

LETTERS

FROM

MAJOR D'ARCY TODD.

## LETTERS FROM MAJOR D'ARCY TODD.

To

SIR W. H. MACNAGHTEN, BART.,

Envoy and Minister,

&c.,      &c.,      &c.,

Jallálábád.

SIR,—In continuation of my letter to your address, No. 94, dated 30th November, and reporting the state of affairs at Herát, I have the honour to submit to your notice some circumstances which have lately occurred, and to lay before you the observations which I deem it my duty to offer on the subject of our relations with this Government.

2. Some time ago Moosa Beg, a messenger from the Persian Ausef-ood-Dowlah, arrived at Herát, the ostensible object of his visit being to deliver complimentary letters to the Vuzeer and myself, as I had lately written to the Ausef regarding the detention of our packets at Meshed, thereby giving him a pretext for sending a messenger to this place. I did not take any notice of Moosa Beg's arrival, although I had repeatedly warned the Vuzeer against even complimentary intercourse with the Persian authorities as tending to raise reports prejudicial to his interests, and to give the British Government grounds of suspicion as to his intentions. During Moosa Beg's stay at Herát it was not suspected that he had been charged with any mission on the part of the Ausef, but I have now reason to believe that he was the bearer of proposals of friendship and alliance with the Vuzeer. In order to avoid suspicion the Persian messenger was not admitted to any private conference with Yár Mahomed Khán, but I have ascertained that he was allowed to converse with the Vuzeer's sister in the inner apartments, one other woman only being present at the interview. Friendship between the Persian and Herátees and a family alliance between the Ausef and the Vuzeer were the subjects discussed on that occasion.

3. About the time of the occurrence above mentioned Yár Mahomed Khán was preparing to send his son, Syud Mahomed Khán, on a mission to the Chiefs of the Huzáreh and Jumsheedee tribes, to which I had objected, principally on the ground of its involving him in unnecessary expense. Objects inimical to our interests had, however, been generally attributed to the proposed measure. The departure of Syud Mahomed Khán was delayed from day to day and from week to week, and at length the Vuzeer gave out that Fyz Mahomed Khán, his Master of Ceremonies, would proceed, in place of his son, with letters and presents to the Rimauk Chiefs. On the 17th instant Fyz Mahomed Khán left Herát, and on that day it was first intimated that his destination instead of being Khooslik and Kulla-i-No, as was supposed, was in reality Meshed. So secret had this been kept that most of Fyz Mahomed's followers were ignorant of their destination until they had left the city. On ascertaining the fact I immediately addressed a note to the Vuzeer expressing my regret at his having taken this extraordinary step and my fear that it would be attended with the most disastrous consequences to himself.

4. Fyz Mahomed Khán is a person of some influence, being a confidential servant of the Minister, to whose tribe he belongs, and has been notorious since my arrival at Herát for his hatred to the English, which he has more than once displayed in an insulting manner. The deputation of this individual with a train of 40 or 50 followers, and, it is believed, presents, to the Persian authorities, could therefore only be looked upon as a manifest breach of treaty, even setting aside the suspicious fact of its having been devised and executed with the most careful secrecy. The Vuzeer, in answer to my note, expressed great surprise at the serious view which I had taken of this trivial matter, and asserted, in excuse, that I had given him permission to send a man to Meshed for the purpose of demanding the restoration of Ghoriani, which had been the reason of his despatching Fyz Mahomed Khán.

5. Finding that his excuse was not deemed admissible, the Vuzeer sent several of his confidential advisers with oaths and protestations and declarations of readiness to remedy by any means in his power the evil that had been done, swearing by all that is held sacred among Mahomedans that the only object of Fyz Mahomed's mission was to demand the restoration of Ghoriani, and offering to abide by the heaviest penalty should any other question be discussed at Meshed by his messenger. It was, however, admitted that the step which had been secretly taken bore a very bad appearance, and that it would have been better had Fyz Mahomed never left Herát, but no promise or offer was made immediately to recall him.

It is true that I had some time ago given the Vuzeer permission to send a man or a letter to Meshed for the purpose mentioned in the concluding part of the 4th paragraph, but this could never be applied to the departure of his most confidential servant with a train of 40 or 50 followers. To use the expression of an intelligent Afghán, when he heard of the circumstance, "the excuse is worse than the fault."

6. I may here mention that there is but one opinion in the town of the real object of his mission, namely an alliance with Persia based on our ejection from Herát. A strong and general feeling of insecurity prevails; many persons are preparing to send their families to Kandáhár, and the only question about our treatment is whether we are to be seized and plundered to-day or to-morrow.

7. My reply to the Vuzeer's messages and to the urgent supplications of his sycophants to prevent a rupture was to the effect that whatever might have been the instructions of Yár Mahomed Khán to Fyz Mahomed, I feared, from my knowledge of the character of the latter, that he would compromise his principle beyond redemption and that my interference would be unavailing. The matter had in fact been taken out of my hands, for the British Government would doubtless hear of this Mission from other sources, and would take such measures as might seem advisable with reference to any report I might make on the subject, unless, indeed, the Vuzeer by some immediate and undisguised act of hostility towards the Persians, such as attacking Ghoriani, proved beyond the slightest doubt that the general belief regarding the object of Fyz Mahomed's mission was utterly groundless.

8. On the 24th instant, at an interview with the Minister which immediately succeeded these occurrences, I held the same language. In excuse for his conduct he pleaded his fears of our ultimate intentions, thereby admitting his guilt, although he declared most solemnly that the only message with which he had charged Fyz Mahomed was that previously stated. He said that he had yesterday heard of the arrival of 20,000 men at Shikárpur, and asked me whether it was true. I answered that I had only received intelligence of preparations being made for subsisting 17,000. He then stated that all his advisers and correspondents warned him that the destination of these troops was Herát, and that the English wished to involve him in hostilities with Persia merely to enable them to crush him with greater facility. I observed that I considered my word of greater weight and more worthy of belief than the reports and speculations of all his correspondents and advisers; that the authorities of Herát were the only people in the world who doubted our word or distrusted us in any way; and that if he had enquired of me regarding the destination of these troops, I could have set his mind perfectly at rest on the subject. I added that, had he reflected for a moment he could never have feared us, for our conduct towards him up to this moment had been uniformly liberal and friendly, and had we wished to destroy him we should have done so either openly, on our first arrival in the country previously to strengthening him, or secretly by the expenditure amongst his enemies of one-tenth of the sum that had been lavished on him. This, he said, could not be denied, but observed that it was natural for the weaker to fear the stronger, and he therefore requested me to give him a paper of assurance (*khatur jum*) in order to remove his apprehen-

sions. I replied that it was out of my power to furnish him with the paper he required ; that if what we had already done in and for the country had not satisfied him of our disinterested friendship, nothing could ; and that it rested with him to counteract the evil he had done and to satisfy us for the future.

9. On the following day (the 25th) the Vuzeer sent his three most confidential advisers to endeavour to procure from me the paper to the effect above mentioned. This I steadily refused to give for the reasons which I had assigned to the Minister the day before and to themselves on a former occasion. I consented, however, to take no decided step until the receipt of intelligence from Meshed.

10. The greatest possible state of alarm was excited in the mind of the Vuzeer by my continuing to hold this language, and fearing that the immediate result of his conduct would be the cessation of all pecuniary assistance, he, on the 27th, sent his principal adviser, Nujjoo Khán, to endeavour to discover what terms would be granted him.

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

11. Nujjoo Khán came again this morning (29th) to learn my final decision. I informed him that before settling a question of such magnitude and importance it would be necessary that he should bring written credentials from the Vuzeer.

There are many circumstances chiefly connected with Yár Mahomed Khán's character, but too numerous to be detailed here, which would lead me to prefer negotiating with the Vuzeer through the medium of an accredited third person, rather than with himself, and Nujjoo Khán is certainly in every respect the fittest of all Yár Mahomed Khán's confidential advisers for the office of mediator.

12. I will here state the only terms which should in my opinion be granted to Yár Mahomed Khán as the alternative to our undertaking a hostile movement against Herát, and it is my intention to offer this alternative for reasons which I will endeavour to explain in the concluding part of my letter :—

1. A brigade of British troops with artillery to occupy the citadel of Herát.
2. The revenues of Seestan to be appropriated to the maintenance of these troops.
3. The present Government of Herát to remain unchanged during the lifetime of Sháh Kamráń.
4. Three lákhs of Company's rupees per annum to be given as assistance to the Government of Herát during the lifetime of the Vuzeer, and after his death maintenance to be guaranteed to his son. Amongst minor arrangements it would be necessary that the Vuzeer's son should immediately proceed to Girusht, there to remain until the decision of Government is known, when he will either accompany the brigade to Herát, or be allowed to report on the retirement of our Mission from this place.

13. Before detailing my reasons for recommending that any terms should be offered the Herát Government on the present occasion, I will submit a few observations on the nature and value of our relations with this petty state.



14. It is either politic and necessary to obtain a commanding influence at Herát or it is not. If the former be granted, our experience of the last two years and the present state of affairs at Herát sufficiently prove that we must have recourse to very different measures from those which we have hitherto adopted to obtain that influence. If the latter be the case, the money which we have already expended on this country must be considered as having been spent in the great cause of humanity—a noble cause—in which British gold has been freely sacrificed in every corner of the globe to the unfading glory of the British name; but further pecuniary assistance is not required except for the purpose of maintaining our influence at Herát, and I would therefore recommend that we abandon the post, for we cannot hold it, even on our present insecure tenure, without a considerable expenditure of treasure. I am clearly of opinion, as I have frequently before stated, that it is both necessary and politic to acquire a supremacy at Herát.

15. Recent events on the Russian frontier of Turkestan might seem to diminish the value of this position, but I am of opinion that its importance has been by those very events rather enhanced than lessened, for the Russians having been foiled in their attempt to advance towards our Indian empire by the route of Khiva and the Oxus, after having experienced its almost insurmountable difficulties, will naturally turn their attention more seriously to the only remaining line of advance, namely, that on which Herát is situated.

16. The influence of Russia is now paramount in Persia, and any extension of the Persian frontier towards India must be considered as an approach made by Russia. Herát cannot remain independent between Kábul and Persia; it must be, *de facto*, subject to one or the other. If we abandon Herát, it will be occupied by the Persians, and the Perso-Russian frontier will then be brought within 150 miles of Kandahár, or 400 miles nearer than it now is to the yet unsettled kingdom of Kábul. This cannot, I think, be permitted.

17. The question, therefore, in my mind is resolved into one of expenditure. Supposing the measure now advocated be carried into effect Herát becomes virtually ours at an expense which may be easily calculated, whereas that of undertaking an expedition against this place is indefinite and would certainly be enormous. Even after the successful result of hostile operations against Herát we must, in order to reap the fruits of our campaign, subject ourselves to an outlay, equal at least to that of the proposed arrangement, and in the mean time we should have incurred throughout Central Asia the odium which such an expedition would necessarily bring upon us, our efforts to restore this country to prosperity would have been marred, and a great sacrifice of human life would have been made.

18. The departure of our Agent from Herát would be the signal for the worst species of cruelty and outrage being again perpetrated on every individual supposed to possess wealth.

All classes would alike suffer, and if to these horrors were added the evils of invasions, Herát would soon be the wilderness it was left by Mahomed Sháh. It could again only be rendered valuable at an expense equal to that already incurred.

19. It may not be considered advisable to garrison such a distant and isolated part as Herát with our own troops, but I am convinced that insuperable objections would be raised to the admission of those of Sháh Shoojáh or to the use of his name in the proposed arrangement, which, however, might be easily set aside on the death of Sháh Kamrán when our troops might be relieved by those of His Majesty Sháh Shoojáh, Herát being re-annexed to Kábul should such a measure be desirable.

20. In conclusion I would strongly urge the expediency of concentrating troops at Kandahár with as little delay as possible, for I feel confident that their services will be required before summer either for the attack or for the occupation of Herát, unless indeed it be determin-

ed to abandon the position. I may add that under any circumstances I do not apprehend violence being offered to the officers or servants of the Mission.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) E. D. A. TODD,  
Envoy to Herát.

*Herát, 29th January 1841.*

To

J. P. WILLOUGHBY, ESQUIRE,  
Secretary to Government in the Political Department,  
Bombay.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward for the information of the Honourable the Governor of Bombay copy of a Despatch (No. 106, dated 4th February,) to the address of the Envoy and Minister at Kábul, being a continuation of a report on the present state of affairs at Herát.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) E. D. A. TODD,  
Envoy to Herát.

*Herát, 5th February 1841.*

*Copy.*  
No. 136.

To

SIR W. H. MACNAGHTEN, BART.,  
Envoy and Minister at the Court of Sháh Shoojáh-ool-Moolk.,  
Jállálábád.

SIR,—In continuation of my letter No. 103, under date the 29th ultimo, I have the honour to report for your information that the Vuzeer has evinced considerable anxiety to defer the discussion of the subject of our future relations with this Government until news shall have been received of the proceedings of Fyz Mahomed Khán at Meshed, and in the meantime has declined giving to Nujoo Khán the paper alluded to in the 11th paragraph of my letter above mentioned. I have therefore not yet brought forward the terms which I proposed offering, although the Vuzeer seems to be perfectly aware that he can no longer play a double part, and that he must submit himself to the power either of England or of Persia. I hope, in the course of a day or two, to ascertain, by means of agents whom I have despatched to Meshed, all the particulars of Fyz Mahomed's mission to that place.

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

3. Yesterday the festival of Koorham was celebrated, and no demand or request was made for money on the occasion. I went to the citadel with the officers of the Mission as on former festivals. Dresses of honour were given to us by the King and we rode with His Majesty as usual. In the course of the day an event occurred which might have led to serious consequences. Kázi Moolláh Mahomed Hussein and his son Aukun Ladáh Mahomed Dáood, who are attached to the Mission establishment, and who are known as being devotedly attached to our interests, were grossly and shamefully insulted by two dependants of the Vuzeer's family. On being made

acquainted with the circumstances which had taken place in the presence of a vast concourse of people, I sent several witnesses of it to the Vuzeer, and advised, especially with reference to the present state of feeling in the town, that the punishment of the offenders should be summary and public. Their guilt was proved, and after being bastinadoed in the market-place, their faces being smeared with mud, they were led through the different streets of the city, while a crier proclaimed with a loud voice their offence and punishment.

4. I have received intelligence from Erzeroom, dated the 7th December, when the British Mission was still at that place, and there did not appear to be any immediate prospect of the settlement of our differences with the Persian Government. Meerza Massood, the Persian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his son who has lately been officiating in that capacity, had been disgraced, in consequence of the latter having forged the King's signature. Meerza Abdool Hussun Khán, formerly Ambassador to England and for many years past a pensioner of the British Government, has been appointed Foreign Minister.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) E. D. A. TODD,

Envoy to Herát.

Herát, 4th February 1841.

To

LIEUTENANT E. K. ELLIOTT,

Political Assistant, Girishk.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that our relations with Herát are broken off and that I see no prospect of their re-establishment by negotiation. The officers and servants of the British Mission were obliged to withdraw from the city yesterday afternoon, and we shall probably make our first and regular march towards Kandáhar to-morrow morning. No violence or insult has been as yet offered us, and we have succeeded in bringing with us the greater part of our property. Sirdár Futteh Khán, a cousin of the Vuzeer, has been appointed to escort us with a party of 40 and 50 horsemen to the frontier, which I hope to reach on the 18th instant.

2. It is not impossible, from the excited state of feeling in the country, the treacherous character of these people, and the belief which prevails of our being possessed of a large sum of money, that attempts will be made to plunder us on the road, most probably when we have crossed or are near the frontier. May I therefore request that you will, if convenient, despatch from Girishk a strong escort of horse to Washeer, or even to the dák station on the Khonah river, there to await our arrival. I hoped moving by the route of Gurmee, Gurmah and Buckwa. If you could arrange to send one day's provisions for our party consisting of about 80 mounted followers, with 30 or 40 baggage mules to Shooráwuk, and the same, if possible, to Deláram, it will obviate the necessity of our marching by the circuitous route of Washeer.

3. I think it probable that this rupture will be followed up on the part of Yár Mahomed Khán by an immediate hostile movement in the direction of Kandáhar, and that an attempt will be made to surprise the fort of Girishk.

4. May I beg the favour of your forwarding a copy of this letter to the Political Agent at Kandáhar for his information and for transmission to the Envoy and Minister? The dák which left Herát on the 30th ultimo and which contained a detailed account of the circumstances which led to this crisis, was plundered near Gurmah. I will endeavour to forward a copy of the last despatches with further particulars as soon as possible.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) E. D. A. TODD,

Envoy to Herát.

Camp at Joghara, 4 miles south of Herát. }  
6 A.M., 10th February 1841. }

To

SIR W. H. MACNAGHTEN, BART., K.D.,

Envoy and Minister,

&amp;c., &amp;c., &amp;c.,

Jallálábád.

SIR,—In continuation of my letter, No. 106, under date the 4th instant, I have the honor to lay before you a statement of the circumstances which led to my withdrawal of the British Mission from the Herát territory and of the occurrences which have taken place in connection with this measure up to the present time.

2. On the afternoon of the 7th instant I was waited on by a deputation consisting of the Topohee Bashee, Ishuk Aghasseer and Uruz Beggee, who brought a letter from the Vuzeer, of which the enclosed is a translation. In this letter Yár Mahomed Khán requested that I would immediately either give him full security for the future, or take from him all hope; in the latter case he stated that I must not be surprised at his committing some desperate act. As the three persons above mentioned were not authorized by the Vuzeer to negotiate on his part, I wrote in reply that after what had occurred I was anxious to discuss with himself the questions under consideration, but that if he objected to a personal interview I would treat with any one to whom he gave written credentials.

