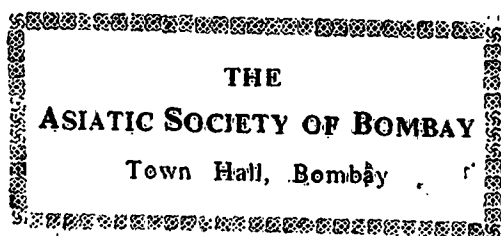


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THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay

JOURNAL

OF A

JOURNEY FROM PERSIA TO INDIA

THROUGH HIRAT, AND CANDAHAR.

60073

BY

LIEUT. COLONEL LEWIS PELLY,

H. B. N.'S POLITICAL RESIDENT IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

PX. B. 45



With Map and Appendix.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present Selection comprises the Journals of two remarkable journeys undertaken by Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Pelly, in the character of a British Officer, through Central Asia and Arabia, regions differing widely from each other in their physical features and political conditions, but identified in common as centres of Mahomedan fanaticism and intolerance.

The first of these journeys was undertaken by Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly in the autumn of the year 1860, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

It will be recollected that at the close of our last war with Persia, a Commission was deputed to Herat for the purpose of witnessing the fulfilment of certain provisions of the Treaty then recently concluded at Paris between the English and Persian Governments. This Mission appears to have resulted in some misunderstanding with the ruler of Herat, in consequence of which Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly, while acting as Secretary to the British Legation at the Court of the Shah, was instructed by Her Majesty's Government to proceed to Herat on a friendly visit to the Sirdar, making inquiries also regarding other matters *en route*. From Herat he was instructed to proceed through Afghanistan to the Indian frontier, reporting on the political conditions of the territory he passed through, which had not been traversed by any English Officer since the period of our war in Afghanistan.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly set out from Teheran on the 10th September 1860, and after a brief but interesting sojourn at Herat, he passed through Ferrah,* Gareshik, Candahar, and

* A portion of this journey between Ferrah and Candahar has been rendered memorable as the scene of the last fatal journey of the traveller Ferber, and of the perilous adventures of Ferrier.

Khelat, and thence southward, through Beloochistan, until he reached the sea-board, when he crossed our frontier towards the close of November, and entered Kurrachee.

A Sketch Map accompanies, showing Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly's line of route from Teheran to Kurrachee.

The second journey, from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the Wahabee capital of Riyadh in Central Arabia, was undertaken by Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly in February 1865. The objects he had in view in proceeding to the Wahabee capital were of a political and scientific character, and may be briefly stated to have been 1st, to improve the relations between our Government and the Ameer of the Wahabees; 2ndly, to show that a British Officer may, under suitable precautions, travel anywhere when his duty to the Government requires it; and, lastly, to solve certain geographical questions relating to the interior of Arabia.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly was accompanied on this journey by Mr. Dawes (late of the Indian Navy), who rendered valuable assistance in taking astronomical observations *en route*; by Dr Colvill, Residency Surgeon, who made an interesting collection of geological and botanical specimens, and by Mr. George Lucas Interpreter to the Resident.

A Map prepared by Mr. Edward Waller, Cartographer to the Royal Geographical Society, showing Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly's line of route from Koweit to Riyadh and back to the Persian Gulf, is appended to his Journal.

P. RYAN,
Asst. Secy. to Govt.

JOURNAL.

Monday, 10th September 1860.—Goolahék, near Teheran. Received my instructions from H. M.'s Minister to return to India by way of Herat and Afghanistan; and as I had previously made all preparations I was enabled to mount at once, ride into Teheran, and at 5 P.M. to find myself on my post horse *en route* for Meshed. Mr. Alison kindly accompanied me into town; as did Watson also. Said good-bye to young Dickson and Glen out at Goolahék. The Doctor arrived in town just as I had mounted. He, Watson, Sultan Khan, and my servant Hussein accompanied me outside the town for about half a mile on the Meshed road. Then good-bye. The Doctor is to write to Sir Henry Rawlinson and say that he saw me off cheerily. It is curious that three years ago I should have embarked for India from Persia on the 11th September; that last year I received my instructions to return to Persia on the 9th September; and that I am now leaving Persia again for India on the 10th September.

When the Doctor went I felt I had spoken my last word of English for some months to come. But the prospect did not sadden me. I am on an interesting tour. No Englishman has passed through Afghanistan since the period of our wars there. And moreover there is a pleasure in the freedom and the enterprise of the journey. I take with me Meerza Zein-ool-Abadin,* who was for some time our Native Agent at Herat. I like the fellow, and shall probably take him right on to Calcutta. Then I have a very

* This man I took in fact right through to Bombay. Finally he died in January 1863, in my house at Bushire.

good Ghulam, one Hashem Beg,* who got into a scrape last winter when accompanying Mr. Doria. But I like the cut of the man, and have little doubt of his accompanying me to Herat without any difficulty. The horses of the above named two attendants make, with my own, three horses; besides which I have a horse for the carriage of some presents which I am conveying to the Governor of Herat from the Queen's Government. Another horse carries my own saddle-bags, and on a last and sixth horse rides the post-guide with my small leathern saddle-bags containing things I require to use daily. I carry a letter for the Governor of Herat expressing the desire of the Queen's Government for the independence of His Highness' territory; also a letter for the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan from the Queen's Minister in Persia, commending me to the Ameer's friendly offices. For myself I have a firman from the Shah's Foreign Minister, requiring all men to aid me to the Persian Frontier; and an order for post-horses, with authority to receive them from the villagers, in the contingency of the post-horses not affording the required number.

Away we go. But I see my loads are very heavy; and the animals canter with difficulty. Our road lies up the slope to the northward of the hill of Beebee Shirabanon. I remember to have looked over the city to this road as it appeared scratched over the side of the hill, from the slope whence we saw it on the day of our official entry into Teheran on the 8th or 9th December last. Even then I could not forbear casting a glance into the future; and thinking I should one day travel up that scratch *en route* to Afghanistan.

The sun set as we reached the hill top; and the clouds of the past few days' stormy weather cleared away. Night closed in; and I saw the most beautiful meteor I ever beheld, drop over the Elburz its large and brilliant ball. When it burst, its stars equalled those of the largest rocket: so like, and how different.

* This man did very well; and I sent him back from Herat.

We lost our way; and got down too much into the plain of Verameen. At length a man leading some camels put us on the right road, and we reached the post-house about 10 p.m. All these post-houses between Teheran and Meshed are built on one plan; and we owe them to the ill-fated Ameer Nizam, the reigning Shah's earliest Prime Minister; and the ablest and most faithful he ever had.

Squatted in the post-house, I scrawled off a few farewells to my Teheran friends; to Baron Minutoli, the Prussian Minister, in particular; for he has been very civil to me, and has some little terror of my coming trip. "Is it really true, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires," said he to me one evening, as we met out riding, "Is it really true you are going to reach India by way of Afghanistan?" "Why yes, Excellence, I have some little notion of the sort." "And pray what preparations have you made?" "None at all, Excellence. This good pig's-skin saddle has carried me in many countries; and by the grace of God shall carry me through Afghanistan." "But is it not dangerous?" "That is precisely what I want to see." "Ah! that's the way you English hold India. But, Mr. Chargé, I have no great predilection for that route. Au revoir."

Another note goes to Ferookh Khan, who was most kind at our parting. A third goes relative to a handsome shawl given to me by the Shah, when graciously according me leave. However shawls are out of my line, so I have given this one away.

