

REPORT
OF A
JOURNEY FROM HERAT TO SIMLA VIA KANDAHA'R AND
THE PUNJAB

UNDERTAKEN IN THE YEAR 1838 BY ORDER OF

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN McNEILL, Esq.,

H. B. M.'s ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AT THE COURT OF PERSIA.

By MAJOR D'ARCY TODD.

The circumstances under which this journey was undertaken, the short time (sixty days) which it occupied, and the disturbed state of some of the districts on my route prevented my taking more than a hasty survey of the countries through which I passed or obtaining any information beyond what chance threw in my way.

The following rough notes were mostly jotted down either on horseback or after being in the saddle from twelve to fifteen hours out of the twenty-four:—

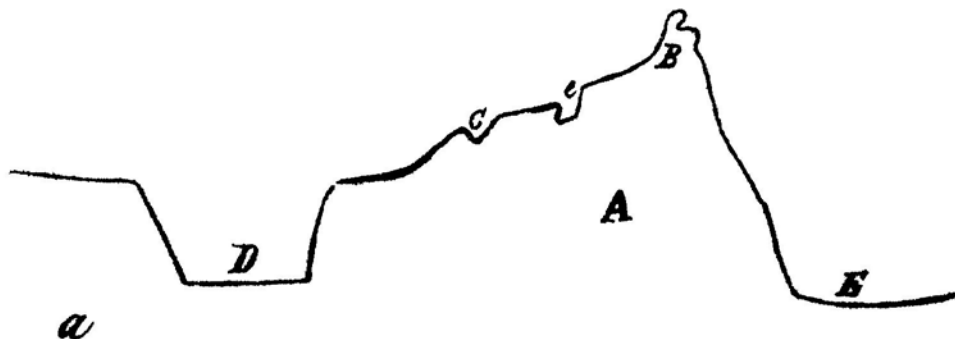
I left the Persian Camp before Herat on the 22nd May and arrived at Simla on the 20th of July.

The city and valley of Herat have been minutely described by successive travellers. It may however be required that I should say a few words on the defences of a place which garrisoned by a small band of determined men had up to the date of our latest authentic intelligence successfully resisted the whole concentrated power of Persia for upwards of seven months.

The strength of the besieging army be estimated at from 12 to 15 thousand regular Infantry, 7 or 8 thousand Irregular Horse and about 50 pieces of brass ordnance, 24, 18, 14, 12, 6 and 4-pounders, about half of which being of the two last-mentioned calibre with half a dozen 5½ inch mortars. I do not think that the besieged mustered more than 2,500 fighting men actually under arms, they had no Artillery and their horsemen had been sent away to Korook Subzawaur and other places soon after the commencement of the siege.

The city of Herat is of an oblong shape, about 1,600 yards in length and 18 or 14 hundred yards in breadth. The place is encircled by an artificial mound of earth varying from 40 to 60 feet in height, on the summit of which stands the wall of the town. There are about thirty bastions on each face circular and built of unburnt brick, those at the angles of the place being much larger and higher than the intermediate ones. The height of the bastions and walls above the mound varies from 25 to 35 feet.

The following rude section of the defences will illustrate my description of them:—



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A. The artificial mound mentioned above which forms the real circle of defence.

B The walls of the place

C.C Trenches cut in the mound, or what may be called the exterior slope of the rampart, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ or 7 feet deep, and running entirely round the place. These are called the upper and lower Sheer Haje, or Sheeradah, and in them are stationed nearly the whole of the garrison. The Sheer Haje, communicate with one another and with the town by subterranean passages, and since the commencement of the siege they have been partly traversed

D the ditch.

E the town.

I saw the ditch only at two points, at the S. E. angle of the place, it was about nine yards broad, with water in it but not filled. The Afghans had established a covered way or place of arms on the counterscarp communicating with the scarp by means of a plank thrown across the ditch. The Persians had worked up to within ten or twelve yards of this work, and both parties were incessantly engaged in mining and countermining. I also saw the ditch between the S. W. angle and the Kandahar gate, which is situated in the centre of the Southern face. It was dry at this point and about twelve yards broad. The Persians had here advanced a covered gallery half way across the ditch.

The exterior slope of the artificial mound or rampart is at an angle of from 35 to 45, forming in most places too steep an ascent for men encumbered with arms, in face of a determined enemy. The breadth of this mass of earth, at its base, may be from 90 to 100 feet. There are some places where the ascent is not so steep, and at one of these the Persians in a late attempt at assault, clambered up to the upper Sheer Haje, of which they kept possession for some time.

The citadel of Herat is built upon a mound at the northern end of the town, surrounded by a wet ditch, said to be of considerable depth, and about 36 feet wide, and flanked by large massive towers of burnt brick, 60 or 70 feet high. The position is a strong one, and might be held for some days, or even weeks, after the fall of the town. The only entrance to the citadel is on its southern face, over a bridge which might be destroyed in a few minutes. On the northern face of the town, an outwork has of late years been constructed, called the Ark-i-no or new citadel. This covers the citadel and one of the gates of the town.

From the above rough sketch of the defences of Herat, some idea may be formed of its strength. It would be very difficult if not impossible to breach it with artillery, and the immense quantity of powder which would be necessary in order to establish such a mine as would effect a practicable breach, may be estimated from the dimensions of the rampart above given. From the size of the place it would require an army of 25 or 30 thousand men to invest it effectually.

Herat is not, however, without its weak points. The ruined walls of houses and gardens surround the place, and afford shelter to the besiegers, almost up to the edge of the ditch. On the northern side of the town is an immense mound called the "Tull-i-bunjee", which was thrown up, I believe by Nadir Shah, about 4 or 5 hundred yards from the walls, and behind which a couple of Regiments might be encamped completely screened from the fire of the town. The very size of Herat is also a weakness, it would require a garrison of at least 10,000 men to defend it against an active and enterprising enemy.

The Sheer Haje, are not traversed throughout their whole extent, and might therefore by an enfilading ricochet fire be rendered in some places untenable.

Nearly all the weak points above mentioned, might however be remedied by a skilful Engineer, and if time were allowed for this, the place supplied with guns and a sufficiency of ammunition, and the works defended with common bravery, the capture of Herat even with European troops would be a tedious and difficult enterprize.

Names of Towns, Villages, Stations.	Distance in Miles.	Direction.	REMARKS.
Herát	On leaving the town the road to Kandáhar leads due south through a succession of gardens and fields intersected by numerous water-courses. About three miles from the town the Herirood or Pul-i-Malaum River is crossed. Formerly a fine bridge of burnt brick spanned the stream at this point, but the river has formed for itself a new channel, and now flows round one end of the bridge. The breadth of the river at the place where I crossed was about 150 yards, the stream was exceedingly rapid, and the water reached to our saddle flaps. Several fatal accidents had lately occurred to persons who had attempted to ford the stream when it had been swollen by a fall of rain in the adjacent mountains. To the south of the river is a fine tract of pasture land thickly studded with villages and gardens.
Houz (Reservoir of water)...	14	S.	Situated in an opening of the range of hills to the south of the town.
Meer Daoud	4	S.	Caravanserai in good repair in a fine stream of clear water from a kahreez or succession of wells connected by an underground passage which conducted the stream from its source.
Sháh Beg	12	S.	Ruined caravanserai, abundance of water.
Meer Allah	12	S.	Ruined caravanserai. $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond Shah Beg a spring of sweet water on the left of the road. The caravanserai of Meer Allah surrounded by cultivation, and a fine stream of water runs under the walls.
Rood-i-Guz	6	S.	A rapid stream 15 or 20 yards broad.
Rood-i-Adruscund	5	S.	Stream one mile beyond Rood-i-Adruscund, a rocky pass with springs of fresh water.
Khajeh Ourieh	6	S.	A zialet gáh or place of pilgrimage, a ruin perched on the summit of a rocky hill at the foot of which runs a stream slightly brackish.
.....	4	S.	Road turns off to Subzawaur, leaving that which leads direct to Kandáhar on the left.
Houz	7	S.W.	Reservoir of water ruined.
Subzawaur	10	S.S.W.	A small mud fort, 200 or 250 yards square, with seven circular bastions on each face, one gate on the southern face, scarcely any ditch, the walls in a state of dilapidation. A small ark or citadel, the residence of the Prince Governor, in the centre of the place. Subzawaur is a place of no strength, and might be taken with little loss by a <i>coup de main</i> . It is situated in the midst of a richly cultivated tract of country studded with innumerable villages which are inhabited by Noorzyes; each village is about sixty yards square, surrounded by a mud wall with towers at the angles, a range of hills of inconsiderate elevation to the south of the town, distant about two miles. The road between Herát and Subzawaur is good and level, and passable for wheel carriages of every description.
			Abundance of fresh water in every part of this route, but provisions are not procurable at any point between Herát and Subzawaur. Shahzadeh Iskunder, a son of Sháh Kamran, was nominally the Governor of this district; when I passed through it he possessed, however, little weight or influence anywhere, and none beyond the walls of his fort; he seemed to be a half-witted and imbecile person. He had made no attempt to succour his father, or even to divert the attention of the Persians. The surrounding country was in a state of utter disorder. Bands of plunderers were roving about in every direction, and those men were described as acknowledging neither God nor king.
	13	E.	At this point the road from Subzawaur joins the main road between Herát and Kandáhar. The range of hills to the south of Subzawaur terminates four miles from the town in a long spur, upon which the remains of an extensive fort are visible. This is called the "Killa Dookhter", or maiden's castle, and at a short distance from it on a mound in the plain are the ruins of another castle called "Killa-i-Pisr", or the youth's fort. The plain is thickly studded with villages and khails (encampment) of Noorzyes, abundance of water. Road perfectly level.

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Names of Towns, Villages, Stations.	Distance in Miles.	Direction.	REMARKS.
Kharuck ...	30	S.E.	A grove of Khunjuck trees with a fine stream of water situated under a range of hills running W. S. W. and E. N. E. Wells or springs at every six or eight miles, but no provisions procurable. For the last four or five miles the road hilly and difficult for wheel carriages, but a road, which is described as being good and level, strikes off to the right three miles before Kharuck, and after turning the Kharuck range crosses the plain to Davlatabad, where it again joined the road which I followed. Encampments of Noorzyes are occasionally found in the vicinity of Kharuck, but these cannot be depended on for furnishing supplies, even to a small force.
Summit of pass...	3	S.	Road or rather pathway impassable for wheel carriages.
Davlatabad ...	15	S.E.	A ruined fort on the right bank of the Furrah road. Several large encampments in the vicinity. The valley of the Furrah road runs from north-east to south-west, and is said to be richly cultivated in the vicinity of the town of Furrah about 40 miles below Davlatabad. Supplies to almost any extent and of every description might be drawn from the district of Furrah. A son of Kamram with the title Suadat-ool-Moolk resides at Furrah and is the Governor of the district. He like the Subzawaur Prince has not attempted to aid his father.
Checkaub ...	22	S.E. by E.	On the 29th of May the river was fordable at a point where it was divided into five streams. About 300 yards above, a large solitary tree which stands on the water edge is remarkable as being the only tree near Davlatabad. Checkaub is the name given to a fine spring of water near which was an encampment of Noorzyes. The road from Davlatabad is passable for wheel carriages; no water between the Furrah road and Checkaub, except a few brackish streams. Abundance of water and a good deal of cultivation, wheat and barley in the immediate vicinity of Checkaub.
Largebur Kahreez ...	9	E.	Gardens half mile to the right of road with abundance of water; some encampments at Ohikzyes in the vicinity.
Carvan Oazee ...	4	S.E.	Water.
Toot-i-Gusserman ..	10	E.	Several encampments near some mulberry trees which are said to mark the half-way distance between Herat and Kandahar. Abundance of water and cultivation. Road from Largebur Kahreez hilly and stony, difficult for wheel carriages.
	8	S.	
Gunneemurgh ...	6	E.	Gardens and encampments of Atchikzyes near a fine stream. Country hilly, but road good.
Ibrahim joes (River) ...	7	S.S.E.	We turned off the main road at this point and ascended the right bank of the stream.
Tull-i-Kuman ...	7	N.E.	Mud fort belonging to Memkhan, a Chief of Noorzyes, on the left bank of the stream. There are about thirty other forts higher up the stream inhabited by the Barizye branch of the Noorzyes.
			There are two branches of the Noorzyes, the Chulakzyes and the Badirzye. The head of the former is Mahomed Haleemkhan (at present in the Persian camp before Herat; he was with Sheer Mahomed Khan when Ghorian was given up to Mahomed Shah) and Hassan Khan, at present in Herat, is the head of the latter. It is said that the two branches of this tribe muster from 600 to 700 families.
			There is no such fort as "Killa Suffeed" as mentioned by Lieutenant Conolly and inserted in Arrowsmith's map; but I was told that the Tull-i-Kuman was built upon the site of what had once been the Killa Suffeed which like all other Killa Suffeeds is assigned to the days of Rustam and the white demon.

Names of Towns, Villages Stations.	Distance in Miles.	Directions.	REMARKS.
			The Tull-i-Kuman is surrounded by encampments, and is used as a keep for the flocks and herds of the Chief and his people. In time of danger these people retired to caves and hiding places in the adjacent hills. The Tull-i-Kuman and its dependent forts are nominally under the authority of the Fyfool Moolk, a son of Shah Kamran, who resides at Ghore, said to be about 35 miles north of Toot-i-Gusserman, but he has not been able for a long time past to extract any thing from them in the shape of revenue or taxes, and they enjoy their fields and their flocks without paying any regard to the constituted authority, which is too weak to enforce its demands.
	9	S.E. & S.	Came again upon the high road; abundance of water on the roads between the Tull-i-Kuman and this point; passed several gardens and encampments.
Khaushrod (river)	6	E.S.E.	A fine stream 20 or 30 yards broad running from the north, fordable. This is the boundary between Kamran's territory and that of the Kandahar Sardars.
Washeer	14	E. by S.	Four forts situated on a fine stream and surrounded by rich cultivation and gardens.
Byabanck	24	E.	Village with a stream from a Kahreez. The road in some places rugged but passable for wheel carriages. No fresh water during the first 10 or 12 miles. This road is to the south of that followed by Lieutenant Conolly which leads through the villages of Poosand and Numzand.
Dooshaukh	5	E.	Village surrounded by a mud wall and towers.
Lur	3½	E.	Deserted fort with a stream from Kahreez. No encampments in the vicinity.
	7	E.S.E.	Stream near a deserted fort and some encampments of Barukzyes. Road perfectly level.
Sadant	4	E.S.E.	Fort small but strong, in good repair. This fort was built by Fattekhán Barukzye for his mother who is said to have held a petty court here; abundance of water.
Girishk	21	S.E.	The fort of Girishk is built upon a mound about two miles from the right bank of the Helmund. Girishk is a place of considerable strength, and if properly garrisoned would require a force of three or four thousand men with a small train of Artillery (4 iron guns and 2 or 3 Mortars would be sufficient) to ensure its capture. There are four or five old guns in the fort, but they appeared to be in an unserviceable state. Between the river and the fort is a fine Chummun (pasture land) intersected by water-course and dotted with gardens and groves and villages. The country round the fort might be easily flooded and the approach to it thus rendered exceedingly difficult to a besieging force. Mahomed Siddikkhán, a clever intelligent young man, one of the sons of Sardar Kohim-dikhán (the eldest of the Kandahar brothers) rules at Girishk and is the Governor of the Frontier District. He is attempting to form a corps of Infantry to be drilled and disciplined after the European manner. I saw about a hundred of his recruits armed with sticks in lieu of muskets being drilled by a fellow who looked very much like a runaway sepoy dressed in a gay English uniform when I passed through Girishk. Mahomud Omarkhán and Mahomud Oosmankhán, two sons of Kohimdikhán, were encamped in the vicinity with about two hundred followers on the way to join the Persian army before Herát. The measure was most unpopular and it was given out that after a sufficient force had been collected the young Chiefs would in the first instance undertake a plundering expedition against Furráh and Subzawaur.
Rood-i-Helmund (River)	2	E.	The Etymander of the ancients. Broad and exceedingly rapid river, not fordable at this season. The distance between the banks is about a thousand yards, but in spring it is said to spread itself over the low ground on its right bank and sometimes to approach within a few hundred yards of the walls of Girishk. The Helmund takes its rise on the mountains to the west of Kábul and after a