3. On the morning of the 8th instant the three persons mentioned in the foregoing paragraph brought a letter from the Vuzeer giving them full powers finally to adjust matter on his behalf. I had previously learnt the result of a consultation which had been held the night before by the Vuzeer and his advisers and the demands which the two were instructed to make on the present occasion. I therefore opened the conference by begging them to state the requisitions with which they were charged. These they informed me were as follows:—

1. A written assurance on the part of the British Government relieving the Vuzeer from all apprehensions for the future.
2. The immediate payment of the Vuzeer's debts amounting to nearly two láks of Company's rupees.
3. A liberal monthly allowance, far exceeding that at present given, to be guaranteed to the Herát Government for one year.
4. A written promise that the British Government would not embroil that of Herát in any foreign war until after the present harvests which are reaped in June and July.
5. The fortifications of the city to be repaired and strengthened at our expense.
6. Loans of money to be advanced to enable the Herát Government to recover entire possession of the Char Viláyut, Ghorian, Seestaun and the Tymunee country, and the Herát troops to be subsidised in the field so long as engaged in these operations. I asked what the Herát Government was prepared to grant in the event of the above demands being acceded to by my Government, and in reply was requested to mention what I deemed an equivalent.

4. I stated that the treaty having been again broken by the authorities of Herát and their promises having been found valueless, it was for the British Government now to demand security for the future, and that in my opinion the only satisfactory mode of giving this was by admitting a brigade of British troops with artillery into the citadel of Herát and the immediate deputation of the Vuzeer's son to Girishk to accompany the troops to Herát. Under these circum-



stances I promised, pending the sanction of Government, to give a written assurance to the Vuzeer guaranteeing to him the Vuzárat of Herát during his life-time, the payment of his debts to the amount of one lákh of Company's rupees on the arrival of our troops, and an allowance to the Herát Government for one year of one lákh of Herát rupees, Company's Rs. 33,333½, per mensem, to commence on the arrival of the Vuzeer's son at Girishk, up to which date the present allowance of 25,000 Company's rupees a month would be continued. I also agreed to the repair of the fortifications, provided our troops were admitted into the citadel, but in the event of their being located outside the town, I stated that the expense of fortifying a post for their accommodation would be considerable, and in this case the Herátees must repair their own works. This was said with reference to a long discussion which took place on the subject of our troops being quartered in the citadel, to which the deputation objected in the strongest terms as a measure to which they were certain the Vuzeer would never agree. On reflection it seemed to me that our object would be equally gained by our holding a strong position in the immediate vicinity of the city; indeed there were considerations which pointed this out as the more desirable arrangement. I waived for the present the discussion of articles Nos. 4 and 6. This interview, which occupied nearly the whole day, and throughout which Lieutenant North and my Persian Secretary were present, was concluded by the deputation informing me that they did not think it possible the Vuzeer would agree to my terms; that the Vuzeer's wife could not be persuaded to part with her son; and that an immediate payment of money would be required. It was evident to me that the object of the discussion was merely to gain time, and, if possible, to induce me to advance money before the result of Fyz Mahomed Khán's mission to Meshed became known. Finding that I was not disposed to make the required concessions, the deputation informed me, on the part of the Vuzeer, that I might select my Mehmándár, as any further stay at Herát would be useless and that my Hindustáni, Kábul, and Kandáhár servants would be allowed to accompany me, but that those of Herát would not be permitted to leave the place. I selected Sirdár Fattéh Khán as my Mehmándár, and remarked that I did not require the permission of the Vuzeer to take with me the natives of India or the subjects of Sháh Shoojá'h, and that by the laws of Nations I had a right to retain in my service, at least until I reached the Frontier, all my Herát servants who were willing to accompany me. I will not here recapitulate the reasons which induced me to offer any terms to the Vuzeer after what had occurred; for these I beg to refer you to my letter of the 29th ultimo. With regard to my consenting to withdraw the British Mission from Herát on my own responsibility, I must state my conviction that our further stay at Herát would have been productive of no good, and that with the examples of Major Pottinger, Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Loveday before me, I should not have been justified in exposing the officers of the Mission to insult and danger by remaining at Herát in opposition to the expressed wishes of the Vuzeer.

5. Very early in the morning of the 9th I received a note from the Topehee Bashee informing me that the Vuzeer would not agree to any one of my terms; that Sirdár Futtéh Khán had been appointed my Mehmándár; and that our Herát camel-drivers, grooms and muleteers would be permitted to accompany us to Kandáhár. At this time the gates of the city had been closed, the shops of the bázárs shut, and the caravanserais sealed. The greatest excitement prevailed throughout the town, the inhabitants armed themselves, guns were discharged in every direction, and large crowds collected round the residence of the Mission. Our followers and servants were threatened with death, and their families with dishonour; and it was generally believed that we were to be seized and our property plundered.

6. I have on several occasions had the honour to bring to your notice the services of Kázi Moolláh Mahomed Hussun and his family. In the time of Major Pottinger they were the only

persons in the country who had the hardihood to oppose the nefarious practice of kidnapping and selling the inhabitants although it was sanctioned by all the other members of the priesthood and even followed by some of them. The Kázi was the means of our first opening negotiations with Khyva, and by the favourable ideas which he instilled into the mind of the Khán Huzrut regarding our power and policy induced that Chief to depute an Envoy to Herát for the purpose of allying himself with the British Government. Lieutenant Shakespear has mentioned in several letters the valuable services performed by the Kázi throughout the negotiations of that officer for the release of the Russian slaves. The Kázi's eldest son was the person as you may remember, who rescued Captain Abbott from the hands of the Kazzaks, and is now with Captain Conolly at Khyva. His second son accompanied Lieutenant Shakespear to Dash Kulla and rendered important services during that officer's difficult and dangerous journey to the Russian frontier. For the known adherence of this family to the interests of the British Government they had incurred the ruinous enmity of the Vuzeer and his advisers, and threats had often been held out that they would be made the first victims of his displeasure on our retirement from the city. I therefore felt the greatest anxiety and apprehension on account of Kázi Moollah Mahomed Hussun and his family, especially as it had been intimated to me that they would not be permitted to leave the city, and, indeed, that the restriction regarding our Herát servants applied principally to them.

7. Under these circumstances I addressed a letter to the Vuzeer, expressing a hope that his last act towards me would be one of personal friendship, and that he would permit the Kázi and his family, together with the whole of my Herát servants and their families, to accompany me to Kandáhár, and I promised, in the event of his acceding to my request, to pay the allowances of the King and Chiefs for the present month, the disbursement of which had been suspended in consequence of the deputation of Fyz Mahomed Khán to Meshed. The Vazir replied that I might take with me the whole of my Herát servants and their families, but that he would not allow the Kázi or any of his family to leave the city. At the same time he declined to receive the monthly allowance. The cause of his apparent indifference to money on the part of the Vuzeer will be explained hereafter.

8. We passed the forenoon in preparation for our journey and in endeavouring to allay the fears of our servants. During this time several unsuccessful attempts were made to plunder the Mission premises. About midday Sirdár Futteli Khán made his appearance and shortly afterwards I was waited upon by Sirdár Syud Mahomed Khán, the Vuzeer's son Sirdár Sheer Mahomed Khán, the Vuzeer's brother and several of the Vuzeer's principal adherents who came to conduct our party from the city. Dense crowds had assembled to witness our departure, and I apprehended personal insult, if not violence, being offered to us by some of the Vuzeer's lawless soldiery, but by leaving the town at a different gate from that which we had named we avoided the crowd and reached our first place of encampment about four miles from Herát without being molested.

9. On the 10th instant we halted at Jagharra for the purpose of enabling our servants to bring their families from the city and of continuing our negotiations for the release of the Kázi. We learnt this morning that our communication with Kandáhár had been cut off by order of the Vuzeer, and that Envoys were about to be sent in all directions for the purpose of procuring assistance in money and troops. I was visited by the son and the principal advisers of the Vuzeer. The chief point of difference was carefully avoided, and it was evident that their object was to delay me in the vicinity of the city by holding out hopes of the Vuzeer eventually agreeing to my terms. In the course of the day I learnt that the Vuzeer, immediately on our



stances I promised, pending the sanction of Government, to give a written assurance to the Vuzeer guaranteeing to him the Vuzarat of Herát during his life-time, the payment of his debts to the amount of one lákh of Company's rupees on the arrival of our troops, and an allowance to the Herát Government for one year of one lákh of Herát rupees, Company's Rs. 33,333½, per mensem, to commence on the arrival of the Vuzeer's son at Girishk, up to which date the present allowance of 25,000 Company's rupees a month would be continued. I also agreed to the repair of the fortifications, provided our troops were admitted into the citadel, but in the event of their being located outside the town, I stated that the expense of fortifying a post for their accommodation would be considerable, and in this case the Herátees must repair their own works. This was said with reference to a long discussion which took place on the subject of our troops being quartered in the citadel, to which the deputation objected in the strongest terms as a measure to which they were certain the Vuzeer would never agree. On reflection it seemed to me that our object would be equally gained by our holding a strong position in the immediate vicinity of the city; indeed there were considerations which pointed this out as the more desirable arrangement. I waived for the present the discussion of articles Nos. 4 and 6. This interview, which occupied nearly the whole day, and throughout which Lieutenant North and my Persian Secretary were present, was concluded by the deputation informing me that they did not think it possible the Vuzeer would agree to my terms; that the Vuzeer's wife could not be persuaded to part with her son; and that an immediate payment of money would be required. It was evident to me that the object of the discussion was merely to gain time, and, if possible, to induce me to advance money before the result of Fyz Mahomed Khán's mission to Meshed became known. Finding that I was not disposed to make the required concessions, the deputation informed me, on the part of the Vuzeer, that I might select my Mehmándár, as any further stay at Herát would be useless and that my Hindustáni, Kábul, and Kandáhar servants would be allowed to accompany me, but that those of Herát would not be permitted to leave the place. I selected Sirdár Fattéh Khán as my Mehmándár, and remarked that I did not require the permission of the Vuzeer to take with me the natives of India or the subjects of Sháh Shoojáh, and that by the laws of Nations I had a right to retain in my service, at least until I reached the Frontier, all my Herát servants who were willing to accompany me. I will not here recapitulate the reasons which induced me to offer any terms to the Vuzeer after what had occurred; for these I beg to refer you to my letter of the 29th ultimo. With regard to my consenting to withdraw the British Mission from Herát on my own responsibility, I must state my conviction that our further stay at Herát would have been productive of no good, and that with the examples of Major Pottinger, Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Loveday before me, I should not have been justified in exposing the officers of the Mission to insult and danger by remaining at Herát in opposition to the expressed wishes of the Vuzeer.

5. Very early in the morning of the 9th I received a note from the Topehee Bashee informing me that the Vuzeer would not agree to any one of my terms; that Sirdár Futtéh Khán had been appointed my Mehmándár; and that our Herát camel-drivers, grooms and muleteers would be permitted to accompany us to Kandáhar. At this time the gates of the city had been closed, the shops of the bázárs shut, and the caravanserais sealed. The greatest excitement prevailed throughout the town, the inhabitants armed themselves, guns were discharged in every direction, and large crowds collected round the residence of the Mission. Our followers and servants were threatened with death, and their families with dishonour; and it was generally believed that we were to be seized and our property plundered.

6. I have on several occasions had the honour to bring to your notice the services of Kázi Moolláh Mahomed Hussun and his family. In the time of Major Pottinger they were the only

persons in the country who had the hardihood to oppose the nefarious practice of kidnapping and selling the inhabitants although it was sanctioned by all the other members of the priesthood and even followed by some of them. The Kázi was the means of our first opening negotiations with Khyva, and by the favourable ideas which he instilled into the mind of the Khán Huzrut regarding our power and policy induced that Chief to depute an Envoy to Herát for the purpose of allying himself with the British Government. Lieutenant Shakespear has mentioned in several letters the valuable services performed by the Kázi throughout the negotiations of that officer for the release of the Russian slaves. The Kázi's eldest son was the person as you may remember, who rescued Captain Abbott from the hands of the Kuzzaks, and is now with Captain Conolly at Khyva. His second son accompanied Lieutenant Shakespear to Dash Kulla and rendered important services during that officer's difficult and dangerous journey to the Russian frontier. For the known adherence of this family to the interests of the British Government they had incurred the ruinous enmity of the Vuzeer and his advisers, and threats had often been held out that they would be made the first victims of his displeasure on our retirement from the city. I therefore felt the greatest anxiety and apprehension on account of Kázi Moollah Mahomed Hussun and his family, especially as it had been intimated to me that they would not be permitted to leave the city, and, indeed, that the restriction regarding our Herát servants applied principally to them.

7. Under these circumstances I addressed a letter to the Vuzeer, expressing a hope that his last act towards me would be one of personal friendship, and that he would permit the Kázi and his family, together with the whole of my Herát servants and their families, to accompany me to Kandáhár, and I promised, in the event of his acceding to my request, to pay the allowances of the King and Chiefs for the present month, the disbursement of which had been suspended in consequence of the deputation of Fyz Mahomed Khán to Meshed. The Vazir replied that I might take with me the whole of my Herát servants and their families, but that he would not allow the Kázi or any of his family to leave the city. At the same time he declined to receive the monthly allowance. The cause of his apparent indifference to money on the part of the Vuzeer will be explained hereafter.

8. We passed the forenoon in preparation for our journey and in endeavouring to allay the fears of our servants. During this time several unsuccessful attempts were made to plunder the Mission premises. About midday Sirdár Futteh Khán made his appearance and shortly afterwards I was waited upon by Sirdár Syud Mahomed Khán, the Vuzeer's son Sirdár Sheer Mahomed Khán, the Vuzeer's brother and several of the Vuzeer's principal adherents who came to conduct our party from the city. Dense crowds had assembled to witness our departure, and I apprehended personal insult, if not violence, being offered to us by some of the Vuzeer's lawless soldiery, but by leaving the town at a different gate from that which we had named we avoided the crowd and reached our first place of encampment about four miles from Herát without being molested.

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leaving the town, had placed the Kázi and his brother Moolláh Mahomed Omar under strict surveillance, and had threatened them and their families with the most horrible tortures. At the same time he demanded the Kázi's second son, Mahomed Daood, who being a servant of the Mission, had accompanied us from the city. To this demand I replied that I would not and could not give up any servant of the establishment who claimed our protection without force being used. I again made the offer mentioned in the 4th paragraph of this letter to pay the allowance for the present month to the Sháh and Chiefs, provided the Vuzeer would release the Kázi and his family, but as the amount had already been advanced to the Vuzeer by a merchant in the city to whom I had promised to pay the allowance when due, and as no part of this sum would consequently reach the Vuzeer, my offer was declined. I was, however, informed that if I paid the amount of the monthly allowance, 25,000 Company's rupees, into the hands of the Vuzeer, the Kázi and his family would be allowed to accompany me. To this exorbitant demand I could not accede, as I had promised the merchant above mentioned, Syud Oman Oollah, a person of great respectability and influence in the city, that the first money I disbursed to the Herát Government should be paid to him.

10. I am sensible that my conduct in offering money for the release of persons attached to our interests may be severely censured; but it should be borne in mind that I was dealing with a barbarian and a tyrant who would not have hesitated to carry his worst threats\* into execution, and that our abandonment of these families whose only crime in the eyes of the Vuzeer was the service they had rendered our Government, would have been as injurious to the British name in these countries as our stepping forward in behalf of persons thus situated would be honourable. Under these circumstances I was led to offer a thousand Herát tomauns; about 6,500 Company's rupees, in addition to what was due to the Syud for the monthly allowance, on condition that the Kázi and his family should be released and permitted to proceed to Kandáhár, and persuaded the Syud to give five hundred tomauns for the same purpose. I may here mention that nearly the whole of the money I offered was in the hands of a Hindoo banker in the city who had been seized with the other merchants and bankers on the 9th instant and whose property had been confiscated. I had therefore no hope of realising it by any other means.

11. On the morning of the 11th I was informed that the Vuzeer had agreed to my proposal of yesterday, and I determined, chiefly by the advice of my Mehmándar, who apprehended treachery on the part of the Vuzeer, to make a short march across the river. This was accomplished in the afternoon although several messages were sent to detain us. I had ascertained that with one exception, Ishikaghassée Abdootheem Khán, the whole of the Vuzeer's advisers were strenuously urging on Yár Mahomed Khán the policy of seizing and plundering us and the folly of allowing so valuable a prey to escape. The next day we marched to Meer Daood, a caravanserai about 16 miles from the city. Here we were joined in the night by the Kázi and his brother with the males of their families, the females having been placed in safety in the harems of their relations. On the morning of the 13th we concluded our

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\*One of the threats held out by the Vuzeer was that the Kázi should be tortured more cruelly than Meer Sedik Khán; that the women of his family should be given over to the soldiery, and that the males should, after having been tortured, be paraded through the streets, a crier proclaiming that such was the punishment of all who served infidels.

Meer Sedik Khán, a rival of the Vuzeer was about seven years ago put to the most horrid tortures. He was placed naked upon a red hot copper tray until his testicles burst; he was then boiled over a slow fire, and when nearly dead, his body was cut into small pieces.

The terror of the Kázi and his brother at ~~the prospect~~ before them was heart-rending and perfectly indescribable.

arrangements for the payment of the ransom money and made our first regular march to a spot about 42 miles from the city.

12. On the 19th instant we crossed the Frontier and were met by a party of horse under Sirdár Sooltán Mahomed Khán Bárúkháí, who had been sent by Lieutenant Elliot to escort us to Girishk. The conduct of our Mehmándár, Sirdár Futteh Khán, has been admirable. I have brought him on to this, and I shall dismiss him with a handsome present in shawls and money. Had he not accompanied us it would have been impossible for us to have passed through the country between Herát and the Khaush river, notorious for plunderers of every description, without, at least, the loss of our property. We reached this place yesterday afternoon, having performed the journey, nearly 300 miles, in nine days; and though our baggage cattle, camels and mules suffered much from the long march we were obliged to make, I am happy to say that we sustained no loss of property, public or private, on the road. The officers of the Mission were, however, obliged to leave at Herát much of their heavy baggage, such as furniture, books, and some tents, and I would respectfully suggest that compensation be allowed to Lieutenant North and Dr. Login on this account. It was also found impossible to bring away the whole of the public property, but the amount lost is inconsiderable compared to what has been saved.