11th September.—Up before dawn; and off. The road lay over easy galloping ground. But the horses flounder awfully. The plain of Verameen sloped away to our right; immediately on our left rose the southernmost range of the Elburz, towards the conclusion of our stage, which passes for seven fursacks;* and I did the distance with difficulty in three hours. But the poster was a hopeless brute.

* The length of a fursack varies, but the longest is a Khorassan fursack, equal to four good miles.

I have now adopted the improvement of letting the Ghulam come on slowly with the saddle-bags. In this way I save time and fatigue; arrive earlier; and get preparations made for the next stage. Towards the close of this ride the hills appeared on our right as well as left; and narrowed in towards the so-called Caspian Gates.

At length we come to Eymonee Kief, a village of some size, prettily situate among nice fruit gardens. These latter are famous for their figs and pomegranates. They brought me a couple of dozen fine figs, some apples, and some grapes. I finished the figs and a few bunches of grapes; but then restrained myself, as I feared to spoil my breakfast. Immediately after starting this morning we crossed the Jai-rood, which river comes out of a gorge in the Elburz on our left hand, and is partitioned off along numerous water courses to the several villages down in the plain of Verameen. I remarked the old ruins of Rhages on my right, near where I passed a few days with Sir H. Rawlinson in the early spring. The fine clear-topped Demawend* was in sight all along the road; its beautiful cone, in its new robe of snow, aspiring high above the intermediate mountains. A deep bed of a river passes down through Eymonee Kief, immediately under the post-house. There was water in the bed to-day after the recent rains.

Started at noon from Eymonee Kief, and followed the road to where a swamp brings you to the entrance of the Pyla Caspæ. This is a pass of some two miles in length shut in at the entrances but widening at parts in the length of the pass. Some of the hills on your left are scorched and desolate. There is a brick built half-ruined fortress at the western entrance, immediately over a brackish spring. A salt stream runs through the pass down towards the Khar or eastern plain. Near the eastern end of the pass is an old-looking stone ruin of a fort. From the pass you descend gradually to the alluvial plain of Khar, whence Teheran is largely

* The mountain Demawend was ascended last summer by some gentlemen of the Russian and English Legations. I believe that these gentlemen considered its altitude to be about 22,000 feet.

supplied with grain and vegetables. Some thirty villages are discernible around you; and many sites of villages or forts. Southwards, in the distance, are the Siah Koh. I could not help figuring Alexander and his cavalry in the pass to-day. Although I confess to remaining undecided in opinion as to which of the several villages and passes, with adjacent plains and forts, may be the gates described to us by the ancients.

My next post-house is at Kishlak, a pretty village. Some small caravans are round the Post. They go on to-night. One of them belongs to the family of Ibrahim, who has a note of hand from poor Conolly. The length of the stage to Kishlak is called seven fursacks. I mounted for it, at noon; and reached my post at four P.M. The horse I rode had already carried me my one stage. Kishlak is the chief of a circle of villages. Every village has its Khet-Kooda. At the chief village resides a Naib, or Lieut.-Governor. And at Teheran resides the Grandee by whom the village revenues are enjoyed during the pleasure of the Shah.

12th September.—Started at four A.M. for Deh Nemuck; road dampish after the recent rains, and gradually becoming worse towards the half-way village of Aradar. In the mountains to the north is a gorge, which leads up to the district of Feroze Khoh, and down which come the streams which make my road so swampy. The guide got two headers; horse and all, to my great amusement. A fellow reached me with a Persian note from Teheran. Sent back a few lines to Watson to say I am as jolly as a sand-boy. Met a long caravan of Bokhara Pilgrims. Such ruffianly looking creatures: but large and sturdy, with somewhat Tartar features. I observed only one matchlock in the whole caravan; but many spears formed by sticking a spike into the head of a long walking stick. Two fellows had bayonets on their sticks, stolen, I suppose, from the stragglers of the Persian expedition, which latter this caravan has met *en route* to Merv. Most of the Bokharians were on mules, a few on camels also. The fellows recognised me for a Feringhee: and stared at me proportionately. Every thing reminds me, as I pass along,

of Sind:—the produce of the fields and gardens; the old mud forts in ruins; the time-worn mud walls of the houses; the atmosphere; the hills; the lark rising here and there, singing his song, the only sound one hears; the people straggling out of the rents in the village walls early in the morning. All is Sind over again. Such recollection is pleasant to me. I feel at home in this strange Khorassan.

Property, however, in these parts seems a little unsafe; the houses without the forts have mud arched roofs, as it would be unsafe to have wooden rafters, since they would be stolen on the first opportunity by some way-farers or neighbouring villagers. Again if a man has a well he builds a little tower over it with an entrance so small that the windlass for drawing water cannot be got out. About the fields are small towers of refuge for the peasants when surprised by marauders at their work. Every man one meets is armed, and every passenger is careful to give the salaam "Alakoom."

After the midway village of Andan, where salt is collected, the cultivated land ceases, and one rises slowly towards Deh Nemuck; which is more a caravanserai than a village. It has, however, a ruined fort; and an arched reservoir for rain water. Water is very scarce, but the melons are so excellent that it were profane to touch water. The weather is pleasant; but in the afternoons still hot for riding. Arrived at Deh Nemuck about 8 A.M., *il est*, in four hours; the stage is called six fursacks.

Started at noon from Deh Nemuck; the road lay for a couple of fursacks along a barren plain; the desolate and burnt-looking Elburz still on my left. After this distance the road ascends some stony grounds, leading over a low spur of the Elburz. After a slope of about a fursack you come to a deep ravine; and a tower in ruins. This tower was formerly a transit levy station. Another ascent of a fursack, and you arrive at a half-ruined caravanserai, and a vaulted reservoir of rainwater. A few poor fellows have been here located. Onwards a fursack you pass a bridge over a deep gully or mountain torrent; and this ravine separates the province

of Irak from that of Khorassan. Two more bridges lie *en route*; and as you come to the eastern sides of the mountain spur the road narrows and becomes, in fact, a sort of sheep track scarped through the rock. Suddenly you see the trees of Lasjird appear above the pass; and then descending, you find yourself within a couple of hundred yards of the town. The post-house is outside the walls; as also is a high round fortress of singular aspect. The windows of the houses in this fort are in two tiers; all facing outwards round the circle. The lowest tier is some thirty feet from the ground, and both tiers have balconies of wood supported on rafters which stand out from the wall. Lasjird is prettily situate, but the melons are inferior. Our road this afternoon has been very hot; and the stage wearisomely long. Every horse except mine knocked up. I find at the post-house some of Sirdar Ghulam Hyder's followers; they are on foot. He is gone ahead with his family.