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Names of Towns, Villages, Stations.	Distance in Miles.	Direction.	REMARKS.
			<p>course of 600 miles, during which it is joined by several considerable streams, the principal of which are the Turunk, the Urghundáb, the Shahbund and the Khaushrood, it falls into the lake of Tumah.</p> <p>There is usually a small boat at this place by which travellers cross the river when the stream is not fordable, but this had been destroyed a short time before our arrival, and we crossed the river on an elephant, the water being in some places about seven feet deep, in June.</p>
Khak-i-Chaupan	24	E.S.E. ...	A grove of mulberry trees with a small stream; there is no water between Helmund and this place.
Kooshk-i-Nakhood or Koorsh Nakhood.	7	E. by S....	A great deal of rich cultivation and several fine gardens in the vicinity; abundance of water. The ruins of an ancient fort called the Kulla-i-Nader, which must have been a place of considerable strength in its day, about two miles to the west of Koorsh Nakhood.
Houzi Muddudkhán	14	E. ...	A large tank on the right of road.
Kandáhar	26	E. ...	<p>The Urghundáb, a fine stream about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile to the right of road; the banks of the river thickly studded with gardens and villages. The Urghundáb after passing Kandáhar takes a westerly course as far as the Houzi Muddudkhán and then turns to the south not as it is laid down in Arrowsmith's map. The road from the Houzi to Kandáhar passes through a succession of fields and gardens and villages which cover this fertile and delightful valley, the breadth of which varies from 3 to 9 miles. Nearly the whole of the water of the Urghundáb is taken up by canals for the purpose of irrigation.</p> <p>The route by which I travelled from Herát to Kandáhar was nearly by the same as that followed in 1828 by Lieutenant Connolly, to the accuracy of whose statements and descriptions I can bear ample testimony. I calculated the distance to be $380\frac{1}{2}$ miles by the average rate of fast walking horse which I found to be 4 miles an hour on level ground.</p> <p>The journey is performed by horsemen in ten and sometimes in nine days, but caravans of laden mules are usually from sixteen to eighteen days between Herát and Kandáhar. The country is occupied by pastoral tribes chiefly of the Noorzye, Atchikzye and Barukzye branches of the Dooranee Afghans. They are possessed of numerous flocks and herds and in the vicinity of their <i>Khails</i> or encampments they raise a sufficiency of grain for their own consumption. These <i>Khails</i>, which generally are from fifteen to fifty tents, are scattered over the face of the country, and as they are usually at some distance from the road it is impossible for a mere traveller even to mark a rough guess at the extent of population or the amount of the resources of the country.</p> <p>To the south of the route above described is another which passed through Bakwa and which was followed by Forster in 1783, since which time I believe no European has travelled it. This southern or Dilaram road as it is usually called is described as being perfectly level and not more than forty or fifty miles longer than the northern or more direct one, but there is a scarcity of water on it, some of the halting places being upwards of 30 miles apart. It is however travelled by caravans and horsemen, and for an army it would have the advantage of passing within a short distance of Furrrah and Subzawaur, from which places supplies almost to any extent are procurable.</p> <p>The city of Kandáhar is of an oblong shape; the length, north and south, being about 2,000, and the breadth 1,600 yards. The city is enclosed by a mud wall with circular bastions at regular intervals. The height of the walls may be about thirty feet, the ditch is dry and from ten to sixteen feet deep and fifteen broad in some places, besides a wall loopholed for musketry about six feet high runs round the scarp of the ditch between which and the main wall is</p>

Names of Towns, Villages, Stations,	Distance in Miles,	Direction.	REMARKS
			a level space or <i>faucelbraye</i> eight or ten feet in breadth. The works are in a tolerable repair. Kandahar is surrounded by gardens and enclosed fields which would afford cover to a besieging force almost up to the edge of the ditch. About a hundred yards from the south-west angle is a large walled garden which was taken possession of by Shah Shooza in attempt upon Kandahar in 1834 and which formed a strong advanced post for his troops.
Killa-i-Khalekdad Khan ...	13	E. and E. N.E.	A half ruined village. Road for the first two or three miles led through gardens and cultivation, after which we travelled over an open uncultivated plain. Good level road free from stones; water only amongst the gardens and cultivation.
Kulla-i-Azini Khan .	3	E. by N.	A small fort in tolerable repair with a stream of clear water.
Khail-i-Akhoond or	8	E. by N.	Opening in a low range of hills.
Dominies Khail	7	E. N.E.	Road good but stony.
		N.E. by E.	A few houses built round the tomb of a sainted school-master situated on the right bank of the river Turnuk (N.E. & S.W.) is marked by green line of tamarisk trees. A good deal of cultivation round the village.
Bivouac on the right bank of the Turnuk.	20	N.E.	Road excellent; cultivation the whole way; but no villages or Khails to be seen, the people having retired from vicinity of the high way to avoid the extortions of the great men who frequent the road.
Teer Andaz	4	N.E.	A minaret about 40 feet high on the right of the road said to mark the spot where an arrow of Ahmed Shah's fell when that monarch was shooting from an eminence which is pointed out on the left of the road.
Khower Taneh	16	N.E.	No habitation to be seen. Bivouac on the right bank of the Turnuk in the district of Khawer Taneh two or three miles beyond the minar at a place called Jallogeer or the bridge full the road bad and stony for a short distance, with this exception the road perfectly level and good following the right bank of the Turnuk. The valley of the Turnuk is now (12th June) a sheet of waving corn ripe for the sickle
Julduk	4	N.E.	A village surrounded by gardens about a mile to the left of the road.
Ford ...	8	N.E.	Crossed the Turnuk near a mill which marks the boundary between the country of the Dooranees and that of the Ghiljees. Here we diverged from the direct road, which leads along the right bank of the Turnuk and passes Kelat-i-Ghiljee, but which is now seldom taken by travellers in consequence of its being infested by robbers or lawless Ghiljee Chiefs who either send their followers to attack caravans or levy contributions themselves under various pretences
			The principal of these are the sons of one Shahabadeen Khan and are considered as the Chiefs of this part of the country. They are upward of twenty in number and are seldom mentioned by their own names, being generally called "Buchahad Shahabadeen," the sons of Shahabadeen. They reside at Kelat-i-Ghiljee and in the forts of this district between the territories of the Ameer and the Sardars and are uncontrolled by either of them. Nominally their country is under the rule of the latter.
Kulla-i-Ramazan Khan ...	8	E. by N. E. N. E.	A small fort. Our route from the river lay amongst low hills, road stony, but passable for wheel carriages. Black mail was levied upon us at this place by Shahabadeen's men who had heard of our being in the vicinity.
Koorrum ...	22	N.E.	Small garden and Kahreez in the district of Koorrum; passed several forts and Khails with slips of cultivation. At the 14 mile Deewalik a ruined fort which is said to have been once a considerable place. As far as Deewalik, the country is inhabited by the Hoteekes branch of the tribe of Ghiljee. The district of Koorrum is inhabited by Tokhees; the river Turnuk 2 or 3 miles distant behind some low hills to the westward.

Names of Towns, Villages, Stations.	Distance in Miles.	Direction.	REMARKS.
Kulla-i-Jaafferec	30	N.E.	Several forts. The road from Koorum over undulating ground passable for wheel carriages, Khails; and forts on either side but at some distance from the road. At the 8th mile Gloondée* said to be a large village (we passed it in the dark) the residence of one of the sons of Shahabadeen. At the Kulla Jaafferec we again entered the valley of the <i>Turnuk</i> . Forts and Khail are seen in every direction—rich fertile tract of country on the banks of the stream.
Ford	11	N.E.N.	Crossed the <i>Turnuk</i> , water reaching to horses' knees.
Gadhar Ghar	1	N.E.	The first fort of the district of Mookoor which forms the part of the Government of Kábul.
Source of the <i>Turnuk</i>	16	N.N.E.	Several fine springs under a range of hills. Road for the last ten miles lay through fields of waving corn (wheat and barley) clover and madder. Forts thickly spread over the country and abundance of water at every step. These forts form the district of Mookhoor; road level and free from stones.
Kahreez in the district of Obeh or Oba.	14	N.N.E.	Road sandy. Obeh is a pastoral district; the whole plain covered with flocks of sheep and goats and droves of camels. But few forts are to be seen; some Khails under the hills on either side of the road at the distance of 6 or 8 miles.
Chardeh	16	N.N.E.	One of the thousand forts of the fertile district of Karabagh which is chiefly peopled by Hazarehs. The whole country as far as the eye can reach is one large field of wheat. The harvest is gathered early in July.
Khareez	6	N.E.	Good level road.
Khareez	2	N.E.	Road execrable sand and large round stones.
Water Mills	16	...	In the district of Nánce between this district and Karrabagh is that of Moorakee which is said to be very populous and to contain many forts, but I saw nothing of it as I passed it in the dark.
Chehl Buchagai	8	N.E.	Fine groves; a place of pilgrimage; road good. Numerous villages, chiefly on the right, inhabited by the Undiri division of the Ghiljees, the whole plain covered with green wheat and fine clumps of trees. Abundance of water.
Ghuznee	4	N.N.E.	The present town of Ghuznee is a small place, not more than four hundred yards square, said to have been the citadel of a former town. It was built by the Jagatars four hundred years ago and is situated on the south slope of a hill to the S. W. of two minárs which are said to mark the spot upon which or near which stood the bázár of Sultán Mahmood's city. The walls of modern Ghuznee are lofty and stand upon a khakreez or <i>faussebraye</i> of considerable elevation; but the ditch is narrow and of no depth, and the whole of the works are commanded by some hills to the N. E. and N. of the place. At the northern and the upper end of the town is a hill upon which has been constructed a small citadel forming the palace of the Governor (Gholam Hyder Khán, a son of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán). I saw one large unmanageable gun and four smaller ones as I passed from the gate of the town to the citadel. I had no opportunity, however, of examining their state; the approach to Ghuznee from the south is highly picturesque and the citadel from its great height looks formidable. The river of Ghuznee flows from the north under the western face of the town which supplies the place and the surrounding country with an abundance of water. Ghuznee may contain from 900 to 1,000 families—Tanjiks, Dooranees and Hindushop-keepers and merchants. As Ghuznee commands the high road between Kandáhar and Kábul, it would be necessary that a force advancing from the former upon the latter place should take possession of it; but this would be easily accomplished as the works are of no strength and are commanded as above mentioned.
Tomb of Sultan Mahomed ...	2	N.E.	This celebrated place of pilgrimage is situated in the midst of a large village surrounded by fine gardens with several running streams.

Names of Towns, Villages, Stations.	Distance in Miles.	Direction.	REMARKS.
	6	N.E.	A narrow defile called the "Tung-i-Sheer", a very strong position, but I believe it may be turned.
	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	N.E.	End of pass.
Shusgao	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	N.E.	Village. Water and cultivation.
Sydabad	23	W.	Village. The country between Shusgao and Sydabad highly cultivated; a fine valley between low hills; villages at every step; abundance of water; road good but stony in some places.
Logur River	4		Bridge called the Pul-i-Shaikabad. The Logur river runs from N.W. to S.E. crossing the valley and entering some hills to the eastward.
Top	6	N.	Village.
River of Kábul	12	N.	Ford, rapid stream, about 20 yards broad; water at the season (June) stirrup deep. The Kábul river comes from a break in the hills to N.W. of this point and runs in a south-easterly direction through a similar break called the Tung-i-Lullunder in the easterly range.
Mydan	$\frac{1}{2}$	N	A collection of villages to the left of the road; rich cultivation, abundance of water. The country between Ghuznee and Mydan is chiefly inhabited by Wardeks who claim descent from Emaum Teiralabadeen, they number about 12,000 families and pay Rs. 90,000 to Government; they are divided into three branches — 1 Malyar, Chief Koorum Khán. 2 Nooree, " Tein Khán. 3 Meerkhail, " Ján Mahomed Khán.
Urghundee	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	E.N.E.	Several fine villages forming the district of Urghundee about a mile to the north of the high road
Kábul	14	E.	Half way from Urghundee the village of Kulla-i-Hazee. From this place to the city the road passes through a succession of gardens and fields; the whole country intersected by water-courses brought from the river of Kábul. Road excellent and gardens as far as the eye can reach. The approach to Kábul from the west is through a narrow defile which forms as it were the western gate of the city and through the defile runs the river of Kábul which afterwards flows through the centre of the city. The hills on both sides been fortified with lines of wall, flanked at regular intervals by massive towers, but the works, which have fallen to decay, are too extensive to be properly defended, and the height may be easily turned. The citadel or Bala Hissar, situated at the eastern extremity of the city, is a place of no strength, being commanded by heights in the vicinity. There are about 40 guns in Kábul, most of which are in a serviceable state. The route between Kandáhar and Kábul above described is generally blocked up by snow during four months of winter, but at the other seasons is good and passable for all descriptions of wheel carriages. Water is abundant and supplies are procurable at any seasons for an army of 20 or 30,000 men. A caravan travels between Kandáhar and Kábul in fifteen days, but horsemen perform the journey in 8 days and couriers in 6. I estimated the distance at 317 miles, but the direct route <i>via</i> Kelat-i-Ghiljee is shorter by about ten or fifteen miles.
Kábul Bool	12	E. by N.	Village. Road through gardens and fields.
Khak Teezee	25	S.E. & E.	Do. situated on the skirt of a range of lofty hills. At the 4th mile entered a defile called Tung-i-Khoord Kábul, about 3 miles in length; ascended a small stream which is crossed by the road every 50 yards; after passing the defile the road enters an open country, the villages of Khoord Kábul. Two miles to the right, twelve miles beyond Bootchak, another defile. Road hilly and stony, in some places impassable for guns. Between the second defile and Teizee the road passes over the "Huft Kothul" or seven passes. Khooda Buksh Khán is the Chief of this district.
Hissaruk (Pissaruk of Arrow-smith's map).	17	E. by S.	Cluster of villages on the Soorkhoud stream. After leaving Teizee steep ascent for about 5 miles, mountains covered with pine and holly-oak; magnificent scenery; road impassable for guns; abrupt

REPORT OF A JOURNEY FROM HERAT

Names of Towns, Villages, Stations.	Distance in Miles.	Direction.	REMARKS.
			descent for about two miles; the road or pathway in the bed of a mountain stream.
Isphan	4	E.S.E.	The Soorkhoud flowed from a break in the mountains to the east of Hissaruk. The skirt of the mountains covered with gardens and villages. Village on the left of the road. Between Kábul and this place the country is inhabited by Ghiljees, but we here enter the districts peopled by Khogianees. Forded the Soorkhoud, a clear rapid stream near Hissaruk; water at this season (June) stirrup deep and about 20 yards broad. The Soorkhoud after being fed by numberless mountain streams which come down from the ranges called Suffeed Karh joins the Kábul river near Jallalabad.
Mookoor Khail	12	E. by S.	Large village; abundance of water; fine cultivation; road stony but passable for wheel carriage; crossed several mountain streams running from south to north.
Wurzeh	14	E. & S.E.	Village in a valley running down from the Suffeed Karh; abundance of water; gardens and cultivation. After leaving Mookoor Khail the road descends into a valley. At the sixth mile passes the celebrated garden of <i>Memla</i> , about a mile to the left. At the tenth mile villages and gardens on the skirts of the Suffeed Karh range.
Agaum	7	E. S. E. & S. E.	Village situated in a valley similar to that of Wurzeh. Fine stream, gardens and rich cultivation; villages as far as the eye can reach; road stony, but passable for guns. Sardar Mahomed Akber Khán, a son of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán, was encamped with his troops in the valley of Agaum. This young man although not the eldest is said to be possessed of more power and influence than any of the other sons. He has acquired a high character for courage, and he certainly displayed this quality in the affair of Jumrood. The Government of Jallalabad has been entrusted to him, and if he is not greatly respected by the people, he is certainly the least unpopular of the family. His immediate dependants are said to be devoted to him. His troops were scattered in the different villages near Agaum when I passed through that place; but I believe he has twelve guns, chiefly 6-pounders, in a serviceable condition. A corps of 1,500 Jazarjurchees, a fine body of men, armed with long heavy guns which are fired from a rest and will carry a ball four hundred yards with precision, and two or three thousand good horses.
Jallalabad	24	N.N.E.	Village. The road or rather pathway for the first 6 miles led through gardens and rice fields; the whole country flooded for the purpose of irrigation, impassable for guns; there is however a gun road which makes a circuit of some miles between Agaum and Jallalabad; the remainder of the road passable for wheel carriages. Jallalabad is situated on the right bank of the Kábul river which is here a stream of considerable volume and about half a mile broad. Round Jallalabad are the remains of a wall of considerable extent, but the place is now reduced to a mere village, surrounded by extensive ruins. The various routes between Jallalabad and Peshawar have been already minutely described. At this season of the year (June) the river route is generally followed as being the safest and most expeditious. Rafts are formed of splinters of wood, which hold together from twenty to a hundred inflated bullock skins and an accident rarely happens during the months of May, June and July, when the water is of a sufficient depth to cover the rocks which are dangerous at other seasons. Near Jallalabad, the river runs in a broad bed with low banks on each side. Distant hills with snow on their summits on either hand. The space between the foot of these hills and the river covered with villages and green fields. Fine groves of trees scattered along the banks. The stream when I passed down was running at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. A few miles below Jallalabad the Kábul river is joined by a broad and rapid stream of considerable volume called

Names of Towns, Villages, Stations	Distance in Miles	Direction	REMARKS
			<p>Darya-i-Koowar. This distance between Jallalabad and Peshawar by the river route is about 90 miles. This distance is performed on a raft of 25 skins impelled by two large oars in about 12 hours. Half way is the large village of Lalpur, situated on the left bank of the river, the residence of Soadat Khan, Chief of the Momund tribe, which is said to number 40,000 families. After passing Lalpur the river flows for about 30 miles in a deep narrow channel walled in by precipitous rocky mountains of great height. In this part of the river are most of the whirlpools and dangerous places. One called the <i>Shutr Gurdun</i> or 'camel's neck', 26 or 27 miles below Lalpur, is particularly dreaded by the raftsmen, and is considered, even in the best season, a place of peril. Two or three miles below <i>Shutr Gurdun</i> the river diverges from the mountains and enters an open cultivated country. At the village of Muchnee on the left bank tolls are levied on rafts passing down the river. From Mutter, a small village on the right bank of the river, seven or eight miles below <i>Shutr Gurdun</i>, Peshawar is distant about 14 miles. The country was overflowed for the purpose of irrigation, and the road, which passed through a succession of rice fields, was scarcely passable to laden ponies.</p> <p>I need say nothing of the present state of Peshawar or of the route through the Punjab from that place to Loodiana, both having been minutely described by others.</p>

(Signed) E. D. TODD, Major,

Acting Secretary of H. B. M.'s Legation at the Court of Persia.