13. I cannot close this letter without expressing my grateful sense of the valuable services rendered by Lieutenant North and Dr. Login, to whose cheerful exertions and assistance under the trying circumstances in which we have been lately placed I am chiefly indebted, under Providence, for the successful manner in which our retreat has been effected. There are many circumstances which would seem to render my presence as near the Frontier as possible desirable, and I shall therefore remain at Girishk pending your orders.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) E. D. A. TODD,  
Envoy to Herát.

*Girishk. 23rd February 1841.*

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*Translation of a note addressed by the Vuzeer of Herát to Major E. D. A. Todd, 7th February 1841.*

After compliments,—I know not whether it be from my evil destiny or from want of kindness on your part that from the day you returned from the Bund (meaning the journey towards Ghorian in June last), although you yourself prevented the expedition against Ghorian, all my efforts during the last six months to propitiate your favour have failed. I again sent the Topohee Bashee and the Ishukaghassee to you with a message that I would attack Ghorian, but you would not consent to it. At length I proposed to you to send a person (Yek Nuffer Adum) to Meshed that the Asuf-ood-Dowlah might have an excuse) for coercing Ghorian. You consented, but after the messenger departed you were angry. You may now have learnt that he has not uttered a word except in the matter of Ghorian, yet you will not take the same road with me (heech rahhumrahee ma na mee geereed). Yesterday I sent to you the Ishukaghassee and Uruz Beggee, but you answered them plainly that you would not, under any circumstances, be reconciled to me, and you deprived me of all hope from the British Government. Now this is the last letter that I shall write to you. To day you will either give me



perfect assurance and confidence or take from me all hope. Henceforward into whatever well I may throw myself I have thrown myself. Let there be no complaint on either side.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) E. D'ARCY TODD,  
Envoy to Herát.

To

J. P. WILLOUGHBY, Esquire,  
Secretary to Government in the Political Department,  
Bombay.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward for the information of the Honble the Governor of Bombay copy of a letter which I have this day addressed to the Envoy and Minister at Kábul.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed) E. D. A. TODD,  
Political Agent, Herát.

*Girishk, 26th February 1841.*

*"Girishk, 1st March 1841.*

MY DEAR OUTRAM,—The dák is being closed and I have not time to say a word in forwarding copy of my official letter of the 26th ultimo to the Envoy and Minister. Every thing here is in *statu quo*; the rebels of Tanim Damer Ail said to be dispersing, but I think it probable that it will be found necessary to send out a force against them. I am of course most anxious to learn the Envoy and Minister's opinion of my late proceedings. What do you think of the state of affairs?

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) E. D. A. TODD."

To

SIR W. H. MACNAGHTEN, BART.,  
Envoy and Minister,  
&c., &c., &c.,  
Kábul.

SIR,—In continuation of my letter to your address, under date the 22nd instant, I have the honour to lay before you my opinions on the course likely to be pursued by the Herát Government consequent to the withdrawal of the British Mission, and on the measures which seem called for under the altered aspect of affairs in Western Afghánistán.

2. Yár Mahomed Khán was probably influenced in sending his confidential servant on a mission to Meshed by the hope that we should be alarmed at the prospect of his allying himself with Persia, and induced to comply with his demands for further pecuniary assistance, in order to ward off the evil which we were supposed to apprehend from such an alliance. The

immediate result of this step was very different from that which the Vuzeer had been led to expect, and when he became aware of the false and dangerous position in which he had placed himself, his fears led him to require assurances of safety which could not be granted; to propose terms, the palpable object of which was to gain time, and finally to hasten a rupture, which he believed, to the last moment of our stay in the vicinity of Herát, we should be glad to avoid by the payment of a large sum of money.

3. It does not seem to me probable that the Mission of Fyz Mahomed Khán to Meshed will lead to any alliance being contracted between Persia and Herát. The overtures of the Vuzeer will be received with strong suspicion, and if any terms are offered him, they will be such as evidently to involve his ultimate destruction; indeed I have learnt on good authority since my arrival at Girishk that the Persian authorities, in reply to the proposals brought by Fyz Mahomed Khán, declared that they could place no faith in the Vuzeer's word, and that as a preliminary to negotiation he must send his son as a hostage to Meshed. The intelligence of our departure from Herát will have reached Meshed shortly after we left the city, and whatever terms may be then offered by the Persians will be based on the admission of Persian troops into the citadel of Herát. The rancorous hatred, embittered by sectarian animosity, existing between the Persians and the Herátees would seem to form an insurmountable barrier to their coalescing against us, except in the event of a religious war being proclaimed by the Mahomedan world; but even if this feeling could be overcome and the Herát Government were willing to purchase assistance of Mahomed Sháh by the surrender of their independence, the Persian King would hardly place himself in a hostile attitude towards the British Government unless he is certain of direct assistance in money and troops from the Russians. In the present state of European politics such open interference on the part of Russia is not, I think, to be apprehended.

4. One of the first acts of the Vuzeer on finding that he had been taken at his word and that the British Mission was about to withdraw from Herát, was to levy a heavy and arbitrary imposition on the bankers and merchants, Hindoo and Mahomedan, in the city, and to seize the whole of their property until the amount, upwards of two lakhs of rupees, should be realized. The promise held out to these people by the Vuzeer was that the money should be repaid when he obtained possession of Kándahár, or in the possible event of his being unsuccessful in that direction, when he received the pecuniary assistance which he expected from Persia. About the time that the British Mission quitted the valley of Herát the Vuzeer sent out his Peshkhána, or advanced tents, a short march in the direction of Kándahár, and one of Sháh Kamrán's sons, Sháhzádeh Syf-ool-Moolk, was declared heir-apparent, and appointed to head the expedition. It had been intended that the Sháh should command in person, but His Majesty's infirmities prevented his leaving the city. At the same time Envoys were despatched in all directions for the purpose of collecting troops, and the plain between Sulzáwar and Furráh was named as the place of rendezvous. Preparations were thus made for a campaign which had long been contemplated and to which the Vuzeer had been strenuously urged by his immediate dependants and repeatedly invited by the disaffected in Sháh Shoojáh's dominions. The available means at the Vuzeer's disposal for such an expedition were, however, utterly inadequate to the end in view, even supposing that the present garrison of Kándahár could not be reinforced.

5. There are but few Chiefs on whose fidelity the Vuzeer can rely in the event of a contest with His Majesty Sháh Shoojah-ool-Moolk, assisted by the British Government. Those of his own family, on whose influence and courage he has hitherto chiefly depended, have of late become



the objects of his jealousy, and have been deprived of their lands and followers. The principal of these, *Sirdár Deen Mahomed Khán* and *Sirdár Sooltán Mahomed Khán*, have had the whole of their property confiscated and have been in strict confinement by order of their cousin, the *Vuzeer*, for the last five months. The only remaining individual of the family possessed of character or influence, *Sirdár Futteh Khán*, has been harshly treated in consequence of his known attachment to the English, and does not possess the *Vuzeer's* confidence in the slightest degree. The *Dooránnee* tribes who occupy the plains of *Furráh* and *Subzáwár*, and who took an active and honourable part in the late defence of *Herát* against the Persians, have been disgusted by the excessive exactions of *Yár Mahomed Khán* since the conclusion of the siege, and profess to detest his authority; but the prospect of plunder would induce them to follow his standard until the first reverse. These, with the *Vuzeer's* immediate retainers, the whole amounting to about 2,000 horses, would form the *elite* of his army. The *Hazarehs* and *Jumshedees* might increase the *Vuzeer's* force by 2,000 horse, but the Chief of the former and more powerful tribe, *Kurreem Dád Khán*, a discontented and ambitious man, is jealous of the power of *Yár Mahomed Khán*, and has good cause to distrust and fear him. On the present occasion this Chief will probably send his brother with a contingent of two or three hundred horse; and in this case the *Jumshedee* Chief, *Mahomed Luman Khán*, fearing to expose his country to the inroads of his rival and enemy, the *Hazareh*, would not join the *Vuzeer's* camp with more than four or five hundred followers. Two or three hundred badly-equipped and wretchedly mounted horse might be collected from the other *Rimaúk* tribes; but no assistance would, I think, be rendered by the *Vazbegs* of the *Charbilayet*, the *Symunees*, or the *Sustaunees*, who have reason to dread the *Vuzeer's* power and to be dissatisfied with his rule. The *Ishakzai* Chief of *Laush*, *Sháh Pusund Khán*, an unsuccessful rival of the *Vuzeer*, whom he fears and hates, will probably remain in his stronghold and be guided by the progress of events. One of his sons is at present a hostage in *Tehrán* and another is in the service of the Prince Governor of *Kandáhar*.

6. The *Vuzeer's* force available for a foray in this direction would not thus amount to more than about 3,000 horse, and these could not, in my opinion, be collected on the plains of *Furráh* in less than twenty days from this date. A body of about twelve hundred badly-armed and half-disciplined infantry would be left to garrison *Herát*. The *Vuzeer* will, I think, look for assistance chiefly from the disaffected in *Sháh Shoojáh's* dominions, and will probably make a rapid foray into the territory between the *Khaush* and the *Helmud*. This he might execute without coming into contact with any regular troops, and he would return with the *eclat* of having made a successful *chappow*. This is, I believe, the extent of the danger to be immediately apprehended.

7. The position which we have held at *Herát* since the close of the late Persian siege, though maintained at an enormous expense, has been, as I have frequently had the honour to bring to your notice, extremely insecure, and experience has proved the uncertain tenure on which it was held. The people with whom we had to deal regarded a treaty merely as an instrument of deceit, to be kept or broken as it served their ends, and looked upon the pecuniary assistance voluntarily afforded by the British Government as a blind to cover the ultimate designs which it was supposed to entertain. It was evident that so long as *Herát* remained independent, its Government would continue to intrigue with foreign states, either from fear of our power or in the hope of being bribed into forbearance, and the vicinity of this rallying point for the disaffected subjects of *Sháh Shoojáh* would ever be an obstacle to the tranquil settlement of our ally's dominions. Assuming that the possession of a commanding influence at *Herát* is absolutely necessary to carry out fully the policy of our advance beyond the *Indus*,

it is evident that this influence must be acquired by other measures than those which we have hitherto adopted. The re-annexment of Herát to Cábul has always appeared to be the best mode of attaining the end in view, but had the Government of Herát understood the obligations of a treaty and been contented with the solid benefits they derived from it, our object would have been gained, and the measure which now seems forced upon us would have been uncalled for and unnecessary.

8. If it be granted that the re-annexment of Herát to Cábul is the only safe and politic course to be pursued under present circumstances, it seems clear that delay will only increase the expense and the difficulty of carrying the measure into execution. The force employed for this purpose should, if possible, reach Herát in the early part of June before the harvest, which promises to be abundant, is ripe. Should the season unfortunately be lost, no grain will be sown in the valley or in any part of our route for the ensuing year. The harvest of Furráh and Bukwa is reaped about a month earlier than that of Herát, but the whole of the crops of these places will doubtless be consumed or destroyed by the rabble troops of the Vuzeer. Supplies of grain even for a day's consumption of such an army as would be required for the attack of Herát could not be depended on at any place on the route beyond our own depôts.

9. The presence of one of Sháh Shoojáh's sons with an army proceeding against Herát would be highly desirable, and I may add that the character of His Majesty's eldest son, Sháh-zadeh Tunoor, which is I believe deservedly high, would give popularity to the expedition and would tend greatly to facilitate the future settlement of this important province.

Should hostile operations be determined on, the deputation of intelligent officers, acquainted with the Persian language, to Sustanee, Mymunna, and the Tymunee country, would doubtless be attended with advantage.

10. It is possible that the Vuzeer, before commencing open hostilities, may despatch an envoy to this place to ascertain the terms which we are yet willing to grant, but at present he is openly making arrangements and inviting assistance for a hostile movement on the territories of H. M. Sháh Shoojáh; and whatever may be the line of policy ultimately pursued towards the present Government of Herát, it behoves us, I think, to be prepared for and to punish such an act of aggression.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) E. D. A. TODD,

Political Agent, Herát.

*Girishk, 26th February 1841.*

LETTERS

FROM

LIEUTENANT POTTINGER.

*Hérát, 10th September 1838.*

To

W. H. MACNAGHTEN, ESQUIRE,  
Political Secretary, Supreme Government,  
Calcutta.

SIR,—Thanks be to the almighty God I have the honour to report the cessation of hostilities in this quarter for the information of His Lordship the Governor General. In consequence of the Persian King having agreed to the message brought to him by Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart from Her Majesty's Envoy at Tehrán the Persian army yesterday broke up from their quarters and commenced their retreat towards their territory.

Colonel Stoddart, as soon as Mahomed Shaul moved off, having taken leave, left the Persian army and returned to the city. I have hitherto been unable to report my knowledge of his arrival in the Persian camp owing to the strictness of the blockade, the want of confidential messengers, and of cash. This, however, is of little consequence, as the information I had was so vague and uncertain that I would not have ventured to report more than that he had arrived. Along with this that gentleman will also write.

I hurry this letter off to apprise you of the state of things here and shall write in detail as soon as future measures have been decided on by this Government, which professes itself most grateful for our support and entire devotion to our cause. I, however, consider it necessary to mention that it is reduced to such a destitute condition that without the promptest and most energetic support it will be impossible to keep it from sinking.

In compliance with the instructions I received from His Excellency, Mr. McNeill and Captain Burnes, I have assured the A'fgháns of our assistance to repair the damage of this war, and in compliance with your letter of 15th November 1837 to Mr. McNeill, declared the intention of the British Government is to uphold the sovereignty of the Sudozy clan and assert the integrity of the A'fghán territory.

Requesting to be honored with instructions for my future guidance, and beg to subscribe myself,

Yours, &c.,  
(Signed) E. POTTINGER,  
Lieutenant.

*Letter from Lieutenant POTTINGER to Captain BURNES, dated Hérát, 7th March 1838.*

MY DEAR BURNES,—I despatched a Kásid on the 27th ultimo to Leech and by him sent a statement of the events up to that date, also a letter to Mr. Macnaghten directed under a flying seal to you. The Vazir has this moment sent a Mirza to tell me that one of his followers will depart this evening for Kábul and that if I have any letters to send he will forward them. I therefore take advantage of the opportunity to give you information of the state of things up to this time.

In that despatch I mentioned the Kujars having on the 26th completed the investment of the city. One point is however still unguarded though from being visible to their posts

it can only be made use of at night. On the 1st the enemy finished the investment of the posts occupied. On the 26th ultimo commenced approaches from two points, one opposite the gate of Mulik and one opposite the gate of Kudvc Chok. The former resting on the buildings about the Mesulla and the latter on a garden called the Husht Bihisht, which they have fortified. These points, they have, however, left unconnected, trusting the safety of the communication to a high mound called the Halle-bung, which extends between these. On the same day they opened a battery of three guns against the wall of the citadel, which being on a mound, can be seen near to the bottom over the rampart of the Arkineo. The garrison on its part was not idle. It sank a covert way within the *faussebraye* of the Arkineo, completely traversed that work, widened the ditch of the threatened points, constructed covered places of arms of masonry on the level of the water, whose musketry flanked the whole ditch, destroyed the parapets of an untenable post, the N. W. angle of the Arkineo, and occupied two strong posts outside, one about a hundred yards in front of the gate of Kudvc Chok and the other about triple the distance from the N. E. tower (Boorji Shah Kurumbeg).

On the night of the 2nd the enemy made a rush on the post at the N. W. angle of the Arkineo, where fifteen sharpshooters had been posted to keep down the fire of the three-gun battery. They were in great force, and as the post had been completely dismantled, the occupants thought discretion the better part of valour, and firing a volley took to their heels. They had neglected to send out scouts and were nearly all asleep when the enemy came on. As soon as the Vazir heard of the affair he came down to the point and directed a sortie for the recovery of the post. This however failed. These accidents drew on a heavy fire, which lasted uninterruptedly till daylight. The other posts of the enemy, whether fearing a general assault or for amusement, took this up and fired nearly as briskly as those at the point of attack did. Notwithstanding this tremendous expenditure of ammunition only four casualties took place in the garrison. I suspect, however, the enemy must have suffered severely as they were in a great measure exposed and uncovered, while the garrison by the aid of blue lights was able to take deadly aim from the loopholes of the ramparts and *faussebraye* some parts of which were not sixty yards from the point attacked. Strange to say, though they had a gun bearing on the post not two hundred yards from it, they never once fired it.

Asof-ud-Dowla has not yet returned from the Turkestan side of the mountains. He is encamped in a plain called the Chumun-i-bed, about 18 parasang from this. The Khán of Argunj is at Merv. If he be as long coming here as he was in arriving there from Khiva, he will not be here for two months more. If he be in force, his approach will, I suppose, detain the covering army on that side of the mountains, and in that case I do not fear the force, but with such careless dogs as the troops of the garrison to deal with it is impossible to calculate. If the enemy had a head the city must have fallen long ago. I do not think the Argunj army will be able to cope with Asof-ud-Dowla's force; but if it be, the remedy is as bad as the disease nearly. The country is totally and utterly ruined; for the next year there is neither seed to sow nor cattle for ploughing. I really fear if the Persians were forced to retreat without our interference that the unfortunate Shigas will be sold in a mass.

The Persian army now being undisturbed by the forays of the garrison, cavalry will be better able to subsist than before, and their cattle by the return of the spring will get in a better state.

In the city great distress must begin in the course of another month, as besides the fear of being plundered by their tyrannical masters, few calculated on the siege lasting more than a few weeks. Consequently the greater portion of the populace are even now hard pressed.

We are beginning indeed to feel the pressure in consequence of the investment. Sheep have almost become unknown in the city, and the supply of water being stopped, the public reservoirs and cisterns have become nearly too foul for use. There is however no fear of a scarcity of this necessary of life, as the whole city is built on a strata of alluvium lying on a quagmire, the water of which, though not so good as that of the aqueducts, is by no means bad.

I have no communication with Stoddart and so can give no trustworthy account of the Persian army. I have no objection to your forwarding a copy of this letter to Government if you think proper.

