him after the departure of the Tajurans." The Tajurans also all begged of him not to think of remaining with the Bedouins. "Think not of your property alone" cried out Ibrahim, "but also of your life and the lives of your servants. Remember the belly of the 'Bedoo' is never filled. Come on with us; we will share with you our provisions and travel with speed." And the Tajurans proved true to their word. After six days' journey, Barker, leaving his luggage with the Kafilah people, pushed forward for Tajura with a small party. It consisted of "Ibrahim, the Ras-el-Kafilah; Deeni, the interpreter; a Bedouin of the Assoubah tribe (a sub-tribe of the Adaiel) who rejoiced in the designation of 'Adam the Black'; John, a Greek; Adam, an Indian; Mahomed, an Arab (my servants); and myself; altogether seven, all mounted on mules and well armed." At a rapid pace they passed through the Wady Dalaboyeh and descended on the 4th of February to the plains of Gingaddi.

"As we had to pass near several encampments, the fires of which we could see in the distance, we halted and sent the Bedouin 'Adam the Black' forward as a scout, to ascertain whether they were friends or foes. Dismounting from his mule, stripping himself perfectly naked, and grasping his crease or dagger in the right hand and his shield in the left, the wily savage crept along on his hands and knees. We awaited in breathless suspense the return of our scout: at last Ibrahim whispered to me 'They have found him out; let us go forward: he is a Bedoo and will take care of himself.' We had moved but a few yards, however, when he was in the midst of us—he had approached so cautiously. The encampment nearest to us, he said, was one of the Debeni. Although a friendly tribe, it was deemed advisable to pass them as quietly as we could. We succeeded in doing so without disturbing one of them, and having got a respectful distance by half-past eight we halted in a clear space, so that we could see any one approaching."

The next day they crossed the Salt Lake not by the route which the embassy had taken; they "struck off to the right, over broken masses of lava and volcanic remains, and had a splendid view of the lake from summit of the hills. At one o'clock I found the heat so very oppressive that I was obliged to halt for a couple of hours under the shade of some detached rocks. The wind was blowing with such violence that it considerably retarded our progress, so that we did not arrive at Dahfurri till sunset. Here we found a large pool of fresh water, clear as crystal; this we must have passed, on going to Shoa, within a few hundred yards, at a time when we suffered so much from the want of water, and only four miles from our halting-place at the Salt Lake. However, Ibrahim declared to me that at that time it was a mere pool of filth, but that the late rains had filled it as we found it now."



Having filled their water-skins, they retired to some distance from the pool, and kept a most vigilant watch till one o'clock next morning, when they started again, "so as to clear the Ra Esa pass before day-light," as they had heard that the Bedouins were hovering about its vicinity, on the look out for their customary toll from the Kafilah.

"As we wound up this dreadful pass the barking of dogs betrayed the vicinity of the Bedouins—indeed they were encamped but a short distance above us. Not a word was spoken, but each urged his mule forward by sundry kicks, and as the day dawned we ascended to the elevated plain of Wady Lissan, where we halted for about two hours, and shared the last of our provisions about a handful of parched grain and a cup of coffee! Indeed we were so hard pushed that we were glad to eat some *jowari* or millet we had kept for the mules."

Shortly after resuming their journey they got a glimpse of the sea. "How delighted I was! 'All danger is over now!' I exclaimed; 'now I am at home!'" On Sunday morning, the 6th of February, they reached Tajura where they were "received with demonstrations of joy by rich and poor." The Sultan, who took Barker to his house, was most civil and asked him whether he would remain at Tajura till the arrival of the East India Company's vessel from Aden or whether he would hire a boat. "I replied that my desire was to return instantly to Aden, but that I had neither funds nor food, and further that the Bedouin objected to going across to Aden and I had not the means of paying him." Upon this the Sultan said "Do as seems best to you: the town is yours if you wish to stay; if you wish to go, there is Aboo Bekr's boat at your service; and as for the Bedouin, I will advance what you will require for him. Your food I will also care for, and if you go to Aden I will take care of your mules till you return or send for them." The money was advanced, and on the morning of the 10th of February Barker set sail from Tajura and about noon anchored in Mersa Munger Duffa, on the opposite coast. "In the evening I went on shore to bathe. A number of the Eesah had collected, and were disposing of their goods, to the no small advantage of the Tajurans. The instant they saw me they shouted out 'The Lord preserve us from Satan the stoned!' and were seized with such a panic at the sight of a white man that they one and all took flight, and it was some time before they could be persuaded to return." On the 15th of February the boat anchored at Berbera. Barker was carried ashore as he was suffering from a severe attack of fever. An Arab merchant received him in his home and "if kindness could have cured me I should have soon been well." On the evening of the 21st Barker embarked in one of the boats belonging to the hospitable merchant and early on the 25th he anchored "under Scerah southward of Aden."

"I had so far rallied that I was enabled to land and walk up to the house of the Political Agent, Captain Haines. I was quite worn-out, and this, together with the fact of my having adopted the Turkish costume, and presenting a wild appearance from not having allowed the razor to touch my face for upwards of ten months, prevented his recognising me for some time. For many subsequent days and nights I could not sleep. It is impossible to describe the state of mind I was in from the constant excitement of the past five weeks."

Here ends the last of the tales of the exploits of the soldiers and sailors of the East India Company and these plain narratives of facts show that in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the Eastern World they faced the dangers and distresses which beset them with calm courage and made good use of the opportunities of their calling for the furtherance of knowledge.

ITINERARY FROM YEZD TO HERÁT

AND

FROM HERAT TO KABUL VIA KANDAHAR.

## ITINERARY FROM YEZD TO HERAT AND FROM HERAT TO KABUL VIA KANDAHAR

The distance from Yezd to Herat is reckoned at 200 pharsacs.<sup>1</sup>

The direction of the route is N.E. as far as the town of Toon, from thence generally E. with a little northing, if the road by Gownabad is followed, but if you pass by Birdjan it is S.E. as far as that place, and from thence N.E. to Herat.

Caravans of camels use this route, they take from 35 to 50 days in performing it; horsemen however, do it easily in 12 or 15 days. The road is in reality nothing more than a well defined foot-path, but as it generally passes over a level country, it could be easily traversed by wheeled carriages as far as the city of Toon. There are caravanserais at each halting place, erected by pious persons for the accommodation of Persian travellers, who go on pilgrimage to the tomb of Emaum Reza in Mushed, the capital of Khorassan. You also meet with at certain distances, wells that have been sunk for passers-by to allay their thirst, but owing to the want of care on the part of the Government they are almost all at the present day unfortunately filled up.