13th September.—Started at day-break for Senmoon; the distance may be $5\frac{1}{2}$ fursacks. I was four hours *en route*. Midway you pass a village with some gardens; a little beyond the ground begins to slope down towards Senmoon, which is in sight from $2\frac{1}{2}$ fursacks. The site of Senmoon is agreeable; and the town itself prettily embedded in extensive walled gardens, and orchards. A fresh supply of water flows through the town passing between rows of trees; and here and there falling in little cascades. The bazar seems a good one; it is arched. The present Governor of the Senmoon District is the Sipah Salar's son; but he is absent at Teheran. Just outside Senmoon I met our causid returning from Herat; stopped him, and took him back to the post-house, where I opened his bag and found a letter addressed to myself from Sultan Ahmed Khan, also one for Mirza Zein-ool-Abadin from the Hajee, our Agent at Meshed; and in which it is stated that the Sirdar is better disposed towards the Mirza. After eating some goodish khababs brought from the bazar, I sent on Hashem Beg with the mules, and started at half after one P.M. for Aheinjoon. The road leaves the town of Senmoon by some gardens and plantations; and then crosses a sandy plain for about two miles, where it slopes up gradually unto the Elburz mountains,

becoming stonier and steeper till it reaches the highest point, a desolate convergence of many gorges. This point is some $3\frac{1}{2}$ fursacks from Senmoon, and from it the road descends into the bed of a torrent and continues up and down winding through the hills, until you reach Aheinjoon, where there is a well-built burnt brick serai, a reservoir of water, and a post-house; besides a sort of hollow fortified square for cattle. All speak the desolation and unsafety of the spot. The mountains round are of unusually barren aspect; but the air is delightfully cool, and this compensates all else. There is one old leafless trunk of a tree near the caravanserai. I saw a few deer grazing, or rather searching for something to eat, as I came down. They were quite tame, and it is forbidden to fire at them, as a Syud from Meshed has declared them sacred. The origin of the tale is, perhaps, that it is found inconvenient to allow fire-arms to be used in this district lest their report should alarm a passing caravan. Once during this stage the guide stopped, as he missed the Mirza. ¶ But on cantering back to a hollow where I had passed some Lookees, I found the Mirza quite safe, and vaunting that he would thrash 300 such fellows. He is a plucky fellow, I believe; was with Pottinger at Herat; and often amuses me with anecdotes of him, of Stoddard, and of Todd. I reached Aheinjoon about six; having been $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours *en route* on a tolerable poster. I found that Hashem Beg had prepared my tea and spread my carpet, so I was comfortable at once; and it only remained to strip as usual, throw a gindee of water over me, and then put on my loose pants and sort of night gown; this change immediately on arrival, with a good shower of water is a great treat, and followed by a cup of tea quite refreshes me. I have no spirits, wine, or beer with me, and am glad of it. But this evening Hashem Beg gave me some tamarind juice with my tea, saying it came from an out-of-the-way place called Goozerat; rather amusing this, for a man speaking in the wilds of Khorassan. This afternoon, by the way, after leaving Senmoon, I saw where the path leads off to Khaff. But this line to Khaff has no water for a distance of 30 fursacks. It is the road that the unfortunate prince Mahomed Reza took.

14th September.—Mounted at half after two A.M. Air nice and fresh, the path slightly descending and stony, until day-break, when I saw the plain of Damghan below me, and a long slope down to it. The Elburz juts out into a headland a little beyond Damghan; and marks its position from a distance. At day-light we quickened pace, and reached Goorcheh, low down in the slope, about half after six. The sunrise had been beautiful, and the air was still agreeable. On the road we met a party of Goorghan Turcomans with some splendid horses, and a little farther on we came on their children, packed in Kajawahs, on camels. On asking at the Goorcheh post-house who our friends were, I heard that they had been recently captured in a Persian raid on the line of the Goorghan; and that both horses and children were now being carried to the Shah, as a present made by their captor. Goorcheh is simply a post-house with a reservoir and a substantial burnt-brick caravanserai, which was originally (like all the best caravanserais) built by Shah Abbas, but which has recently been repaired by a merchant. The melons here are capital. At 11 A.M. I mounted my little poster, this being his third stage, and moved to Damghan, sloping down shingly and sandy soil to the half-way village of Dowlutabad, which bears a reputation as being one of the prettiest villages in Persia. There is a good breadth of cultivation round it, and a running stream. But I cannot say that the village appeared to me as being remarkable, unless for its wells being in good repair. Between Dowlutabad and Damghan one passes over an alluvial and shingly plain for a distance of some three fursacks. I reached the latter place at 4 P.M. Damghan was once a town of importance. Its walls are of greater extent than those of Teheran; and it still contains two minarets built by the Arabs. But the Afghans destroyed the town some 130 years ago or more. It was then recovered from them by Nadir Shah as General of Shah Thamasp. But the town never recovered, and gardens and melon beds fill large spaces formerly occupied by houses. The town is nevertheless picturesque, and the post-house prettily situate outside the walls, with a stream running in front of it.

15th September.—I left Damghan about 3 A.M., passing through

some deserted streets until I reached the walls of the old town. I then took the path across the plain for some three fursacks, when I passed a tower to my right. The tower marks the spot where Nadir Shah gained a victory over the Afghans. By the way my Mirza informs me that Nadir was born at Khiva, and not at Kelat-i-Nadir, as I had formerly supposed. From Nadir's tower, called the Boorj-i-Mumoos, the road continues over a clay soil, here and there cut up by water courses, until you reach 'Deh Moollah, distant from Damghan about six fursacks. I was some four hours and a half in the saddle. Villages were fairly sprinkled over the lower portion of the plain to my right; while to the left stony ground sloped up to the hills. Deh Moollah, like all the villages in Khorassan, is fortified. But, as in many other instances, the post-house is outside the walls. Thieves would not, however, have found much to steal in this post; for there was neither horse, man, nor kit, within its walls. I rested my horses half an hour and then left for Shahrood, distant about four fursacks. Hashem Beg with the bags was behind; so I left orders with one of the villagers to await his arrival, and then receiving from him my letter of introduction to the Governor of Shahrood, to gallop after me. My poor little poster was rather tired by the time I got him over his 40 miles, and into the gates of Shahrood; and to say the truth the latter portion of the road was wearisome. However I reached my post-house by noon; and at once refreshed myself with a fine bunch of grapes. It is indeed a great treat having the fruit ripe, and the season so favourable for travelling. For although the days are hot, and the glare intense during my day rides, still, on the whole, the climate is very fine; the nights especially, and the early mornings are delicious. And I have as yet been very fortunate; for the storms of wind and rain which had occurred unseasonably and with unusual force immediately before my quitting Teheran, ceased on the eve of my departure; and I have since seen neither a cloud nor a drop of rain. At Deh Moollah I found my Mirza desirous of delaying. He made various pretences. But I was anxious to get on to Shahrood this evening, so as to lose no time in making preparation for getting across the desert to Abbasabad, between which station

and Shahrood travellers are escorted by irregular cavalry and guns. On alighting at noon, and going up to the post-room, I heard a noise outside, and on going out found my Mirza belaboring the post-master for not having horses. I left them to settle matters between them ; and meantime sent off the letter which had been kindly given to me by the Shah's master of the ceremonies, to the Governor, who is to-day absent at Bostoon, about four miles north-east. In about three hours a reply came back filled with sweet words ; but concluding with the fact that I cannot have my irregulars and guns until to-morrow evening at Bedusht, a village about a fursack ahead. I have a strong suspicion that these irregulars, for I have declined the guns, are intended as well for Sirdar Ghulam Hyder Khan Baruckzyea (a son of Rahim Dil Khan), as for me ; and if so the junction will not suit me at all, for in the first place Ghulam Hyder is an Afghan Refugee, who has long been one of the thorns in Sultan Ahmed Khan's side, and would not be a welcome companion for one going on a friendly mission to Sultan Ahmed Khan ; and in the second place, as the Sirdar is carrying his family with him, his caravan pace would not compete with my post-canter. However I shall move on Bedusht to-morrow evening ; I shall then canter ahead, and if the Sowars are for me they will of course follow me, otherwise they will remain behind with Ghulam Hyder, and I shall then just run my chance. I have been much amused this morning by the falls of my fellows. One man got three headers. One comical fellow, too, a guide, having to carry my hunting cap, put it on the top of his Persian or rather Turkee cap, and looked the queerest figure imaginable.