I forgot to say the three-gun battery destroyed one of the towers of the citadel (the outside). As soon, however, as they could find an entrance from the outer court (it was in the Huram) the garrison filled up the inside, which, as soon as the enemy saw, they ceased firing. In fact the fire was entirely thrown away as the place is isolated by a deep ditch and surrounded by strong works situated lower than it. The only reason I can guess for the fire is that they hoped to terrify Kamrán into a surrender by knocking the bricks about his ears.

Yours, &c.,

(Signed) E. POTTINGER.

*Extracts of letters from Lieutenant POTTINGER to Lieutenant LEITCH, dated Herát, 12th and 13th March 1838.*

This protracted siege has raised the self-confidence of these people to a great height and with their usual improvidence they do not look forward to the total failure of revenue for this and, probably, next year, even supposing the Persians to raise the siege.

The Persians had nearly completed the investment. They left one corner of the city unguarded. This was protected by an entrenched building on a low hillock about 300 yards from the N. E. angle. Next day, the 8th, the enemy made a demonstration with a couple of guns and five or six hundred men against the post. The party in it panic-struck took to their heels without firing a shot and the enemy gained possession of it before the fugitives reached the *faussebraye*, till which time so bad was the look-out that the garrison had not noticed the business. Though the post is so important a point and naturally strong, the enemy from not having any immediate support to it, evacuate it at night and re-occupy it during the day. The Vazir thinking the men necessary for this post better employed elsewhere sent and had the defences and walls destroyed, so that now it is untenable by either party if attacked, though the hillock affords the enemy's picket covering from the fire of the garrison.

On the day of the Eed a sort of tacit truce took place. One of the enemy's generals, Mahomed Khán, requested an interview with Fatte Khán (who was envoy to Tehrán). They had a long conversation, in which so much have they lowered their tone that Mahomed Khán tried to impress his visitor with their having only come here to stop slave-selling, that the real object is to attack the Sikhs in Hindustán. One of the Russian deserters was present at the interview, and they told Fatte Khán his father was a Russian and his mother English. Fatte Khán, who is a fine fellow and staunch friend of ours (from the treatment he received at Tehrán), said this was enough for him and he would have no communication with him. All my letters to Colonel Stoddart have been detained, and I suppose in like manner his to me.



Except the fact of there being a great scarcity in the Persian camp I can get no certain intelligence regarding it. I judge from the frequent overtures by different chiefs that the intrigue for displacing the Vazir Haji Akasee is still going on and with increased vigour, each party being desirous to be the one through which the Afgháns may offer their submission. They little think how such an idea is scouted by the Afgháns. From Asof-ud-Dowla's camp no certain intelligence has been received. He still remains in Badghis at Siri chusma; some say at Chumun-i-bed. These two places join, if indeed they be not names of different spots, in the same one. His foragers, cut off by the Furazkohee Aimaks some eight or ten days ago, about a thousand of whom have assembled on the mountains and are amusing themselves by cutting off the grasscutters and other wanderers about the neighbourhood of the camp. The Vazir (Yar Mahomed) has summoned these heroes to their side of the mountains to foray the Shah's camp, but I doubt their coming into this exhausted country as long as they can get plunder in Badghis. Report to-day says that the king has ordered Asof to return to camp; that on his doing so some time ago that officer requested to know the meaning of the contradictory orders he was constantly receiving, one day to return one day to stay.

His Majesty summoned the Vazir. The Vazir said his Mirza must know. The Mirza not giving a satisfactory reply was put to death, and the Vazir on interceding for him was told to hold his tongue or he should share his fate. I expect on Asof's arrival he will oust the Vazir and that we shall have a general assault. The country here is in such a state that the Persians cannot keep the field without regular supplies. Convoys they scarcely understand and certainly cannot now arrange for them. Foraging on a systematic plan, even if the country afforded adequate supplies, they have no idea of, and as the whole population is inimical they cannot procure a sheep without a skirmish. The last detachment under Shamsodeen Khán (who is personally acquainted with the country) only brought in, after ten or eleven days' search, forty or fifty khurwars of grain, though they went to a place untouched by former parties. This paltry supply even was purchased by the loss of two hundred men.

The two surprises of the 2nd and 8th had a good effect in putting the garrison more on the alert and in pointing out some useless men amongst the ones relied on. The Vazir has been ill; a Hindustáni doctor has patched him up. I write privately now but shall address a public letter to Mr. Macnaghten under a flying seal to your mission as soon I can ascertain the answers and the real feeling regarding your letter to Kamrán. I shall also send you the correspondence between the hostile parties, if I possibly can get hold of it. Of course, if you like, use the intelligence I send you in this letter when you address Government. I sent to the Vazir's most confidential Mirza to-day to notify that I was coming to return a visit he had paid me, and he sent to request I would do so alone as he had intelligence for me. The intelligence was to the purport of the end of the last paragraph of my letter to Mr. Macnaghten. Look at that. I demanded unreserved communications from the Vazir and refused to talk on the subject through a third person. I will, as soon as the interview is over, write.

(True Extract.)

A. BURNES,

On a Mission to Kábul.

**MASSON'S JOURNALS.**

## MASSON'S JOURNALS.

To

CHARLES NORRIS, ESQUIRE,

Chief Secretary to the Government,

Bombay.

*Residency in the Persian Gulf,  
Bushire, 11th September 1830.*

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council that an American gentleman of the name of Masson came to Bushire a passenger from Bassadore in the sloop-of-war "Euphrates" on the 13th June last, and was received at this Residency.

2. Mr. Masson has acquainted me that he is from the State of Kentucky in America, from which country he had been absent about ten years, and which he must consequently have left when he was young, as he is now only about two and thirty years of age. Mr. Masson stated also that he was some time in England, France and Russia, through which latter country he passed from St. Petersburg to Teffis; and he seems to have had letters of recommendation to some persons of consequence at that place.

3. Previous to the breaking out of the war between Russia and Persia in the year 1826, Mr. Masson appears to have crossed the frontier of these two states, passing by Tabreez to Tehrán, from whence he proceeded to Resht, situated within a few miles of the Caspian Sea, and which he represents as a flourishing place.

4. From Resht Mr. Masson passed into Khorássán by Meshed and Herát. The part of the journey between Resht and Meshed seems to have been performed on horseback and in company with four or five Armenians, who had been his companions from Teffis. There are several considerable towns on this road. But he did not pass near Astrábád, having a disinclination to go towards that quarter for fear of being seized and carried off as a slave into the countries in the neighbourhood of Khiva.

5. The accompanying general observations on the present political condition of the Doóránée States, and of the countries between Herát and Sind, drawn up by Mr. Masson, may serve as a good introduction to the other memoranda and sketches he has been good enough to present to me, and which are noticed hereafter separately, some as relating to particular places, others to his personal adventures.

6. From Meshed to Herát Mr. Masson went with a few travellers, making no effort to conceal his European origin, but he wore a sort of Persian dress. He represents Herát in the accompanying memorandum as a very fine and first rate city for Asia, and spoke very confidently of the excellent road for the caffilas and troops between it and Bukhára and Samarkand, but he never travelled that road.

7. From Herát Mr. Masson proceeded to Kandáhar, which is under the rule of four brothers of the Barrackzye, a tribe which at present bears the ascendancy to the depression of the Sadoozye tribe, from which Sháh Sujáh was descended.

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*Note.*—Mr. Masson stated that he had never, until he reached Bushire, seen Mr. Elphinstone's work relating to Kábul entire, but only extracts from it in other publications.

8. Of the Dooránee States, the political interests of Kandáhár and Pesháwar seem to be considered similar and intimately connected; those also of Kábul, Ghizni, Lughman and Jallálábád appear to be combined under the superior power and talents of Dost Mahomed of Kábul.

9. Mr. Masson was well treated at Kandáhár, as indeed he appears to have been in all large towns where his being considered an European generally proved favourable to him.

10. The route from Kandáhár to Shikárpur in Sind was next followed with the view, Mr. Masson observed, of reaching the sea and so getting home. It will be seen from No. 3 of Mr. Masson's accounts of his adventures that before he could overtake the caffila from Kandáhár, with which he intended to travel, he was robbed of his horse, and, indeed, of all the little property he had, and reduced to great want and misery. He still, however, it will also be observed, accomplished his journey to Shikárpur, which he probably would have done in perfect safety had he set out at the same moment with the caffila, as he intended; but the person who promised to acquaint him when it was about to march omitted to do so, and he was thus some days too late in quitting Kandáhár.

11. Mr. Masson seems to have suffered considerably in his health in Sind; but so soon as he was able to move about, he spent a considerable time in going as a fakir, or beggar, on foot through various parts of the country between Shikárpur, Sehwan, Suchar, &c., and No. 4 is a notice on the countries west of the Indus from the city of Deyráh Gházíe Khán to Kollēbut.

12. Mr. Masson about the same time was much in the Báwalpur country, which he traversed in many directions; but conceiving Mr. Elphinstone had been there and had described the country at length, he did not take such particular notice of it as he otherwise would have done, but a short notice respecting it will be found in No. 10.

13. Mr. Masson's paper, No. 5, shows that he proceeded from Ták to Pesháwar, traversing the countries of Murwut and Bunnoo by a route that seems fruitful by nature, and only dangerous on account of the feuds that exist in the territories of the different Chiefs through which it passes.

14. On enquiring I could not learn from Mr. Masson that in his opinion any important difficulties exist to a large body of troops traversing that country by the route he did; but at all events there would be the utmost facility on passing along nearer to the river Indus than the route in question goes.

15. Pesháwar has been conquered by Runjit Sing, but is not retained in full sovereignty by him, for it only pays tribute, which is generally obtained by an army being sent annually; and it frequently happens now that it is composed of his regular troops.

16. Runjit Sing is said to have a superstitious idea against occupying permanently any conquests beyond the Punjáb; he does not perhaps consider the Sikhs sufficiently numerous, and he is much hated by such of the Mahomedans as he has overcome, for he interferes with all the outward observances of their religion, forbidding the Muzzeen to call to prayers in towns, &c., &c. With the Hindus he holds a different course, and is considered to be making numerous converts among them.

17. After reaching Pesháwar Mr. Masson seems to have passed a considerable time in wandering about between Pesháwar, Ghizni, Jellálábád, Kábul and Kandáhár.

18. One of his papers is a notice respecting Jallálábád, and another relates to the valley of Kaybur, and the Sia-Posh, regarding which he seemed most interested; but he had no personal knowledge of anything concerning them, which he hopes to obtain hereafter.

19. From Pesháwar Mr. Masson passed by Attock in the Punjáb, traversing the high road to Lahore.

20. It is much to be lamented that Mr. Masson's interesting notice respecting what he calls the city of Bucefotia on the Jhelum is so short and unsatisfactory : this may in some measure be accounted for as he mentions having lost his original papers along with a great part of his baggage. Respecting the conjectured position of this city Mr. Masson stated that on the northern side of the high road between Attock and Lahore, and close to where it crosses the Jhelum, there are two villages, the names of neither of which he could recollect; but his notice was attracted by a building in the one, on the Attock, or western side; on examining it he thought the architecture foreign, and the building, such perhaps as Greeks might be able to erect, assisted by no more expert masons than the uninstructed workmen of India. The thing which tended most to confirm his ideas of this being an ancient place was seeing a coin with a Greek impress and inscription round the neck of a child; he purchased this coin, and afterwards procured some persons to dig, by which he acquired a few more, both gold and silver. These were obviously the ruins of a tower which will distinctly mark the place, and it was in these ruins he made excavations and found the coins with the bust of Alexander, and the inscription Bucefotia, which he mentions in his memorandum. Mr. Masson's means at that time being small, he could not continue the excavations. Unfortunately he was robbed during a severe illness he had at Multán on his way back to Sind, of such of the coins as had remained in his possession: some of them however, he stated were given by him to the Chevalier Allard, a French officer at Lahore.

21. Mr. Masson stayed a short time at Lahore with the Chevalier Allard, the chief of Runjit Sing's European officers, whom he represents as enjoying a high situation and salary in that service: but the Chevalier and his companion, Mr. Ventura, who have been longest employed by Runjit, are jealous of the other Europeans now there, and particularly so of all Europeans seeking military employment. The Chevalier is looked upon as the superior of the other five or six European officers.

22. Mr. Masson did not present himself before Runjit Sing, as he had no wish to enter into his service.

23. Mr. Masson's memorandum respecting the Sikhs and Lahore will be found very interesting.

24. The river Rávee, it will be observed, is represented by Mr. Masson to be so conveniently navigable that a body of Runjit Sing's troops was passed down it from Lahore to Multán, where they were required on an emergency when he was at the former place. This was towards the end of the rainy season when the country would have been difficult to traverse for troops.

25. Respecting the general state of the navigation on the rivers of the Punjáb and of the Indus, Mr. Masson did not seem possessed of any very precise information, but he had no doubts of vessels of a considerable burthen being able to pass from Multán to the sea by the Rávee and Indus, and also by the latter river from Attock, if not for the whole year, at all events for several months of it: he affirmed confidently there were no falls or rapids in any of them below the places he mentioned; and he saw in Sind vessels 30 or 40 feet long which he knew had come from Multán. When coming down himself a part of the Indus he saw other vessels tracking up, and there are many places that have bandars or piers at which boats may lie.

26. Mr. Masson returned from Lahore to Sind, as will be seen by No. 10, passing by Multán, Ahmedpore, Kirepore (Khairpur), Hyderabad to Karáchi Bandar on the sea-coast.

27. The change in his character and condition from that of a Mahomedan fakir to a European, which although not obtruding he did not conceal, prevented his renewing his acquaintance



with his former associates in the Bháwulpore country. He now for the first time visited Hyderabad, where he had not been when before in Sind.

28. Mr. Masson represents Sind to be in a wretchedly divided and oppressed state from the numerous rulers, all styled Amirs. Meer Morád Ali, the remaining brother of the three who overturned the former government of the king of Pesháwar, seems still to be looked upon as the chief Amir ; but the country is portioned out among his sons and nephews and vaziers, who all appear to attend to nothing but their amusements ; and hunting seems a passion among these Chiefs, from which their subjects suffer greatly, more especially from the game preserves being so very numerous.

29. The Chiefs of Sind appear, by Mr. Masson's account, to be kept in a state of extreme terror at the idea of Runjit Sing attempting to overturn their power and take the country from them.

30. Mr. Masson seems to have been perfectly recognised as a European in Sind, and conceives that that obtained him more consideration even there than any other character he could have assumed would have done ; but the appellation " Firangi " seems also in Sind not unaccompanied by a feeling of fear : for on one occasion when a man who was coming out of a house used the term " Firangi " coupled with an opprobrious epithet, Mr. Masson asked him how he dared to use such language with a Firangi camp so near him. The person was abashed and silenced, and seemed to think the implied threat might not be vain.

31. From Hyderabad in Sind Mr. Masson proceeded to Tatteh, and from thence to Karáchi Bandar, where he embarked, and touching at Guader, he reached Muskat.

32. From Muskat he sailed in an Arab vessel to the town of Kishmee on the island of that name, and from thence he proceeded on a camel to our naval station at Bassadore, and reached Bushire as before mentioned.

33. As Mr. Masson had expressed to me his determination to return to the countries he has described for the purpose of gaining further information respecting them, I had written a letter communicating confidentially all that I knew concerning him to Sir John Macdonald, and most strongly recommended Mr. Masson to proceed to Tabreez for the purpose of meeting him and offering a letter of introduction, conceiving that Sir John Macdonald was peculiarly well qualified, both from his pursuits and situation, to direct Mr. Masson's future enquiries to objects in these countries that require elucidation. I conceived likewise that the envoy might have been authorized to employ individuals for such purposes and to provide them with the necessary means which I was not. The information of Sir John Macdonald's lamented death reached me after the letter had been written, and I felt somewhat at a loss in consequence respecting Mr. Masson. I however still recommended him to proceed to Tabreez, giving him the same letter of introduction to Captain Campbell in charge of the Mission as had been intended for Sir John Macdonald, and Mr. Masson accordingly quitted this Residency, where he had been living upwards of a month, for Tabreez on the 23rd July.

34. I beg to observe that the papers now forwarded were given to me by Mr. Masson with no injunctions or understanding of concealment ; he is perfectly aware that I would not hesitate to communicate their contents to any of my friends. I have likewise reason to think he would be flattered by this being done, provided the merit which may be considered as arising out of them were known to be his due. I feel entirely disposed to connect his name with any fame that may belong to them ; but I should not consider myself justified in communicating them without his permission for general publication. I did not think it necessary to state directly to Mr. Masson that I should send copies of these papers, some of which were drawn up at my suggestion, and avowedly to be communicated to some distinguished



individuals for the information of the Government, although he must have been aware that a public officer, situated as he knew me to be and making the enquiries I did, must have done so with a view to the good of the service.

35. With this explanation the accompanying copies of Mr. Masson's papers are now forwarded, as I have at all times deemed it my duty to take every opportunity of acquiring information that might prove beneficial to the interests of the Government I have the honor to serve, without confining my enquiries either to the local and special duties of the particular situation I might at the moment fill or to the country in which I might happen to be situated.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) D. WILSON,  
Resident in the Persian Gulf.

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*Observations, Notices, Memoranda, &c., &c., &c.*

No. 1.