The plains to pass over are dry barren deserts, and seem from a distance like a sea of salt; of this description are those of Ali-abad, Shah-abbas, Shiardil and Garidj, where one meets with considerable tracts of country, the earth strongly tasting of nitre and salt; the only vegetation to be observed is a few saline plants. You have also to cross some low ranges of hills of an easy access as far as the sandy mountains called "*Rég Shaturán*", which are about fifty pharsacs N.E. of Yezd. You traverse the dependencies of this latter city, keeping on your right the great desert of Kalis or Kermania, having on your left the salt desert, shown in the present maps of Persia, as being bounded by the cities of Kochan, Kayn, Sernman, Torkis, Toon and Tabos, and which the inhabitants state to be twenty-four pharsacs in length and breadth. The mountains of Bix Barrik are seen in the middle of this desert, and what is not least remarkable, is that they are studded with villages, whose cultivated lands (sufficiently productive), offer a pleasing contrast to the frightful wastes which surround them.

On leaving the mountains of "*Rég Shaturán*" you enter upon the eastern possessions of Khorassan, which extend as far as Herat. You first pass over the dependencies of Tubbas,

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<sup>1</sup> The length of pharsac (fursang) in this paper must be much underrated. In a work called the Durra Mukta its length is computed as follows:

6 Barley corns (say 1 inch)	= 1 Finger's breadth doubled
24 fingers' breadth doubled	= 1 Gaz of 36 inches.
4,000 Gazs	= 1 Meel kroh or koss.
3 Meels	= 1 porasung, equal to 6 miles 1 furlong and 4 yards.

But by examining the survey which accompanies this journal the distance from Yezd to Herat cannot be more than 400 miles and the fursang must be taken at 2 miles only.

which may be the Tahren of the Greeks, then follow those of Toon, which is no other, I presume, than the Parthians of the ancients, and there still are the remains of tombs, which very possibly may be those of the Parthian kings: subsequently traversing the lands of Kagis, which you quit at the hills of Guisk to enter on the vast deserts, which end at Herát; the length being about forty pharsacs.

The ranges of hills which are passed during this route, are for the most part isolated, and of no great height, excepting those of Ecchidakan, Khanjuen, Kon and Guisk; they have a barren appearance throughout, and their want of vegetation is a strong proof of their richness in metals. It is much to be wished, that an able mineralogist would explore these countries; at every step he would make many useful discoveries. There is still a lead mine near the village of Ecchikidur, about six pharsacs W. of Yezd. The hill of Derind presents many traces of lead and silver ore. The earth of Posht-Badam produces some grains of gold. In the district of Toon, there is a lead mine near the village of Khok; one of copper on the other side of Khanjuerkan; and another of silver at a place called Shia-Nagree. All these mines were formerly worked, but from the oppression of the present Government, which smothers all industry, they are now entirely abandoned.

I found on the surface of the earth between Buseriah and Toon many handsome specimens of agate; above all, they are plentiful near Shiah-Dera.

On the range of hills near the castle of Fourk, you are still shown the copper mines, formerly worked by Meerza Rajik Khán, the metal from which was employed in casting several pieces of cannon now to be seen at Birdjan.

The hills of Guisk are of a light red, which seems to prove them of a volcanic nature, and on the western side near the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Roza, flows a moderately warm mineral spring, to which the inhabitants of the country go on pilgrimage, and drink the water for the benefit of their health. Many snakes are to be met with on this range, the bite of which is fatal.

Not far from the ruins of Gazun, is a stream the water of which has a strong acid taste; near to Tubbus is another of a corroding nature.

Upon all the ranges of hills which extend from Batal to Herát the people of the country gather a sort of gum called "Terendjebin" of which the Persian medical practitioners make great use: it exudes from a small thorny shrub which grows in tufts, and which resembles the plant the camels are so fond of. The flower is whitish, like that of the lettuce, which on dropping off gives place to a milky substance that congeals into yellow drops, which is the gum. For the purpose of collecting it the inhabitants cut the bush, allow it to dry, and then sift it. This plant grows wild in most of these sterile plains.

The greatest quantity of this gum is gathered in the district of Engoonzik, where also is found the assafoetida; the plant which produces the latter, grows in almost all these hills, particularly those of Kelmoud, Tabas Khilike and those which extend to the west of Herát. The plant grows to two or three feet high, the stem is straight and resembles very much the coarse fennel of Corsica: it has thick roots, which extend to a considerable distance. To extract the assafoetida, it is necessary, in spring time, to cut the stem close to the earth to prevent its shooting, when during this season, a milky gum flows from it, which becomes hard. Every night this is removed with the blade of a knife, and every ten or twelve days a fresh incision is made to allow the gum to flow freely. Those who follow this avocation, take the precaution to cover the plants, to preserve them from the heat of the sun. It is sold to the Hindus of Herát who send it on to India where it is much used in cooking.

In addition to these two plants, many are found in the hills, said to possess medicinal properties, and annually collected by the druggists of the country.



The only wild animals to be found in the hills are wolves, antelopes, a few hares, and some partridges; bears are rarely seen; it is only towards the hills of Guisk that traces of them are to be met with. We killed two enormous ones near the salt spring of Kaband. On this route, you come upon troops of wild asses that abound in Seistan. This beast, much smaller than the horse, resembles in form the domestic ass, from which it differs only in the colour of its hair, which is reddish. Its speed is great, and they are long winded, seldom allowing itself to be approached sufficiently near to be shot; the Afghans are fond of its flesh.

Amongst the very few trees to be seen near the hamlets, there is a bush in the district of Gósk, that produces the zerisk which the Persians are so fond of in their pilau. The tree is like the pomegranate: its branches in September are adorned with scarlet berries, which have a pleasing effect.

The whole country which extends from Yezd to Herát is subject from May to October to violent gales of wind. The heat is suffocating in summer. During this season you are also exposed to the hot wind of the desert, but which in this country is not of a fatal nature. It rains in March, April and December; it snows a little in winter. Notwithstanding that there are two crops annually, the produce is barely sufficient for consumption.

What is most remarkable during the fatiguing journey is the total absence of any natural streams of water. Here and there are a few springs, in a *karez*,<sup>1</sup> which are often brackish, and do not allay the traveller's thirst; and what does flow from them barely suffices to water a few acres of ground, and for which purpose the inhabitants keep it in reservoirs that are only opened two or three times a day, and distributed with great care. Their miserable looking dwelling places take off but little in appearance from the frightful sterility of the country, a small patch of verdure only distinguishing them at a distance. The people are generally sedentary in their habits, but you meet with some wandering tribes such as Shronदानes, the Kazunees, the Bani-kazals, Beni-Assad and Beni-Kafodges, who inhabit the lands of Tobas and Toon. Towards the dependencies of Kayin are the Falahies, the Sahbis, the Heeroonees, the Yakcobees, and the El-abousails. All these tribes are of Arabic origin. A great many are colonies settled by Shah-Abbas, others of the time of Tamerlane, who on his return from his conquests established them in this country. These Arabs have neither preserved the customs nor manners of their ancestors except that of living in tents; they have even forgotten all traces of the language; all their wealth consists in cattle; they possess a greater mildness of manner than the inhabitants of the villages; the latter give themselves up without exertion to their miserable lot, cultivating only a few acres of land, the produce of which hardly suffices to exist upon.