Sunday, 16th.—Here I am halted a day at Shahrood. However the climate is delicious, the food not bad, and were it not for the little annoyance of vermin I should be as comfortable, and feel as free as one ought to wish to be. Last evening I amused myself by looking over my map, fishing out distances, contemplating possible detours to the turquoise mines near Nishapoor, and to the point on the hill road between Herat and Cabul, where Conolly branched off for Mimenah. Again I discussed with my

Mirza the best method of avoiding an Istikball* into Herat, and of so managing as that while I may live like an English gentleman, I may avoid entailing any great outlay upon Government, and yet leave a favourable impression behind me. The fact is that Todd's enormously expensive mission of 1840 in which some two or three hundreds of thousands of pounds were expended in less than a year, and Khanikoff's recent mission from Russia in which he also is supposed to have scattered money freely, have rendered it somewhat difficult for an Officer to make an official visit to the ruler of Herat without paying dearly for the same. However, I think I have chosen the best plan in riding post to Meshed, and thus placing myself in the position of a person travelling light, and without the means therefore of carrying presents for others or luxuries for himself. This is the character I shall maintain throughout, and thus the little gifts and courtesies that I may be enabled to offer by assuming to be nothing will come with a good grace. It seems to me that an inability to maintain appearances was one of the secondary causes of the results of Major Taylor's mission two years ago, for he arrived with what is reported to have been some fabulous quantity of baggage, was escorted in state into Herat by the Chief's son, and some 2,000 horse; without a corresponding expenditure during his stay there. However the main and first cause for the complications of the last mission, was, of course, interference with the Sirdar on account of his coining money in the name of the Shah, and the subsequent intrigue whereby it was proposed to supplant the Sirdar in favour of a Suddozye Prince, named Mahomed Reza, who now, poor fellow, is skulking about the region of Khaff, his life unsafe from day to day. And this reminds me that yesterday afternoon when entering Shahrood I was much tempted to leave the Meshed road at that point, and proceed in a south-eastern direction by Khaff and Ghayn to Herat. It so happened that a

* An Istikball is a public entry into a city, or more strictly the persons deputed to meet one *en route*, and escort one into the city, constitute the Istikball.

merchant carrying his stores met me outside the town, and offered to sell me some capital baggage horses just at the moment I was revolving this change of route in my mind. But then I remembered, that the fugitive prince was near Khaff, that he would certainly seek me out, and that an interview of this nature might, under present circumstances, injure my relations with Sultan Ahmed Khan. Again on the other hand, I could not but ask myself, Why not see the Prince? Why not ascertain the truth of his relations and proceedings with the Sirdar and ourselves, and then enter upon a frank explanation with the Sirdar, and at the same time protect the prince? This is a delicate but seems to me the honest and open course to pursue. I think I shall therefore turn off from Meshed to Khaff, for to Meshed I must go as directed by my instructions.

Monday, 17th.—As arranged by the Lieutenant Governor of Shahrood, I left that place yesterday evening, riding out about a fursack to the village of Bedusht, where my escort was to have awaited me. On arrival, however, I found no irregulars, and resolved therefore to take my chance and cross the tract between Shahrood and Abbasabad unattended. However, as I had said I would await the escort until sundown, I did so. Stretching my rug by the side of a rivulet I lay down to muse on the changes of life and on the present aspect of the European political world. Meantime my Mirza collected a few sticks, and, preparing a fire, boiled a little water to give me the refreshment of a cup of tea before starting. But as the fire was rather close to my saddle bags, which contained some canisters of gunpowder, I rose to remove them; and chancing to put my hand into one of the bags to see that all was safe, what was my amazement at finding that two of the flasks were smashed and that all the powder (5 lbs.) was lying outside! Anything but agreeable this, with seven or eight pounds of loose powder inside; so I at once carried off the bags. A little after sunset I declared my intention of moving across the desert at once; but the Mirza was highly averse to the experiment, not as he assured me, on account of his own safety, but for mine.

As for himself he would readily run the gauntlet through any number of Turcomans. But what would become of him if I fell into their hands? I begged him not to disturb himself on my account; that in the first place I doubted not we should ride safely through, but that if it were ordered otherwise I should not much object to see a little change of scene in a Turcoman encampment; and that when we had had enough of it, I would send a letter to Government and get us ransomed. The Mirza, however, still protested, and had a pale look about his lips and face, which told more than met the ear. Just then, and while the debate was still unclosed, up came an elderly-looking man who informed me that he had been waiting with a caravan of some 14 camels, for many days, to cross the border, and that he would now start if I would escort him. "But my good fellow," said I, "how am I to escort you? I am alone; and moreover your camels cannot keep pace with my post-horse, sorry though he be." "Never mind," rejoined the white beard, "if you will only go slow I will start at once. But I dare not go alone." I could not but laugh at the man's notion of protection; and yet it said something for the estimation in which European character is held in the wilds of Central Asia, that a common camel driver should be willing to trust his life and goods on an unsettled frontier if accompanied by one Englishman, while he feared to trust himself there with his own numerous followers. However, while I was thus engaged with my Mirza on the one hand, and with my camel-friend on the other, Hashem Beg appeared on the scene with intelligence that Ghulam Hyder Khan was in the village with some thirty of his own Afghans, and escorted by a party of Persian horse, whom the Shah had deputed to conduct him to the Herat frontier. He was on the point of moving across the desert. "So much the better," said I, "then we will just ride across with him to the first station, and then trust to Providence." Even this plan did not wholly meet with the Mirza's approbation. Would it not be more dignified to have my own escort? "Very likely, but progress, not show, is my motto: so saddle the horses and let us join the Afghan cavalcade at once." At this point in the discussion, a wild howl from a distance reached us through

the darkness and announced that the Sirdar was already on the move. I mounted and joined his party at a deserted village about three miles in advance. We then fell into conversation, and he gave me the history of his country's and of his own woes. Candahar and its territory had been the property of his father Rahim Dil Khan, and should be his son's inheritance. But Dost Mahomed Khan had usurped all, and Rahim Dil Khan had sought refuge in Teheran, where he died. Since that date the Shah had continued some portion of his father's pension to himself, but even this was now gone, as in consequence of a fracas which had recently taken place between some Afghan Refugees and a Persian Syud, the Shah had resolved on expelling all the former from his Empire, and Ghulam Hyder was now *en route* to the Herat Frontier, under surveillance of his escort. What was he to do, or where was he to go? He was in debt at Teheran, though there the Shah had now settled all claims. He was in debt at Meshed, and perhaps his creditors there would detain him; certainly they would seize his horses, of which he had some five or six valuable Turcoman, and one fine Arab. If he reached the frontier he was by no means certain that the ruler of Herat, although like himself a Baruckzye Sirdar, would allow him to enter his territory. In brief, he was not well with Sultan Ahmed Khan, any more than he was with Dost Mahomed. Would the English give him employ? He would go to Sind, Bombay, and Calcutta; would then make a petition to the Viceroy, and take any employ that might be given him. Meantime, however, he was in great distress; he had a family (I could hear the bell of their mules jingling behind the escort), and thirty followers. But if driven to a push he must leave the former at Meshed, where his marriage had taken place, and the latter would gradually melt away of themselves. All his ills were attributable to Dost Mahomed, who was very able, but who had destroyed the country. Things could not last so. The Ameer was now 85 years of age. He had no son who could hold things together, and on his death "Candahar and Caubul would catch fire." I listened leisurely to the young Sirdar's tale, and thought that after all the Asiatic is but a half-civilized European, under a flowing robe.