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NOTICE ON HERAT

WITH A

SKETCH OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.

NOTICE ON HERÁT WITH A SKETCH OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.

1. *Object of the Report.*—While Persia prosecutes her designs against Herát, it is desirable to take a cursory view of the state of affairs in Herát itself, and the countries adjacent to it, as well to understand the resistance which they can offer as the facilities which they afford to an invading army. The variety of subjects treated only admits of this document being a sketch, in which light I give it.

2. Herát has been already described by so many travellers that any minuteness would be superfluous. It is situated in one of the richest countries in the East. It is a walled town with a citadel surrounded by a deep wet ditch, which is supplied with water from springs in it, and may also be filled from the river. The ditch is in good, and the walls in tolerable, repair. The size of Herát has been greatly overrated. The limited space occupied prevents its having the population assigned to it, and it is not considered half the size of Kábul. Asiatics are not good judges of the number of people in a city, but in comparing one place with another they may be relied on. The importance of its situation is very great, and it has always exercised considerable influence over the affairs of Central Asia. The most polished Court in the west of Europe could not at the close of the 15th century vie in magnificence with that of Herát.¹

3. *Its Government and Politics.*—Kamran, the present ruler, is the last remaining scion of the Sudavzye princes in Afghánistán. He is a man of bad passions, cruel and dissipated, entirely in the hands of Yár Mahomed Khán Alekozye, an Afghán, who has raised himself to eminence at Herát by getting rid of all the other Chiefs. He is now Vazir and would remove Kamran himself or substitute a son in his stead were he not afraid of the great Huzara Chief Shere Mahomed Khán, who resides to the north and is a devoted supporter of Kamran's interests. The great tribe of the Berdooránees, who were removed from Eastern Afghánistán to Herát by Nadir, are nearly extinct in Herát. Of 3,000 families about one-fourth remain, and their Chief Meer Sidick Khán has been lately put to death for real or supposed intrigues in Persia and Kandáhár. Shumsodeen Khán Populzye, who distinguished himself in the last war with Persia, and had the Government of Fura, has now gone over to that power in disgust—an unfortunate and ill-timed defection. The Chief of Lash, Sháh Pusund Khán, has also repaired to the Persian camp.

4. *Garrison.*—The garrison in Herát consists of about 10,000 men. The Vazir and his family muster 1,500, and the dependants of Kamran about 200 more. 6,000 Dooránees and other Afgháns have been removed from Fura into the city, and besides these are 3,000 foot, known by the name of "Doutulub." These are also Afgháns, and a description of troops first established by Ahmed Sháh Dooránee. They were obliged to furnish a horseman for every pair of ploughs, but Kamran last year converted the levy into foot, fixing two individuals for each plough. It caused a great deal of dissatisfaction, but this, it is believed, is now removed. The Kuzzelbash, or Shiáh inhabitants, have been either sold by the minister or fled the country, with the exception of about 1,200 families, who have been removed to a place called Jakera outside the city to prevent treason. Many of the Soonee residents have been also sold, but the rest remain. Provisions have been plentifully stored, and to this time the city cannot be correctly said to be besieged, since two of its gates are open. There are but 10 guns in Herát and none of any calibre. The strength of the place consists more in its position than garrison

In 1833 when the present Sháh of Persia, then Mahomed Mirza, attacked Herát, the operations were interrupted by the death of A'bbás Mirza, and the Persians made a disastrous retreat to Tehrán.

5. *Siege of Herát.*—The Persian Army has been before Herát for the last 60 days without making any impression upon it. Ghorian, the frontier town and a strong place, was betrayed into their hands, and this has enabled them to procure provisions and make good their footing, otherwise the subsistence of the army would have been very difficult; as it is the defections of Shum-sodeen Khán and others have been most fortunate for them. The season chosen for the attack is favourable to Persia in one respect, because it prevents Kamran being succoured by the Khivans, Toorkmáns, and other nations of Toorkistán. If Herát can hold out till the equinox (Nowroz), it is supposed that this aid may be procured, as will be hereafter stated. If the Persians are obliged to raise the siege it will prove most calamitous to them; if Herát falls, the power of the Afgháns as a nation will be much broken. In Ghorian Persia has secured a great stronghold which may hereafter enable her to hold her position and contribute to her ultimate success.

6. *Extent of Herát Revenue.*—At the present time the chiefship of Herát extends eastward to the Khansbrood, a river half way to Kandáhar. To the north it has but a few miles of territory, the country in that quarter belonging to Shere Mahomed Khán Huzara. To the west to the district of Ghorian which, before its capture, exercised an influence over the Persian canton of Khaf. To the south Herat is bounded by the Helmund and Seistán, Kamran having subdued this latter province about four years ago. Herát has four districts called "wilayuts" and nine called "belooks." The "wilayuts" are Obé and Ghorian on the east and west, Kurokh or Kila-i-Nan on the north, and Sabizwar on the south. Its "belooks" are the lands cultivated by so many canals and bear their names. Two-thirds of the produce is generally taken by Government. It is doubtful if the revenue amounts to 13 lákhs of rupees; but Kamran is rich in jewels and hoarded treasure. Tyranny and trade do not exist together.

7. The territories of Herát need not be further described. I shall commence from the south and give, in succession, an account of the circumjacent countries. Seistan, though now a province of Herát, will deserve a short notice from its former fame. The ruling family of this province, descended from the line of Kyánee, has lately lost its power. To Behráh Khán Kyánee a son succeeded to the Government and ruled over three Chiefs, two of whom were Seistánees and Shiáhs, the other a Belooch. A brother rebelled and sought the assistance of the Belooch Chief, the son of Khán Ján by an intermarriage. The rightful heir died or was put to death and the Belooches ill-using the rebellious brother, he fled to Herát and sued for the aid of Kamran. He immediately invaded Seistan, plundered it and drove off 6,000 of its inhabitants captive, whom he sold into slavery or exchanged to the Toorkmáns for horses. He assigned to the Kyánee family the town of Jahánábád south of the Helmund, where they now reside, and fixed his own Governor at Chukunsoor north of the river. Little regular revenue is derived from Seistán except camels, cows and sheep; it is thinly peopled and altogether a poor possession.

8. *Geography of Seistán.*—The most remarkable feature of this old province is the intersection by the Helmund and its tributary rivers. In summer all these are greatly swollen, and it has been said that they form a lake called "Zurrah"; but the natives whom I interrogated were unacquainted with this name and described the rivers to be lost in a vast swampy region, full of reeds called "Hamoo." Many of the places on the map are also quite unknown; but this will be sufficiently accounted for when it is stated that ancient forts are often laid bare by the blowing away of the sand, while modern ones are overwhelmed. This is to the people a constant source of wonder, and castles of a former age are said to show themselves as newly from the hands of the architect. The singular appearance of the waters of the Helmund and this changeable face of nature would account for the many fabulous descriptions of Seistán. Among

innumerable ruins which I heard of, one in particular, that of an old city called Zdedum in the "Loote" or desert, yields many antiquities—rings, coins, &c.,—which are taken by the finders to Fura for sale. One curious property of the climate is that the horse cannot live in it and probably there are not 100 of these in Seistán. Kamran lost nearly all his cavalry in his campaign, most of the horses dying from a disease of the digestive organs contracted in it, which makes it very unfavourable for military operations; but the camels of Seistán are celebrated.

9. *Lásh*.—To the north of Seistán and south of Fura, one of the governments under Herát is the small district of Lásh held by Sháh Pusund (or Saloo) Khán, a Sakzye Dooránee. Lásh itself is a place of considerable strength in these parts, being a fort on a scarped hill or rock, which has resisted all Kamran's endeavours to take it. It is situated on the Fura road and, with seven or eight small forts, forms all the possession of this Chief. Kamran, unable to seize it, destroyed its "kahreezes" or water-courses. This hostile disposition has driven Sháh Pusund Khán from his natural friends the Afgháns to Persia, with which he is leagued in hopes of warding off danger from himself. The Chief is well spoken of in these countries. He received the ex-king Shooja-ool-Moolk after his last defeat at Kándahár, who fled there in hopes of support from Kamran; but though these members of the Sudarzye family exchange presents with each other there is no cordiality, since in the success of either, one must fall, and at present Kamran has power of which Shooja has been deprived.

10. *Kayu*.—Kayu is the first Persian province to the west of Fura and lies on the frontier of the kingdom. It is entirely inhabited by Shiáhs, which has led the Toorkmáns to seek for slaves in it during their "chupows" or forays. The inhabitants are a timid race and live in small forts, the number of which is very great. Kayu is a country badly watered, and the bair tree, which always flourishes in arid countries, is common. Birgind and Kayu are the principal places, and the district is ruled by a Governor of its own, whose subjection to the Sháh however is complete, since he furnishes a quota of three or four thousand infantry when called upon. They form part of the force at present before Herát. The Chief of Herát had designs on Kayu, and on a difference between that and the neighbouring canton of Tubbus, which arose six years ago, Kamran lent his aid to the Governor of Kayu, but the dispute was adjusted. Kayu was never subdued by Kamran, and it refused also to accept a governor of A'bbás Mirza's appointment in 1832. It is now held by a son of Meer Alum Khán, its former Governor.

11. *Tubbus*.—Adjoining Kayu and further to the west is Tubbus, which is also subject to Persia and inhabited by Shiáhs. Its principal places are Tubbus, Toon and Goonabad. Of them Toon is the largest. It has its own Governor, Meer Ali Naghee Khán, and very much resembles Kayu in soil and productions, though the orange tree is not found in any other part of Khorásán. Its quota of troops is also furnished in infantry, and both places are noted for the carpets which form part of their tribute.

12. *Toorshish*.—North of Tubbus is Toorshish, a district which is well watered and peopled yielding good fruit. It is smaller than Kayu and furnishes about 3,000 troops to the Sháh, and has a governor appointed over it. It lies south from Meshed.

13. *Khaf*.—Between Toorshish and Herát, and south of the road which leads from Meshed to that city, is the district of Khaf, a miserable tract with a climate very incongenial from the high winds. It has been nearly depopulated by the Toorkmáns. The principal place is Killa Rohee, which is held by Nussur Collah Teimoree, who is a Shiáh. Khaf could scarcely be said to be dependent on Persia till the present campaign. The Shiáh population is also outnumbered by the Soonees, who are Teimurees. Kamran's minister had, in some degree, subdued Khaf and very imprudently garrisoned the frontier town of Ghorian by its natives, who were Shiáhs, which led to its being betrayed into the hands of the Sháh.

14. The hilly country between Meshid and Herát, on both sides of the high road, to within 40 miles of that city, has been subject to Persia since 1833, and is held directly under Meshid. Previous to that period, many petty Chiefs, who were robbers, occupied the tract. Of these Mahomed Khán Kuráee of Toorbut Hyderee was the most notorious. He is now in the service of the Sháh, and Toorbut and Sungan, his strongholds, are garrisoned by Persians. Toorbut-i-Shakh Jam, a place of pilgrimage, was held by the Huzaras, as also Mahmoodabad and Shuhr-i-no. On the approach of the Persians the population was marched further east, and the few residents in these places only cultivate within a gun-shot of their villages from fear of the Toorkmáns. Water and forage abound.

15. *Shurukhs*.—North of this tract, and about 100 miles from Meshid, lies Shurukhs, long the seat of Toorkmáns, who plundered Khorásán. In 1832 I saw it rich in the spoils of others, but a few months after it was surprised by A'bbás Meerza in person, who either captured or killed its entire population. Those who were ransomed returned to Shurukhs; but in the following year the Khivans, who claim some power over it, insisted on their removing further into the desert to Merv, where they are located. Shurukhs has abundance of cultivable land on the banks of the Tijend; but the excesses of its population scared away the traveller and the merchant, and if not now the residence of robbers, it lies on the route by which these children of the desert issue to plunder on the frontiers of Persia.

16. *Moorghab and the Soonee Huzaras*.—Immediately north of Herát lies the country of the Soonee Huzaras, and that portion of the tribe ruled by Shere Mahomed Khán of Killa-i-no, an adherent of the Chief of Herát. This country includes Obé, and extends to the Moorghab. On the last invasion of Herát, he removed about 4,000 Tajik families from their seats nearer Herát, to the more fertile lands east of Punjdeh on the bank of that river, that if his enemies triumphed over him near Herát, he might still have subjects. This Chief has great power in these countries, and besides his attachment to Kamran has connections with the Khivans, Toorkmáns and Chiefs in and about Maimuna, all of whom would only assist Herát through him. He plunders the country of its property and inhabitants as far west as Meshid and Nishapur, and the petty Chiefs of Khaf, Toorshish and Tabbus are glad to send him annual presents to spare in some degree their people. He is a man of about 45 years of age and of a better disposition than his cruel occupation would lead to the belief. He is a nephew of Mahomed Khán Begler-begee and now holds that title. He can take the field with 6,500 horse; 2,000 of these are constantly present and 2,000 more from his "Ooloos" can be assembled in a few days, 1,500 are furnished from the Feerozkohees, who are his subjects, and the Jamsheede Kimaks, who are his friends and co-adjutors, will send 1,000 more. He can also command two or three thousand horse from Maimuna, and on the former invasion of the Persians Toorkmáns co-operated with him. Without the aid of Shere Mahomed Khán, Herát could have no hope against Persia, but that Chief will not aid Kamran against Kandáhár or any other power. Though cordial with Kamran, he is inimical to his minister, whom he considers to have supplanted him in authority.

17. *Maimuna*.—Across the Moorghab and towards Balkh, which city is in the territories of the king of Bokhára, lie the small states of Maimuna, Andkho, Shibbergan, Siripool and Akchu. A connection, as I have before stated, subsists between them and Herát, but since they are divided against each other, their aid is of small avail, as a minute account of them will better exhibit. All of them are engaged in the slave trade and independent, though they send presents of horses, both to Herát and Bokhára. Maimuna is the most important of the whole. The Chief is Mizrab Khán, an Uzbek of the tribe of Wun, and his country extends from Maimuna to the Moorghab and adjoins that of Shere Mahomed Khán Huzara. Maimuna itself is an open town or rather village

of about 500 houses, but the strength of the Chief consists in his "Ils" or moving population who frequent Ulmar, Jankira, Sorbagh, Kafir Kilar, Khyrabad, Kusar, Chuchaktoo, Tukht-i-Khatoom and other sites which can scarcely be called villages. He also numbers Arabs among his subjects, many of that tribe having been long settled here. With his whole adherents drawn out he could muster about 6,000 horse and three small guns; but he could never quit his territories with half the number, as he is on bad terms with the Chief of Siripool, who is much feared though less powerful. Mizrab Khán is about 40 years of age; he succeeded to his brother about six years ago, whom he poisoned—a common mode of disposing of people in these countries, and a fate which his own father also met.

18. *Andkho*.—Andkho or Andkhoe is ruled by Sháh Wullee Khán, an Ufshur Toork who settled here, with others of his tribe, in the time of Nádir. They were then Shiáhs, but are now Soonees. The "Ils" of the Chief, besides his own race, are Arabs, and he can furnish 500 horse, and is on good terms with Maimuna. Andkho has a larger fixed population than Maimuna being on one of the high roads to Bokhára; but there is a scarcity of water in this canton. It is here that the wheat is a triennial plant. Andkho is the place where Moorcroft perished.

19. *Shibbergan*.—Shibbergan belongs to an Uzbek Chief named Roostam Khán, who has a character for moderation; he can muster five or six hundred horse and is on good terms with both Maimuna and Koondooz. Shibbergan is considered to be a very ancient place, being given to the days of the Kaffirs (Greeks?) and still the strongest fort in these parts. The "ark" or citadel is built of brick and mortar and surrounded by walls of mud. Kilick Ali Beg, the late Chief of Balkh, besieged it for seven years without success; but it must only be understood to be strong against Uzbeks, who are badly supplied with artillery. Water is conducted to it from the rivulet of Siripool.