In place of cultivating much, the inhabitants pass their time in spinning wool, consequently they are often subject to famine, besides being plundered by the Turkomans and Beloochees. Their fields produce wheat, barley, radishes, beetroot and oil of sesamum. From a want of grain, forage and water, it would be impossible for an army to march through this country: consequently from time immemorial there are only two instances of this having been done. Shah-Abbas was the first who had the hardihood to do so with a portion of his troops on his return from the conquest of Kandáhar. This great monarch astonished at the sterility of the sandy mountains, and the dangers which travellers were put to, halted and directed wells to be sunk, besides building small pyramids at certain distances as guides across the country of moving sand the passage of which is so dangerous. The inhabitants of Robad still point out an elevated spot where this restorer of his country pitched his tent, and from whence he was delighted to watch the progress of his works. Most of the wells and caravanserais from Yezd to Toon owe

<sup>1</sup> An aqueduct which brings the melted snow or a spring from the hills.

their existence to him. The sand hills are formed by violent gales, which blow in this country at certain periods, and which continually heap up the sand of the desert against the sides of these low ranges. They extend from N.W. to S.E. This route is a point of communication between the great salt desert and that of Kobis, and by which Meer Mahomed ventured in 1722, with a hoard of Afghans, when he dethroned Shah Sultan Hussein, king of Persia.

This route since 1812 has become very dangerous for caravans on account of the gangs of Beloochees that lie in wait to plunder them. Since that time the pillage collected by these marauders has amounted to immense sums: often on finding nothing to capture on this route they have extended their incursions as far as Kerman, Ispahan and Kochan, but with little success, many of their company being killed. As soon as one has collected sufficient plunder, he returns, and his place is filled by another. To arrive at these places they traverse the desert of Kobis on the backs of camels, often making from twenty to thirty pharsacs a day. The gangs are never less than thirty, and seldom amount to one hundred men. The greater part of them are under a chief called Khan Dejun, who lives in the fortress of Shahnápur on the borders of Seistan; he it is who sends them on these expeditions and receives one-third of their booty as his share. These ferocious fellows have a sun-burnt complexion. Their dress consists of a long cotton frock wound round the waist with a thong of camel's hide; their heads enveloped in turbans. They shave part of the upper lip, leaving only the end of their moustaches, and allow two long locks of hair to fall on each side of the face, which reach to their shoulders. When they visit these sandy mountains, they halt and encamp at Shia Bactiára, or rather near the source of a spring, about two pharsacs to the right of the road which leads to Chontoran. Here they leave their camels and advance upon the road on foot to attack the caravans. They lie in ambush in all places, but the principal spot is in a defile near Godin Komber to the north of the sand-hills. The Beloochees hiding themselves behind the heights, allow the caravans to enter the defile, when possessing themselves of both outlets, they pounce upon their prey sword in hand. Those who make the least resistance are sure to be massacred without pity. By their unheard of cruelties they have made themselves so much feared that twenty or thirty of them have been known to plunder a caravan of two hundred persons with impunity, the greater part of them armed. The murders they have committed are without number. The most dreadful took place in 1823, when they put to death a hundred or more pilgrims going to pay their devotions to the tombs at Mushed. There is still to be seen near the third pyramid a heap of the remains of these unfortunate creatures as a warning to other travellers. At the time we passed we saw the bodies of five persons that had recently been murdered, and their assassins were encamped at Shia Bactiára as we passed, but as they were few in number, they were afraid to attack our caravan which was a strong one. We were well armed, besides having an escort with us. A detachment belonging to them, six in number, returning from a plundering excursion, fell in by mistake with our advance guard and were sabred; two of them that were not killed were taken on to Robad Khán, where they were tied to a tree and shot. The people of the village that witnessed their execution showed signs of discontent, but they were not attended to; this makes me believe that they are in league with the Beloochees, and that it is from them the latter purchase their provisions whenever they are obliged to stay any time here to wait for a favourable opportunity of attack, and what confirms me in this idea, is, that they never plunder on the lands belonging to Robad Khán, whilst there is no sort of violence that they have not committed on those of Sogau and Pusht-Bodam.

The Governor of the country, who has every means in his power to put a stop to this pillaging, makes no attempt to do so, beyond going through the form of having a detachment of cavalry at Robad, with orders from time to time to patrol as far as the sand-hills. One is equally astonished to find that the Prince at Yezd allows his territory to be plundered with impunity.

Those in power, that he has placed at Kharam Segan and other places, are more to gather a tax from those that pass by, than any thing else. The only precaution they take, is to prevent a caravan from going on when they hear that the Beloochees are out plundering; for this purpose they have videttes posted on the highest places, who by signs or fires, warn the inhabitants to take to their villages. Under a better administration it would be easy to put a stop to this rapine. Detachments of cavalry posted at the most dangerous places, would preserve the tranquillity of the country, and protect travellers, who now, during this fatiguing journey, are always in fear and inquietude. This danger is not the only one to be feared during this march; one is also exposed to that of meeting with Turkomans, which is still more terrible, as in case you fall into their hands, you are carried off to slavery. The Turkomans, who are addicted to plundering are generally of the Imak tribe, the chief of whom lives at a place called Mei-moneh, about eight days' march from Herát. From time immemorial, their hordes have been in the habit of plundering with impunity both Khorásson and Herát, without the Princes at the head of these provinces being able to oppose them. Their incursions are rapid and unexpected. They plunder all that they encounter, and carry into slavery men, women and children, that are subsequently sold at Bokhára. It is not only the prospect of plunder which induces them to undertake these forays, but also the desire to satisfy their hatred to the Persians; being Soonees, they believe they are performing a meritorious action in the eyes of the Prophet in taking the Persians into slavery and in obliging them to abandon the sect of Sheeas to which they belong, to adopt their own. The dangers from the Turkomans commence on the territory of Koon, and only finish at the gates of Herát; the worst part is between Kayn and Kauf. To avoid this part our caravan conductor took another route more to the south, and which led through the district of Birdjan, but this precaution nearly proved fatal to us, for about three days' journey before reaching Herát we were attacked by a band of Beloochees, that were only driven off by an obstinate resistance on our part.

The inhabitants of these countries have neither security nor repose; the poor wretches in cultivating their land are always kept in a state of alarm and often obliged to abandon the fruits of their labour, that they may not fall into the hands of the Turkomans. To live in some sort of security, they are forced to build small watch-towers in their fields, to which they fly in case of pressing danger, and which can only be entered but by a ladder. Not a family to be met with but has to complain of one of its members being carried off into slavery by the Turkomans; but what is surprising to learn is, that those who have been so taken away, make no exertion to return to their native land; on the contrary they write to their friends, that finding themselves comfortably settled, it would be madness on their part to make any sacrifices in attempting to restore them at liberty: some of them even act as guides to the Turkomans on their expeditions. At the time we travelled this route the greatest ravages were being committed by them. The district of Herát was so infested, that Prince Kamran was obliged to seek the alliance of the Prince of Khorásson for them, in common cause to attempt to put down so great a scourge. To avoid this danger I parted from the caravan at Sedik, and went to Birdjan to see if I could not procure an escort from the Governor, whom I had known well at the Persian Court at Téhérán. He was astonished to see me, received me with great kindness and loaded me with presents. I learnt from him that Mr. Oms, who has left the Persian service in 1824 to go on to India, had been arrested by his people, stripped of all his effects and confined in the citadel at Fourk from whence he had contrived to escape. So different was the treatment I received, that I appreciated the advantage of acquaintances in a strange land. The Khán furnished me with an escort of cavalry, which I sent to my friend and fellow traveller Avitabile, and who directed the march of the caravan upon Avaz, passing by the stages of Dejisk, Gosk and Nahkop; as for myself I followed the road by Fourk, accompanied by a son of the Governor, who did not separate from me until

we arrived at Avaz. In passing by Fourk he took me to see the copper mine that his forefathers discovered, the metal from which was used in casting some guns that are now in the castle of that place.