Here was the young chief of old times over again, careless, generous, impetuous, in debt, in distress, proud as ever, and unable to bend to circumstances. His followers still hanging on to the last, and like himself, wholly without definite aim, yet always looking to the future.

It was a long and a wearisome ride of about 40 miles across the Desert to the village of Myomeed. About 8 A.M. at Myomeed I put up, as usual, at the post-house, while the Sirdar and his party occupied the adjacent caravansarai. I amused myself during the morning in watching the proceedings of his party. On arrival every man hooked his horse to the outside of the caravanserai wall, and perched himself in an arched niche in the wall itself. Then he opened a rag and commenced his breakfast of bread and such savoury accompaniment as might suit his palate or his purse. For instance, one would buy a melon from the salesman under a neighbouring Neem-tree; another would draw from his pocket a fid of goats' milk cheese; while a third would run out into a garden and help himself to an onion or a savoury garlic stem. None, I observed, drank any liquid during the meal. Meantime the horses stood saddled, and with their everlasting cloths over them. But after breakfast the saddles were removed; the belts lifted and readjusted; some chopped straw was taken from a sort of network for the animals' immediate use; and then came a spare quantity of barley. A coarse bag was then brought, and they put the horse's nose in the bag to feed him.

While loitering over this view, as I lay in my upstairs chamber and munched grapes, the Mirza came in and reported that a large caravan of pilgrims had arrived from Meshed, and had been escorted by guns to within a distance of some eight miles from Myomeed. "Well," said I, "let us gallop across this bit of ground and then avail ourselves of the return guns for escort onwards." This plan, however, was futile, for the guns had already returned to the next station of Meeandusht, where they would remain till the following morning. "Then we must go on with

the Sirdar to-night," said the Mirza, "or whenever he may move." "But what," I asked, in the meantime, "is the Sirdar going to do? Has he any friends?" "Yes, the Shah gave 100 Tomans to take him to the frontier." "And what will he do there?" "Oh, these Baunkzyes are very good to one another when in distress. Sultan Ahmed Khan will give him a lift through the Herat territory, and then Dost Mahomed will have pity, and give him a pension at Cabul. It is only when rivals that the Baunkzyes hate one another. They are kind enough to rivals become dependents." "And whom did the Sirdar marry?" "Oh, he married a woman of the lower orders at Meshed, about 10 years ago, when on his road to Teheran." "And why not have chosen some lady of high rank?" "Why, rank, Sir, has its disadvantages. Look, for instance, at me. I married a wife at Herat. She had no pretensions, but she was a good woman. She wore what I could give her contentedly, and if silk were too costly, why she was quite cheerful in cotton. But when I married the Hajee's daughter at Meshed, nothing was too good for her. Was she not daughter to the Agent for the English Mission before she married me? Could silk or shawls be too good for one of rank so high? As to ordinary dresses she turned up her nose at them; and my purse suffered accordingly. Yes, Sir, I think the Sirdar was right. I like a homely wife, and cheap, one with whom I am master, who accepts what I give, and is grateful."

In the evening I strolled out below the village. Myomced is in fact a string of four hamlets beaded along the skirt of a barren, precipitous, and isolated mountain. In front the plain slopes away to the northward and eastward until it reaches the distant Elburz. A few hundreds of acres of ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the hamlets are under the plough; but these are protected by a series of towers of refuge built at about two hundred yards the one from the other, so that in the common event of a sudden appearance of Turcoman horse, the peasant may rush to the nearest tower, which he enters at a small aperture, climbs to the top, and gives the alarm by discharging his matchlock. The guide pointed out a distant gorge in the Elburz range, as that through which the Turcoman intruders usually

found their way. He then showed me a small pass about six miles on the road to Shahrood, where he himself had once been seized and carried into slavery by a party of horse. "They came on me suddenly," said he, "knocked me off my horse with a spear, took away my two post-horses, and binding my hands close behind my back, drove me on foot to the Turcoman territories. They treated me well enough, I learned their language, ground corn, and fetched wood for them. They considered me very clever, and the Turcoman ladies took a great fancy to me. At length, however, my mother heard of my fate; and raising 60 Tomans in our village purchased my freedom. I have never got clear of this debt, and am still liable for above 20 Tomans. I wish now to go to Teheran, for I feel pretty certain that in one of my continual trips along this border, I shall again fall into the Turcoman hands."

On my return to the post-house I sent across to the Sirdar to ask at what hour of the night he proposed moving onward. He would start at midnight. This was late for me, as I should not arrive in time to catch the guns at the next station. However, what was to be done? So I called for a kabab and cup of tea, and prepared to rest myself in my cloak until the dismal hour, but just as I was losing consciousness, I heard the tramp of horses under my window, and the Mirza came running up to say that my 50 sowars had arrived. "All right, send the Commandant, that I may find out whether he is ready to go on at once." Accordingly a wild-looking creature with fly-away features appeared up the steps, and told me that he came by order of the Governor of Shahrood to escort me to Muzeenoon. "But why did you not meet me last night at Bedusht?" "Oh, I only got the order yesterday afternoon; and I was then four fursacks the other side of Boston." "Then you have come 15 fursacks." "Rather more." "Well, the pith of my question is this, that there are some guns at the next station of Meandasht, but they leave at day-break. If you can manage to bring me up with them, you may then return home, otherwise we must take our stages to Muzeenoon." "We can catch them up," said the Commandant, "my horses only require some barley and two hours' rest." "Come again

then in two hours," said I, and turned to sleep as fast as I could for this rather limited time. At the hour appointed I was ready to mount and so were my men, so we jogged along the skirts of the huge rock for nearly a couple of fursacks, until we reached the next fort.

"That mountain," said one of the Sowars, "is full of game, deer, wild donkeys, mountain sheep, and ibex." The only thing is that nobody can get at them, the rocks are so steep. At the fort the ground dwindled into a multitude of low hills, through which we wound for another two fursacks. This was the so-called dangerous part of the road. So the escort closed up and threw out a man in front. "And how many fellows have you?" I asked, looking round. "Thirty," said the Commandant, coolly. "But I can only see ten." "One is gone on." "Well, but eleven are not thirty." "Whatever you like, Sir." "And where do you come from originally?" "Why, we are Yamoot Turcomans. We used to be Yagee like the Tekkeas. But now we receive pay from the Shah, and take care of his Border. Originally we are Arabs, but that was in ancient days. And now we are for all purposes Turcomans, only ryots of the state." The little man, who really looked as if he was a part of his ragged-looking, lean, but bony and wiry Turcoman mare, then went on to detail to me the frays he had been in along this road. The two fursacks we were now on were the best bit of all the line for plundering. The Turcomans never left it.

At length we emerged from the hills at a point where a stone had been set up, as a sort of sign that here the danger was over. Another two fursacks, somewhat sloping but open, brought us to Meandasht about 3 o'clock on the morning of the 18th. The place consists of a miserable caravanserai and a fort. On entering the former I was roughly stopped by a fellow, who asked me what I wanted. "I want to know if the guns are here still?" "Yes, I am the Commandant. We start at once."—"No, no, gently now, we must have a cup of tea and then mount at the first break of the day."—"Certainly." So I hastened

to sleep, for two nights of a sort of half-walk, half-jog, had tired me. Just as I was dreaming of scenes far away, the Commandant pushed a very original looking kalyon against my face. "You don't draw it?" "Yes, yes, but where is the tea." "There it is," broke in the Mirza, "only the water is a little blackish." "Never mind," said I, "make it hot and put in three more large lumps of sugar." Thus disguised I managed to gulp down a small tumbler full of hot salt ditch water, with some straw in it.