When we reflect on the former power and extended authority of the Dooránee empire and contrast it with its present powerless condition and limited sway, we cannot but be impressed with humble ideas of earthly prosperity. The sword which had triumphantly subdued every country from Tabruz to Delhi and from Cashmeer to the ocean, which had borne away the fairest gem from the diadem of the Mogul Emperor, and which in its fullness of pride even menaced the existence of European power in Hindustán, is now only drawn within the confined sphere of the Dooránee soil, and that only in intestine commotions. The provinces whose rulers obeyed the commands of the Sháh of Khorassán and heaped his coffers with their tributary gold are now independent or reduced to subjection by Runjit Sing, who formerly appeared with closed hands in the presence of Sháh Zemáun. Yet if we look at the composition of the Dooránee State we have no occasion to wonder that such changes and misfortunes should have arisen. It was an empire founded by Ahmed Sháh, and from its composition required a long suit of sovereigns equal to that illustrious Chief in character and energy to have sustained and consolidated it. It is known that the Dooránees are divided into many tribes; the sovereign was perhaps of the most respected one, but there were many much more numerous and powerful, the Chiefs of which conscious of their strength approached the throne rather with a feeling of equality than respect, and if a request were denied or a rebuke given they retired to their castles, armed their followers and became rebels. It was evident that so imperious and puissant an aristocracy could only be restrained and kept in due obedience by a Chief of that personal character and transcendant genius which would command their homage; in short it became necessary that the monarch should surpass in all splendid qualities any of his nobles. Ahmed Sháh was such a Chief, and it is probable that had he lived he might have devised the means to have abridged the influence of the leaders of tribes; but his decease, rather premature, was followed by successors of inferior ability, and the kingdom has been rent by rebellion, and what remains under Dooránee authority is now parcelled out among the successful traitors of another tribe, while the sovereign seems destined to pass his days in exile. Mr. Elphinstone has noted in his work on Kábul the history of the Dooránees until that period when the troubles commenced which terminated in the expulsion of the king and the establishment in power of the Chiefs of the tribe Barrakzye. It is not my object to narrate the intermediate occurrences; indeed I could not follow the course of events but merely to describe the state of the provinces at the periods I visited them, say the years 1827 and 1828. I shall commence with the westerly State of Herát, thence proceed easterly, then pass down the Indus.

## HERÁT.

Herát is at present governed by Camraun (as written by Mr. Elphinstone) or Camerodeen Khán, the father of Sháh Mahmood, formerly of some notoriety in Kábul, being reputed imbecile and incapable of supporting the regal authority. Camraun is a popular monarch and possesses a reputation for firmness and energy. His Government is very favourable to those engaged in trade or agriculture; hence his kingdom is populous, and the capital has importantly increased in wealth and consequence. An Afghán being questioned as to the state of Khorássán and would reply that it was nearly ruined, and only two places, Herát and Kábul, "ábádi" or flourishing. The king of Herát has abolished the slave trade which was formerly carried on most flagitiously in his capital. He has three sons: one holds the government of Subzewar, and the other that of Farráh. The eldest (of whom it is said he entertains some little fear) is retained near his person at Herát. Camraun is of the tribe Suddoozye, and although hostile to his expelled relatives, is the implacable enemy of the Barrakzye; yet he is so circumstanced that it is not supposed he will ever again take a part in the affairs of Eastern Khorássán: he has nevertheless still partizans as was evinced in a transaction which happened when I was in Kandáhár. The Chiefs of that place had determined on an expedition to Shikarpore; their deputy or Náib Gool Mahomed was to remain in charge of the city; the Náib of the highest influence and belonging to one of the most numerous tribes had formerly been Governor for Camraun of Kandáhár and gave it up to the Barrakzye, who besieged it, only when he had received intelligence from Camraun that he did not intend to march from Herát to relieve it. He now became apparently attached to the Barrakzye and held a real or nominal command as Governor of the city, and was esteemed next to the sovereign Chiefs the most powerful man in Kandáhár. In consequence of the projected expedition, he wrote letters to Camraun, inviting him to march and that he would deliver the city to him. His messenger, however, was seized near Girishk, and the Náib, unconscious of the detection of his treachery, attending the Darbár as usual was made prisoner by Poor Dil Khán. The caution and fears manifested on this occasion confirm my ideas of the preposterous power of the tribe leaders. Gool Mahomed was detained during the day in the house of Poor Dil. By night he was removed in a palanquin to the inner fort, where part of the residence of Kohun Dil was appropriated as his prison. In the transport the custody of his person was entrusted to none but foreign soldiers, who alike had the charge of preventing his escape. The gates of the city were strictly guarded, and all was on the alert, it being expected that his numerous adherents would attempt a rescue. Large bodies of horse were instantly dispatched into those parts of the country inhabited by his tribe to prevent insurrection: this was the more necessary as the sons of Gool Mahomed had escaped from Kandáhár. I left the Náib in prison, and the expedition to Shikarpore that year was deferred, I have since heard that he was subsequently released and went to Pesháwar, where he was related by some marriage with Yár Mahomed Barrakzye and with whom he suffered death, as I shall relate under the head of Pesháwar.

Camraun formerly had much to fear from the Persians, but it seems the general opinion that the occasion for it no longer exists, something like an understanding having been established and cemented by family alliances between the Princes of Herát and Meshed. If this be the case, the Chief of Herát must have little to fear from his neighbours; indeed may be supposed capable of dictating the law to them. The Mogul Chief of Turbut has every disposition to annoy, but fortunately wants the power: the Chiefs of Seisthán, although predatory, I am inclined to think acknowledge his supremacy. To the north of Herát the Tartar tribes seem to be acquiring a consistence of strength derived from their union, which (especially if the report of the capture of Meshed by these savages be true) may probably soon effect the overthrow of some of the established states in these quarters. The reputation of Camraun is

not confined to Khorássán. It extends even to Lahore, and Runjit Sing, hearing of one of his Chiefs who had arrived there and was about returning to Herát, entrusted him with a complimentary letter and an elephant to be conveyed to his prince. I saw this Sirdár, Jehaundat Khán by name, afterwards at Shikárpore, where he was encamped in a garden with his retinue and elephant, but in the utmost perplexity how to act as he had advanced as far as Khelát, when he learned that the Khandáhar Chiefs had ordered the seizure of himself and the elephant. He would be obnoxious from having formerly played a prominent political part, and the elephant was equally so, being a present from the Caffre Runjit Sing to their enemy Camraun. Jehaundat Khán might probably have passed by some indirect road himself; and although his funds began seriously to diminish, he was resolved not to forego, if possible, the honor of conducting the monstrous animal into Herát, to whose good citizens it would afford abundant matter of novelty and wonder.

The military force of Camraun may be estimated at 15,000, principally horse, and esteemed of good quality; their arms I should consider better than those of eastern states, their blades being of good temper, and their fire-arms of a good description for cavalry, *viz.*, the pistol and carbine. I suspect many more than 15,000 might be raised, but they would be infantry, little prized in these countries; therefore we see in the expeditions from Herát (and the same remark applies to all other states of Khorássán) an army seldom exceeds 12,000 men. The artillery of Camraun may consist of 12 or 15 pieces. The revenue of Herát I heard generally estimated at 12 or 13 lákhs of rupees, which appeared to me a very moderate sum. Camraun is said to have a well-stocked treasury. He assumes the title of Pádisháh.

#### KANDÁHÁR.

The province of Kandáhar is under the authority of four brothers of the tribe of Barrakzye, *viz.*, Poor Dil Khán, Kohun Dil Khán, Rahim Dil Khán, and Meer Dil Khán. It may be here fit to notice that the celebrated Dooránee Futtah Khán Barrakzye having effected the overthrow of his sovereign was seized somewhat perfidiously by Camraun and barbarously murdered. He had numerous brothers who avenged his death and established themselves in authority over the provinces of Eastern Khorássán. The common father of Futtah Khán and his brethren was Poynder Khán, but their mothers were various; hence in the appropriation of the states the brothers have been guided by the principles of their birth, the sons by one mother uniting and residing in the same territory; hence those at Kandáhar are by one mother, those of Ghizni and Kábul by another, as again are those of Pesháwar. The four Chiefs at Kandáhar occupy the tract or metropolis of the Dooránees, and the elder brother Poor Dil in his communications with exterior states assumes the dignity of Pádisháh, and seems moreover to be inclined to support his pretensions by the sword. He affects a control, or perhaps rather a supremacy, over his brethren established elsewhere, which they verbally admit. This Chief although so ignorant as to suppose that Hindustán was the native country of Firangees or Europeans, is possessed of much caution and prudence, and more capable of calculating soundly than any of his family. He is remarkable for being the only prince (I mean native), and I believe I may say throughout Asia, that pays his soldiers regularly, the stipendiary in his service receiving his allowance invariably every month: his brothers in the same city do not profit by this example. Poor Dil Khán is guilty of the most extravagant oppression, and his subjects after giving him credit for punctuality and a regard to truth, heartily execrate him and affirm him to be "bisar suckut." His own nephew, the son of the brave Timour Koolee Khán, slain in action at Pesháwar, one day lamenting the condition of Kandáhar and describing the advantages of its situation and fertility, ascribed all the misery existing to the incapacity of the rulers: and when I would ask a Dooránee what could induce a man of sense, as Poor Dil has the reputation of

being, to be so intent upon exactions and the impoverishment of the country, he would reply that being aware that he was an usurper and uncertain how long he might continue in power, he was amassing as much treasure as possible while the opportunity was afforded him, as was the case with all the Barrakzye. The character of this man as the acknowledged head of the Barrakzye might materially influence the future prospects of the Dooránees; but although he be capable of decided action and prudent conduct in his affairs, and possesses a regard to truth, a rare and inestimable quality in a Dooránee prince, his avidity for money and oppression of his subjects and his consequent unpopularity, to which may be added a narrow soul, will prevent him from being the restorer of his country's glory. To maintain his ascendancy Poor Dil keeps a large force in pay; and he has been heard to exclaim "what need I care about discontents, who has so many troops." Of the other brothers Kohun Dil is most esteemed, being supposed the most warlike of the four and to have a little generosity; the two younger ones are of less consequence; but I never heard any favourable report of them. When I first arrived in Kandáhar (1826) the Chiefs were at variance and had established two Darbárs, Poor Dil holding his alone, while the others assembled at the palace of Kohun Dil in the inner fort; these considered it necessary to unite, fearing the elder brother, to whom they never went or paid any kind of obedience. At length a reconciliation was effected by mutual friends, and the day was distinguished by the three brothers paying a visit to Poor Dil, who afterwards returned the compliment; soon after a Chief named Mamoo was, by the general consent of the four, appointed Mukhtár. The first measures of this minister were popular, but he has since justly or unjustly acquired the reputation of a devil.

The city of Kandáhar is regularly built, the bázár being formed by two right lines drawn from opposite directions and intersecting in the centre of the place. It is consequently composed of four distinct portions and the whole city of as many distinct quarters; and each of the Chiefs in power has authority over one quarter. I for some time dwelt within Kohun Dil Khán's fort and had the opportunity of seeing the daily visitors as they passed to the Darbár of the three confederate brothers; among the unwilling ones were invariably from fifty to one hundred Hindus, some of them doubtlessly men of respectability and wealth, and all merchants and traders who had been seized in their houses or shops and dragged before the Darbár for the purpose of extorting money. This was not an occasional or monthly but a daily occurrence, and it was certainly afflicting to behold men of decent appearance driven along the streets by the insulting hirelings of these Dooránee despots. I have seen on an occasion of a festival the Hindus of this city assembled in gardens without the walls and displaying every sign of ease and wealth in their apparel and trinkets; nor were they the less gayful than they would have been in a Hindu kingdom. The gains of these men must be enormous, or they never could provide to the exactions of their Governors, and without such profit operating as an offset they never would submit to the indignities they are compelled to suffer, and patiently too, in every Mussalmán country from the prince to the lowest miscreant that repeats his *culma*.

I am unable to state the amount of revenue possessed by these princes individually. I have heard twelve lákhs of rupees mentioned as a sufficient sum for the gross revenue of the country, which may be thought enough, looking at the deterioration everywhere prevalent and the cessation of trade. Of this sum the larger proportion may be considered as appropriated by Poor Dil, who must also be in possession of immense treasures which he acquired on the demise of his brother, the famous Sheer Dil Khán. Neither can I exactly assign to each brother the share he holds in the division of the country. The countries of Gunnsél and Girish belong to Kohun Dil, and this prince has a son resident in the castle of the last-mentioned district. I think, too, he collects tribute from the neighbouring Hazara tribes. To Rahim Dil and Meer Dil belong all the savage districts bordering on and among the Ghilzyes. Troops are not



stationed here, but at certain periods a force marches and collects a tribute yielded only through intimidation. Poor Dil reserves to himself the rich and fertile districts in the neighbourhood of the city, where the revenue is at once most productive and collected with more facility. The authority of Kandáhar is in some instances recognized at a considerable distance, as by the tribes of Kakurs, whose hills and vallies unite with the range of Solyman, west of the Indus and extend so low south as the neighbourhood of Deyráh Gházi Khán; their dependence is limited to military service and the annual offering of a *doomba* sheep. Khán Tareek of the Ghilzyes to the south of the road from Kandáhar to Kábul also attends the Chiefs when in the field; but Khán Jeháun Khán and Shaboodín Khán, the more considerable Chiefs of this tribe, refuse any obedience over most of these wild states from which tribute is raised; it is only by force that the object is effected, especially among the Atchukzye and Hazara. The present Chief of Beloche, that is to say, of Keelaut, in 1829 was compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Poor Dil, to pay a small tribute, I believe of one lách of rupees Keelaut base money, equal to about 4,000 Kandáhar or common rupees, and to bind himself down to furnish a quota of troops. The bringing this Chief to a correct understanding was a very essential measure, as the recovery of Serkárpur, which seems to be the most immediate object of Poor Dil's ambition, would greatly depend as to facility of execution on his friendship or enmity, it being necessary to march the army from Kandáhar through the Beloche country for above one hundred kos. The capture of Shikárpore would lead to a collision with the Chiefs of Sind, who, although they might assemble numerous troops, would be little dreaded by the Dooránees. Allowing that the very principle of a Dooránee Government is foreign conquest, and that it would be ever put in force when circumstances permit, still it is evident they have sufficient on their hands to keep the king of Lahore in check, who has without doubt the power to crush them, although the contest would be sanguinary; and he constantly avows his intention of subduing Kábul, if life be granted him. It would be singular if in this age when the Hindus (who in their most flourishing eras appear not to have passed the Indus) are considered as a race in a declining state, that a warlike Chief of a new sect should plant the standard of victory, and of his Guru on the banks of the Ochees, or that the mausoleum of Ahmed Sháh should be violated by the Sikhs, who had been hunted by that conqueror in the desert of the Punjáb. The existence of so formidable a power as the Sikhs, whose exuberance of strength must fall upon Khorássán and the west, for its display on the east and partly to the south is prevented by the still more formidable British power, and to the north all has been done that can be done, the impassable mountains of the snowy Imáus being in that direction the limits of their empire; this power, it might be supposed, would induce the brothers to preserve a cordial understanding, yet such is not the case, and Dost Mahomed, the Chief of Kábul, being almost the only man of correct feeling the family can boast of, the Chiefs of Kandáhar and Pesháwár are extremely jealous of his popularity and prosperity, and thus among this curious medley of Barrakzye princes it is held criminal in those who govern for the benefits of their subjects as well as themselves. This jealousy led to the marches of armies, and as I chanced to be present, I will briefly narrate what passed more of the character of the Dooránees being elicited from trifling anecdotes, than will be gained from the most elaborate disquisition. I have stated this instance of the want of cordiality, but I am equally certain if an invasion of the Sikhs occurred they would be united, and as soon as the danger was over return to their original differences. The policy of the respective Governments, as it is directed by no fixed principles, neither can it be reduced or estimated by any established rule or criterion, the motives are as inexplicable as the union of virtues and vices in the individual character, but I know not whether we should condemn judging by that standard which civilized states have erected, and which these people might possibly object to, especially as that peculiar delicacy of action and sentiment which refinement cherishes, is unknown in Afghánistán. Without that



delicacy, however, a Dooránee will perform a praiseworthy action, however roughly. In 1828 the power of Kábul attracted the attention and excited the apprehensions of the rulers of Kandáhar, and Rahim Dil, one of them, started for Pesháwar; he avoided the direct road on which he would have been picked up by Dost Mahomed or some of his partizans, and took the route of Ták. He had with him 500, I have heard 800, horse, and extorted money and necessities from every unfortunate Chief he found in his way. He at length arrived at Ták, and encamping near the town he demanded a large sum of money from the surly but wealthy Chief: this prince, however, considering that his walls were thick and high and that he had a few guns of which his Kandáhar visitor was destitute, absolutely refused; and the representative of the Khorásán dynasty was compelled quietly to decamp, and found his way to Pesháwar. Here a circumstance occurred, which, although not bearing on the immediate subject, may be mentioned as noting the manners of the times. That extraordinary character at Lahore, Runjit Sing, chanced to hear of Rahim Dil's arrival and that he had with him a singular or very beautiful sword; he immediately sent his compliments to the new comer, and informed him that he must send his sword to the Punjáb metropolis. The pride of the Dooránee was certainly mortified, who might perhaps justly question the politeness of the request, but as in case of refusal the arrival was feared of a small foraging party of Sikh cavalry, some 25,000 or 30,000 men, the weapon was duly despatched, and Runjit may have smiled at the helpless condition to which the once terrific race was at length reduced.