On our arrival at Herát we found the province exposed to a civil war. Prince Kamran having in the month of April 1826 driven out his father Mahomed Sháh, two parties declared themselves and waged a furious war, the King, with the assistance of Boonia Khán, head of the Azeris, besieged the fort of Herát during the month of June, but the desertion of some of his troops obliged him to fall back upon Farrah, from whence he was taking fresh measures to drive his son from this province. These preparations obliged Kamran to seek an alliance with Hoosain Ali Mirza, Prince of Khorássan, who, flattered by this submission on the part of one, who up to this time had refused to acknowledge his authority, and foreseeing the advantages to be gained to himself, sent to his support six thousand men and four guns under his own son Orghán Mirza. Their united forces were encamped on the banks of the Morgab, with the intention of opposing the Khán of Meimaneh, who was coming to the support of Mahomed Sháh.

The city of Herát, which is no other than Aria of the Greeks, was, it is said, built by Alexander the Great. The inhabitants state that the plain upon which it now stands was formerly a lake formed by the waters of the Heriz, and kept in by the range of hills called Sinjer D'jun, through which Alexander having cut a passage for the water to flow, the plain was left dry, and the beauty of the country induced him to found this city—one thing certain that the castle, situated about six pharsacs to the east of Herát, was built by this conqueror.

The city of Herát is small, and enclosed in a high wall built of mud, flanked by towers falling in ruins, surrounded by a deep and broad ditch always full of water. The city contains about six thousand houses, twenty caravanserais, thirty public baths, four bázars, six colleges and the Prince's palace, which may be considered its castle. There is nothing remarkable to be seen but the palace of Ibrahim Khan D'Jamshed, and a large and deep cistern which supplies the greater part of the population with water; it is filled by an underground aqueduct (karez), which comes from the hills. The population amounts to about forty thousand souls: about two thirds of whom are Persians, the rest Afghans. The commerce which is carried on with Bokhara, Kandáhar, Mushed and Yezd attracts a great many strangers to it. Its productions are silk and cotton. It was pillaged by D'Jenghis Khán in the year of the Híjira 619, and again by Tamerlane, whose descendants for a long time made it their residence. This city gave birth to the celebrated historian Khandenur, author of an abridged Universal History, also to the poet Djami, who flourished during the reign of Sultan Hussain Bookara, of the race of Tamerlane, and to whom he dedicated his "Bahoristan". The environs of Herát are exceedingly agreeable. Among other places are the country seats of Takli, Sofer, Goozerja, and the garden of Shahzada Mulik Kossouree, which are situated to the north-east of the city. On this same side is also the famous mosque of Moosa Hola, which is close to the royal garden, such an edifice is rarely to be met with in Persia. It is now in ruins. It has six minarets and a large college, and what remains is sufficient to show that its architecture, though simple, was elegant and well adapted to the climate. The richness of the ceilings and domes is surprising. The walls for the most part are mosaic, built of glazed bricks; which from their embellishments present an agreeable appearance to the eye: the minarets above all, from their lightness and height to which they have been erected are most pleasing to behold. "One of these has an inclination towards the Tomb of Imam Roza in Mushed, which the over-religious ascribe to a miracle, and which is shown with great display to travellers. This superb edifice was erected by Sultan Hussain Mirza Bairam at the entreaty of his favourite slave Gohar Shah; regarding which the inhabitants tell a marvellous tale; others give the credit of building it to Gaistuddeen of the Gawri-dean Dynasty; it was destroyed by the Tartars of D'Jenghis Khán.



Not far from Gouzherab, upon the hills near where this garden is situated, is a ruby mine, which was formerly worked, but has since been abandoned in consequence of these precious stones being latterly found full of very minute holes, which took so much from their value. Further to the east on the same range is a lead mine, which Prince Kamran works on his own account. The mountains which extend to the north are said to be wooded, and among many kinds of trees is to be found the pistachio and other fruit trees in a wild state. The druggists also gather many herbs from these hills, and the dyers also find seeds and roots which they use with advantage in dyeing their clothes and in which they excel us Europeans. The valley of Herát is of a fertility seldom to be met with in Asia; in approaching it the richness of its enclosures and the number of villages gladden the traveller's sight after the fatiguing journey he has to make over barren deserts to reach it. It must be about four pharsacs in breadth from north to south, and about thirty from east to west; the inhabitants are calculated to possess twelve thousand pair of bullocks for agricultural purposes. The fruits are in great numbers, and most excellent. They reckon as high as thirty-two kinds of grapes, of which the best are the Kaye-Goramun and the Resl Baba. I observed that the vine is cultivated in a manner peculiar to this place. The country is everywhere intersected by canals, fed by the Heri river, which almost leave the latter dry. The principal one is called the Eedzil canal which, passing by the royal garden, fills the ditch of the fort. The Heri river has its source in the hills to the east, its course is to the west and loses itself in the desert which stretches to the north of Khorassan; it is therefore a mistake in some geographers making it discharge itself in the Zeri Lake. It is crossed by a bridge called the *Pool-i-Malán* to go to Kandáhar; on the Mushed road it is crossed several times.

The city of Herát from the time of Nádír Sháh has always been an apple of discord between the Persians and the Afghans, who have disputed each other's right to it by sanguinary wars, the latter having almost always the advantage. In 1818 the Persians, wishing to take advantage of the troubles which then existed in Afghanistan, did their utmost to reconquer it; in consequence of which a battle took place at Kafir-Kala, where the Persians, although victorious, were obliged to give up the attempt. Since that time it has remained with the Afghans, who have not been molested, from the frequent insurrections in Khorassan keeping the Persian troops in check. Soon after this, the Barukzyes, having dethroned Mahomed Shah, this city only and its dependencies remained the property of this unfortunate king, who had again the weakness to allow himself to be despoiled of this by his son Kamran Shah, who now governs it. This Prince, who is nearly fifty years of age, is brave and full of courage, of a determined mind and great activity. There is no means that he does not use to attempt the recovery of his father's kingdom, but the want of money obliges him to wait until providence offers a more favourable opportunity. It might not, however, be a difficult task for him to accomplish, considering that the Barukzye Chiefs do not act in concert, and even make war between themselves; and further their rule is so selfish that all the tribes are disgusted with their avarice, and ripe for revolt.