Day began to dawn, and we were startled by a most unearthly noise outside. "What can that be? I asked." "The trumpet blowing the saddle," said the Commandant. "My God! what an excruciator," said I. Ten minutes more and we were rumbling one gun, with a detachment of flintlock men through a series of low hills to Abbasabad. Certainly these Persians know how to march. I had just left a party of horse who, mounted on the most scraggy-looking animals, had jogged on with a halt of two hours some good seventy miles carrying their matchlocks and saddle-bags full. Here was now a detachment of infantry slipping over the ground at the rate of three and three quarter miles an hour for the distance of some 23 miles. They had had done the same every day for the last week and were fresh and jovial as possible; but the fact is that every man had his donkey that moved in line, loaded with water and provisions for three days, so that in the event of an attack the men might be enabled to hold out and save the caravan from destruction, pending the arrival of succour from Shahrood or Abbasabad. These donkeys, of course, the men rode at pleasure, thus keeping up a quick walk, or half-trot all along the march. About two hours after starting one of the sowars came trotting after us to say that the little commandant wanted a paper from me certifying that I had allowed him to return from Meandasht. "By all means." So the Mirza produces his reed and dob of ink, and writes. "Well, Mirza, what have you written?" "That you have been excellently escorted by the thirty sowars whom the Governor so politely placed at your disposal; and that you will never forget his Excellency." "Well, but dont you think it would be as well to write 'eloven' sowars, and omit the compliment of for-

getting. For you know I have never yet seen the Governor, and have received from him only eleven sowars, and these came late." "True; but the other way reads better, and between exalted persons' large language should always have the preference." "Very likely, and I have no prejudices; but really I must stick to the truth; kindly alter my note, and then I will sign it." The note was altered accordingly, and we rejoined the detachment at a canter. I found the drivers dismounted, the captain smoking, and the detachment any where and every where, all over the hills. As to the donkeys, they wisely lay down and munched the stunted herbage as best they could. The explanation of this sudden change in the order of march was that a wild he and she donkey had appeared at the side of the road, and that all the artillery men had instantly dismounted and gone off in full chase. I confess I joined them, and shortly saw the jack standing alone on a little sandy mound and gazing warily round over his left shoulder. He was a fine fellow, stood as high as a pony; and presently slid away with his head tucked downwards and his legs moving with marvellous speed. This little episode over, we continued our route until we came upon a rough cairn on the right hand side of the road. "This," said my guide, "marks the spot where Sirdar Alum Khan Baruckzye fell." His story was briefly as follows:—When after the recent Persian war the Persian Government ascertained that an Afghan and not a Persian would rule at Herat, they nominated Alum Khan son of Méhr dil Khan, the former Governor of Candahar to the rulership; and he moved accordingly with his family *en route* for Herat. At Meshed, however, he learned that subsequent to his departure the Persian Government had revoked their nomination in favour of Sultan Ahmed Khan, who had meanwhile started post, passed Alum Khan, and reached Herat, where he was already acknowledged as ruler. Upon this Alum Khan took post-horses, and accompanied by only one attendant returned towards Teheran, with the intention of remonstrating against the treatment he had suffered. At this point on the road however he had been suddenly attacked by a party of Turcomans; had defended himself; and had fallen; his servant being carried into captivity. The

young Sirdar Gholam Hyder, who will to-day pass this spot, is brother to the late Alum Khan. I wonder what his reflections will be? But grief is selfish, they say; and perhaps his own misfortunes are enough to engross his mind.

About two fursacks before reaching Abbasabad we halted for a few minutes at a fortified caravanserai. This place is inhabited by a few Illyats, who were forcibly transported here by the Government in view of the supply of caravans. The poor fellows have a pitiable life of it. They dare not move fifty paces outside their wall, and they dare not retain any description of wealth within these walls. They can keep neither cow nor goat. All would be immediately plundered by the Turcomans, who even, as it is, from time to time, break into the enclosure and carry off every thing they can find. The caravanserai is supplied from month to month by the escort accompanying the great caravan, and these supplies they retail to travellers, remitting their gains by the return escort to Muzeenoon.

At length we arrived at Abbasabad, a poor village with a caravanserai situate at the base of the range through which we had passed, and looking out over the plain of Muzeenoon.

19th September.—Mounted at midnight, and accompanied the guns to the bridge of Abreshm, about two fursacks from Abbasabad. Another fursack brings you to a fort only now being completed, and commenced by the old Suddr Azm, whose name it bears. From this point the ground rises very gently for three fursacks to the town of Muzeenoon, situate near the ruins of the old capital of the highwayman, Alayar Khan. As we crossed the plain we could see it studded with towers so far as the eye could reach. Truly it is strange that people consent to abide among so insecure and intolerable a state of affairs. At the Muzeenoon post-house I dropped my horse that I had now ridden from Shahrood, some 100 miles. And while changing horses I fell into conversation with an old beetle-browed soldier, returning from the expedition of Merv to his native village of Myomeed. It was amusing to hear the poor fellow boast of the prowess of the Persian arms—he who himself had been reared amid the desolation of rapine resulting upon the

impotence of his Government to protect the frontier. But above all was he eloquent over his own regiment. "Uniform," he said impressively, touching his tattered tunic of green cotton; "our Colonel is a Prince, a great swordsman, and has killed numberless Turcomans." I happened to have met the said Colonel at Teheran; he was a pallid youth of dissipated habits, and was startled by the snap of a cap. Good soldier, brag on and die deceived. You are one of those multitudinous human victims who do all the work and share none of the glory. It is well that you can dream of the capabilities of your own ruined life being realized in the person even of so poor a creature as your Prince. If there were not many such as you, where would our heroes be, and where the field for those calamitous glories we so dearly pay for and so sillily blazon?

After a melon and some grapes I mounted again, and rode along the plain to the pretty village of Mehr. The distance may be some five fursacks or better. But I kept up the pace and reached the village by noon. It has a fresh stream running through it and a few fine old plane trees. The villagers were lolling in the street and merry children were playing at the doorways, which, by the bye, are commonly formed of one great slab of stone turning on rough hewn stone hinges, let into the wooden frame-work of the wall.

As usual a scarcity of horses at the post, and I had to ride mine on to Subzwar, a long nine fursacks. The road, however, was good, over a flat country, here and there stony, with the everlasting Elburz on my right; low land, and sandhills on my left; and on the other side of these a lower plain well sprinkled with hamlets. Far in the distance to the right front, rose the mountains separating the Subzwar plain from the fertile district of Toorshuz. After three fursacks we came up with an isolated caravanserai, one of the innumerable similar useful buildings reared by Shah Abbas the great, along the main lines of trade and pilgrimage. They are the finest and most enduring structures I have seen in Persia; of vast dimensions, of burnt brick, of sufficiently ornamental architecture, and excellently arranged

for the convenience of travellers. These caravanserais seem to me to be the most honourable public works yet constructed by the governments of modern Persia.

Four fursacks more brought us to two villages, with a good breadth of cotton and tobacco cultivation around them, and a fresh stream gurgling now across the road and now along its sides. After passing these villages a fursack and a half, we came upon a ruined Arab town; a minaret, with cuphic inscriptions on it, stands in a field in solitary beauty above a silent waste. Another fursack and a half through country ever gradually more cultivated, and the walls of Subzewar stand in your way. The post-house is in the town, and I believe an object of general attraction to the idlers in the street. I let them stare their fill, while I leisurely drank my tea up in the open balcony, and then returning into my little chamber, turned in to sleep. Towards morning Hashem Beg came up with the baggage. He had had a wearisome ride of 28 hours, and had knocked up every horse. I saw one seedy-looking grey mare lying in the yard with her head leaning against the wall, and her feet up in the air. Poor thing, she was too tired even for barley.