20. *Siripool*.—Toolfkar Shere, an Uzbek of the tribe of Achunuclee, governs Siripool and is known as a brave and determined man. He is on bad terms both with Koondooz and Maimuna, and though he has only one thousand horse, he resists the attacks of both and plunders all round. His feud with Maimuna arises on account of his daughter, a wife of the former Chief, being seized by Mizrab Khán. His "Ils" are in Sungcharuk, Paogan, Goordewan and Dughdrab, and if he can enlarge their number, which is not improbable, his power will be increased. Siripool itself is as large as Maimuna.

21. *Akhchu and Balkh*.—Akhebu is a dependency of Balkh and held by a son of Eshan Khoja, the governor of that once vast city. It is consequently tributary to Bokhára. The Governor of Balkh through fear lately permitted Moorood Beg of Koondooz to establish himself on one of the canals of Balkh; but the king of Bokhára sent a force of 8,000 men and has just dislodged him; half of this body was raised in Balkh and the rest from Bokhára. The Koondooz Chief offered no resistance to the king.

22. *Supplies, Roads and nature of these Chiefships*.—All of these chiefships are situated in the plain country which in general is well watered by rills or canals and has abundance of forage for camels and horses which are numerous. The soil is dry, but there are many gardens near the towns. The style of building, from a scarcity of wood, is that of the bee-hive shape. There is a good open caravan road from Meshid to Balkh, which is a journey of 16 days; thus from Meshid to Shurukhs 4, to the Moorghab 3, to Maimuna 4, and to Balkh in 5 days. This is much the nearest route to Kábul from the west.

23. *Huzaras between Herát and Kábul*.—Between Herát and Kábul and south of these chiefships, lies the mountainous country of the Huzaras. The journey between the cities has been performed in 12 days by Sháh Zumán with a body of horse and is said to be passable for artillery of small calibre. Caravans also travel it in summer, but the ascents and descents of

innumerable hills are such that it is very fatiguing to the cattle, and the roads from Kábul by Mafmuna or Kandáhar are always preferred. Towards Herát the Huzaras are Soonees, while those near Kábul are Shiáhs, which is a singular reversal, since the people of Kábul are of the former and those of Persia of the latter persuasion. About Khojee Chist, east of Obé and Herát the Teimuncer are partially submissive to Shere Mahomed Khán and will assist Herát. Those who are near Maimuna and the adjoining States are plundered by them, while Moorád Beg of Koondooz plunders the country to Yokoa-bung over three of the passes of Hindoo Koosh and near Bamian. The eastern portion about Bamian, and west of the road between Ghuzni and Kandáhar, are subjects of Kábul and pay a regular tribute. They are the Huzaras of Besoot, Dih-Zunghee (in part), Kava Bagh and Jaghooree. The Kuzzilbashs of Kábul have orders given, on the greater part of this tract, for their allowances, the people being Shiáhs; but the revenues of Besoot are generally collected by one of the Ameer's sons. The Huzaras of Taloda Hoojoo-ristán, which is west of Jaghooree, as well as those of Deh Koondée, secure independence from their remote position. The whole race is without a head, or it might prove very formidable; at present they are driven off in every direction and sold like sheep. At no period did the kings of Kábul derive so much revenue from them as is now procured by Dost Mahomed Khán. The Eastern Huzaras are bigoted Shiáhs, and devotedly attached to the Persian party in Afghánistán.

24. *Kandáhar*.—South of the territories of the Huzaras we have the Chiefship of Kandáhar, but its affairs require a more extended notice than can be here given to them. It will be sufficient to observe, that if Herát were not crippled by Persia, Kandáhar could not resist an attack from it without the aid of Kábul. The position of Kandáhar is isolated, and its cordial union with Kábul is therefore necessary for its existence and preservation. The chiefs themselves are perfectly aware of their danger, and in seeking an alliance with Persia, have no security in their solicitude, but the object of security against Herát. Their position is further endangered by differences which are unhappily too frequent among the ruling brothers, and which foreign threats do not always extinguish.

25.—*Probable effects of Persian invasion and ascendancy*.—Having thus passed in review the state of Herát itself and the countries around it, they certainly would not appear to be in a condition likely to offer much resistance to a power which had any consolidation. If Persia fails in the present attack, the result may be disastrous to her, but if enabled to establish an ascendancy in Herát, she could in course of time bring under subjection the petty States to the north. She could never advance a step further east without paralyzing or conquering them. The Afgháns themselves view with concern, and many of them with despair, the present invasion by Persia; the whole resources of that country, say they, have never of late years been arranged under the Sháh, and that this attack differs in consequence from all others. If it prove successful they anticipate the removal of the Afgháns round Herát into the interior of the kingdom according to a usage very common in these countries, which will let in upon its fertile plains the neighbouring Shiáh subjects of Persia and thus fix its supremacy and supplant the feelings of the Afgháns in religion and policy by those of Persia. Should these opinions turn out well founded, the result of the campaign will be most calamitous to the Afghán people, though the progress of Persia towards Kábul itself would even in that case be still impeded by the number of chiefships, though their number and their disunion would ensure their ultimate fall. It is fortunate that the Huzaras about Herát are enemies, in creed, to Persia and that the whole country to the Indus is inhabited by rigid Soonees; still with a tolerant policy that interfered not with their religion, any power might overrun and maintain the region lying between India and Persia. Had Runjeet Sing, in the outset of his career, permitted the Mahomedans to

pray aloud and kill cows, he might have possessed himself of the entire kingdom of Ahmed Sháh Dooránee. But Persia is not likely to pursue more enlightened views, and the present reigning family in Afghánistan, the Barukzyes, may avail themselves of the opportunity to secure their possessions by submitting to this power, for, since Persia cannot govern them herself, they may do it under her. Should however the Afgháns, circumscribed though they now are, by narrow limits, be freed from apprehension on the East, instead of following the destinies of Persia, on the fall of Herát, they might without difficulty be united, when their country would form a barrier not to be forced by future aggressors. The materials are, by no means, so incoherent as they at first sight appear, but without measures that will ensure their union as a nation (whatever independence may be allowed to each chiefship) this country must sink under one of even inferior resources.

(Signed) A. BURNES.

Kábut, 7th Februarj 1838.

NARRATIVE

OF A

JOURNEY FROM KHELAT TO SONMEANI IN NOVEMBER 1839

By

CAPTAIN OUTRAM.

NARRATIVE

OF

A JOURNEY FROM KHELA'T TO SONMEANI IN NOVEMBER 1839.

It being a point of importance to ascertain the practicability, or otherwise, of a direct road for troops from Kandáhár and Shawl, through Beluchistan, to the sea, *vid* Khelát, I determined on exploring that through Nal, said to be the best káfilla route, the only other road having been reported on by Colonel Pottinger 30 years previously.

Accordingly, being relieved from military duty, by the successful termination of hostilities consequent on the capture of Khelát on the 13th November, and honored by General Wiltshire's despatches for the Bombay Government, I left camp (before Khelát) at midnight on the 15th November disguised in Afghán costume, and accompanied by three holy Syuds of Shawl, two armed attendants of theirs, and one of my own, the whole party of six persons being mounted on four ponies and two camels carrying provisions for the road, and as much grain for the animals as we could conveniently take.

My preparations being scarcely completed on the 15th, I had intended to delay till next day, but that forenoon the Syuds came to urge immediate departure, in order, they said, to precede, if possible, the news of the death of the Chiefs Wully Mahomed of Wudd, and Shahdost of Nal who were slain in the combat of the 13th November. It being considered advisable to depart as secretly as possible, we agreed to leave camp at midnight.

16th November, nineteen hours in the saddle.—Halted at 4 P.M. for an hour at Rodrinjoe, after a pleasant march of four hours in bright moonlight but bitterly cold; not a soul in the village, it being usual for the inhabitants to emigrate to the warmer climate of Cutch Gundava for the winter. At daybreak continued our journey to S-hrab, a cluster of villages also deserted for the same reason, with the exception of one or two families remaining in each to look after the premises. On this day's march passed many groupes of fugitive women from Khelát, the men who ought to have protected them either having been killed in fight, or outstripped them in flight! One party, however, was better attended than the rest, having several armed men with it (but all the females except one old lady, were on foot), on coming up to which my friends the Syuds were recognized as old acquaintances, and a long detail of the hardships they had endured was entered into by the ladies, who, it appeared, were the families of the Khan's brother, and of the principal minister, Mahomed Hussan, who, poor things, had never been beyond the precincts of a harem before. It behoved us to remain with them a sufficient time to listen to their griefs while we kept the same road; and especially was I called upon in my holy character of *Pir* (as which my companions had announced me, and I had afterwards to support throughout the journey), to display sympathy, which I did by apparent attention, though not understanding a word they said, while one of my companions relieved the mother for a time of the burden of Mahomed Hussan's child, by carrying it on horseback before him. My situation during the time we accompanied this party was by no means enviable, for, independent of the fairness of my complexion being calculated to excite suspicion, (although concealed as much as possible by a large turban tied over the chin,) it so happened that I had equipped myself and servant in apparel taken from Mahomed Hussan's own wardrobe, from which the prize agents had permitted me to select what was necessary for my disguise. Fortunately,

I had considered the humblest garb most suited to the character I was to assume, and the clothes I selected were probably of too common a description to have passed through the harem, the fair hands of whose inmates embroidered the more costly suits. Whether from that cause, or that their cares diverted their thoughts from such trifles, our garments were not recognized, and we took the first opportunity of pleading an excuse to leave the poor creatures behind. We were pestered however, throughout the journey by horsemen, galloping up from different directions to enquire into the particulars of the Khelát disaster; but my friends the Syuds always managed to place themselves in such a position as to be first questioned, and had then so much of interest to communicate to the enquirers that I remained unnoticed. The sensation created by the news of the fall of Khelát and death of Mehrab Khán, and the other chiefs, was very great, and as far as I could understand, many were the curses showered on the Firangis, and vows of vengeance; while national vanity induced them to seek every means of excusing the defeat of their countrymen. The more they questioned, however, the more were they downhearted at the undeniable evidence of the superiority of Firangi prowess; and I suspect their ardour to avenge their brethren was considerably cooled by what they learnt, and will soon evaporate entirely, though we were told that the Khán's brother and his spiritual adviser, who yesterday had passed in flight, gave out they were only going to assemble the tribes to assail our troops in their descent through the passes.

We selected for our bivouac that night the shelter of the walls of a deserted village, but our arrival was observed, and, notwithstanding the apparently deserted state of the country, people flocked to us from all quarters to enquire regarding relatives and friends engaged at Khelát; among others, were agents sent back by the Khán's brother to meet and escort his and the minister's families, which we had passed in the morning. My companions, the Syuds, were not sparing in their taunts at the conduct of the Khán's brother for leaving his family behind to walk on foot, while he and his companions fled on horseback. They also hinted that he must have been very precipitate in leaving Khelát, as there was no egress from the place for an hour before Mehrab Khán fell in the citadel. This indignation on the part of my friends elicited much applause in the assembly, and the emissaries of the Khán's brother (I forget his name) looked very foolish, but they talked big, and said he was only gone to raise the clans to cut off the Firangis in the pass. I afterwards asked the Syuds if this was likely, as in that case I should wish to send back some warning to the General that such was contemplated. They assured me however that the blow struck on the 13th prevented any chance of an obstruction to the English being attempted, that no body of Beluchees would now dare to unite to oppose us, and that the Khán's brother merely urged that pretext to cover his own cowardice. During these discussions I avoided the inconvenience of being personally questioned by pretending to sleep, but my companions had to satisfy a succession of inquirers till night was well advanced, when the moment we were relieved from their presence we determined on pushing on immediately, instead of resting till morning as we had intended, to avoid detention and inconvenient questioning by fresh visitors we might expect to be assailed by in the morning. A poor man was persuaded to engage with us as guide, but only on condition that I would furnish a charm to insure a sick camel from harm during his absence, accordingly a tuft of the animal's hair was brought to me and I was obliged in support of my assumed characters to go through the farce of apparently muttering cabalistic words over it. God forgive the hypocrisy.

Travelled six hours further that night to a stream of clear water, where we bivouacked till daybreak. In the morning we were delighted to find the traces of the horses and camels of the Khán's brother and other fugitives which we had hitherto followed. Struck off to the left, taking the road to Wudd, their being in our front having caused us considerable anxiety heretofore.

17th November, 10 hours.—Continued our journey for 10 hours to Parkoo, a village lately destroyed by the Khán for some contumacy of its inhabitants, where we found comfortable shelter for the night amidst the ruins, and were spared the society of strangers, of whom we fortunately met none during this day's march. The few hamlets we passed being at this time entirely deserted.

18th November, 17 hours.—Departed at daybreak and crossed a high range of hills by a goat-path impracticable for any laden cattle, my companions having heard of persons being on the high road to Nal, whom they thought it prudent to avoid; occupied five hours in reaching that place, but passed it and rested in the jungles three miles beyond, sending one of the Syuds and two attendants into the village for horse gram; unfortunately the latter missed our hiding place and passed on, for whom, having waited till evening, we became alarmed and the other Syud went back to the village to enquire about them, leaving me with no one, but my servant Hoossain. As neither of us could speak a word of the Belluch language should have been awkwardly situated had we been discovered and addressed by any of the people, several of whom passed close to us on their way home from the fields. Nearly an hour elapsed and darkness was coming on without any appearance of the Syud, whereupon I could not but conclude that my journey had been discovered and that Fakeer Mahomed, the Chief of Nal, whose near relation had been killed, had adopted the plan of detaining my companions to oblige me to come and seek them. Under these circumstances I considered what was best to be done, the provisions and money were with the other parties, without which, without guide or knowledge of the language, murder was inevitable by the first Beluchees we meet, who must immediately detect who we were; I determined therefore at once to proceed to the village where the holy influence of my Syud friends might still prove of some avail, if I failed to terrify the chief into civility by threats of the consequences of maltreating a British Officer. We were on our way accordingly and I was comforting poor Hoossain with the assurance that his life as a Mahomedan was at all events secure, when a cry from behind caused us to look round, and we joyfully recognized our friend the Syud, who having missed our place of concealment had long been hunting for us, a most happy reprieve from what I considered almost certain destruction. The Syud informed us that the rest of our party had left the village some hours before, and had doubtless gone on thinking we had preceded them. We therefore now went in search of them, and after two hours tracing from village to village where we ascertained they had been enquiring for us, we found them at last in a small fort, assisting at the wake of its chief the news of whose death at Khelát had arrived that afternoon. We could hear the wailing of the women long before we reached the village, which sounded very plaintively in the still night. The relations of the deceased urgently invited us to enter the house of mourning but we protested against intruding in the hour of such distress, and were glad of the excuse for proceeding on after resting for an hour, determined at last to outstrip the news of the Khelát catastrophe by pushing on all night, which we did till near day-break (8 hours), at an amble of at least five miles an hour, being a perfectly level smooth road and beautiful moonlight, also now quite mild, a most agreeable change from the bitter cold we had so lately experienced, and a proof how much we must have descended since leaving Khelát. It was satisfactory to find also that we were now out of the haunts of man, having seen no trace of habitation for the last thirty miles, and it was with a feeling of greater security than we had yet experienced that we lay down to sleep for a couple of hours on the bank of a river.

19th November, 8 hours.—On awaking about 7 A.M. were much vexed to find that our guide had decamped. He having been paid in advance for the whole trip to Beila, and tired probably of our long journeys (though riding on a camel) as well as ourselves, had taken advantage of our sound sleep to walk off, carrying nothing with him however as we always slept on the little kit we possess-

ed, and with our bridles in our hands. Fortunately some flocks were observed grazing at a little distance and we persuaded a shepherd to accompany us. Our journey this day occupied eight hours by a good road passing over a high range of mountains the "Oornach" by easy ascent and descent; bivouacked in the bed of the Oornach river generally dry but here some small springs trickled into it from the side of a hill, affording a little green grass for our horses, the first forage we had had time or opportunity to give them, they having hitherto subsisted on a scanty allowance of grain brought with us, from Khelát in the first instance and renewed at Nal. The camels also had green tamarisk to feed on, a luxury they had enjoyed for the first time yesterday in the Nal Valley, on entering which the sight of the luxuriant green tamarisk bushes was quite refreshing, contrasted with the stuff we had seen in Afghanistan stunted and brown, as if burnt by fire or blighted by frost. Indeed this was the first green foliage we had yet seen since leaving Kábul with the exception of a few juniper bushes in the Karkar hills; and its appearance, as also that of several well known Indian shrubs, lost sight of since we entered Afghanistan, cheered me much on my last night's moonlight march, such as the babool and keim trees, also bulrushes, &c. Even the scanty yellow grass on the hill sides in the Sohrab valley was a pleasing sight to me, for nowhere between that and Kábul is grass to be found growing wild except occasionally fringing water streams. No habitations seen, or people met, on this march.