The city of Herát is capable of being better fortified. This place in the hands of Persia would, from its geographical position, have a great influence over any expedition sent from Russia in the direction of India. As an ally, it would keep in awe the people of Bokhara, Balk and Kandáhar, and by preserving its communication with the rear permit it to advance without fear to conquest; but occupied by an enemy it could cause insurmountable obstacles.

On leaving Herát two routes present themselves leading to Kábul, one by the *Huzaréh* country which does not take more than eight or ten days, the other is that of Kandáhar which is much more circuitous. Our anxiety to reach the end of our journey made us incline to follow the first, but after taking the opinion of some merchants we were obliged to give up our inten-



tion of following that route, not only on account of the roads being so bad in this mountainous country, but also from the dangers to be run from the oppressive conduct of those who govern it, towards travellers passing through. We therefore gave the preference to that by Kandáhár. This latter route passes along the western side of the Firooz Khan chain of mountains, which extend as far as Kandáhár, dividing Seistan from the province of Gauz, and the distance is about one hundred and twenty-five pharsacs: it is almost entirely over open plains, occasionally crossing the low ranges of hills, which are in no way difficult for guns to traverse. The only inconvenience that troops would find on this road, is, that it is thinly inhabited and but few supplies to be had, besides the want of water at some of the usual stages, which would oblige them at times to make double marches. Supplies could be drawn from Farrah and Giriskh. The caravans that use this road are composed of camels; rarely are mules to be met with. They pay a tax of three sequins, and horses six, with a present from the conductor of the caravan. Camels generally travel the distance in twenty-five days; horses in eight, or at most ten. The latter march day and night, and only halt during the time necessary to rest their laden beasts. They commence to march generally at midday and do not halt until midnight. They always rest at places some distance off the road to avoid any thieves that may be abroad. At daybreak they are again in motion to arrive at the next stage about two or three hours after sunrise: here some hasten to get a little rest, while others are employed in cooking and giving their horses a feed. At 12 in the day they again are in motion and continue the same time as the preceding day. This manner of travelling is slow and most tiresome for a person who is not accustomed to it. Before commencing our journey, we laid aside our Persian costume to assume that of the Afghans: this precaution was indispensable, as the latter being Soonees and detesting the Persians, we should have been constantly in trouble. The better to deceive them we had our beards and mustaches fashioned after theirs, and during the whole of the journey we conformed to their ways. We left Herát the 1st of October 1826: our first halt was at a caravanserai of Shakhábad, which is after passing the defile called Mir Dooad; in passing through which I was imprudent enough to separate from the caravan, and my friend Avitable and myself would most assuredly have been assassinated by some of the Noorzeye tribe, who inhabited these hills, had we not owed our escape to the fleetness of our Arabs. It is in these gorges that commences the lower range of Firaúz Khan mountains; its direction is from north-west to south-east: they are not however to be compared in height to those which extend further to the north. The most elevated spot is called Firoug, from whence branch off two ranges, that of Karek and Kasserman, which run towards the west. These valleys are some of them cultivated and others not. They are inhabited by pastoral people, who live in tents, and who generally encamp near the source or by the side of a rivulet. They communicate by a number of paths accessible to horsemen.

On quitting Shakhábad, we left the high road to the right, and took a cross route. The reason which induced our guide to this, was, that he wished to avoid the troops of Mahomed Shah which were encamped in the plain beyond, and who were committing dreadful ravages. The country we passed over was very hilly: it was intersected by two small streams, the Ghag and the Adraskán which coming from the north-east are said to fall into that of Farrah. At the time of our crossing them they were nearly dry, but at the melting of the snow they swell to that size that the caravans are often obliged to halt for many days. This country was covered with the wild pistachio, which in autumn, is covered with a rich fruit. This tree seems to flourish best in barren spots; it gives forth a quantity of gum in white drops, of which the people make no use. They gather the fruit which they take as a stomachic. After making two marches, we descended into the plain of Dowlatabad, debouching from the Karek chain of hills by rather a difficult descent. More to the west, there is a much easier descent, by which goes the high road leading to Farrah, birth-place of the famous Rustam, the Hercules of Persia, and who is so often made

mention of, in the Shah Namah of Firdose. The plain upon which this place stands, is, for the most part uncultivated, if we except its immediate environs. It is intersected from east to west by a small river, which, having its source in the Firouz Khan mountains, passes through a part of Seistan, and finally empties itself in the lake of Zeri, which may be the Ariapolis of the ancients. I presume that this river is no other than the Pharnacotes of the Greeks, and that the city of Farrah is the Phra of antiquity. At the time we crossed this river, it had but little water in it, but in spring it is said to be full and rapid, the bed is pebbly, and its banks covered with tents inhabited by Noorzyes. On quitting this plain, we left the high road to the left, to follow a bye-path which led through a pass called Rendzye Endgoustt—a terrible road for our poor, laden beasts, and bad enough for those on foot. This defile is remarkable on its eastern side for having its entrance like a gateway formed by two enormous rocks. A small stream which rises here, gives a picturesque appearance to the place. The high road leads through the Kasserman pass, about six pharsacs higher up, and which is no way difficult. From this we entered upon an extensive plain opening as far as the eye could reach towards the south, through the middle of which was running a small stream, called the Ibrahim, and which waters the lands of Bakora, an isolated village. The plain was covered with hares, antelopes and wild asses; this last species of quadruped is always in herds. In the middle of the plain stands a small hill called Kou-Doug. Passing to the north we found ourselves attacked, without warning, by a band of Beloochees, some on horseback and others riding upon camels. They succeeded in carrying six beasts that were laden from the rear of the caravan. During this time we rallied and opposed them, but continued moving on with our ranks well closed up. Returning to the attack, they made another attempt to overpower us, but a volley that we discharged obliged them to retire and permit us to continue our route unmolested, which we did as far as the Koshroud River. From thence we entered again into the passes of this hilly country, moving with the greatest caution for fear of encountering more Beloochees, but happily we met with no more disasters. Our next stage was at the village of Vorachenk, which is encircled by a mud wall; it is inhabited by Noorzyes who have the character of being very expert thieves. They are in the habit like, the rest of the Afghans, of collecting and mixing with the caravans under the pretext of seeking for news, and committing every sort of pilfering; it is necessary therefore for travellers to keep a sharp look out, or they are sure to be plundered. The country which extends to the north of this village is neither cultivated nor inhabited. The river Kosháb passes through it, coming from the north, which is no other than a strong torrent which at the time we crossed it was nearly dry. In these hills, according to Kondemir, lived the noted imposter Hakim-ben-Hasheen who, from natural causes, produced effects which astonished the inhabitants of these countries, and who looked upon him as a man inspired.