Rahim Dil returned to Kandáhar accompanied with Yár Mahomed Khán, the elder of the Pesháwar chieftains and his half-brother. Matters were soon settled, and it was agreed to humble Dost Mahomed and to attack him from the east and west. In conformity to this plan Peer Mahomed Khán, the younger brother at Pesháwar, invaded the small country of Bungush, and expelled the sons of Summut Khán who lived at Kábul and in the interests of its Chief. He was then to have marched on Jellálábád, but the notorious Syed Ahmed Sháh, in concert with Baram Khán and Khulil, kept Pesháwar in great alarm, continually making excursions, to which they were encouraged and excited by Dost Mahomed. The Pesháwar force did not therefore march. I was in the Bungush country at the period of its occupation, perhaps in March, by Peer Mahomed, and met him at a village equi-distant from the towns of Hangoo and Kahut. From thence he proceeded to Pesháwar, where he stayed some time and passed Khyber, Jellálábád, and Kábul; reached Ghizni, I suppose, about August, where I found Dost Mahomed encamped with, as I was told, 6,000 men, and the Kandáhar army, stated at 11,000, seven kos in front; a battle was daily expected by the men, but I doubt whether intended by the leaders. I was most civilly received by Hadjee Khán Kakar, at this time Vizier of Kábul and a celebrated warrior. His brother commanding the contingent of the Kakar country was in the hostile army, being an ally or dependant of Kandáhar. Vakils were in the first instance despatched by Dost Mahomed, who, although the most celebrated officer in Khorásán, is yet prudent enough to effect, if possible, his objects more by fair words than by violence. These envoys demanded the reasons of the hostile array, asked if the Barrakzyes were not Mussulmen and brethren, and how much better it would be to unite their arms against the Sikhs than ingloriously employ them in combats of Dooránees against each other. They moreover asserted that Dost Mahomed was perfectly aware of the right of primogeniture of his brother Poor Dil, and that he acknowledges his supremacy as Chief of Khorásán, he occupying the tuckt. Poor Dil claimed the delivery of half Kábul and the whole of Logur and Shilgur as a provision for the young son of the deceased Sheer Dil Khán. The debates in this negotiation were conducted by Dost Mahomed and his envoys with such address, that the business was finally settled by Dost Mahomed not losing an inch of ground, but agreeing to make an annual remittance to Khandáhar of the amount of revenue of Logur, and expressed his

willingness to co-operate in Poor Dil's projected invasion of Shikárpur. The troops of Dost Mahomed, although inferior in numbers, being choice men, were sanguine of success: it is further probable that in the event of an engagement, the greater part of the Kandáhár army would have gone over to the highly popular Chief of Kábul, as he is called the "Sepáhi's dostdár." The tidings of peace were announced in camp by the beating of drums, the sounding of horns (I mean cow-horns or conches), and all the melodious energy of the Afghán warlike instruments. Visits were interchanged between the two camps; my host the Vizier now received the embrace of his brother, who but for the new treaty might have cut his throat in the strife of battle. The Kandáhár troops returned to their city, and Yár Mahomed, who accompanied them to Ghizni, quietly passed to Pesháwar. When these were gone, Dost Mahomed remained encamped, revolving, I should suspect, in his mind how he should compensate himself for the loss of the revenue of Logur: he suddenly struck his own tents, giving no previous notice to march. He was however soon followed, and scouring the country of the wild tribes south of Ghizni suddenly turned his course upon the lands of the Ghilzye Chief, Khán Tareek, who attended the Kandáhár forces as a vassal. This unfortunate man was harshly plundered, and, strange to say, the Kandáhár Government never interested as to the fate of its dependant; and I venture to think Khán Tareek never thought of addressing the Government for protection.

The revenue of the Kandáhár princes I have before calculated at 12 lakhs of rupees, and their military force may be estimated by the above account. The consent of the Beloehe Khán to furnish his quota will, however, considerably increase the numbers. On a former occasion, when this quota was furnished to Sheer Dil Khán, it amounted to 3,000 good horse. At all events it may be apparent that the Kandáhár Chiefs might command an army, including the contribution of quotas, of 20,000 men. The artillery is equally divided among the four brothers, to each five, the total 20. Some of these are unserviceable, and among the good ones are two or three Dutch pieces, which they accurately distinguish by the name *Hollandoise*.

The Chiefs of Kandáhár affect no kind of pomp, and even Poor Dil is contented among his own Dooránees with the simple appellation of Sirdár. On the whole they are decidedly detested and a change is ardently desired, and one of the fairest provinces of Khorásán is daily accelerating in deterioration.

#### *The Ghilzye.*

These tribes, although not Dooránees, I mention here, as they occupy the principal space between Kandáhár and Ghizni; they are moreover the most numerous of the tribes of Afgháns, and if united under a single Chief of fine talent and energy, would become the most powerful. These people are found between Furráh and Herát; but as they are submissive to authority if they have leaders, they are seldom heard of, being of no distinction. They also occur between Kábul and Jellálábád, but being in due control, their Chiefs are never noticed. The Ghilzyes between Kandáhár and Ghizni are subject to the authority of Khán Tareek and Sháboodeen Khán. Those more to the south approaching the Beloehe country are subject to Khán Jeháun. Khán Tareek I have noted is an ally or tributary of Kandáhár. I visited his country and passed the night at his fort here, called Keeláh Khán. There is a fine spring of water flowing round it, and he has planted a good garden of fruit trees. In his portion of the country there are many villages, and cultivation is more or less general. Khán Tareek enjoys a good character, and I have reason to speak favourably of my reception by him. Khán Jeháun Khán is perfectly independent, and I never heard of any expeditions against him. Sháboodeen Khán claims descent from the ancient Ghilzye princes, and is so esteemed by the tribes. This Chief is reputed brave, and sets the Dooránee rulers at defiance, alleging that his ancestors never acknowledged Ahmed Sháh and why should he respect traitors. The Ghilzyes commonly vaunt that they have from one to

three lákhs of muskets among them. If Sháboodeen be asked why he does not collect the tribes and assert his rights to the sovereignty of Khorásán, he replies, he shall not do that, as being deprived of power may be the will of God, but that, if the Sikhs should march into Khorásán, he would range all the Ghilzyes in the cause of Islám. His fort is seated near the high road passing from Ghizni and Kandáhár; if troops march in force he deserts it and retreats to the hills. He has a mischievous practice of detaining passengers, perhaps for months, nay for a year, in his fort. It is impossible to pass his country without being robbed; unless, indeed; you had fifty matchlocks considered a sufficient escort. The Ghilzyes are universally robbers and men of degenerate and brutal habits. In dress, manners, &c., they perfectly resemble the Atchukzye. When Nádir Shah invaded Khorásán, Hussein Sháh Ghilzye sat on the tuckt at Kandáhár. That conqueror destroyed both the city and the Ghilzye authority; they have never been able to recover themselves, but have made some strenuous efforts.

#### *The Hazaras.*

This race occupy an immense tract of mountainous country extending from Kábul to Ghizni, thence to Kandáhár, and thence to Herát. They are found below the hills just before you reach Ghizni; also west of Ghizni to the right of the Kandáhár road they extend northerly until the frontiers of Balk, in which direction they seem to have established something like order in the government of Kundoos. They are violent Sheeahs and have some singular customs, as furnishing their women to Syeds and strangers. They are evidently of the Tártar race, having the small eye and prominent cheek-bone. I have introduced them here merely to note the relation they stand in as regards the present powers in Khorásán. Dost Mahomed levies tribute from all of them near Kábul, even I believe from the Khán of Kundoos. The Chiefs of Ghizni also collect from those near him; here are many living on the plains, having villages and forts. These are in all respects good and faithful subjects. In the neighbourhood of Kandáhár the Hazaras usually refuse to pay tribute, asserting that they would pay willingly to the king, but they do not know the Barrakzye. On this a small force is detached with one gun, and having selected a good spot among the hills, the gun is discharged and the report multiplied and prolonged by echoes. On this the Hazaras all come tumbling in with their tribute. There is never occasion to fire the gun twice.

#### GHIZNI.

The small principality of Ghizni is under Meer Mahomed Khán, brother of the Kábul Chief. The revenue I have heard reported at two lákhs of rupees according to the king's book; but Meer Mahomed obtains another half lách by *zúlúm* or oppression: he is nevertheless not unpopular and his soldiery and subjects seem contented. You will be told he dare not govern badly, or Dost Mahomed would take him to task. In his political views he identifies himself with his brother at Kábul.

#### KÁ'BUL.

We now arrive at the flourishing State of Kábul under the government of the brave and popular Dost Mahomed Khán, emphatically designated one of the swords of Khorásán by his brother, the *vazíre* Futteh Khán. It is cheering for the traveller in these generally misgoverned regions to arrive at some spot where order and security is established, and to be able to pass through the wildest scenes, where although the ruffian inhabitants possess the desire of plunder, they are deterred by the stern arm of justice raised over them from exercising it. Dost Mahomed formerly governed in Kohistaun to the north of Kábul which then belonged to Abeebooler Khán, son of Azam Klán. This was a young man of great courage but of no capacity though popular among the multitude, as his generosity was carried to excess. Not having a political

idea and naturally headstrong, he set the authority of Kandáhár at defiance and declared his resolution of acting perfectly independent of them or any other of the family. This produced a visit from Sheer Dil, his uncle, who despoiled him of all, or the greater part of the vast treasures left behind by Azam Khán. This Sheer Dil, so celebrated in Dooránee history for his valour, returned to Kandáhár with his nephew's wealth, and died a year afterwards. The Afghán beholds in this a judgment from heaven. Immediately after Sheer Dil's death, Dost Mahomed discovered that he was violently enamoured with the mother of Habeeboola, and demanded her. Habeeboola alleged every argument drawn from the consanguinity of the parties and wishing to ask what would be thought of him were he to surrender his mother to the lust of her brother, absolutely refused. This led to a war, and after much resistance Kábul was taken by Dost Mahomed, who fixed in that forgot his love for his sister. Habeeboola is now at Kábul and commands 1,000 cavalry, the horses excellent and his own property; the men consider themselves also especially in his service. Hence his *jághír* or allowances must be very great. He has acquired an honourable reputation for preserving his mother, and lives in apparent harmony with Dost Mahomed. The assumption of authority by this last Chief has been extremely favourable to the prosperity of Kábul; and it is generally supposed if he lives he will yet play a considerable part in the affairs of Khorássán. Whether his energies are to be displayed in the defence of his country against the ambition of the Sikhs, or exercised to establish universal sway, is not decided upon; but he is universally regarded as the only Chief capable of restoring the Dooránee fortunes. It is his fortune to be beloved by all classes of his subjects; and the Hindu fearlessly approaches him in his rides, and addresses him with the certainty of being attended to. He administers justice with a firm and steady hand, and has proved that the lawless habits of the Afghán are to be controlled. Idolized by his troops, he is perhaps the only prince in these countries who regards the quality rather than the quantity of his men. He engages none but with reference to their physical capabilities, and gives large pay. Having been but a short time in possession of Kábul, his finances are small; hence he is compelled to confine his views. I heard at Shikarpore about the end of 1829 that he had found a large treasure supposed to have been concealed by Ahmed Sháh (such discoveries of coin or of jewels are not uncommon), and moreover that he had marched an army of 18,000 men towards Pesháwar to avenge the murder of his brother Yár Mahomed by the notorious fanatic Syed Ahmed. If these relations be true, I can but rejoice at it, as Dost Mahomed with treasure and 18,000 men would be little annoyed by the jealousies of his brethren at Kandáhár. He is no less *politique et ruse* than brave, and only employs the sword as the last resource. He is remarkably plain in dress, and would be scarcely noticed in the Darbár but for his seat; his white linen raiments afforded a strange contrast to the gaudy exhibition of some of his Chiefs, especially of the young Habeeboola Khán, who glitters in gold. I had an audience of him, and should not have conjectured him a man of ability either from his conversation or his appearance; but it becomes necessary to subscribe to the general impression, and the conviction of his talents for government will be excited in every step through his country. A stranger must be cautious in estimating the character of a Dooránee from his appearance; merely a slight observer like myself would not discover in Dost Mahomed the gallant warrior and shrewd politician, still less on looking at the slow-pacing, coarse-featured Hádjee Khán, the Vazier, would be recognized the active and enterprising officer who, in conjunction with Sheer Dil, humbled the Persians, and carried Meshed sword in hand. On the gates of that city the painter has portrayed the events of the storm, and from the gigantic figure intended for Hádjee Khán it is probable that posterity may entertain as big notions of him as the English do of the famous Earl of Warwick.

The revenue of Kábul, I believe, may be calculated at 14 lákhs of rupees, and may be considered likely to increase. Of his military force an idea may be formed from what has before been



mentioned. Most of his infantry are clad in red jackets, and are principally Kohistánees, the best of Khorássán. He has about twelve pieces of artillery, and they are better attended to than those of Kandáhar. Of Dost Mahomed's personal views there can be nothing known, as he is too prudent to divulge them; but there would appear little to prevent his becoming the sole authority in Khorássán, the sway of his brethren being so much detested. I have heard of his putting a Suddoozye to death—a circumstance related with horror even by his friends. Again, I have heard that he is not inimical to the restoration of the king; and it is a common saying with the Dooranees, how happy we should be if Sháh Sujáh were king and Dost Mahomed vazier. The king, it is known, has a sister of Dost Mahomed in his harem; but how he became possessed of her is differently related. Some say Sháh Sujáh heard she was a fine woman, and forcibly seized her; others that she was given to him with the due consent of all parties. This prince and his brother of Ghizni are supposed to be Sheeahs, although they do not profess it, as their mother was of that persuasion.

#### LUGHMA'N.

The small principality of Lughmán, with the Ghilzye country between Kábul and Jallálábád, with some districts south of the last city, are held by Jubbal Khán, and produce a lách and a half to two láchs of rupees annual revenue. The Chief is a son of the same father as the other brothers, but his mother was a slave girl. This excellent man is at once a good prince, a brave warrior, and a pious moolláh; and enjoys an equal reputation for valour and sanctity. He is a firm ally of his brother Dost Mahomed. Jubbal Khán is remarkable for the attention he pays to the European traveller. I saw him at Jallálábád, and was kindly treated. In his camp were two companions, so singular in their union, that I mention them to elucidate the liberality of the Dooranees in religious matters. They were a Mussalmán Moolláh from Lahore and a Hindu Bráhmín from Lucknow. They had both started with the design of travelling for a few years, and having accidentally met each other had joined company. They each bore the appearance of first rate respectability, and were amply provided with all conveniences, nay luxuries of dress, equipage, &c. They had horses for themselves and servants, whether at the expense of Jubbal Khán or of themselves I know not. They paid me a visit the day I stayed in the camp, and never did I witness so much politeness in either a Mussalmán or a Hindu. The former had great vivacity, and was dressed in black silk. What with his gaiety and spirit he was not a jot behind an Abbé of the old French school. He liberally made me offers of assistance with money, clothing, &c., and much wanted me to take one of his horses. I know not his name, but I think the Hindu was nicknamed Moollah Mull.

#### JELLA'LA'BA'D.

This province is nominally subject to Mahomed Zummer Khán. I know not in what relation this prince stands with the other Barrakzyes; but he is not their brother. The revenue of Jallálábád, containing nine pargannás, is estimated in the king's books at 12 láchs of rupees; but no such sum is realized by the Chief, whose authority is not acknowledged even one kos from his capital. I was entertained in this country by one Colleole Khán, who had three forts and dependent villages about a mile from the town. He surprized me by informing me that neither he nor his neighbours acknowledged Mahomed Zummer Khán, and that they should resist any attempt he might make at levying duty. These villages have the Kábul river between them and the town, and to this circumstance I suspect they owe their independence, which may probably be the fortune of all the towns, &c., to the north of the river down the extent of the valley. Easterly to Basawul and to Dakkar at the entrance of the Khyber hills the authority of Jallálábád is established, these being to the southern side of the river, and accessible to compulsion. Mahomed Zummer Khán is esteemed very wealthy, but is unpopular



and oppressive as a Governor. He is an ally of Kábul, and in fact a mere instrument of Dost Mahomed. I know not the amount of his troops; he has six pieces of ordnance stationed at Bollabráng.

#### KHYBEREE TRIBES.

##### *Sheenwárrees.*

These live principally to the south of Jallálábád and also occupy part of the range of hills between that province and Pesháwar. They are now perfectly independent, but are usually accounted better than their brethren the Afrédee, being engaged a little in traffic. These men have no order or government, but live like their neighbours the Sheenwárree in wild and savage independence.

##### *Afrédee.*

These men, reputed the most lawless of the savages, occupy the range of the hills between Pesháwar and Jallálábád, and also part of the plain of Pesháwar. They formerly received pay from the king, but as that has been long since discontinued, they live in open brigandage. They are sufficiently numerous, and when the Syed Ahmed Shah, who dwells in the Eusofzye country, has money to pay troops, he can always command three or four thousand men from Khyber. A nephew of the Syed, as he calls himself, resides in quality of agent at the town of Jum at the entrance of the hills 10 kos west of Pesháwar; he is named Sháh Risool Sháh. This gentleman, as well as many of the people of this town, at the time of my visit to Khyber had fled to the hills, apprehending a visit from Pesháwar. The people of Khyber during Runjit's last personal visit to Pesháwar diverted the course of the Kabul river and inundated his camp by night; in the consequent confusion they were on the alert, and secured a vast number of horses. In the morning the Dooránee Chiefs of Pesháwar were summoned, but they asserted it was not their deed, and Runjit marched towards Lahore, having made but a stay of three days; and it is probable, but for this accident, he might have remained as many months.