20th November, 18 hours.—Marched at midnight, almost full moon, passed some hamlets and fields of ripe *jovári* (the first seen since leaving India) in a retired dell in the midst of the hills seemingly quite isolated from the world by the wildness of mountains surrounding it; passed on silently without communicating with or awaking the inhabitants, said to be a wild race notwithstanding the peaceful appearance of their valley. Surmounted the Pooraloo range, higher apparently than that of the Oornach. Here were dashed any hopes of the practicability of this route, which latterly had become sanguine, for the road over this pass, which I saw no means of otherwise turning, is a path so narrow, steep, and rocky, sometimes winding along the side of precipitous hills, at others through narrow fissures of hard rock, as to be utterly impracticable for guns, and incapable of being made so but at immense cost of time and labour if at all. After eleven hours' march dismounted and passed the day in a ravine affording a scanty supply of water and a little green pasture for the cattle; under pretence of the heat separated to a little distance from my companions for the shelter of a bush, but in reality to indulge in the pleasure of reading a Bombay Times of the 12th October which I had secreted for the purpose of beguiling an hour but had hitherto had no opportunity of looking at. The history of this paper is somewhat curious. After the storm of Khelát while the place was yet uncleared of the prisoners, and some were still holding out, a person of consideration among the Belucheers held up the paper to the soldier who probably would have sacrificed him on the spot considering it a barefaced avowal of one of the acts by which his race had most vexed us, *i. e.* robbing our Dáks. Luckily Major Campbell passing at the time inquired into the matter, and ascertained that this personage having sent to tender his submission to the Political Agent, and to request a safe conduct, that officer returned this paper (received that morning) to be used as a signal of protection in the absence of a written one, there being no writing materials at hand to furnish it. While occupied with my paper, hearing a rustling above me, I looked up, and was not a little startled to see a ferocious looking wild Beloochee with a long matchlock observing me from the top of the bank, who made off however on seeing my companions get up from a little distance on my calling to them; how he came there or what his intentions were, I know not, but the circumstance warned me not to separate from my companions and to be more careful in future of displaying the paper. In the evening continued our journey for seven hours over another range of mountains, but both ascent and descent easy generally along smooth fine sandy beds of dry water channels, which in the descent gradually widened to the expanse of a magnificent river but quite devoid of water, the banks varying

from sloping hills shaded with gigantic tamarisk trees, to perpendicular bare rock of stupendous height, generally opening to wide valleys in the former case, and contracting to narrow channels in the latter. The scenery throughout this march heightened by bright moonlight was very beautiful. I here had the pleasure to recognize an old Indian acquaintance in the "prickly-pear" which brought pleasing recollections of Hog and Tiger hunts to "while the weary way." Not a trace of inhabitants the whole of this day's march except in the secluded dell above mentioned.

21st November, 9½ hours.—Arose from our bivouac at daybreak, for two hours our road still continued along dry water channels, on emerging from which glad I was to find my view to the outward unconfined by hills. All before me was now open, all difficulties surmounted, and [but little danger remaining, for the tidings of Khelát had not yet travelled so far. One easy march of nine and half hours brought us to a hamlet on the opposite bank of the Purali (a fine river with much cultivation for the last six miles along the right bank), where we bivouacked, my companions indulging in a fatted lamb and free intercourse with the people, concealing however the events at Khelát, and fate of Mehrab Khán, to whose daughter the Beila Chief is married, or of Wully Mahomed his (the Beila Chief's) uncle. My own fare however continued as heretofore to consist of dates and water, which was attributable to the abstinence becoming my holy character.

22nd November, 10½ hours.—Started at 3 A.M. so as to pass Beila before daybreak. Had to pass through a large kafillah from Bombay encamped under its walls, the leaders of which roused by their dogs and seeing the direction from which we had come were most importunate for information as to what was going on at Khelát, having heard at Bombay that the English Army was expected there, and fearing that they might suffer in passing through the country in case of warfare. The Syuds were prudently uncommunicative however, declaring that we had only come from Nal and that when we left that place it was unknown how the Firangis would settle with Mehrab Khán. The kafillah people evidently suspected that we knew more about it, and plied us with numerous questions, but we at last got away from them as the day broke, my friends being particularly anxious to avoid recognition by people at Beila, who would have insisted on detaining us from motives of hospitality which might have led to very unpleasant consequences. Pursued our journey till 1 P.M. and rested on the bank of the Purali; no village. From Beila two roads branch off, one direct to Sonmeani, the other viâ Lyari to Sonmeani, the latter most circuitous, which, however, I chose, as the other had been seen by Pottinger.

23rd November, 14 hours.—Marched at 8 P.M. On the 22nd travelled all night and till 10 this forenoon, when we arrived at Sonmeani, passing Lyari, a paltry village. Indeed the country from Beila to the sea though perfectly level, a rich soil, and well watered by the Purali, is almost a desert owing to the scantiness of its population; besides Beila, Lyari and Sonmeani, I did not see above half a dozen hamlets, and those consisting of but a few huts each, the whole way from the hills to the sea.

Ascertained and made myself known to the Hindu agent of Naomull Seth of Karáchi, who treated me and my companions most hospitably and furnished me with a boat in which I embarked in the evening for Karáchi, taking with me my Afghan yaboo, which though only 13 hands, had carried me and saddle bags, altogether weighing upwards of 16 stones, the whole distance (355 miles) in 7½ days, having during that time been 111 hours on his back.

(Signed) J. OUTRAM, Captain.

P.S.—12th December 1839.—A batch of horses landed from Somneani, the Beloochi dealers with which state, at midnight of the day I sailed from that port, the son of Wully Mahomed (the Chief of Wudd slain at the storm of Khelát) arrived with a party in pursuit of me and displayed much irritation on learning of my escape. It appears that information of my journey and disguise was received by this Chief the night after I passed Nal.

(Signed) J. OUTRAM.

ACCOUNT
OF AN
EMBASSY TO THE KING OF PERSIA
FROM THE
AMEER OF KÁBUL IN 1837.
PART I.

A C C O U N T
OF AN
EMBASSY TO THE KING OF PERSIA
FROM THE
AMEER OF KA'BUL IN 1837-38.

WRITTEN BY MAHOMED HOOSAIN KASHEE, THE ELCHEE, AT THE REQUEST OF CAPTAIN BURNES.

PART I.

After praising God be it known that I, Mahomed Hoosain, known by the name of Kashee, the Tribe of Fulee, born at Vhooramabad and educated at Kashan, had from my youth been in the service of His Highness the late Prince Mahomed Ali Mirza, the ruler of Kashan Shahan. After his death, I, in company with his beloved son Juhma Mirza, who was also Abbas Mirza's son-in-law, entered the service of His Majesty Abbas Mirza and spent ten years in serving him through all his struggles with Russians and Turks with extreme zeal and diligence. At length being displeased with the disagreeable words of his minister, Mirza Abdool Kasim, "Vazir Toork," spoken to me I determined to travel into different countries and become acquainted with the world, for as the old proverb goes, "Travelling takes off the imperfections of man": "Meat will not be roasted without being turned": "Till a man has not experience of the world and kept company with wise and prudent persons he will not be called learned by the learned." The Maulama Jalaloodin Roomie gives an example of this in his work (Musnuvee). He states that a few ignorant and inexperienced persons being desirous of looking at an elephant which they had never seen before, went to its shed. But as it was too dark and nothing could be seen, each of them touched a part of his body and satisfied himself of thus obtaining perfect knowledge of that animal. On their return they were asked what an elephant was? One of them said it was a pillar strong enough to support a building, another asserted it to be a rope, and the third a fan; in short every one had a separate idea of his own, while none of them gave the true one.

As these examples teach us the necessity of travelling, I proceeded to the holy city of Meshed as a merchant, and from thence passing through Maimuna and Andhoe advanced to Bokhara. After staying some time there, I went to Russia by way of Orgunge, Khiva and Kufnak, and spent eleven months in its Capital of Moscow in acquiring Russian literature. An account of the adventures which I met with in this country has been narrated in another volume. Leaving that country I returned to Kabul, where I was introduced to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan by the late Mahomed Rahim Khan Ameen-ul-Mulk, the only person I was acquainted with. The Ameer was in the habit of calling me now and then into his company and treating me very kindly.

After his success against Sha Shonja, and being assisted by the Crusaders, he proceeded to Peshawar to oppose the Sikhs; but on Sultan Mahomed Khan and other Afghan Chiefs deserting him and joining the Sikhs, as well as a scarcity of grain ensuing, he abandoned his enterprise and was compelled to return to Kabul. After some days he called me in secret, where there was only one confidential person, Aga Mahomed, present, and said that "you know that my Peshawar brothers leaving me have joined my enemy (the Sikhs), and are ready to raise their arms against me. Therefore I think it advisable to commence correspondence with His Majesty Mahomed Shah the King of Persia, and shelter myself under his protection. For executing such an

important duty you are the only person I find capable. Therefore I wish you to undertake a mission to Persia and accomplish my objects." I replied—"You still retain your Afghan usages or is it otherwise?" He asked—"What are those usages?" I said, the Afghans always use the word "Dugha" in their conversation, which signifies merely this and that, but it also means deceit in your language; therefore whoever interferes in your affairs is always cheated and consequently reduced to misery. He answered, "I have left off all the Afghan customs since my youth, and am like the ancient kings strict in fulfilling my word. Believe whatever I say, and, on your return from Persia bring a confidential person from that Court to me." I said it was impossible for a Persian Ambassador to come either by way of Bokhara or Kandahár, because in the first instance the people of Orgunge who are living in Merv, the Turkomans and the Bokharians will also hinder him, in the other Huzaras the people of Herát are the chief obstacles. The Ameer said, "bring him in the disguise of a merchant." I said it will be a great disgrace for the King of Persia, he ought to come with pomp and dignity, which will make your enemies tremble and put them in confusion. But I am afraid that your brothers may disturb you before I return, get rid of their wickedness if you can. He said, "I know my affairs better than you. Go and make a draft of a letter from me to Mahomed Shah, and after showing it to me take it to Mirza Abdoo-Sameea Khan, who will copy it." According to his order I wrote a letter to this effect: "I with a small force, composed of 20,000 horse, 10,000 foot and Juzailchees, together with 50 pieces of artillery have many times opposed the Sikh army consisting of 100,000 horse and 300 guns and often repulsed them. But at present I am involved in a very disastrous state on account of the want of money and the union of my brothers with the Sikhs. Therefore I think it necessary to unite my interest with some powerful State. It is very irreligious to make alliance either with the Sikhs or with the British Government; but as you are a Mahomedan prince and also had this country formerly united to the kingdom of Persia, I adhere to you and ask your assistance. But in case you do not aid me I must make terms with the British Government and give seven hundred thousand Afghan houses into its power." I showed this letter to the Ameer, who approved of it and ordered Mirza Abdoo-Sameea to copy it. I said to the Ameer that before I return, there are two probabilities, that of Runjeet Sing's dying and your taking possession of Peshawar, and the other of his attacking Kabul and driving you from it. In both cases you ought to be firm in fulfilling the contents of this letter. The Ameer assured me he would do so, and gave a letter to Kuhruman Mirza, the ruler of Khorasan, and also for Alla-zar-khan (Asefoodaulah). I requested also a letter for the Ameer of Bokhara. He said, "I have sent many letters together with presents to that Ameer and his Vazir the Kooshbegee through Moola Budroodin, a merchant, but have received no answer." I replied that if I communicate your letter to him, be satisfied that you will receive an answer together with handsome presents in return on my arrival here. He said "You are now an Agent on the part of Afghans and I will be much obliged if you will manage my affairs properly." At the time of dismissal I observed to the Ameer—your brothers Peer Mahomed Khan who is at Kabul now and Mahomed Zaman Khan are both useless and unserviceable fellows. The latter, I think, is worthy of wearing a coarse woollen garment, to have a stick in hand with a rope tied round his head and so tend seven camels given for the purpose. Observing his abilities I believe that at evening he would bring five of the camels home and leave two in the wilderness. The good disposition of the people towards him is merely on account of wealth, otherwise he is a fraudulent and disloyal man.

Intelligence of this conversation having reached Mahomed Zaman Khan it provoked him to the highest measure and made him ardent to take his revenge. Accordingly he sent a letter to Moola Dauran "Kakuree," the Agent at Bamian, which he holds as a Jágír, stating that he had sent twenty horsemen to kill me wherever I should be found. He must also be careful not to lose the

opportunity of putting me to death. After departing from Kábul I halted at Surchushma, two marches from the city, on account of the severity of cold and the falling of snow, when I received a letter from the writer of the Nabab, a Kizilbash, informing me of this affair. Being frightened at this horrid intelligence I remained twenty days in that very place watching on account of the Afghans. They came every night to take my life, but returned unsuccessful. I despatched a cassid to Meers Abbas, Abyas, and Kázim, requesting them to send twenty Huzara (foot soldiers) for which I would pay at the rate of twenty rupees each, to accompany me as far as Bamiyan. After few days the agent of Meer Abbas, known by the name of Buchui Moghool, with the twenty foot soldiers arrived at Surchushma. Seeing my miserable condition he advised me to write to the Ameer, but I did not think it advisable to do so, for I thought he would not believe me and have a bad opinion of all Kizilbash people. Buchui Moghool stated that the road was fit for footmen alone, but impassable for horse on the snow. I took three horses with me as far as the Kotali (pass of) Onnee. The snow was increasing step by step, and when we arrived close to the foot of Onnee the horses sunk down so that their ears alone were visible.

I sent for the people of the fort and by their assistance dragged the horses out and sent them back to Kábul. I was obliged to travel on foot and carry my baggage on Huzaras. The Afghans exerted all their efforts to kill me, but were disappointed in every attempt. No sooner I had arrived at Gurdun Deewar than a man brought a letter from Mahomed Zuman Khán to Meer Kazim, stating that I had enticed away some persons from Kumuruk and Churkh and that he should delay me few days there, till he receives further intelligence. Meer Kazim instead of detaining me flogged the man severely and imprisoned him, but he escaped at night and fled to Kábul. Leaving that place I went to the fort of Kázár, where I was hospitably entertained by the son of Yuzdan Bukhsh. From this fort I proceeded to Kaloo, but the pass of Kaloo being deeply covered with snow I went to Bamiyan by way of Mooree. After leaving Mooree a body of about twenty persons, considering us merchants, hindered our progress and consequently a fight took place, in which about fifteen guns were fired, but no one wounded or killed. At length a person from our party went to converse with them and put a stop to the contest. Continuing my march I arrived at Bamiyan, where Moola Douran, who was my old friend, informed me about the letter which he had received from Mahomed Zuman Khán, and said that he would not injure me the least, and took care of me day and night as long as I was there.

From Bamiyan I advanced to Khoollum. From Khoollum to Bokhára, and I did not meet with any important event worthy of notice. On my arrival at Bokhára I concealed the letters of Dost Mahomed Khán under my arm, and kept that of Jubbar Khán in my hand, and delivered them all to Sayid Mirza, a person from Teheran. The merchants of Kábul had sent letters to their agents at Bokhara declaring that I was Dost Mahomed Khán's Agent sent to Mahomed Sahab. The Ameer of Bokhára being informed of this, mentioned it to the Kooshbegee, his minister, who sent for me and asked whether I was really Dost Mahomed Khán's Agent or not. I denied being so. The next day he sent his servants to my resting place to search for the letters in my baggage, where they only found Jubbar Khán's letter, which they took to the Ameer. The Ameer sent for me at night, and after conversing on different subjects demanded Dost Mahomed Khan's letters, promising to return them after reading. I denied having any letters and declared that Jubbar Khán had sent me his letters after my departure from Kábul. Being provoked by my denial the Ameer began to speak with anger. When I observed a change in his countenance I amused him by narrating some histories of ancient kings and thus pacified him. I returned home, but the Ameer sent for me the following night again, when there was only Shukoor Beg, a confidential person, present and demanded the letters. I denied as before. He said I should be punished by being thrown from the Nakkarkhana (a high place where kettle-drums are beaten), because I was giving power to infidels and weakening the religion of Mahomed. I observed that

if His Majesty would order me to be killed it would be advantageous to myself in every respect. If I was really weakening the Mahomedan religion, then by being punished in this world, I would rid myself of the torments of the next. But if I was not really so, then I would through innocence be killed by the Commander of the Faithful and enjoy the happiness of paradise; while you a king in this world will be indebted to me in the world to come. The Ameer laughed, and observed that a person of such abilities was worthy to be an Agent, and began to speak mildly. I then stated that even our Lord Mahomed the Prophet as well as the ancient Mahomedan kings did always correspond with infidels. The Persians had also sent an Ambassador to Bokhára to condole on the death of Ameer Hydar Gházi, and congratulate on the succession of the late Ameer Hoosain. There would be no harm if your Majesty also sent a person to Mahomed Shah to condole on the death of Futeh Alee Sha and Abbas Mirza, and to congratulate him on his accession to the throne, and likewise to bring authentic accounts of the intentions of that king, the number of his troops and guns, state of the country, &c. And as to Dost Mahomed Khán's intentions I may now tell you that he considering me a confidential person has entrusted his letters to me. I would never give them to any person though I may be killed. The Ameer being highly pleased with these arguments called me close to him, and putting his hand upon my forehead caressed and applauded me very kindly. Turning towards Shukroo Beg the Ameer remarked, that God depriving the Europeans and the Kazilbash people of the true religion has bestowed on them wisdom and intellect in its stead. He consulted Shukroo Beg which of his officers was fit for sending on a mission to Persia. He named some, but the Ameer did not approve. At last the Ameer himself chose Kabil Beg the 'Kurawool Beg' for the Ambassador.