On leaving Vorachenk, we descended through a mountainous country into the plain of Sar inhabited by the tribe of Subjezyes, having always in sight the Dohor hills, which form part of the Firouz Khan range, and which are inhabited by Alizyes. This country of Dohosi may very possibly be Dat, where Alexander passed through after having defeated the Scythians. From this we moved upon Girisk. In approaching this town a great change for the better was observed in the surrounding country: we saw a district well cultivated and watered by the Helmund river. This river has its source in the province of Gour, entering on the low country through the Dohor hills, it runs here from the north-east to south-west, but lower down to the west passing through Seistan, and eventually losing itself in the Zeri Lake. On leaving the hills the Helmund is a rapid stream and, having very confined banks, it is subject to overflows. During some time in 1825 this occurred, when it swept away more than ten thousand tents, including inhabitants and their flocks that were encamped upon its banks. The water is very clear from passing over

a gravelly bottom. Excepting during the rainy season, it is fordable in some places. The best is that by which we crossed and which is about three miles above Giriskh, it is known from there being a number of high poplar trees close upon the left bank. Here the river divides into three branches, the eastern one of which is deepest. Artillery might cross over but not without unloading the wagons. It is surprising that there are no ferry boats, considering it would not be difficult to construct them, as the neighbouring hills would furnish sufficient wood, but the Afghans have not sufficient foresight to see the utility of it.

Giriskh is a good sized place, situated about three-quarters of a mile from the Helmund, but which formerly washed its walls, the intervening space being now rice fields; it is defended by a fort, on an elevated site, and which commands it; it is of no great strength and could offer no resistance to artillery. The side which faces to the east is on level ground, but the ground which faces the other three is much broken, and by taking advantage of the ravines, they can be approached to a very short distance; in addition to which the fort might be mined. It was built by Peerdill Khan, one of the present rulers of Kandáhar: it is the principal seat of the Barákzaes who inhabit the banks of the Helmund. This tribe has become the most powerful in Afghanistan; its chiefs having dethroned Mahomed Shah, have divided amongst themselves the provinces of the kingdom, which they rule despotically and live in a perfect state of independence. Here we were subject to a most rigorous examination, the people of the custom house actually searching us to the very skin, and for every sequin found on us taking at the rate of five per cent., and every laden animal was taxed at two sequins, the vagabonds practising every kind of fraud to impose upon the merchants, and even confiscating a part of their wares. From Giriskh to Kandáhar is not more than 20 pharsacs; the road is generally over a very barren soil. The Fírauz mountains are still in sight and which here join the Sháh Maesoond mountains. From these latter two other ridges branch off to the south-west and which enclose the district of Maevend, famous for its fruits, and above all the pomegranate. On reaching Koosh-i-Nakhúd we found ourselves upon a spot which was admirably calculated to defend the city of Kandáhar on the west. From this is visible the Argandáb river running to the west and which empties itself into the Helmund about four pharsacs below Giriskh. The country which extends to the south, is covered with sandy hillocks for about forty pharsacs as far as Núshki and Karon, situated in Beloochistan and from whence the Kandáharians procure camels and dates. The right bank of this river shows many rich villages, the principal are Sung Hissár, Kolk and Pachemour. On examining the course of the Argandáb I could not fail to remark the great error into which Danville has fallen in making a pretended river rise at Kandáhar, to which he gives an eastern course eventually falling into the Indus. Foster has likewise given to this river a false direction.

I observed that all the rivers which are in this province, such as the Argandáb, the Turnuk, the Arkassan and the Doree pass, to the west and discharge their waters into the Helmund. I presume the Argandáb is no other than the Arachotus of the Greeks, because they say it fell into a lake; its source is at the Goolkoo mountain in the district of Naoor.

After having forded the Argandáb, we entered the plain of Kandáhar, through the pass of "Chahalzeená," so called from forty steps which lead to a grotto situated at the end of a hill close to the right, and which the Afghans say was excavated by a descendant of Tamerlane. This point also presents an admirable defence to the city of Kandáhar; the numerous canals which intersect it would be difficult to pass. There are still to be seen the ruins of a small fort which formerly defended this entrance. From the end of the hill, the view is most picturesque; on one side you have below you a superb valley covered with meadows and gardens, and on the other the vast plain of Kandáhar. Nature here has been prodigal, the water of the Argandáb ferti-

lizing the country by innumerable canals, the principal of which are the Noodseezan and Patab, the last before reaching the city passes by the village of Shah Dukteran and is full of grains of mica.

The city of Kandáhar was built by Ahmed Shah; in the construction of its buildings, which in general are of no solidity, and with little taste, it is easy to see that they were erected in haste, and without any ornament. Two principal streets run through it, crossing each other at right angles, and meeting in the centre of the town, which is called the "*Chár Ná*," over which is a lofty dome, from whence the streets face the four cardinal points; they are broad and are intended to have been grand bázárs, but have never been completed, and in their places have been built miserable huts. The only building in Kandáhar worth noticing is the tomb of Ahmed Shah, which is surmounted by a handsome octangular dome. The garden that surrounded it has been entirely neglected.

The population of this city may be reckoned at twenty-five thousand souls, composed of Afghans, Persians Beloochees and Hindus, who are distinguished from each other by the form of their head-dress; the first are most numerous. I observed that the females are kept more secluded than in Persia. It is very rare to encounter women in the streets; those that go abroad are of a tribe that practise medicine and bleed the sick. Among the crowd that are seen in the bázárs, are many half-witted creatures that are perfectly naked and whom the Afghans treat with great consideration, considering them to be inspired by God. They are called "*Houlliads*", that is to say, "*saints*." At their death, tombs are built over them, which eventually become places of pilgrimage to the people of the country; this is why so many places of this kind are to be met, particularly at Kandáhar; the principal ones are those of Shah Maksúd, Baba Wullee and Iluzrutgee; the first is about ten pharsacs to the north upon the range of hills which bears the same name. They there find small yellow stones, transparent and like amber, with which chaplets are made and are in great request among the Afghans; other colours are found, but not of so fine a water as the first. Kandáhar is not commanded from any point; it has a wall of defence flanked by towers, and in pretty good order, but which could offer little resistance to artillery. The ditch which encircles it is not deep; it is filled from the Patab Canal, which would be easy to turn in another direction by a besieging army and thereby reduce the inhabitants to their wells, of which there are very few within the town. The ancient city is situated close under the eastern side of a hill, which bounds the plain of Kandáhar to the west. The remains of the citadel are still to be seen from some distance; it is now entirely in ruins and deserted, Nadir Shah having destroyed it. There is to be seen at the end of the hill the small fort Kola-tool from whence this monarch battered it with his artillery. The siege lasted six months, and would have continued longer, but that the daughter of Shah Hossain betrayed and delivered the fort into Nadir's hands, who, as the price of her crime, had her quartered in the presence of her father. From this fort a number of walls for defence branch off and continue to the foot of the hill, which were built to resist the attacks of the Persians. It is supposed that this city is that which Alexander built in the Arachasia.