#### PESHÁWAR.

Pesháwar at the time of my visit (1827) was governed by Yár Mahomed, Sultán Mahomed, Syed Mahomed, and Peer Mahomed. These four brothers appeared to preserve a good understanding, and assembled at a common Darbár held at the house of their mother. Yár Mahomed, as eldest, was nominally the Chief, and in fact possessed the greater proportion of revenue; but Peer Mahomed, the youngest, was perhaps the more influential from the number of his troops. Syed Mahomed held the fort and district of Hasannuggur. The revenue of Pesháwar I heard computed at ten lákhs of rupees, to which must be added one lákh, the revenue of the newly-acquired country of Bungush retained by Peer Mahomed. The Chiefs of Pesháwar cannot be called independent, or rather seem to hold their country entirely at the pleasure of Runjit Sing. The circumstances which led to this dependence involve the notice of Syed Ahmed Sháh, and I shall relate them as briefly as may be consistent with clearness. The pious fanatic who announces himself the Imám Mehdi of the Korán, and that he has a divine commission to take possession of the Punjáb, Hindustán and China, came a few years since into the country of the Eusofzye and assembled above 100,000 men, avowing his design of compelling Runjit Sing to turn Mussalmán or to cut off his head. The Chiefs of Pesháwar had united themselves with the Syed, and with their troops and guns were in his camp. The Sikhs naturally were preparing to meet the threatened crisis, and Hurree Sing commanding 30,000 men was to keep them from passing the Indus until the king should arrive with a large army, including all his regulars, from

Lahore. In the Mussalmán camp all was hope and exultation ; the numbers of their host, and the presumed favour of heaven, permitted none to doubt of success, and a distribution was already made of the Sikh towns and provinces. The soul of Ahmed Sháh dilated, and in his pride of feeling he made use of some expressions which implied that he considered himself the master of Pesháwar ; the Dooránee Chiefs became displeased and their final defection if not occasioned is by some palliated on this account. The half of Hurree Sing's force under an old warrior Boodh Sing, appears to have crossed the Indus and entered the Mussalmán country, where they soon found themselves surrounded ; they were in the utmost distress for some days, and Boodh Sing finally determined to extricate himself or perish. In the meantime he had written to the Dooránee Chiefs of Peshawár, assuring them that if they took no part against him in the action he was about to give, their conduct in the Syed's business should not be questioned : he alluded to the immense army on the road with Runjit Sing, and pointed out that the destruction of himself and troops would not influence the issue of the contest ; and they must know, he said, that the Sirkár was Zorabar. His argument decided the Pesháwar leaders, and on the morning of battle they, who with their guns were stationed in the front, at once passed to the rear. Boodh Sing invoked his guru, and with his Sikhs charged á bride abattue. The resistance of the Mussulmán was very trifling, and the Sikhs boast that each Sing that day slew fifteen or twenty of his enemies, allowing, however, that they did not fight but threw themselves on the ground. The Syed, who had assured his men that he had fixed a charm on the Sikh guns and matchlocks, did all that a brave man could do, and was forcibly conducted from the field by some Indians who made his elephant pass a river, he himself declining to fly and persisting that the infidels could not injure him. Runjit Sing arriving soon after this victory with an immense army as also Hurree Sing, the confederate troops marched to Pesháwar, where they stayed some months ; it was now that Balla Hissar and part of the town were destroyed, as well as many of the gardens, and the whole country was exhausted. Runjit does not exact money from the Pesháwar Chiefs, who have none to give, but horses and the famous rice grown near Pesháwar, and he detains the sons of Yár Mahomed as hostages at Lahore. He has established a system of annual visits to that country, apparently with the intention of keeping it from the possibility of revival in consequence, and is so oppressive that Yár Mahomed in 1829 remonstrated and put the case to him that if it were his pleasure that he should continue to govern in Pesháwar the visits must cease, if not, he would retire to his brother in Kábul. Runjit told him to remain, but demanded a celebrated horse called Leila. Here a difficulty arose, for this animal cannot be delivered up without a loss of honour. Yár Mahomed affirming that if he must suffer one of two dishonours, he would rather surrender his wife than the horse. I could not ascertain on what grounds this horse is held so sacred, but heard something of an allusion to the loves of Mujnoon and Leila. Troops were despatched to obtain the horse, but Sultán Mahomed, who appeared to be in charge of the beast, swore on the Korán that it was dead. M. Ventura, an Italian officer commanding the expedition, not being so much interested in the horse as his royal master, believed the Mussalmán, or pretended to do so, and returned to Lahore. Some time afterwards Runjit was informed that Leila was alive, and the Italian was again despatched to bring Sultán Mahomed to him. In the meantime another circumstance happened which, particularly interesting the Pesháwar Chiefs, increased the positiveness of Runjit's demand for the horse. This was the arrival at the Court of Moollah Shukoor, envoy from Sháh Sujáh, wishing to make arrangements for the recovery of Pesháwar and Kábul, proposing to pay immediately 3 lákhs of rupees in money and jewels, and an annual tribute for his dominions. Runjit refused to listen to these terms, but informed Yár Mahomed of them and assured him that unless the annual presents were doubled and the horse Leila produced, the king would be sent at the head of an army to recover his states. The Italian officer had arrived at Pesháwar,

when the Syed Ahmed Sháh unexpectedly issued from the Eusofzye hills, defeated Syed Mahomed and possessed himself of Hasannuggur was joined by immense numbers. This happened in October or November 1829, when I was passing down Sind towards the sea; hence my intelligence is neither full or positive. I know not whether Ahmed Sháh went to Pesháwar or not. I heard he did; however he grew so formidable that Yár Mahomed sought a conference, in which he was seized and beheaded by the Syed with some of his attendants and friends, among whom was the Náib Gool Mahomed, already mentioned in the notice on Kandáhár. On receipt of this intelligence Dost Mahomed of Kábul is reported to have marched with 18,000 men towards Pesháwar, and Runjit Sing with an immense force moved upon the Indus and the Ráwal Pindi country. From this period I know not what passed, but it is easy to suppose the Syed must have been expelled, but I cannot conjecture even on the present state of Pesháwar.

*The Eusofzye.*

These tribes are compelled to furnish tribute of horses to Runjit Sing, and perhaps they have been more severely treated than any people subdued by that conqueror. His vengeance nevertheless was excited by their own folly, and but for that they might have been still independent. The course of operations against the Patháns of Gunghur led Runjit on the eastern bank of the Indus, the Eusofzye on the opposite side slaughtered cows and insulted the Sikhs in the most aggravated manner. Runjit did not intend to have passed the river, and probably the Eusofzye supposed he could not from the rapidity of the current; but not able to contain his anger he ordered his cavalry to pass over, which they did, losing twelve hundred. The Eusofzye country was now ravaged and an indiscriminate slaughter made of man, woman and child for some days. The miserable hunted wretches were compelled to throw themselves on the earth, and placing a blade or tuft of grass in the mouth to cry out "I am your cow." This deed and exclamation which would have saved them from an orthodox Hindu had no effect with the Sikhs.

Ever since the expulsion of Sháh Sujáh the Eusofzye have been enemies to Pesháwar, and they now profess themselves tábedárs of the Syed Ahmed Sháh, who resides among them, the government of the country being the same as usual vested in the several Maliks. Ahmed Sháh after his grand defeat by the Sikhs being no longer able to attempt anything against them directed hostilities against the Dooranee Chiefs of Pesháwar, whom he denounced as infidels and traitors to the cause of Islám, and Yár Mahomed he called by the name of Yaroo Sing, and ordered that he should be so styled when mentioned in his camp. He accordingly, whenever he had funds, engaged troops from Khyber and other places, and issued from the hills, always in the direction of Hasannuggur. By such conduct although he achieved nothing of importance, he kept his enemies in perpetual alarm. He paid his troops in *baldi* rupees; hence many supposed him an agent of the British Government. Whence he procured his occasional supplies of money was equally inexplicable. He had with him three or four Chiefs of some repute, but discontented with the Barrakzye, as Jummer Khán, Baram, Meer Allum, and the Khalil Chief. The last grand effort of the Syed I have noticed but remain in ignorance as to his fate. Perhaps few men have created a greater sensation in their day than this Syed, and setting aside his lunaticism, his talents must be great to have succeeded in persuading so many myriads of beings, and to preserve their confidence in his mission after the reverses he has experienced. Among all the Patháns of Muckelwand and Damaun and thence to Pesháwar he is constantly prayed for, and frequently is expressed the fervent wish that God would grant victory to Ahmed Sháh. He also makes a great figure in their songs. It is generally believed he is a native of Bareilly; and it appears certain that he for some years officiated as Mooláh in the camp of the famous Ameer Khán, respected for his learning and

decorum of life. At that time he made no pretensions to communications from heaven. He has continually emissaries spread over all parts soliciting the aid of Mussalmáns to support his cause; and I beheld at Ták the accredited agent of Sultán Mahomed of Pesháwar, who by the bye was also a Syed, soliciting pecuniary assistance for Ahmed Sháh, his master's enemy. This would be singular in any but a Dooránee; but I doubt not he transacted his prince's business with perfect fidelity, and with equal sincerity of feeling begged for the Syed.

#### CASHMEER.

This beautiful and rich province is possessed by Runjit Sing. Long it was an object of ambition to him, but his first attempts were foiled, and he once suffered a severe defeat from A'zem Khán. He at length found it unprovided with troops and made an easy conquest of it. Jubbal Khán, the present prince of Lughmán, had an opportunity of showing his spirit, 700 Dooránees encountering 11,000 Sikhs.

#### KUTTUCK.

This state produces a revenue of two or three lákhs, and its Chief is dependent on Runjit Sing. The former chief (be that Mr. Esaw) was one of the first that connected himself with the Sikhs; hence he was much blamed by the Dooránees. He was shot in the back with a pistol by his attendants when riding. Runjit was particularly angry.

#### STATES OF MAHOMED KH'AN.

On the overthrow of the Dooránee power these states became independent, and the Khán was styled a Naváb by his subjects. He appears to have been in a flourishing condition and wealthy when Runjit Sing invaded his territories. The fortress of Monkeerah made a memorable defence, but the perseverance of the besieger overcame all difficulties, and the whole of the countries east of the Indus were annexed to Lahore. The old Chief did not long survive the loss of his dominions, and his son Shere Mahomed now lives in the town of Deyráh Ismáel Khán west of the Indus, a dependent on the Sikhs.

#### MOOLTA'N.

I doubt whether Mooltán was ever exactly considered an integral portion of the Dooránee empire as Deyráh Gházie Khán and Shikarpore undoubtedly were. I have elsewhere recorded the fate of this country and its possession by the Sikhs.

#### BHÁ'WALPORE.

This is another state not strictly Dooránee, but which, it seems, professed an obedience to its Government; and I have reason to believe that the present youthful Khán has said, that he considers himself a slave of the Suddoozye. In the time of Saadut Khán, Sháh Sujáh passing from Loodiánná arrived at Bháwalpore intending to attempt the recovery of some or all of his dominions; the Khán supplied him with 5,000 horse, which furnished Runjit Sing with a plea for the invasion of Bháwalpore. He exacts tribute of half the revenue or nine lákhs of rupees annually. It was then the Sikhs first seized Deyráh Gházie Khán, which not being convenient to occupy, or contrary to their policy, they let to the Bháwalpore Chief for three lákhs of rupees. The young Khán submits very unwillingly to the imposition of tribute, and among the *on dit* of this part of the world is one, that he has informed Poor Dil Khán if any thing should be attempted against the Sikhs he would assist with 30,000 men. When I was at Hyderabad in Sind there was an embassy there from Hulaut in Belochistán, the object of which I heard was to engage the Sind Chiefs in an expedition against Bháwalpore. I suspect the object of the embassy was misrepresented.



DEYRĀ'H GHĀ'ZIE KHĀ'N.

Held by the Sikhs and let to Bhāwul Khān.

SHIKĀ'RPORE.

Fraudulently possessed by the Sind Chiefs. The recovery of this city is the primary object of Poor Dil Khān's policy, and will no doubt be accomplished with facility. The Chiefs of Sind were formerly vassals of the Doorānees and would be so again if ever they consolidated their power.

KEELAUT (BELOCHE).

This state is at present under the sway of Meerab Khān; his father did not acknowledge the supremacy of Kandāhār, but recommended the Chiefs who applied for tribute to keep themselves quiet at home or he would pay them a visit. His heir possessed not his spirit and we find him as an ally or dependent with a force of 3,000 men in the army of A'zem Khān, which expelled Shāh Sujāh from Shikārpore. As the family of Meerab Khān was indebted for empire to the generosity of the Suddoozye, it cannot be supposed he would be hostile, and on this occasion, when the armies were opposite each other, Meerab Khān declared to Azem Khān that he would not fight the Suddoozye, but was ready to obey his commands against the troops of Sind. Had an action ensued and an opportunity occurred, it is probable he would have joined the king. Some time after this Meerab Khān began to treat the Chiefs of Kandāhār with indifference, and for three or four years refused to pay tribute or acknowledge any dependence. In the spring of 1829 Poor Dil marched and the Khān of Beloché paid him a trifling sum of money and bound himself to accompany the armies of Kandāhār whenever summoned. I heard the revenue of Keelaut computed at six lakhs of rupees—a moderate sum for so large and fine a country, as Elphinstone mentions three lakhs to have been the revenue. I need only point out the existence of the large and trading bāzār towns of Keelaut, Mustoong, Shall Dardur, Hadjee Shar, Bang, Gunderbaz and Rojan, with their dependent fertile districts, to disprove so low a calculation. These towns I have seen, and there are others I have not visited, and therefore do not mention. The states of Kābul, Kandāhār and even Herāt have, we may almost say, but one bāzār town. The capital, Keelaut, has several and of such consequence that Bang, Gunderbaz and Keelaut are rivals in size of Kandāhār, and most of the others surpass Ghizni, without estimating their commercial advantages. The country is moreover fertile, and large quantities of grain and even some inferior sugar is produced. No state possesses greater capabilities of improvement than those of Meerab Khān. Were a prince of energy to arise and assert the ancient rights of his country, he would possess the country from Brahoode to the sea. Karāchi, held by the Sind Chiefs, having once been a possession of the Beloché Chiefs. The Beloché tribes are very numerous and brave, and if their power was drawn forth, or the country under proper government, there can be little doubt but Kandāhār would become a dependent province. At present trade is little promoted, and the merchants of caravans have little encouragement to sell their goods in a country where base coin is circulated. The military force of Meerab Khān I do not suppose to exceed three or four thousand men: that he might raise a very large number I can readily conceive. His artillery consists of six pieces of ordnance at Keelaut. Belochistán is a country of which much remains to be known, and whose early history would repay the search for it.

BALKH.

It may be necessary to notice this state as having some time been dependent upon the kings of Kābul. I cannot describe the revolutions which it has undergone during the last few



years, but believe it had been subdued by a prince of Bokhárá, but that it is at present an independent state governed by a *ci-devant* vazier who successfully rebelled.

(A True Copy).

(Signed) D. WILSON,  
President, Persian Gulf.

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*Memoranda on Herát, &c. : by Mr. C. MASSON.*

No. 2.

The city of Herát, once so famous as the capital of Khorássán and the residence of the sons of Timur, no longer retains its ancient splendour, yet still being the seat of Government of an independent kingdom and possessing natural advantages of position and climate, preserves the rank of a first rate city in the regions of Central Asia. It is situated in a fine, rich and extensive valley, watered by a river of good size, whose direction is from north to south; it flows west of the town, and has a bridge thrown over it of very great antiquity and of admirable workmanship. This is one of the buildings of which a native of Herát would make a boast. The city is surrounded with a good wall, containing a due proportion of circular bastions, and is kept in a state of tolerable repair, to which the necessity caused from turbulent times compels the attention of the sovereign. There are a number of buildings in Herát which are termed handsome, and in fact are so, in comparison with those of other cities in these parts, as Kandáhár, Ghizni or even Kábul and Pesháwar, but infinitely falling short of the magnificent structures of Lahore and the cities of the East. There are the ancient palaces of its kings existing, but in decay, so destructive has been the hand of time upon them, that another century may witness their entire demolition. The royal masjids are, many of them although neglected, in a state of decent preservation, and although deprived of a portion of their ornaments and painted tiles, preserve sufficient tokens to enable us to form an estimate of their former state. But in most of these the summons to prayer is never heard, I believe from an objection to make use of the spot which was appropriated to devotion by an unfortunate and rejected sovereign. At Pesháwar, in confirmation of this objection, the entrances to the masjid, built under the hill on which the fort stood by the king Sháh Sujáh for his immediate use, have been actually closed with bricks since his expulsion. Masjids and tombs seem among Mussalmáns to be the objects on which most labour and expense are bestowed, and on which they principally depend that their names may live after them; as these are seldom repaired, so are they generally constructed with proportionate solidity and durable materials. The prince who builds a palace is aware that he builds merely for himself and not for his successors; hence his ephemeral production mingles with the dust soon after him who raised it. Many of the recently erected masjids in Herát, which are designated by the names of their respective founders, cannot vie with the former ones; their decorations are very flimsy, and the solidity of old times is dispensed with on account of the charges; the painted tiles no longer possess that brilliant and permanent line which distinguished the ancient ones, while the buildings on the whole are miserably deficient in size and arrangement; and we look in vain for the reservoir of water in the grand square with the baths and other conveniences which welcomed the sight in the masjids of the olden times. It were devoutly to be wished that men of wealth would employ it rather in preserving the old and stately structures from decay than in erecting new ones. There are numerous buildings in the city which were hospitals for the indigent and afflicted during the sway of the descendants of Timur, but they are occupied by the Khán or the merchants, and their funds, or revenue estranged from the original purpose. The bázár of course in so large a city is ample and extensive, although in its width and convenience it has not the advantages of Kandáhár, perhaps the best arranged city of Central Asia.

At the Chah-soo, or point in the centre where the several streets of the bázár meet, is a large covered building, under which sit a vast number of vendors of all descriptions of goods—fruits, vegetables, &c.—and here at all periods of the day is a considerable crowd collected. From the top of this erection the nagárás announce the morning and evening nobut. It is in the evening that the bázár exhibits a scene of much business and activity. All is then bustle and movement, and then is presented to the traveller the best time to make observations on the domestic trade of the people, as all their matters of sale and barter are openly and publicly transacted. Standing as an idle spectator I have often been referred to by two men disputing the value of a trifling article, and as often excused myself, and endeavoured to convey to them the meaning of the poet's line—

“Who shall decide when doctors disagree.”

The concourse of strangers is moreover great. Here will be seen Persians from Meshed, Moguls from Turbut, Tartars from Bokhára, Kurds, Afgháns, Seistánees and Beloches. The number of Hindus in the city will be large, yet not comparatively so with Kandáhár and the cities to the East. West of Herát they either dare not or are not allowed to reside permanently; their avocations as dealers in the necessities of life could not be carried on as the Sheeahs would eat nothing sold by them. As the valley of Herát is very large, the soil very fertile and its cultivation very generally and successfully carried on, the markets of the capital are well supplied, and all kinds of vegetables are abundant and cheap. The fruits are generally such as are found in Kábul, perhaps the apples and pears are finer. They have also almonds, grapes, peaches, apricots, cherries, quinces, the various kinds of melons and pisters; it is remarkable that the latter fruit, which is here much esteemed but which would appear of little consequence, is the only one which they vaunt as being superior to that of other regions, while all their other fruits they allow to be surpassed by those of more genial climates. In this city the Serais called Karavanserais\* are open for the reception of the traveller, and they are pretty numerous. In Kandáhár owing to the bad Government and depression there is but one, and that never used. In Kábul they have many, as the traffic and intercourse with other parts is constant and protected by the ruler.