20th September.—I was to start at 5 A.M. for Sufferoonce. Accordingly a little before that hour there was the usual slanging down in the yard, and every now and then the slash of the Mirza's whip over some unhappy post-boy's back. For the Mirza is the terror of helpless people, and licks a Persian with all the zest of an Afghan. Though I must add that he alters his tone very rapidly whenever there is a little real difficulty on the carpet. However, this morning he met a Tartar, for the master of the post, a white-haired, red-dye-bearded old fellow, came to the post boy's aid, and treated the Mirza to the usual compliment of his being the son of a burnt father. I looked slyly on through the shutter, delighted to see the Mirza catch it. He on his side glanced up to learn if I was watching; and not seeing me, began to soothe the old man, suggesting there should be peace between them. "Very well," said the dry old crust, "But you must behave yourself or people are apt to get angry."

At length we mounted, and trotted through the roofed bazar of Subzewar. One passer called me a courier, and his companion suggested I was a king. The suburbs were partially cultivated to a village about three fursacks on towards Sufferoonee. And we crossed two streams bubbling up fresh and clear out of some Kanats.* Onwards the plain was desert, with low stunted shrubs scattered over it. And the road sloped slightly down towards the small fort and large serai of Sufferoonee. The Shah is at present building a new serai out of the material of a large but ruined serai of ancient days. The latter had the reputation of being the grandest serai in Persia. And from the appearance of the ruins I should say it deserved its fame.

Standing on the fort-wall, the Elburz rose about a fursack distant to the north, and to the south the hills that separate the district of Subzewar from that of Nishapoor. It occurred to me that from the relative positions of Nishapoor, Sufferoonee, and the turquoise mines, there must be some short cut to the latter from Sufferoonee, without, in the first instance, going round by the Nishapoor. So I set myself to inquire; and after some time a fellow came forward saying he knew a path through the hills, but that it was jungly, and that he would not guide me by it for less than three tomans. At length I agreed for two tomans, and five krans more if he should give satisfaction. No time was to be lost, and no fresh horse was to be found. So I remounted the nag I had brought from Subzewar. Hashem Beg was to follow the regular road with the saddle bags. The Mirza and I started across the plain towards the Elburz. We entered a valley of some hundred yards in width at a distance of about a fursack from the serai. The valley sloped up gradually, barren, and volcanic-looking, until we reached a point where one of the summits bore signs of copper. Then turning abruptly to the left we mounted a narrow steep ravine until we reached a little spring under a willow tree, and embowered in wild roses. Thirsty, I bent my face into the water and gulped a long draught. But I was afterwards a little alarmed at the guide dipping in his hand and pulling it out covered with leeches.

* A Kanat is an underground waterduct.

“ You should be careful of these,” he said, “ for they do harm inside the stomach.” “ Thank you,” I replied, “ you might have mentioned that, before I took my draught.” “ Inshallah! None have gone down,” was his main consolation.

From the spring the rise was very steep to the peak of a pointed summit; and, then, looking back, all the lower hills seemed promiscuously thrown together, black and barren, like a turbulent sea of liquid pitch. From the peak we descended rapidly to the small hamlet of Pehlvee: and I dismounted in a vineyard to enjoy a good bunch of grapes which the villagers had lately gathered. The women were among the vines, or arranging plucked grapes in panniers. They were unveiled, rosy-looking, very picturesque, and as usual with the picturesque very tattered and dirty. Still I passed half an hour among them very agreeably; and then continued my journey across a succession of hills and villages, until, at nightfall, I reached a small hamlet called Shorab. This might be about five long fursacks distant from the Sufferoonce stage. The Mirza, however, did not like the appearance of things; for he whispered to me confidentially that this was an unsafe place, and that he should not sleep all night. However, there we were. So I alighted, called for the chief man of the village, entered his hut, and made myself at home. The vermin, were unusually brisk and trying. But collecting the villagers in front of the hut we discussed matters in general, and then they gave me a primitive looking lamp, and closed the door, which seemed as though it had been made on purpose to look through. Nevertheless, I lay down, and tried to sleep in vain, for I was all alive with vermin. By and bye, I heard a movement, and on looking up I saw some faces looking down on me through the round holes in the mud roof, and some faces looking in at me through the spaces between the planks of the door. Well, I thought, it amuses them and it does not hurt me. So I turned my back towards the door and went to sleep. At midnight, however, I was roused for a start. The Mirza was glad to be off, and sooth to say I was not sorry. Mine host paid me a visit before starting; and the tone of subdued melancholy in which he recounted to me how the Governor of Nishapoor had fined

him in 20 tomans, and not left one grain of the past harvest for the consumption of the village, was more pathetic than any words I have ever heard from human lips. Poor fellow! What wonder if under such a system he were a robber!

Leaving Shorab about 2 A.M. on the 21st, we rode a fursack across a valley and then crossed a range dividing it from the valley, on the further side of which are the mines. By nine o'clock we were below the fort where the miners live, and rode up the lowest workings of the mountains, here formed into earthy mounds. Along the slopes of these mounds are numerous small excavations with the excavated soil thrown in heaps at their entrances. These hollows might be mistaken by a passing traveller for the caves of hyenas. But they are in fact the beds of the khaki or earthly turquoises. These are dug out from their surrounding alluvial clay and brash, and are pitched into a sieve, through which the whole excavated mass is sifted, thus discovering the turquoises by their colour.

Some of the miners assert that the turquoises found in the alluvial deposit are of a paler colour and are of less value than those found in the adjacent rock; but other miners again deny this statement, and assert that poor and rich turquoises are found indiscriminately in the clay and in the rock.

Passing by the earth mounds the road winds slowly upwards until it reaches the miner's fort, and then turning to the left, ascends to the base of a precipitous spur of the mountain range. At intervals up the scarp appear stairs; and climbing towards these, you come upon deep quarries in the rock of large and irregular area, and surrounded by a series of irregular galleries. These quarries are the "Sangi" or stony turquoise mines. The rock is quarried and hauled up into the galleries in baskets. There it is broken by the hammer; and the turquoises which are found encrusted in the matrix are removed. Some of the old quarries seem to be discarded. And from the statements of the miners I incline to think that the total supply of turquoises is less, both in regard to value and number, than it once was. Leaving the mines for the gate of the nearest fort we asked ad-

mission for breakfast and the replacement of a horse shoe. But the people at the gate were a surly ill-conditioned looking set, and we were well pleased to find that no blacksmith was to be found there. So we moved onward and downward through some orchards lying to the eastward of a second and lower fort; and kept on the descent through a long and easily sloped valley, until we emerged, after a ride of some 30 miles, upon the plain of Nishapoor. After leaving the mines about a fursack behind, we passed the salt-mines of Dowlutabad to our right: The salt is clear-looking and fine. It is dug in blocks out of a reddish rocky hill. As the high lands dwindled into the level country we crossed a low strip of about a quarter of a mile in breadth, forming, as it were, a natural dyke to the mountain ramparts. We then ascended a sort of circular scarp and found ourselves on the crest of a natural and cultivated glacis, which sloped away some two miles or more into the plain of Nishapoor itself. Fresh streams crossed our path, and groups of trees and villages and fine breadths of farm extended on the lower ground to our right, and away in front to the galaxy of villages immediately surrounding the fort of Nishapoor, whose walls we reached a little before sundown. The ride through the last four miles of plain is certainly the pleasantest and most cheerful I have seen in Persia.