The city Nadir Sháh built is about three miles south of Kandáhar which is now also in ruins. The ground of Kandáhar is very rich and well adapted for the growth of vines, which are not, however, sufficiently cultivated, and much less than at Herát; its principal productions are wheat, barley, tobacco and madder; they also grow maize, peas, beans and oil of sesamum. The banks of the Arghandab are studded with orchards, which produce a great quantity of fruit, above all pomegranates, mulberries, apples, plums and apricots; this abundance would allow of an army halting here for many months; they are all remarkably cheap. Spring is the pleasantest time at Kandáhar, the heat is great in summer, and above all, when there is a southerly



wind. It is remarked that it only snows here about once in seven years. The climate is considered healthy excepting in autumn when fevers are very common.

Amongst the several tribes that inhabit this country the Barukzyes are the most powerful; then the Achikzyes; and after them the Populzyes. The first reside in villages, and the others are nomads; the riches of the latter consists in their sheep and camels.

The true character of the Afghans is better observed at Kandáhár than at Herát, Kábul or Peshawar, as in the three last places, the number of strangers mixed with them has softened their national traits. If you compare their customs and usages with the Persians, you will find them very similar, as they both follow the precepts of the Koran; but as a nation one cannot help remarking that they are much rougher and coarser in their manners. The want of civilization amongst them proves that their rulers are always occupied in defending themselves against attacks of their neighbours, and have never thought of ameliorating their laws. The Afghan has neither the vanity nor the politeness of a Persian; so far from resembling him in his easy way and empty compliments, he is grave, distant, cold in his replies, and even a little too rude in his manners. Beyond the respect he pays to his master, he looks upon all as his equals and addresses them without ceremony. A European travelling in Afghanistan, must be immediately struck with the familiarity which exist between the high and low, nevertheless an Afghan is a slave to his master; beyond this, however, he would rather suffer himself to be killed than subjected to a foreign yoke. Deriving his origin from a wandering tribe he practises hospitality equal with the Arab. He is courageous, and believes himself to be the bravest soldier in the world. On this point he is quite convinced; he delights in recounting the exploits of the Dooranees that adorned the armies of Nadir, and conquered India under Ahmed Shah. He delights in times of disorder, as it gives him an opportunity of gratifying his inclination to plunder. In religion he is a fanatic, and is as superstitious as a Turk or Persian, being a Soonee in the strictest sense of the word, he detests the Persians who are Sheahs. Beyond this he is tolerant towards other persuasions, above all to Christians, as he believes in the Gospel and looks on it as an inspired work. Like the Persian he puts great faith in dreams and astrology, and possesses equally with him all the prejudices of the Mahomedan, but still will partake of food with any one of a different sect to his own. He has no education. With them their rulers and priests are the only persons that can read or write; their books are in Persian. From their youth they are taught to use the "spear and the sword," to take a true aim, and to ride well, and this is all the instruction they receive. An Afghan is a good swordsman; his food is bread, rice, meat and milk. "Kourout" (a kind of curd) is his favourite dish. He does not indulge in wine, his religion prohibiting it; but he delights in drinking bháng, and smoking intoxicating drugs, the use of which for the time produces a sort of stupor which delights the senses, but the excessive use of which soon brings an imbecility of mind; his dwelling is like the Persians, with this difference that it is more simply furnished. Their luxuries consist in having fine horses, splendid trappings, rich attire, and above all many retainers. Their costume is much the same as the Persians, only differing in the head-dress. The sheep skin cap is here substituted by an unbecoming cap wound round by a large blue turban with a red border, which by the manner of putting it on points out the particular tribe to which they belong. The beard they look upon as sacred; nevertheless, in place of allowing it to grow naturally, they cut it to a fantail shape: they also clip the centre of their mustache, allowing the sides only to grow to any length.

The province of Kandáhár since 1818 has been governed by five brothers: Peer Dil Khan, Khondil Khan, Sherdil Khan, Ramdil Khan, and Meer Dil Khan; the principal authority is now in the hands of Peer Dil Khan on the death of the latter in 1826. Their troops are about six thousand Cavalry, and four of Infantry; with more revenue it would be easy to double this



force. The Kandaháris are good swordsmen, but not being disciplined, have no steadiness; they receive but small pay, and only assemble when wanted. The Infantry are armed with sword and matchlock, long but of small bore; they have about twenty pieces of cannon, almost useless and without artillerymen to serve them. The rulers of this country seem to have adopted for maxim, "to know no other law than their own absolute authority." Grasping for money there are no means to procure it, that they are not capable of. With them to be rich is a crime which soon brings on confiscation and ruin. They have debased their coin until the alloy preponderates. All merchants and strangers arriving here, before being allowed to circulate any foreign money, are obliged to get it stamped, paying a tax of five per cent, or run the risk of its being confiscated; also every merchant before leaving this is forced to have each article marked by an agent of Government on which there is a fixed rate, evading which his whole property is seized and lost to him for ever. It follows that the commerce of this place, which was once so flourishing, has become almost nothing. Kandahár was once the "entrepôt" of the produce of India and Persia; it still receives from India supplies *via* Shikárpur; shawls from Cashmere by way of Kábul which are sent on to Persia, paying a transit duty which is generally arbitrary. Silk and cottons that are manufactured here barely suffice for home consumption. The principal trade is in madder, tobacco and dried fruits, which are sent to India.

The road which leads to Shikárpur is not much frequented by merchants; it is a difficult and dangerous route and about 360 kos long. At the end of this journal will be found an abstract of the route given to me by a native of Kandahár who has often travelled it. This route cannot be considered practicable for an army during summer, a great portion would perish for want of water; if it was to be attempted under all hazard it would be necessary to establish at different points depôts of supplies, besides each soldier being furnished with an iron plate to cook his cakes, as is done in the East, and every company supplied with a small hand-mill to grind flour; without these precautions they would run the risk of perishing of hunger after the first few marches. These difficulties have compelled the merchants to select a new line of route which further to the north passing by Kelat-i-Nahsir Khan (Khelat-i-Ghilzie) through a country inhabited by Beloochees, ends at Dera Ghazi Khan, situated on the banks of the Indus. That which leads from Kandahár to Kábul, offers none of these difficulties, excepting, that it is not practicable in winter, from the quantity of snow which lies. Although passing through a hilly country, it presents no obstacle to the march of artillery; it winds through a rich valley closed in by two ranges of hills having a north-easterly direction as far as Kábul, and running nearly parallel the whole way. The northern range, which is no other than Paropamisian mountains of the Greeks, is very much more elevated than the southern one; this latter seems to abound in metals. The valley is most fertile, and traversed as far as Makur by the Turnak river, which joins the Arghandab. It enjoys a bracing and healthy climate, and this is the reason that between Pootee and Julduk are still to be seen the ruins of an ancient city called Sher-i-Soofo, meaning the city of health. The mountains which extend to the north of the province of Kandahár, and the sand-hills which go off to the south, make this city the point from whence the two routes to India by Shikárpur and Kábul lead. Any army from the north marching to the conquest of Hindustan must necessarily pass this; halt, and take proper measures to support its further advance.