The general mode of building in Herát is with arched roofs, suggested by the scarcity of wood proper for the purposes of the builder. The houses derive an air of importance from these circular formations; but I fancy they would gladly be omitted by the inhabitants if they could procure wood for rafters to enable them to support flat roofs, as during the rainy season, which is their winter, vast numbers of the roofs fall in. Whether this be owing to the bricks being generally unburnt, the bad quality of the mortar, or the want of skill in the builder, or the defect of the system, I know not; otherwise they would appear substantially and neatly built, the walls of every house being of considerable thickness, as well as the roofs. The species of building just mentioned prevails over Western or Persian Khorássán, and extends to Kandáhár and fifty kos east of it, where it ceases; the roofs of the houses of the Ghulzie being flat. In the immediate vicinity of Herát are numerous large and beautiful gardens; but the universal complaint in all these countries may also be justly made here that they are either suffered to run absolutely waste, or only partially attended to. It may be questioned whether if a considerable sum did not annually proceed from the sale of the fruit, these gardens would not be deserted *in toto*. I never remember an instance of any of the Chiefs at present in authority throughout Eastern Khorássán visiting any of the royal gardens. There are no gardeners attached to them.

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\* The term Karavanserai intimates the origin of the English word caravan as applied to collections of travellers, &c., but I never heard it, or indeed any other word than Kaffee made use of to express these assemblages in Beluchistán; and I believe in Persia Kurrum Serai is used to denote the travellers' Serai; in Herát and Kandáhár only I heard the word expressed Karavan Serai.

unless they be called so, who are hired for the purpose of watching the fruits at a certain season of the year and gathering them when ripe, when they are sold at the gate (where a weigher and Munshi attends) to the dealers, who retail them in the bázár. The soil of the garden is wholly unproductive and remains choked with weeds. I am here speaking of the gardens planted by the kings famed in history, and at present under the control of the sovereign; those held by private individuals, and which contribute to the supply of the markets, are admirably worked, and exhibit a bright verdant aspect. Among their numerous vegetables they have many common to European climates, as cabbage (I only observed one species), spinach, lettuce, carrots, turnips, radishes and onions, the last not very fine. I should observe that at Herát, as well as at Kandáhár, Kábul, Pesháwar, and Lahore, there is a royal garden called Shalimar, the meaning of which word I could never learn from any person in any of the cities mentioned. There are also many magnificent tombs in the neighbourhood of the city, and many of the shrines of saints and Zeearuts are visited by the pious. Among the tombs is that of the celebrated poet Jami; the gardens with which it was surrounded have long since vanished. The cultivation of grain in the plains of Herát is most successful and productive and entirely wheat, of which only in Herát bread is made; this is the case also in all countries of Khorássán, the poorest inhabitant of which will on no account eat bread made of other substances. I have noticed their fruits, which are very abundant, and much wine is made from their grapes, which are inferior to those of Kandáhár, but perhaps equal to those of Kábul. In addition to the fruits enumerated should be added mulberries and pomegranates. I am not certain whether walnuts are produced here or brought from elsewhere. Some raw silk is procured near Herát and employed in their home manufactures. The large population of Herát would naturally induce a considerable activity in the internal trade of the inhabitants were its extent limited to the supply of the individual wants of its own community; but this is much increased by the passage to and fro of caravans, and the resort of traders from the neighbouring districts to which Herát has become the mart, partly through the distraction prevalent elsewhere, and partly to the able conduct of its Chief, and the security experienced in his dominions. They have manufactures of silk, worsted woollens and carpets, but I heard of none in which they excelled. Their arms indeed are highly prized, and a blade of Herát is easily known to the connoisseur by its finely watered appearance; their pistols and carbines are also esteemed. Their cattle generally consists of *dumbás* or large-tailed sheep, from the milk of which they make kroust, butter and cheese. They have few cows, which abound in no part of Khorássán. The camels are large, excellent, many of them white. Horses are generally bred throughout the country, and besides being very hardy and serviceable, are very cheap. The Chief of the State is a Mahomedan of the Sunnee persuasion, but most of his subjects are Sheeahs. Moguls are very numerous at Herát, and the bulk of the peasantry are called Parsevans, a name indicating a Persian origin. These men possess a suavity of manner and prepossessing appearance, not discoverable in the Afghán or even Tadjik of Eastern Khorássán, who also claim Persian descent. The genuine Dooránee (although the Chief is one, being a Suddoozye) always appeared to me to consider himself a stranger in this country and few have settled in it, but such as dare not go elsewhere owing to the part they had taken in the political occurrences of late years. It should be noted that the river of Herát is called Pool Mallán, from which it would seem to have derived its appellation from the bridge there is also another smaller river immediately adjacent to the city called Yakil.

The nominal king of Herát is Mahomed Sháh Suddoozye, but owing to real or imputed imbecility, the son, Camraun, or, I suspect properly Kamerodeen Khán, has the charge of affairs and assumes the title of Pádsháh, which is conceded to him by his subjects. There can be no doubt of the incapacity of Mahomed Sháh to act as king, the loss of Kandáhár, Kábul, and, in short, the Dooránee empire over which he once swayed being entirely the consequence of his



infatuation and weakness, and it is asserted that he now stupifies himself daily with opium and other deleterious substances. The son, Kamerodeen, assumed the reins of Government with the approbation of all parties, and his administration has been highly popular and beneficial to the country. After the expulsion of Sháh Sujáh from Kábul, he made an attempt to recover the eastern provinces; and after taking possession of Kandáhar, advanced to Kábul, but was compelled to return precipitately to Herát, having received intelligence of the intended delivery of that city to Sheer Dil, one of the Barrakzye, by the Governor he had left behind. Since that period the Barrakzye family have somewhat consolidated their power, and he dare not think of attacking them. While he occupied Kandáhar he made himself remarkable for cruelty, and you still see in the garden of Shallimar the block on which every morning the wretches who excited his suspicions were decapitated, and the balcony opposite to it in which he sat enjoying the sanguinary spectacle. His barbarous execution of the celebrated but factious Futtéh Khán is an indelible stain on his character, and is ever spoken of in strong terms of horror by the Afghán. This ferocity to his enemies, in which he exceeds all other princes of the present day on the line of Meshed to the Sutledj, appears his principal blemish. In other respects he is liberal and exact in the payment of his troops, and without any idea of political economy contents himself with moderate imposts, and effectually provides that there shall be no unnecessary severity or extortion in the collection of his revenue. He is found to promote the security of travellers, and an authenticated robbery would be certainly followed by the death of the offender. To his credit the slave trade is abolished in Herát, where before his reign it was carried on to excess. I have been assured that nothing was more frequent than to invite the unsuspecting stranger to a repast or other entertainment, then seize him and give him over to the "Adam feroosh;" it was moreover perilous to sit without doors after sunset. Kamerodeen has vindicated the rights of humanity, and hangs the unnatural transgressor. The revenue of Herát I have heard estimated at twelve lákhs of rupees—a very small sum for so fine a country and infinitely short of the revenue in former times; but we must take into calculation the series of destructive wars which have lately desolated those regions, no invasion was more injurious to this country than that of the present Futtéh Alli Sháh of Persia. Some years since he advanced as far as Subzewár, one hundred kos east of Herát, and finding himself compelled to quit the country, resolved to do it as much harm as he possibly could, and accordingly ravaged it in his retreat. The kingdom, however, has been recovering rapidly the last few years, as Herát has been visited by no foreign enemy. The Persians have other objects to attend to than the conquest of Eastern Khorássán; moreover an alliance has been effected with the Sháhzádah at Meshed by the interchange of daughters. Although from the peculiar state of the governments in those countries no Chief can at present venture on remote expeditions, for their capitals are absolutely so many nests, which if they were to leave some neighbours would step in, yet the reputation of Kamerodeen is such that no one of them, or, indeed, a coalition of them would venture to attack the lion in his den; hence Herát is perfectly secure, and likely to be so from the alarms of war, and may continue her plans of amelioration without the apprehension of interruption. The military force I should estimate at 20,000 men, the greater proportion horse. I am not certain that force is actually retained in pay, but it is the number he appears to have had on foot during his advance to Kábul. He then had 15,000 with him, and I apprehend 5,000 is little enough to be allowed for the troops remaining in the countries of Herát and Kandáhar. His artillery, eight to ten pieces of ordnance. Kamerodeen has three sons arrived at years of discretion, the eldest, of whom he seems to entertain some suspicion, he always retains near his person; another is Governor of the province of Subzewár, and the third commands at Furráh.

The dominions of Kamerodeen are circumscribed on the northern side by the Tartar districts, on the southern by the province of Seistán, on the eastern by the Moghul principality

of Turbut, and on the western by the desert which separates it from Girish, a dependency of Kandáhár. I shall close my notice of this state by a few remarks on the routes to Kandáhár. There are two routes, the most direct passing by the large town of Ghiraunee, which may be called the northern route; this was travelled by Mr. Forster and appears to have been a very painful one from the nature of the country and deficiency of water. Caravans, as I understood, generally prefer the longer or southern route by Subzewár and Furráh; this is the road I adopted and therefore that of which I am best enabled to speak. Leaving Herát (where it is necessary to provide yourself with provisions to suffice you for the distance of 100 kos) you proceed in a due southerly direction, and passing over a fine bold diversified country you reach the luxuriant and extensive plain of Subzewár. In the distance here passed (100 kos computed distance) there is no want of water; forage and mutton (that is to say, taking the whole sheep) may be had, but generally speaking no other articles, as although villages occur at convenient distances, the inhabitants, principally of the Geelzye tribes, do not sell, and have no dealers resident among them. Subzewár is a good town and has a large mud fort, reputed strong, and here resides a son of Kamerodeen. The country around is extremely pleasant, and the plain is watered by a clear but not considerable stream. From hence again providing subsistence for 100 kos, the distance to Furráh, you again proceed southerly over precisely the same kind of country, the plains of the general Khorássánee character, bare of grass, but covered with a whitish-leaved aromatic plant perfuming the air around, and the favourite food of the dumbá sheep, to whose flesh it is supposed to communicate its peculiar and grateful flavour. There are also many prickly plants eaten by the camel. Trees throughout the distance of Herát to Furráh are rarely met with, except a few mulberries or willows near the Chushmeh or spring of water, or in the immediate vicinity of the respective villages. The vales of Subzewár and Furráh are of course excepted, where the luxurious foliage of the numerous groves will not fail to be admired and appreciated by the traveller coming from the desert. Furráh is a considerable town, and the fort is an erection of some importance, being the frontier post on the side of Kandáhár. Here also resides a son of Kamerodeen. At this town it will be necessary to provide for 140 kos, the distance to Kandáhár. From Furráh about five kos the Furráh river or Furráhród is crossed, wide, and the current very strong. You then enter a desert extending from 80 to 90 kos, in which water occurs at four spots, at three of them deposits of rain water which never fail, and at the other, a houz. I speak of the close of the summer, the period I crossed this plain. You then arrive at Girish, a fort belonging to Kandáhár; here are a few houses, but no great supply if any should be calculated on. A fine stream is crossed immediately before arrival at Girisk. Boats are kept here, but the river is fordable at the season of my visit, viz., autumn. The northern route from Herát *via* Ghiraunee also meets at Girisk, where duties are levied on the caravans, as they are also at Furráh on the opposite side of the desert. The fort of Girisk is small and compact and belonged to the famous Futteh Khán: to this he invariably fled and found a refuge in his disasters, and here he projected the rebellions and fomented the factions which have deprived Eastern Khorássán of its lawful sovereign, and here after his murder the brothers received from their mother the funds which enabled them to wage warfare and finally to establish themselves in the line of country from Girisk to the Indus. Here are numerous gardens, and fruits are plentiful. From hence to Kandáhár there is a tract of fifteen or sixteen kos without water. In other respects the country is populous and fertile; provisions easily obtained at all the villages. In approaching the city you have a view of beautiful meadows to the right, irrigated by a fine but narrow stream. On your left detached hills surmounted with ancient brick towers, on turning which you behold at the base the ruins of the old city of Kandáhár called Hussein Sháh's, and in front you see, at about a mile distant, the new city, or rather its western wall divided by



its numerous bastions. Of Kandáhár I shall make but one observation, which is that it has been supposed to be the site of one of the Alexandrias founded by Alexander, as it is expressly stated that this city was built at the foot of the Paropamisian range which is again repeated in the speech of the Nysa Ambassadors. Kandáhár has no claim to be considered Alexandria, for the hills around it are all detached ones save the inferior ranges of the Hazarah Tartars, and it is some hundred miles from the Paropamisian range. The antiquarian desirous of fixing the position of Alexandria must be recommended to go elsewhere; perhaps a trip in the annual caravans from Kábul to Balkh might put him on the scent.

(A True Copy.)

(Signed) D. WILSON,  
Resident, Persian Gulf.

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*Adventures from Kandáhár to Shirkárpore : by Mr. C. MASSON.*

No. 3.

Proceeded alone from Kandáhár with the intention of overtaking a caravan which had left two days before in progress to Shikárpore. Although perfectly aware of the danger of travelling in those countries, particularly for a stranger, understanding that the caravan would march slowly, being burthened with women and children, and judging the danger would not be excessive within two or three days from the capital of Khorásan, I started in the expectation of reaching the kaffla the 2nd March. Arriving at the last of the villages in the neighbourhood of the city and about 10 kos distant, entered it with a view of procuring some food, but could prevail on no one to prepare it. At a slight distance from the village observed a black tent which I presumed was occupied by some of those people called Loharnee, who are in general more hospitable than the Afgháns. Thither I repaired and found a family in which no one could speak Persian, and I being ignorant of Peshto, we were mutually at a loss. However I succeeded in conveying the information that bread was the article needed, and that he should be paid for it. To this he agreed, and while his wife was kneading the dough, his attention was attracted by the sight of a drinking vessel I had purchased in Kandáhár, and he took, or rather seized, it, returning me the few pice I had previously given him. Nor did he stay here, but absolutely searched my linen, and my coin in gold which I had bound in the web cord of my pyjamas underwent his inspection, the vicinity of the village alone deterred him from making it booty. Bread was at length served. While I was eating it, I could comprehend the discourse of the family related to me, and I heard the word kaffla pronounced several times, which encouraged me to hope it was near at hand. Having smoked the chillum, as is invariably the custom in these countries after meals, I took leave of my host, enquiring by signs the directions of the high road to Shikárpore. He understood me and directed my sight to a whitish-topped peak among the distant hills, under which he asserted the road winded. Having yet two or three hours of day-light, dashed across the country—in front the hills and not a sign of habitation—came to a swamp of briny water, and had some difficulty in clearing it. At length reached a large solitary building uninhabited and in decay which had probably been a serai in former times. Here were two or three chambers in decent preservation, in one of which I took up my quarters for the night, although the doing so was not unattended with danger, as from the remains of recent fires it was evident the place was frequented, and I inferred in so sequestered a spot and distant from any path or road, it might be the resort of robbers or other doubtful characters. Recommending myself to the divine protection I resigned myself to sleep, and awoke in the morning, having had no other

companions than pigeons whose numerous wings covered the vaulted roofs of the buildings and no other visitants than a few owls with their large flapping wings and discordant cries occasionally broke in upon my repose. Started and nearing the hills observed the villages on ascending ground of the district called Kooshab. The city is not visible from hence, a small detached range of hills intervening. Arrived at a kareze without water, and made for a building which I found to be a deserted flour mill. I could not from hence discover the road I was in quest of, but concluded I should gain it by following the direction of the base of sand-hill to the left, towards which I accordingly steered. Approached it, when issuing from one of the apertures, galloped a horseman, one of the wild Patháns in the uncouth garb of his tribe; he rode towards me, and I believe asked me the road to some place or other, but as I was unable either to understand him or return an answer, his vociferations were to no effect, and applying to me all the curses and abusive epithets which his language furnished, he left me and galloped off to my great satisfaction. I now descried in the distance a string of camels which were without doubt pacing the desired road, and I hoped might be the kaffla I was following. Gained a road in which were abundant prints of feet of men, horses and camels. There was no person in sight that I could ask if the road was the one for Shikárpore. However I entered it without hesitation, and proceeded five or six kos without meeting or seeing any one. Hills to the right and left; those to the right, sand principally; to the left, stone covered with the slight surface of earth, but no vestige of inhabitants. Found the camels I had seen to be return camels from Kandáhar, whither they had conveyed wood. This mortified me for the moment, as it left me dubious as to the road; but on passing those which had halted I again perceived the traces of men, horses and camels as before, and the rinds of pomegranates which had manifestly been that day only thrown on the ground encouraged me to hope the kaffla was very near. Arrived at the kareze to the right of the road. The water of bad quality and unpalatable. Continued marching with still the same signs of the caravan. When night began to overcast the horizon, at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the road observed two or three trees which, with the circumstance of the kareze before mentioned winding in the same direction, indicated the existence of a village. Found about one hundred and twenty tents arranged in a semi-circular form, in front of which were two spots enclosed with stones, which served as musjeets where the men of the village were assembled, it being the time of evening prayer. I rode up to one of these and and saluted with the usual *Salám Aleekum*, and was invited to sit down. When the prayers were finished, one of the men decently apparelled said to me: "*Dondee kouree dil ter razee*", which signifies if you will eat bread, come with me. I accepted the invitation and accompanied him to his tent, which was well furnished after the fashion of the country, and before the entrance were stationed three tolerable horses. The whole had an appearance of easy circumstances, or, indeed, of comparative opulence if the general poverty of these people be considered. Bread was cooked expressly for me, water was brought to wash my hands before eating, and I was encouraged to eat heartily. I felt perfectly at ease, and was doing justice to my entertainment, having ate nothing during the day, when another man came in and seated himself by my side. The repast being finished, my new visitant applied a rather rude slap on the cheek, at which I merely smiled, presumed it intended as a joke, and although a severe one, yet as these savages understand little of decency, and being alone among many, it was but common prudence to pass it off lightly. He then asked me for my upper garment. This I refused, still thinking him disposed to be merry. I, however, found to my cost he was not trifling, for he despoiled me of it by pure force, as well as of my head-dress, in short left me nothing but my pyjamas and shoes. He also applied two or three additional slaps on the cheek, and a liberal allowance of terms of abuse in Persian, which was all he knew of that language: this he did in ridicule of