After two months he sent Kabil Beg with two pairs of shawls and a copy of the Koran, written by the most elegant writers, to Mahomed Shah, and Allah Koolee Beg ("Chuhgutta Beg"), who had formerly been sent to Russia, as an ambassador to the Sultan of Room (Turkey)—the former accompanied by twenty horsemen and the latter by thirty. We all left for the holy city of Mushhud in company with a caravan which had two hundred camels laden with lamb skins and indigo. We gave our horses to be led by servants, rode on panniers on camels to Merv. On our arrival at that city Neaz Mahomed Khán, the agent of Allah Koolee Khán, the ruler of Orgunge, had employed four thousand Turkuman in building a fort on the banks of the river of Merv, some of whom were engaged in procuring wood and other materials, and some in bringing earth. The caravan was detained for four days on account of gathering the duties, during which period I could not come out of the panniers except at night, and my servants lived apart from me. At length Neaz Mahomed Khán calling upon me in person took me to the fort, and said: "I have learned from the letters of the Bokhára merchants that you have been deputed by Dost Mahomed Khán to Mahomed Shah; I will send this intelligence to Allah Koolee Khán; you must wait here until I receive the answer." I denied being an agent, and after holding a long conversation returned home. He sent his servant to Allah Koolee Beg telling him to go whenever he pleased, but desired Kabil Beg to remain. Kabil Beg, being much perplexed at this message, refused to do so. Neaz Mahomed Khán appointed four hundred horsemen to watch him. No sooner did Kabil Beg receive this intelligence than he went to Khaleefa Sofee Islam (a Turkuman), who was at the distance of a league from the city, to sue for his good offices. The Khaleefa immediately went to Neaz Mahomed and stated that peace between the people of Bokhára and Orgunge had just been established, and that he should not again cause a war by detaining a Bokhára agent. Neaz Mahomed Khán replied, who will be answerable to Allah Koolee Khán when he asks me? The Khaleefa said I will be responsible to the Khán. The Aksukals (officers) also favoured Kabil Beg. After a long conversation he permitted him to proceed to his destination. I went to Neaz Mahomed Khán at night, and presented through a merchant, who was his sincere friend, a Kashmir shawl together with twenty lamb skins, five maunds of Russian sugar, and two

maunds of tea, entreating him to let me go. He told me to come to-morrow and explain my case in presence of the Aksukals; then he would answer me, which I accordingly did. He told the authorities that I was not the man mentioned in the letter, and that the real person might have passed before, or will come hereafter. I was dismissed, and thanked God for delivery, because had I been sent to Orgunge, and the letters taken from me, I would have been obliged to tend the flocks of camels all my life. I was in constant fear for three days of being called back; after that time I felt myself free.

Before my arrival at Merv the Governor of Orgunge had sent four thousand horsemen to Kelat-i-Nadirée. The son of Saed Mahomed Khán, the ruler of Kelat, had not yet come out of that fort, when the people of Orgunge set some stocks of grain, which were around Kelat, on fire. The son of Saed Mahomed Khán pursued them, killed and wounded many, and returned back. As I was leaving Merv the people of Orgunge entered it. When I arrived at a place about one league from Surukhs, the son of Saed Mahomed Khán, Mahomed Ali Khán, had plundered about forty houses of Turkumans and led them away captives. His horsemen were ready to reduce us to the same condition; but as I had acquaintance with Saed Mahomed Khán at Mushhud, and Mahomed Ali Khán was also aware I did not allow them to oppress caravans, I pursued my way to Mushhud, and on my arrival at the pass of Muzdooran pitched tents and picketed my horses, seeing which the Turkumans were astonished. From this place I sent a Turkuman to Mushhud to Asifoodaula informing him of the arrival of two ambassadors from Bokhara—one deputed to Mahomed Sháh and the other to the Sultan of Turkey. The A'sif sent his man about three leagues from the city to receive us; but as I had previously left Meshed displeased, I did not accept his compliments, and accordingly halted outside the city for two days without the knowledge of A'sif. At length the A'sif being apprised of this affair sent his agent, Zainool Abideen, to take me in with him, which I refused. The A'sif then sent a note requesting I would come along with baggage, which I did, and he gave me a commodious place and paid me great respect and attention. The second day the A'sif sent for me and made inquiries about Kábul and its ruler, and I was then dismissed. The third day Zainool Abideen came and advised me to go this night to the A'sif, and after having consulted with him departed for the Sháh's camp, which was then near Kálposh, five stages from Meshed. On my calling on him at night, he advised that when I got to the presence of the Sháh I should speak with His Majesty deliberately. Having obtained my leave I remained three days more in the city, during which time the A'sif was very kind and hospitable. He also sent along with me his agent, Zainool Abideen Beg, to His Majesty's camp at Jahazán. Hunuf Koolee Khán, the son of Nujuf Ali Khán, feasted us, and after travelling four stages in a peopled country we arrived at Kalposh, the fifth stage, where we did not find the Sháh's camp. Leaving this place we passed on in search of our destination for two days, and, observing the impressions of gun-carriages on the ground, were led for two stages through a desert, and on the third entered a forest, passing now and then through trees and plain ground void of any grain for our horses or food for ourselves. We fed the horses on grass and ourselves on a little dry bread that we had fortunately saved. On the seventh day we missed trace of the carriage wheels and entered an interminable jungle, in which we wandered for two days without finding a road. The trees were immense in size, some of them being a hundred guz high and having a diameter of about eight. On the third day the Azbuks of our party were very tired, and declared that if we could find no end to this wilderness we must to-day prepare ourselves to perish, for our provisions are exhausted and we can subsist no longer. At length to our great joy we espied two footmen advancing, and who were awed with fear by our great numbers; we pacified them, and on asking the name of this thicket were answered that it was called the Plain of Mazinduran (*Dushti Mazrinduran*). We also demanded of them some information about the king, who they said was on the banks of the

river Goorgan. In the meantime three other men with two camels and a cow appeared in sight ; the latter we found they had obtained by plunder. We took one of the men as a guide, who reluctantly agreed to follow us. Pursuing our way and a little before me, when we were descending from a height, the guide concealed himself in a hollow and made his escape. Here we found water and plenty of grass for the horses, and halted for the night. In the morning we mounted our horses and came to a Turkuman residence where the houses were burned down and destroyed, and we found dead bodies of men, horses and camels in abundance. Amongst the grass was a cow which we slaughtered and ate, hoping by the next day to reach the king's camp. At the end of the following day we came to a village deserted and burned down, near which we met with the traces of gun wheels which we lost some days ago ; we followed, discovering on the way five or ten Turkuman horsemen, who fled on seeing us. This day we subsisted on a camel which we luckily met with. We also found a pit containing about fifty maunds of Tubreez wheat, which in some degree supplied our wants.

The next morning two minarets came in sight from a great distance, while the plain was so level that no tree could be seen within ten leagues, and at the foot of these we halted that evening. We found one of them to be a tower of immense size, and the other about eighty guz high and thirty in diameter, surrounded by water and a thicket of bamboos. In this place there were about a thousand dogs alive, two thousand dead, and numerous bodies of camels, cows, sheep, &c., scattered around. There must have been no less than five thousand Turkumans here. In the morning we found a man amongst the reeds, and on my asking him the name of the minaret and tower, also where the camp of the king was, and the reason why the place was deserted, he replied that "two hundred Kizilbash horsemen came to attack this village, and on being opposed by the natives fifty of them were killed, but a reinforcement overpowering the villagers obliged them to leave their habitations. I sought an asylum in this thicket, but discovered to you because you were a Somnee. This minaret is called (Chihil Zeena) or the forty steps, and the tower Boorji Kafirán or the Tower of the Infidels ; both were erected by Alexander the Great. It is two days since the camp left this place."

Leaving that minaret we proceeded to search for the camp, travelled the whole day and halted at evening in a plain. We did not meet with a single stone during the sixteen days we had been travelling. In the morning the horses were so much fatigued as to be unable to walk without flogging. We were in consequence obliged to travel on foot and led them by the bridle. At noon we were much afflicted by the oppressive heat of the sun and lost all hopes of reaching the camp ; when on ascending a height we discovered, by means of a telescope, a number of horsemen at a distance. Kabil Beg said he did not know whether those horsemen were Kajars (Persians) or Turkumans. Therefore leaving our baggage with Balta Koolu Beg and those whose horses were quite tired, I and Kabil Beg, with forty horsemen, went in front to ascertain who these people were. On proceeding half a league we found out from their caps that they were men of Mahomed Sháh's army and about five thousand in number. On seeing us they retraced their steps about half a coss and halted. Approaching within an arrow's flight we called aloud for a man of their party to come and speak with us, but received no answer. I wished to gallop my horse and go alone to them, but Kabil Beg would not allow me. At length leaving all our horsemen behind, I and Kabil Beg, taking each of us a horseman, went forward. The four hundred Persians fled at our approach. Seeing no other remedy I alone proceeded, upbraiding them for their cowardice, told them to look at my turban that I was an Elchee-i-Bokhara with whom two of you should come and converse. Ten men of the party separated from the main body, and having heard all I had to say, returned. That night we halted on the banks of a stream, and Balta Koolu Beg as well as Zainool Abideen, who were left behind with the baggage,

joined. Each of us sent his servants to the camp for some provisions: they brought two maunds of flour and the same quantity of barley. On asking the price of grain we heard that both these articles were sold at the rate of four kurans (rupees) per maund. Next morning Abbas Khán Hiratee came from the camp to receive us about a league. We pitched near Mirza Musood's tent, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who sent a man to demand of me Dost Mahomed Khán's letters, stating that it was a custom of the court for the minister to peruse the letters previous to their being laid before His Majesty. I replied that the letters in my charge were for Mahomed Sháh, and he was not the king that I should deliver them to him. On Mirza Musood's informing the king of my answer His Majesty was pleased to call me in person the next day.

ACCOUNT
OF AN
EMBASSY TO THE KING OF PERSIA
FROM THE
AMEER OF KÁBUL IN 1837.
PART II.

A C C O U N T
OF AN
EMBASSY TO THE KING OF PERSIA
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WRITTEN BY MAHOMED HOOSAIN KASHEE, THE ELCHEE, AT THE REQUEST OF CAPTAIN BURNES

PART II

INTRODUCTION TO SHA'H.

I was taken by the minister into the court. When the king came in sight the Mirza saluted him, and signed to me to do the same. I declined, and on proceeding a few paces further he again made a sign to me to make my obeisance, which I did not attend to. When the king was about five paces distant we both made our obeisance, and stood. His Majesty, not recognizing me, asked whether I was an Afghán or a Kizilbash. I declared myself to be a Kizilbash of the tribe of Feelee, a native of Persia, born at Khuramabad. Are you not Mahomed Hoosain Khán, the son of Abdool Kaháb Khán? said the king. I replied, yes. His Majesty then asked where I had been so long. I gave some account of my adventures. The king then talked to Mirza Musood in Turkish. I also replied in that language. He then spoke to the Russian. I also answered in that tongue. His Majesty then asked where I had learned the latter language. I said I had been for two years in Russia, and was engaged for one year in acquiring that language. He then applauded me and asked about Dost Mahomed Khán. I stated I had been in his service for eight years. His Majesty asked what was the number of Runjit Singh's army. I replied that the force which he brings into the field amounts to fifty thousand foot and a similar number of horsemen, with two hundred pieces of artillery. Meanwhile I attempted to describe Dost Mahomed Khán's power and determination in the field of battle, when the king observed that the power of Runjit Singh was not ancient; how has he acquired such immense wealth and influence in so short a period? I answered that as His Majesty could not manage all things alone, and as is the case with every monarch that the affairs of the kingdom are consigned to experienced and active ministers, so His Highness Runjit Singh is furnished with able and prudent officers and counsellors, and his wealth and country improved. His Majesty observed that his officers have been instructed by himself. I said undoubtedly, for if a man is naturally clear he can be easily taught; otherwise he may have Plato and Galen for his tutors, and will derive no benefit. The king said that he heard that a man Abdool Aziz (Azeezooddeen) by name is Runjit's minister. I stated that he was a native of Kashmeer, a dealer of shawls and well acquainted with the trade of every sort; therefore His Highness has entrusted his moveables to him, and he does not meddle with political affairs,¹ and Runjit Singh has got many other respectable officers. The king observed that the people of India are very indolent and cowardly, because Nádir Sháh, Ahmed Sháh and many other kings went against India and subdued it. I remarked that the Indian forces are now disciplined and regular, and that its troops and artillery surpass those of Persia. The king then laughed, and observed: "Please God, we shall see."

¹ The king was right and the elchee is wrong. Uzeez Doon Fakcer is the person alluded to.—(Note by Burnes.)

After this conversation the king opened Dost Mahomed Khán's letter with his own hands, and began to read. When he got to the sentence "and give seven hundred thousand Afghán houses into the British power" he remarked "Please God, it will not be." It was getting late; the king dismissed me and returned home.

As my conversation with His Majesty regarding the ministers showed the incompetency of Mirza Agásee, the first minister, who was also Mirza Masood's enemy, it pleased the latter exceedingly. He feasted me that night, and entertained me very hospitably. I found him a man of amiable disposition, and his good conduct to be worthy of the dignity of a minister, prudent and wise. All the officers in the court were pleased with him.

On the next evening Mirza Agásee invited me and the Bokhára Agent to a party at his house, where conversation on many subjects took place. In the morning the king ordered the whole of his troops and artillery, consisting of eighty-five pieces, for parade, and took me, Kabil Beg, and Balta Koolee Beg with him to the field to look at the military exercise. While we were inspecting the forces His Majesty asked, since I had seen the Russian army and also that of Runjit Singh, what was the difference between his and them. I did not answer; he put the same question again, to which I did not still reply. The third time he asked why I did not answer him? I said, should I flatter or tell the real truth? He laughed, and ordered me to let him know the fact. I observed that the arrangement of His Majesty's force was a mere name, because a military and a medical officer were absolutely necessary, to regulate the force and cure the sick of the army, and the medicine should be granted by the Government. I also added that His Majesty had once inspected the army on quitting Teheran, and till he reviewed the forces again he would not know how many of the soldiers were sick. I saw about two thousand soldiers sick on the way, many of whom were walking lamely, and others even unable to travel, and about five thousand were begging among the tents. An army is like a family which should always be protected and supported, but if the income is deficient, the army should be kept low in proportion. When this conversation began I had begged the king to order the Bokhára Agent to retire, which His Majesty was pleased to do.

On hearing these expressions the Sháh was much confused and became very angry, sent for Hájee Mirza Agásee, and said to him that he had put a question to me to which I had answered, and he should listen to what I said. I repeated His Majesty's question and my reply to it, all which he acknowledged as true. The Sháh then was silent and retired to his tent. He did not send for me for three days, after which he removed the camp three koses further, on account of its becoming offensive.

The Prince Faredoon Mirza together with Messrs. Lindsay and Baronsky at the head of four thousand horse and six thousand foot was sent five koses ahead to conquer the fortress of Bag. At that fort there were about ten thousand Turkumans, who on being informed of the Kizilbash's attacking them prepared themselves to oppose, but being unable to stand against the ordnance were obliged to flee. The Kazilbash began to plunder the baggage. The Turkumans, seeing their enemy dispersed and engaged in plunder, returned to destroy it, but were defeated again: about one thousand of them were killed and about two thousand taken as captives. The fort was subdued, and about four thousand men, women and children were taken as prisoners of war, and about thirty thousand cows, sheep and camels were plundered and sent to the Sháh's camp. The Sháh halted for ten days there, and on the tenth day the Turkumans assembling together came at night to attack our camp, and I heard two shots fired. In the morning the camp was removed three koses to the rear, halted for one day, and then returned towards Sharoot and Boostam.

In the road we met with narrow passages and thick jungles impassable for two horsemen together, and the road was also bad from mud washed down by the rain. It being too difficult for the gun carriages the Sháh ordered all his officers to drag them with their own hands, which they did, and trailed out all the guns safe. The Sháh then reminded me of the late harsh observations I had made to His Majesty, acknowledging them as true.

I expressed my astonishment about His Majesty's undertaking an enterprise—to seize free-booting Turkumans; for all the world expected that on His Majesty's accession to the throne he would first endeavour to attack some foreign possession, while the Sháh having only plundered Turkumans wanted to return home. A single officer with about ten thousand soldiers was sufficient to destroy the Turkumans. I also added that it was very improper for a king to oppose any one but a king; His Majesty replied of course it was so, but he left Meshed on account of the cholera prevailing there. I observed that I never believed all my life what I had not verified, and I could not believe His Majesty's word, though he killed me; and I asserted that this inconvenience was caused by His Majesty's inexperienced and imprudent officers. The Sháh was then silent, and did not talk to me for about a league; after which I pulled the reins of my horse and wanted to go behind him, but His Majesty looking towards me ordered me to come along. After travelling a league more we arrived at the halting place, where the Sháh went to his tent and I to mine.