After forty days' detention a caravan being about to start for Kábul we hastened to take advantage of its protection, and quitted Kandahár on the 28th of October, and in four days found ourselves forty kos in advance, and arrived at Mookur. Our halting places were Pootee, Julduk, Tajee and Mooknee; so far I observed that we passed very few villages, but in their places an infinite number of black tents inhabited by tribes of Sudoozyes, Alifzyes and Gilzies. I remarked that their women did not cover their faces with that care that those in the villages did; however

they still wear a veil, which partly conceals their countenances. Their dress is of a peculiar shape, which somewhat approaches to the European. Their hair is divided in front by two long plaits, which with married women are allowed to hang negligently over their shoulders; but before marriage they are studded with coins, and partly cover the face before strangers.

At Fazi we were stopped by a chief of the Gilzyes, who, living independently and under no control, assumes the right of levying toll upon all caravans. The tax is not fixed, but taken according to his own will and pleasure. He was most arbitrary with us, seizing any of our arms to which he took a fancy, and seeming to be much surprised as well as offended at our attempting to prevent it. The plain about Fazi was the scene of a bloody battle between Shah Zamoon and Mahomed Shah, sons of Timour, who disputed the throne of Afghanistan; the former in losing the battle was also deprived of his eye-sight by his brother.

A stranger in passing this country on the approach of winter, would remark the number of poles erected in all the villages, to which are suspended the carcasses of sheep, salted and hung to dry, as their food during this season, which practice they probably learnt from their Tartar neighbours.

The village of Mookur is situated close under the southern face of the Goolkun chain, which defends it from the strong wind of the north: near the village is the source of the Turnuk River in which are found plenty of fish of a good kind.

The people of this hamlet are exceedingly obliging, lodging all strangers in their houses; and their cleanliness, so unusual in the East, would make one fancy they were settlers from another country. Six kos beyond the hills, which border the plain towards the south, is the salt lake of Zourma. From Mookur we continued our journey to Guznie in traversing the plains Kuzabak and Nane; in advance of this the country is covered with a number of small villages each enclosed by a mud wall with small towers at the angles. This manner of protecting the villages is very common in Asia, but above all in Afghanistan, where the number of civil wars that have constantly taken place have rendered this mode of defence necessary, as in case of danger, it offers a place of refuge, and enables them to keep what they possess in safety.

Before arriving at Guzni the conductor of our caravan, receiving very discouraging accounts of the state of the affairs of the country before us, judged it prudent not to halt there, but turned aside, and took the caravan to his own village, which is about six miles from this city. My friend Avitabile and a few merchants, who preceded the main body, not being aware of this alteration in our movements, pushed on and slept that night at Guzni. The next morning at day dawn we were surprised to see several horsemen enter the village, whose sinister appearance boded us no good, and shortly after they were followed by another party that possessed themselves of all the outlets of the place. By order of their Chief we were seized, our arms and property taken from us, and the caravan and every person belonging to it conducted to Guzni. On our arrival there we were made to enter a caravansarai, a strong guard put over us, and our effects removed to another place, and had to undergo a rigorous search to ascertain if we had nothing secreted on our persons. What surprised me most was to find that they took no notice of my papers, which I carried about my person in the way Asiatics usually do, and which gave me reason to believe the vagabonds were only anxious to secure our money. The few sequins found upon me were seized with great delight. Fortunately before quitting Kandahar, we had exchanged our money for bills upon Kabul, given to us by a merchant, to whom I had been particularly recommended by some acquaintance at Herat, without which my friend and myself would have been put to great distress. The next day I was taken before the Governor of Guzni, who strictly questioned me as to who I was, from whence I came, and to what place I was going. I answered him rapidly and with confidence that I was a Georgian on my way to India in search of some of my relatives. On this he commenced ban-

tering me, wishing me to understand that he was aware of my being a European. He then made me open out all my papers, and showed me some mathematical instruments and my watch, that had been found with my effects, asking me to tell him the use of them. I pleaded ignorance, and said that they had been given to my care by an Englishman at Teheran, to be delivered to a friend of his in India. On this he became very serious, desiring under pain of the severest punishment to tell him where I had secreted my money. I answered him that having been made a prisoner, searched, and all my effects taken from me, that I had nothing more in my possession. This seemed to satisfy him, and I was dismissed under a strong escort to the caravansarai, where I had the pleasure to find my friend, whom I found had been questioned as well as myself. Our accounts of ourselves were found to tally, as before leaving Ispahan, we had agreed upon what should be said, and had also instructed our servants.

That night we concerted measures to attempt our escape; we could hit upon no other plan than to despatch the servant to Kábul that our "companions in arms" had sent us from India. He was to find out Nawab Jubber Khan, brother of the rulers of Afghanistan, and with whom our friends were on intimate terms, who no doubt would interest himself in our favour. As a further measure of prudence my friend Avitabile determined, if possible, to escape and accompany him. Taking advantage of our people being absent with the horses to water, he scaled the walls of the caravansarai, and contrived to secure two for himself and servant, and managed to effect his escape.

Eight days after, I was agreeably surprised at the Governor sending for me, overwhelming me with apologies for the treatment I had received, and reproaching me for having disguised from him the truth. I at first thought it was a trap he had laid for me, but I soon felt myself at ease when he presented me with a letter from my friend. From this time he was kind in his attentions, restored all my property, and started me for Kábul, where I arrived on the 13th of November. I took up my abode with the noble "Nawab Jubber Khan" (where I found my friend Avitabile), whose kind hospitality soon made me forget all the privations that I had lately suffered under his brother.

There are three stages for caravans from Guzni to Kábul. Their names are Chesgoo, Shekabad and Maidan; before reaching this latter you have to cross a small clear stream which comes from Azeres, which after fertilizing the valley of Languerd falls into the Kábul River. At Maidan you come upon a river which is the same as the one that flows to Kábul. From this the line of road to Kábul is well adapted to defensive operations, but it might be turned if the precaution was taken of marching from Guzni by Goidez and Londgerd. It was at Shekabad that Futtee Khan was put to death. Kamran Shah having a hatred to him, took advantage of his defeat at Kaffir Kola, to deprive him of his eye-sight, but not satisfied with this revenge he subsequently had him put to death at this place. This man's fall is still regretted by the Afghans, who speak in terms of praise of his courage and the able manner in which the affairs of Government were conducted under him. Born a Barakzye he preserved amidst all his greatness the simple manners of his tribe, which won the hearts of all about him. To this was added an unbounded liberality. At his death his brothers, to the number of twenty-one, who were almost all in high situations, revolted; called around them the tribe of Barakzyes, of which they were the Chiefs, and assumed supreme power in dethroning Mahomed Shah. Since that time they have divided amongst themselves the provinces of Afghanistan, which they govern without fear of opposition.

Translated by

NEIL CAMPBELL, Major,  
Acting Quarter Master General.

*Kábul, 29th August 1839.*

# REPORT

OF A

JOURNEY FROM HERÁT TO SIMLA VIÂ KANDÁHÁR, KÁBUL  
AND THE PANJAB.

By

MAJOR D'ARCY TODD.