His Majesty had not taken off his boots when he sent for Hájee Mirza Agásee, and told him that His Majesty never assented to any of his officer's requests, but that Mahomed Hoosain Khán, a foreigner, had put a question to His Majesty which he could not reply to, and he (Hájee Agásee) should answer it. I was sent for by the Sháh where Mr. Stoddart, an Englishman, was also present, and requested by His Majesty to repeat the past observations again, which I did. Hájee Agásee, the minister, asked me where I had acquired ability to interfere in political matters. I replied that His Majesty sits before us, and is at liberty to send for such judges as will decide the truth of my statement; if wrong, His Majesty can punish me, and should I be right he (the Hájee) should then suffer punishment. The Sháh agreed, and ordered the Russian minister, Mirza Mahomed Tukee, Mirza Masood, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the head physician, and many other learned officers to be called into his presence.

The king ordered me to repeat what I had to say against His Majesty's minister. I accordingly stated fully the extent of my accusation, in his having informed the people of the army, when they applied for their pay, that there was no money in the treasury, and that the drums beaten in honour of the treasure were merely to show that the chests were not empty, remarking that if he had said so intentionally he was guilty of unworthy behaviour to his master, and if otherwise he was unworthy to hold the office of a prime minister. The Russian minister said that he also had heard this report, and likewise other officers verified the truth of my assertion. I accused him of many other disloyal acts, to write which would be rather too long and tedious.

After this the king got enraged, and reviled Hájee Agásee. I was dismissed, and returned to my tent. We travelled three marches, and on the fourth I was summoned by the Sháh, and asked my opinion of how His Majesty should act towards Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán. I answered that it was advisable to send some confidential person with suitable presents to the Ameer, and make it appear to Runjit Singh and other enemies of the Ameer that the interests of Persia and Afghánistán were one, and, should the Ameer be in want of assistance either of money or men, to state he would get the needful from Persia, and, should this report gain circulation, any power wishing to invade Afghánistán will be cautious in making the attempt.

The Sháh approved of my suggestion, and said he would surely depute a man to Kábul. I observed that Kumber Aleé Khán, the head of the musketeers, was a proper person for that office. The Sháh said very well, and then asked what presents would be suitable for Dost Mahomed Khán. I answered that it would be proper to give him some weapons belonging to the late king. His Majesty smiled, and said that he would send him a sword set with diamonds. On this day no more conversation took place.

From the fort of Bag, where the Turkoman battle was fought, we arrived at Boostam in twelve days. When we were entering this city His Majesty saw me from a distance, summoned me, and said that he was now going to dismiss the Elchee of Bokhára, Kabil Beg, and that in case His Majesty undertook the intended expedition to Herát, His Majesty would dismiss me at Meshed. We halted at Boostam for two days, and then set out for Sháh Rode, where the Sháh reviewed his troops, and finding them all in a broken-down and miserable state abandoned the enterprise.

One day His Majesty sent for me, and said that he would depute Kumber Aleé Khán lightly equipped to Dost Mahomed Khán. I observed that he was a Persian ambassador, and ought to go with pomp and dignity to show to the Afgháns and the people of Runjit Singh the splendour of the Persian throne. The court was dismissed, and I returned to my tent. We halted for ten days at Sháh Rode, during which time the Sháh did not send for me again. Kabil Beg was dismissed at this place.

In the journey to Kargan the scarcity of grain was such that one Tubrez maund of barley was sold for one ducat, and rice and all other sorts of grain and bread in a similar manner.

My daily expense paid by the Sháh was three scores of rupees of Irak, equal to twenty rupees Se Abbasse of Kábul, where, as I had ten horses and six loading ponies, the daily expense of which amounted to fifteen ducats besides the dinner expenses of myself and servants, which also came to fifteen ducats, I did not think it proper to accept three ducats for my daily expense from His Majesty while I was spending thirty. In consequence I received it for ten days, and after that when the officers of the Sháh brought the ducats I returned them. After a few days this intelligence reached the Sháh's ears. His Majesty spoke to me when riding along the road that he supposed I was ashamed to accept his Persian bread. I replied that I was amply supplied by the liberality of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán, and although he may be considered in poverty his people are wealthy and enjoy affluence. His Majesty looked to Nusroola Khán, the head of the body guard, and remarked that a servant should be like me, and requested I would state the expenses of my maintenance that they might be supplied to me. I inadvertently uttered an oath by the head of His Majesty that I would not receive any expense, and accordingly for want of money I was obliged to sell the land, which I possessed in the fort of Báki, to Furrookh Khán, who had often applied to me for its purchase, for seven hundred toománs, equal in value to six thousand rupees.

The enmity between myself and the minister daily increased, until we arrived at Sháh Rode. One day previous to our starting for Teherán the Hájee asked me over to his tent, and quietly expressed his dissatisfaction at my behaviour in having spoken against him before the king. I apologized as I thought proper. I took two cups of tea at the Hájee's house, and on returning home fell sick.

At the time of my discussion with Hájee Mr. Stoddart was also present. He used to call upon me twice every day to enquire after my health as far as Simnan. I became so weak in body that I was tumbling down from my horse at every five steps, and my servants had to assist me up again.

On our arrival at Simnan Mr. Sheel, the Agent of the English, joined us. Mr. Stoddart had informed Mr. Sheel about my sickness; they both came over to my tent. The latter, having opened his box, took some medicine out, and gave it to me to take, and remained with me during the day. The medicine operated much. Next day both the gentlemen again visited, and presented me with some tea.

In my familiar conversation with these gentlemen on topics favourable to the English Government I was listened to by Mahomed Alee (Nazir of the Minister for Foreign Affairs) from behind the tent walls, who went and informed Hájee, the minister. He, taking advantage of this, informed the king that I was negotiating with the English for the Afghán nation, and to prevent my going to Teherán, because the English minister was there. The Sháh made inquiries, and found that I had some correspondence with the English. Accordingly I was ordered to appear. Being sick at the time I was unable to mount my horse without being supported by two servants, one on each side of me. When I came before the king I was ordered to depart in company with Kumber Alee Khán. I begged His Majesty would favour me with an answer to the letter of Nawáb Jubbar Khán and also some presents for him. His Majesty was pleased to order Hájee Agásee to procure a fur "chogha" or pelisse and a letter for Jubbar Khán. The Hájee to gain his own ends and procure my speedy departure immediately brought the articles in question, and I was ordered to proceed by the route of Kandáhar. I urged that some presents for the Kandáhar Chiefs were also necessary. The Sháh ordered a sword and a pair of plain Persian pistols for Kohun Dil Khán, and a Cashmeer shawl chogha each for Mehr Dil and Ruhim Dil Khán, and ordered Hájee Agásee to appear before the king next day with letters for the three chiefs. I returned to my tent. The next day I attended, still being very unwell. I received a white Cashmeer shawl chogha from the king, and before being dismissed begged I might be allowed to go to Teherán for medical aid, as my infirm state of health made me think that I would not survive two days longer. The king refused my request, and directed that I should remain at Simnan, and be attended on by the king's physician. After repeated requests on my part and refusals on the king's, His Majesty ordered a place to be cleared out and allotted for my accommodation, suspecting the former report against me by the Hájee to be true, and departed. Mahomed Alee, the steward of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, escorted me and my baggage to Simnan, and the day following brought one hundred and fifty toománs as a present from the king, which I declined accepting, observing that I had refused His Majesty's former favour of aid, and in the present I would do the same. He made me over to a physician and followed the king. I remained at Simnan for two days, and then hastened on to Teherán, although against the king's commands. The first stage on my way was Lasgurd, governed by Sháhzáda Saifoola, the son of the late king. This prince had gone to meet the king two stages distant, and while there was informed by Hájee, the minister, that I had some intentions of going to Teherán, and if so to detain me on the way. The Governor shortly arrived, and found me at Lasgard. He sent Syfoola Mirza to my halting place, intimating that the king had left me with Kumber Alee Khán at Simnan, and as Kumber Alee had joined the king, I should also go there. I replied that I was unwell, and must go to Teherán. After a short discussion on both sides it was agreed that we should both write to the minister and await the result. I therefore wrote to the minister to the effect that as I had a mother and two children at Kashan, I should proceed there, and it was immaterial whether I received his permission or not. A mounted courier arrived next day with the answer granting me permission to go.

I was entertained for two days by the Sháhzáda, and on the third Syfoola Mirza returned to Simnan, and I proceeded to Kashan. I was accompanied on my way by Sháhzáda Buhmun, who

being a friend of my father, treated me kindly as far as Kum, where I took my leave of him and advanced further on. I remained twenty five days at Kashan, and taking my children along with me then proceeded to Teherán.

Within one stage of Teherán I sent a man to the Hájee or Minister for Foreign Affairs to prepare a house for me. On reaching the gates of the city I met my servant, who informed me the place for my abode was not ready, and that I should remain out until the next day. I was much disappointed at the message, and in the meantime I met Mr. Stoddart, who was out riding. He apprised the British ambassador of my arrival, who prepared the house of Mirza Abbas, one of his own writers, for my reception. Mr. Stoddart kindly assisted with his own hands in spreading the carpet, and after making me welcome and comfortable returned home, and in the evening sent me two bottles of wine. In the morning Mr. Sheel came to visit me, and in the evening the British ambassador also paid me the same honour. When I first saw him I was surprised, and took him from his demeanour to be of the tribe of Feelee, Soor, or Zindea; his polished language and learned arguments were so perfect as made me think him to be a scholar of the famous Mirza Muhdee, and superior to Mahomed Hosen Murnee and Ibrahim Khán-i-Sheerazee. I drew him into conversation merely to admire his ability. I was informed by him that what had passed between me and the king had all been brought to his notice.

Next day I waited on the English ambassador, and from what I have seen of him in every aspect I have not words sufficient to express my sentiments of his several qualities; in fact, he is a firm supporter of, and honour to the English Government.

I sent some fruit and few other things to Hájee the minister as a present, and a little while after I went to see him in person. He took as little notice of me as would a camel when taken uselessly to the shop of a farrier. Mirza Masood, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, paid some outward civilities to me, but merely in words.

Two days before my arrival at Teherán Taj Mahomed Khán, the son of Munsoor Khán Barukzan deputed by Kohun Dil Khán, reached Teherán, and Hájee the minister was treating him very friendly.

A few days after the news of my being at Teherán reached the ears of the king, and I was sent for. His Majesty desired that I should leave my son at Peshkhidmut in his service. I replied that my son was too young, and not possessed of abilities for the situation.

The Sháh asked by whose means I got a house from the English. I replied that I first sent a man to the minister to get me a place, and on his saying that it was not ready when I arrived, the English ambassador procured me one, because it very often happens that English gentlemen come to Kábul, and are very well received and entertained, and expecting such treatment they make a like return.

The Sháh inquired what conversation I had had with Mr. Sheel in my tent at Simnan. I answered that, being unwell at the time, he came to give me medicine, there was no conversation on politics.

The king ordered me to leave my son in his service, and that he should come and pay respects at the time of salutation in company with Furrookh Khán and remain with him. On this I was dismissed.

After a few days Taj Mahomed Khán was dismissed, and received eight thousand rupees, four pieces of cloth, three horses, and one English gun as a present. The one hundred and fifty "toománs", which were offered to me and rejected formerly, were again proffered. I swore not to accept.

During my travel I had presented one pair of Cashmeer shawls and two maunds of fine Bara rice of Pesháwar to Hájee, the minister, and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs two bundles of lamb skins of Bokhara and a quantity of Bara rice, and many small presents of fruit to both of them, and received not a copper in return. I halted at Teherán for forty days, during which time the only means of my happiness was the British ambassador.

The sword and the pair of pistols which the Sháh had promised to send to Kohun Dil Khán at my request were but plain, and on the arrival of Táj Mahomed Khán His Majesty ordered fifty ducats to be spent in ornamenting the sword and twenty on the pistols.

Kumber Alee Khán, Táj Mahomed Khán and I were dismissed, and having an objection to leaving my son behind in the king's service I advised my companions to proceed, stating that I would follow them in a few days after, during which time the English ambassador summoned me to his house. I informed him as I had refused the Sháh's pecuniary assistance and presents, and now being totally destitute of means, I could not proceed. The next day he sent me a hundred toománs of Irak, equal in value to a hundred and eleven ducats. Upon this I waited upon him, and in the first instance begged to decline his offer; but as I was in want of money I would accept his favour on condition of the British minister receiving a note of hand from me payable to any gentleman at Kábul. He replied that I should give a writing on Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán payable to any European at Kábul, to which I assented, and gave the receipt. Six days after I departed for Kashan, and on my arrival there I found that Kumber Alee Khán had reached three days previously. We remained one day at Kashan, and on the next started for Yezd.

On the way to Yezd our horses were fatigued and unable to walk for three marches, and my children were obliged to travel on foot.

From Yezd I proceeded to Kerman, and on arriving there I found that Aga Khán, the Governor, had rebelled and placed his standard at Bampoor. Soorab Khán was ordered by the king to vanquish the rebel. Water and supplies were scarce in the royal army, and in consequence they were detained for twenty-five days at Kerman, during which time all the officers were summoned, and a muster made. It was found that the army consisted of four thousand horse, two thousand foot, and four pieces of artillery. I also accompanied the army. Within a league of the fort of Bampoor, Mirza Abdool Hoosain Khán, the brother of Aga Khán, sallied out with a body of about eighty horsemen and a hundred foot, made a rush against the king's army, and defeated it. In my younger days the rebel governor was my school-fellow, and his father Khubeloollá Khán and Mirza Abdool Husain Khán were the friends of my father. In this affair I ran my horse up to Mirza Abdool Hoosain Khán, who taking me for an enemy pointed his gun. I no sooner observed this than I called out aloud. He recognized me, and put his hand on his head as a mark of welcome. I admired his bravery and expertness, and cried bravo. He pursued the king's army for about half a league, but the death of his most beloved friend Alee Khán Bukhtiyaree put a stop to his pursuit, and accordingly he returned to his fort. The next day Shahro Khán and Mirza Iládee Khán went at night near the fort and threw up an entrenchment. The day following Aga Khán sent me two trays of sweetmeats and two of meals as an entertainment, and asked me to pay him a visit; but Kumber Alee Khavdia advised me not to meet Aga Khán's request, because he was a rival of the Sháh. The next day we removed our camp and encamped closer to the fort, and there we remained for ten days. Mirza Abdool Hoosain Khán used to sally out every day, kill and wound many, and return. On account of the scarcity of the grass and grain in the camp I myself and Taj Mahomed Khán proceeded to Nurmsheer, and left Kumber Alee Khán in the camp, who joined us fifteen days after. From this place we advanced to the fort of Kázee, where we halted for five days, and

after taking supplies for fifteen days along with us started to Loot. Our first stage was Sher Guz. In this place we put up in a ruined shed. There were two wells about three guz in depth, but their water being impure we dug two others, and the two hundred men of Seestan who had accompanied me from Kerman drew water for themselves and their horses from them: every one took a water-bag full of water along with him, and then started at midday. At evening a minaret, about hundred guz in length and ten in diameter, came in sight in the desert, having no water within thirty koses around it. Here we stopped for a while, took our meals, fed our horses, and set out again. Travelling the whole night till twelve o'clock in the morning we arrived at a high eminence, showing some traces of an ancient fort, and having a few trees around, and a karez (subterraneous water-course) near it. Here we halted till evening, fed and watered our horses, and set off again. Travelling till six o'clock in the morning we arrived at some wells, where we rested for a while, watered our horses, and again continued our journey till sunset. After feeding our horses we started again at twelve o'clock in the morning; we reached a pass of a mountain, having immense trees and a fountain. Taking some water along with us we advanced. Travelling about fifty cosses in twenty-four hours we halted at a thicket of reeds, having some fountains around; a march of two days more brought us to the water of Seestan, where we spent two days more in travelling along the bank to find out a ferry, and on the third we were guided by the natives of Seestan to the ferry, where we crossed on rafts. The ferry could not be crossed more than twice during the day. The horses and camels crossed by swimming. After a march of three days we arrived at Seestan. Mahomed Ruza Khán, the Governor of Seestan, sent his brother to receive me, and gave me place of accommodation out of the fort, and entertained me for three days. The citadel (ark) of the fort of Seestan is very strong, containing about three thousand houses in a ruinous condition. Leaving Seestan I journeyed two marches, and arrived at the bank of a large river interspersed with jungle of brush-wood, and a ruined fort situated near. Two stages on we came to a fort of Beloochees, which I passed without molestation, and emerged out of the boundary of Seestan. Entering the territory of Gurmiser I encamped on the bank of a river, on the opposite side of which was a fort belonging to Hájee Dost Mahomed, who sent some provisions to me. Performing two marches more, I learned that Kohun Dil Khán had encamped in the environs of Guesk, and I bent my steps towards his camp. When we arrived within a march, Alla Dád Khán Burdooránee came with two loads of sweetmeats, a tent and the tent walls which were plundered from Shojáool Moolk, to receive us. The tent was pitched for Kumbur Alec Khán. We stopped here for two days, and were well entertained by our host, and on the third day proceeded to the camp according to the Sardár's request. Within a kos Mahomed Siddeck Khán, the son of Sardár Kohun Dil Khán, came with a thousand well-equipped horsemen, and took us to the camp. Kumbur Alec Khán went on horseback to Kohun Dil Khán, and presented with his own hands the sword, the pistols and pelisses (chogas) sent by his master to the Sardárs, and receiving much respect and a satisfactory welcome from Kohun Dil Khán returned to his tent. We were sent on to the hills of Chihilzeena (forty steps), and the Sardár joined us the next day. Kohun Dil Khán had some difference with Sardár Rahim Dil Khán, and in order to reconcile them, their well-wishers made Kohun Dil Khán stop at Chihilzeena for two days till Sardár Rahim Dil Khán, Sardár Mehr Dil Khán and Meer Afzul Khán came out of Kandáhar with all their horsemen to meet Kohun Dil Khán, and so the matter was made up. Kumbur Alec Khán was received with much respect, having the Sardár's horsemen and guns on both sides as a mark of honour. Kumbur Alec Khán was ordered to put up at Yuhuya Khán's house, and I had a separate lodging distant from him. I sent a secret communication unknown to the Sardárs of Kandáhar to Dost Mahomed Khán, to this effect, that I have delivered your messages to the King of Persia, and in answer to which His Majesty was pleased to give his royal consent and has denut-

ed Kumber Alee Khán to you with a sword made by Hájee Mahomed Hoosain Isfahanee for the late king, and that His Majesty will come on Teermah (the fourth Persian month) to besiege Herát, when His Majesty will send an officer with twelve thousand men and a crore of rupees to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán. Though this last information was false, "an untruth told advisedly is better than a truth which foment disturbance," as the old proverb runs, because Sardár Mahomed Akbár Khán was opposing Runjeet Singh's army at that time, and this intelligence would give them strength of mind. I also desired the Ameer to send a respectable man to receive Kumber Alee Khán. Forty days elapsed before I received the answer by Sháhghassee Paínda. While I was at Kandáhar the Sardars were endeavouring to breed animosity between Kumber Alee Khán and Ameer Dost Mahomed, and in consequence delayed his going to Kábul, and also prevented Sháhghassee Paínda by bribe and flattery from seeing us. I assured Kumber Alee Khán that the Sardars did not wish the prosperity of Dost Mahomed Khan, and they therefore detained him. Kumber Alee Khán always informed me of the conversation that passed between him and the Sardars. I despatched two letters more by messengers to Dost Mahomed Khán, apprising him of the Kandahár Chiefs detaining the Persian ambassador and other affairs which were going on at Kandahár, and requesting him again to send another confidential person.

In a few days I had the opportunity of visiting Mehr Dil Khán, and after conversing on different subjects, I declared, that the Sardars should not cause their overthrow by fomenting mutual disturbances, because if Dost Mahomed Khán were defeated at Kábul, they were unable to stand, and their defeat at Kandahár was inevitable if Dost Mahomed Khán should fall, adding that although the Ameer was their sincere friend, they were endeavouring to destroy him, which was a matter of injustice. While we were speaking, Sardár Kohun Dil Khán entered, and inferring the substance of our conversation observed, that "we considered ourselves better qualified than Dost Mahomed"; whereas Alexander Burnes has been deputed by the English Government to the Ameer, and if Kumber Alee Khán should also go to him, then he will gain pre-eminence over us in the eyes of the people, which cannot be endured. Being much dejected at this observation I returned home. The next day Sardár Kohun Dil Khán summoned Kumber Alee Khán, and told him that Alexander Burnes had come to Kábul, and Dost Mahomed Khán was negotiating with him; that if he should go also there, he would surely return with disgrace and bring dishonour to the King of Persia; that in such a case he would not advise him to proceed to Kábul; that it was more advisable to take his (Kohun Dil Khán's) son accompanied by a hundred horsemen and Alla Dád Khán Burdooránee, and return to the service of His Majesty. He also added that I was an ally of the English, and that Alexander Burnes was come through my means. Kumber Alee Khán was aware of my previous conversation with the British ambassador, and Kohun Dil Khán's expressions convinced him of the fact. Kumber Alee Khán agreed to what Kohun Dil Khán had set forth, and the next day mentioned all that passed between them. The day after I waited upon the Sardár, and said I had heard of the sentiments expressed to Kumber Alee Khán, and requested that he should give me a hearing; if he was right I will be convinced, and if otherwise, he was at liberty to act according to his pleasure. The Sardár told me to state what I had to say. I expressed—that you have appointed your son to go to Persia and detained Kumber Alee Khán from proceeding to Kábul; it is true that Mahomed Sháh has got wealth, and an army sufficient to assist you, but I assure you that you will not get it before the lapse of a year, and if Dost Mahomed Khán is apprised of your intentions, he will prepare himself to cause your overthrow; and if Alexander Burnes, who is now at Kábul, hears this, he will strengthen his alliance with Dost Mahomed Khán and wrest Kandahár from you in three months. Moola Rusheed Akhunzada approved of my sentiments. Sardár Mehr Dil Khán, who was also present at the time, said that he was afraid, if he should go

to Kábul, and Alexander Burnes and Kumber Alee Khán be in Dost Mahomed Khán's presence and he should be questioned as to his (Dost Mahomed's) superiority, if he should answer that he (the Sardar) was superior, Dost Mahomed would ruin him, and if otherwise he would be telling a falsehood, because he was not under him. I replied, that I would give it to them in writing that the ambassador will not put any such question in Dost Mahomed Khán's presence. He said that he was aware of my friendship with Alexander Burnes, and Kumber Alee Khán also was of my party, and if I would deal fairly with him, he would accompany me to Kábul, and gave me his hand as a mark of promise in presence of Moola Rusheed. I also gave my word, that I would be his well-wisher and would do much for his good. Sardár Mehr Dil Khán retired to Kumber Alee Khán to change his former intention and direct him to proceed to Kábul. On hearing this, Kumber Alee Khán showed his outward displeasure, and observed that you are a curious set of people, being so fickle and changing your mind in an instant. Sardár Mehr Dil Khán apologized and satisfied him. It was settled that we should depart from Kandáhar, and put up at the Tukhya (a place near the city), and that Sardár Mehr Dil Khán would proceed to Kábul with five hundred horsemen the next day. The Sardar's baggage was accordingly sent to the Tukhya, and we halted at Mehr Dil Khán's garden and from hence to the Tukhya. Next morning we marched towards Shorab. On arriving here I found that neither Mehr Dil Khán nor his men had made any preparations for leaving Kandáhar, and received a message from Sardár Mehr Dil Khán to stop at Shorab for two days, that he may join us, which we accordingly did. After two days a mounted courier arrived at Kandáhar from Ghuznee with information that Shumsodeen Khán, the son of Ameer Mahomed Khán, was seized by Dost Mahomed Khán, and Guznee, which he held as a jâghír, was confiscated. On hearing this intelligence the Sardárs were much broken-hearted, and accordingly they sent Alla Dád Khán Burdooranee and Táj Mahomed Khán to Kumber Alee Khán, desiring him to come back again to the Tukhya, and the Sardárs would act according to his pleasure. Kumber Alee Khán complied with this request, and went back to the Tukhya, and after a long conversation between him and Mehr Dil Khán it was settled that Mahomed Ameer Khán should accompany Kumber Alee Khán to the Court of Persia, and the ambassador believing in their oaths returned from the way, and I also accompanied him to the garden of Mehr Dil Khán. After two days I waited upon the Sardárs, and by adducing reasonable arguments and historical proofs I changed their intentions again, and it was agreed that Kumber Alee Khán should leave his baggage at Ahmud Sháhee (Kandáhar) and proceed lightly equipped together with Sardár Mehr Dil Khán at the head of thirty horsemen to Kábul. The next day was appointed for their departure, when the intelligence, that Moola Jubbar Achukzaees was coming to the Sardárs from Dost Mahomed Khán, arrived at Kandáhar, and our departure was delayed for a few days till he came. He used such quarrelsome language to the Sardárs, that they entirely gave up the design of proceeding to Kábul, and destroyed the relation of brotherhood with Dost Mahomed Khán. The Sardárs spoke to me decidedly that Kumber Alee Khán must not go to Kábul, and desired me to live with him, and he would share whatever bread he had with me, and said that Dost Mahomed Khán would not appreciate the services I had performed for him, and that if I liked I should accompany Mahomed Omur Khán to Persia as a "naib" (deputy) instead of Alla Dád Khán. I replied that it was far from justice and loyalty to do so, and that, in order to get rid of the reproach of the people, I would first go to Kábul, and, further, that Dost Mahomed Khán was at liberty to do me good or harm.

Moola Jubbar spoke to Mehr Dil Khán that Dost Mahomed Khán was talking in his court that he had sent a letter through me to Mahomed Sháh asking of him some pecuniary assistance, because he was a Mahomedan king; and that if Kumber Alee Khán had brought some money for him, he might advance, otherwise there was no need of his coming here

This intelligence Mehr Dil Khán communicated to Kumber Alee Khán, who being much surprised and afflicted sent for me, and related the whole story. I said that I did not believe such to be Dost Mahomed Khán's observations, but that the Sardár himself had instructed Moola Jubbar to say so, because none of the Afgháns have a wish for Dost Mahomed Khán's greatness but the Kizilbashes. However, continued I, he should remain at Kandáhar, and I would proceed to Kábul, and ascertain the state of affairs: if favourable I would send him a messenger in twenty-five days, and he should advance to Kábul; otherwise he should return to Persia. Having settled this I departed to Kábul the next morning.

Mehr Dil Khán had promised to give me two hundred rupees a month. I remained at Kandáhar for five months, during which time I only received one month's expenses—two hundred rupees, and that, too, by the recommendation of Sardár Kohun Dil Khan, and also a pony, since I had lost some of my horses on the road from Seestan and Loot, and my servants were on foot; at the time of my departure Akhmand Moola Rusheed gave me twenty rupees.

In my progress to Kábul I did not meet with any thing worthy of notice. Arriving within a march of Kábul I sent a man to the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán, informing him of my arrival. The Ameer sent Mirza Alee Akbar Khán, the son of Aga Sayad Mahomed, and Aga Mahomed, the head servant, to receive me, and gave me a dwelling at the Nawab Jubbar Khán's house. The following night I waited upon the Ameer, and related the adventures of my travelling. He turned his face towards the people in the court, and said that those that had received ten hundred thousand rupees from him had not performed such services as I had done for him. After a few days I spoke to the Ameer requesting him to write to Kumber Alee Khan to come on to Kábul. He ordered me to go to Mirza Abdool Sumee Khán, make a draft of the letter and bring it to his presence, all of which I did. Since the letter showed the superiority of Mahomed Sháh over Dost Mahomed Khán he was much perplexed on hearing it and ordered it to be torn and another to be written, asserting that he was equal to Mahomed Sháh and not inferior. To this I made no reply and returned home. The next day a person came to me with the Ameer's letter for Kumber Alee Khán, and a message that I should forward it with my own letters to that ambassador. I opened the letter, and on reading I did not think it proper to send it on, because in the event of Kumber Alee Khán showing it to Mahomed Sháh it would produce differences between him and Mahomed Sháh. Therefore I dismissed the messenger kept the letter by me, and wrote to Kumber Alee Khán on my own part that I had not found Dost Mahomed Khán as I had expected, and it was better for him to go back to Persia. I used to go every day to the Ameer's Darbár and heard nothing more but evil-speaking of Mahomed Sháh, for which purpose I entirely abstained waiting upon the Ameer for two months. Mirza Abdool Sumee Khán, Mirza Imám Verdee and Mirza Alee Akber called at my place one night, and earnestly desired me to go to the Ameer's presence, but I did not comply with their request. On the day of the festival, Eed of Ramzan, Mirza Abdool Sumee called me to his house, and from thence compelled me to wait upon the Ameer. After that I used to wait upon the Ameer every fourth day. I had all along been most anxious to see Alexander Burnes, because he was my old friend in the journey to Bokhára, but Mirza Abdool Sumee prevented me from waiting upon him without the permission of Dost Mahomed Khán, till the time when I had access to the Ameer, and I asked his leave on the subject. After a short silence he answered yes, but I should not tell anything out of the way. I replied, that I should have nothing to do with political conversation. After this I called upon Alexander Burnes: from what I had before seen of him he had now made great progress in politics, arguments, &c., being perfect before, he had now become more perfect. He asked me some news. I told him whatever I knew for the good of the English Government. After this I waited upon the Ameer, who asked me about the nature of the con-

versation that passed between me and Alexander Burnes. I answered that that gentleman would exert all his efforts for the benefit of the Ameer, and the English Government will do according to their discretion. He then said, would Mr. Burnes satisfy his wishes? I asked, what he wanted? He said, first to be put in possession of Pesháwar; second, to obtain thirty or forty lakhs of rupees, after which he would go and face Mahomed Sháh. I replied that his wish could be attained by requesting twenty regiments either from Runjeet Singh's force or the British Army, because Mahomed Sháh's troops are regular and disciplined, and he could not cope with him, without being on the same footing; and even receiving thirty lakhs of rupees he still required efficient officers from the English Government to regulate his army, and he would not, after all be able to oppose the Persians before three years, because he had no experienced officers, and his army was irregular and wild, on which very little reliance would be placed. I also added that my speaking so freely on such a matter arose from a consciousness of my being acquainted with military tactics. On hearing this remark the Ameer looked serious, changed colour, and said "Please God I will show you." I replied, if God preserve my life I will see, and advised him to make over the reins of his Government into the hands of the English, and they would manage for themselves and also for his benefit. He said he would not give over charge of his affairs to any one. This interview was over, and after a moment the Ameer said again he did not know what would be the result of the negotiation between himself and Alexander Burnes. I asked him if the above gentleman had promised him anything, or had given him an assurance to accomplish his views. He replied, no, and as often as he had sent his Mirza to Alexander Burnes to ascertain that matter, he answered nothing but that he had written all the propositions to his Government, and until he received an answer from it he could settle nothing. I said Alexander Burnes was right; being an experienced politician how should he give any such pledges. After some time the Governor General's letter arrived, when the Ameer sent for me, and said that his request from the English had not met with a favourable reception, and in consequence he would depute me to Mahomed Sháh. I replied that I had performed one service, which was enough for me till the day of resurrection, that I was not acquainted with him first, but now I would be a mad man if I interfered in his affairs. He used to upbraid Mahomed Sháh before, and now he scandalized the English and Alexander Burnes. One day Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán sent for me in private, talked about Mahomed Sháh and evil to the English. I said, that a man cannot procure a friend in ten years, whereas he can make a thousand enemies in a moment; that if he could not make friends he should not make enemies; that it was far from the law of wisdom to entertain such notions; that his object was that the English should give him money; that how could they trust him, that who of the Afghan nation has ever kept his oath; that I who had served him with so much faithfulness had received nothing but rebukes. To these expressions the Ameer gave no answer. I said that I presumed to say so much merely for his own good, that he ought to be considerate, and leave off talking nonsense. Upon this he said I spoke the truth, and he went over to Alexander Burnes in person and began to speak mildly. After this he kept himself quiet, and did not speak against the English in any society. He sent a communication with the original of the Governor General's letter to the Sardárs of Kandáhar, upon which Sardár Mehr Dil Khán came to Kábul. After having three or four interviews with Alexander Burnes, they (the Ameer and Mehr Dil Khán) were convinced that their object could not be attained from the English, and that they should consequently settle matters with Vitkievitch, and asked him that if they connected themselves with the Russians, and the English and Runjeet Singh should come with their united forces upon them how should they act. Vitkievitch, who was somewhat void of sense, replied that he would bring twenty regiments from Russia into Kábul in two months. I hinted to the Ameer whether such could be the case. The Ameer said to me afterwards that it was untruth, and that he was merely confronting Vitkie-

vitch with Alexander Burnes in order to procure money from the latter. I did not believe the Ameer, and told him that I would never sit in his company, or talk to him on any subject.

I travelled for two years, and remained for seven months at Kábul. during which time I spent thirty thousand rupees from my own pocket, and on the day of my departure from Kábul I did not receive a single rupee or anything of the value of a pice from the Ameer. During my stay at Kábul I was supplied with expense by Nawab Jubbar Khán, and Alexander Burnes also assisted me on account of the friendship I had with him.

The Afgháns are so foolish that, notwithstanding such ill-treatment, Ameer Dost Mahomed Khán expected faithfulness and good service from me, sometimes desiring me to go to Persia, and sometimes to Russia to make arrangements with these powers. I always pray to God for getting an opportunity to serve the English, and to liquidate the debt of gratitude I owe to them, because had I not been supplied by the English I would have not been master of horses and men at this time. The curse of God and his servants be on those who believe in an Afghan's word, or assist them in any matter, and curse be on him who, if able, does not injure that nation; and whoever says that he has found rectitude in them, especially in Dost Mahomed Khán, is the greatest liar in the world. I cannot give a full account of the Afghán nation.

Translated by Akhwundzada Abdool Kureem under the supervision of

(Signed) A. BURNES,

Late on a Mission to Kábul.

Camp at Roree Bukhur, 1st February 1839.