Tradition tells that the plain of Nishapoor was once watered by 12,000 kanats. It still boasts a sufficient number of streams to render it very fertile. An army might subsist here with comfort. I understand that it largely supplies the market of Meshed. And it is easy to see why, in former times, this favored tract should have been the chosen residence of the rulers of the land.

Arrived at the post-house, the Prince Governor, Parveez Mirza, sent over the Mayor to learn if he could be of any assistance, and himself expressed a wish for me to call on him. I told the Mayor that all I wanted was a cup of tea and some sleep, and I excused myself to the Prince on the ground of being in riding costume. After a doze and a savoury kabab, I mounted at 8 P.M., and by midnight, after a gallop on a ricketty horse of some $5\frac{1}{2}$ fursacks, was glad to alight at Kuddeem Gah. We passed the point where

the road forks to Derrood, about two miles before reaching the post-house.

I had hoped to enjoy a morning's rest on that of the 22nd, and accordingly I told the Mirza not to call me. But about an hour before sunrise he was careful to inform the post-master in a stentorian voice, immediately under my window, that I was not to be disturbed. So I ordered tea and the horses. The latter, however, were not forthcoming; and what was more, the Mirza dared not bully the post-people, as they were all Syuds; the holy fraternity of Syuds at Shah Abdul Azim, in the neighbourhood of Teheran, having rented this portion of the post-road, to the profit of their temporal interests, and to the detriment of those of travellers. One poor brute that was produced and saddled, absolutely then and there tumbled over on his side, and was unable to rise. More hasteless speed, I thought; and sent to seek for another horse from the village. Meantime I accompanied the attendant of the adjacent shrine to inspect its sacred wonders. This, as the words *Kuddeem Gah* denote, was the old place of worship; discarded, I suppose, as Meshed increased. It still contains, however, a large, flat, black-stone lot into the frescoed walls of a domed building, and bearing the very gigantic impress of Imam Reza's two feet. The spot itself is picturesque. An avenue of fine old firs leads up a slope, and beside two streams, to the dome, which is rounded above an octagonal base, raised upon a masonry platform. The Moojawur has recently restored the interior, and in part the exterior. He showed me the sunud endowing him with charge of the building; and showed me also some remarks made in its margin, in approval of his endeavours; and bearing the seals of the Prince Governor of Khorassan; of Sultan Ahmed Khan, Governor of Herat, and of other celebrities. He desired my testimony, which I readily gave in the English character. Poor creature! he thus seeks the road to advancement at Teheran.

At last, about 7 o'clock, I found myself once more in the saddle, scrambling along over rolling, stony, hilly ground, towards Shureefabad. The air was clear and fine; a strong wind blowing

from the eastward. And the downs reminded me, occasionally, of some I used to scamper over on the confines of Somersetshire. Half way, a caravanserai ; another fursack is marked by a solitary tree ; and about half after eleven we reached our stage.

Shureefabad is a little off the road, but it contains a post-house, a fort, and a caravanserai. A good stream of water also flows through the hamlet. After a rest of an hour I mounted for my last stage into Meshed ; the ground became more hilly and stony, with here and there bits of sheet rock. At length, after many ups and downs, but always somewhat descending, we found ourselves on the headland where the pilgrim catches the first glimpse of the golden-domed shrine of the Imam, glittering in the sun, above the holy city of Meshed. The rogue of a Mirza at once dismounted and led his horse on foot through a by-path from which the stones had been cleared away. Thrice he salaamed ; and thrice he looked at me with infidel eyes. Meantime I admired the view to the left point and left mountains ; and then sloping into the plain of Meshed, which is cultivated on its Derrood side, and barren out towards the ruins of Toos, and thence round to the direct road to Herat. Hills in the distance to the northward and north-east, and far away, more to the westward the high land of Koochan. Descending into the plain you pass the caravanserai of Robat, and thence, after two fursacks, find yourself at the Bala-Kayabere, on Herat gate. Entering the town you come on in a broad and picturesque road leading straight to the shrine. This street is divided down the centre by a fine stream of water shaded on either side by plane trees. The crowd of people is great, and of course my European costume rendered me an object of general amazement.

In this place should come an account of my stay at Meshed. But I was nearly constantly employed in the city or on horseback outside, during the days I passed at Meshed. And thus my Journal was left blank. The city, however has been elsewhere described. I visited the shrine of Imam Reza. People seemed to think me imprudent, but no one molested me.

On one occasion, however, outside the town, I unwittingly intruded on the privacy of some noble ladies, who were praying

in a garden to the rear of a mosque. A slave drew his sword on me, but no harm was done.

Wednesday, 26th.—A little after noon I started *en route* for Herat. My first stage was to be at Robat, about two fursacks along the road to Shureefabad. The Akoond Zadah* and his nice little boy accompanied me; as did also Hashum Beg and my new servant Kureem. The Mirza stayed behind to give his wives another parting kiss; promising to join me by post tomorrow. I wonder if he will do so. After passing the town gates I began to look round to see that my cavalcade was complete. I found it lacked only the guide, sowars, and my two baggagers. "Where are the saddle-bags, Hashum Beg?" "Oh! gone on before." Somehow I did not approve this early separation from my kit; the more so since the said saddle-bags contained £500 (or their equivalent in gold toman's); all the presents for Sultan Ahmed Khan; my letters of credence, and all my worldly goods. However as Hashum was a good fellow, I did not like to doubt him, and rode on in silence. Still I was uncomfortable; and at length I could not help telling Hashum to move on to the caravanserai and prepare a cup of tea; I knew he would then come on the kit or miss it. Accordingly in about half an hour I see my friend galloping back. "There is no baggage animal forthcoming either on the road or at the stage!" Somehow I suspected this. But luckily I had in the meantime found two sowars. So I sent one of them to wait at the stage and halt all animals coming there. I threw out Kureem across country on the border road that leads by the Turcoman frontier to Herat; the remaining sowars I sent on to Shureefabad to bring back the vagrants if found there. Hashum Beg I sent back to the city. The Akoonds I placed at the point where the Herat roads fork. And then I just patrolled the line of road myself awaiting intelligence.

* This Akoond was the man who went in search of Conolly and Stoddart. He is a good man, but very suspicious and cautious. He only accompanied me one stage.

At last Hashum appeared with the news that the kit had taken the border road to Herat. "And why did you part from it?" "That it might not be seen passing through the city in your train;" and thus for this silly vanity which is the curse of all Persians, and the joke and sorrow of all who have to deal with Persians, I had been thrown into three hours of real anxiety. However, as my language was energetic, the fellows put their best feet foremost to right matters; and in the last dusk I spied the baggage coming across to the caravanserai. The explanation given by the guide was that he had been told by Hashum Beg to go to Robat and there were two Robats; one on the Shaik Jamee road, another on Ninee. He had chosen the former. However it was useless to be vexed. And as the city gates were closed, and the Akoond and his son were shut out for the night, we just perched ourselves on a shelf in the carvanserai, and talked Afghan politics over, a boiled fowl and some rice. The Akoond detailed to me also his career of service under Conolly, Abbott, Pottinger and Burnes. Every man one meets in these parts is a politician and must have had something to do either for or against us in the affairs of Afghanistan. As to the Akoond he is a thorough Russian-phobist. They are coming by Balk and by Herat. Persia is one with them, and, through Persia, Sultan Ahmed Khan of Herat is their obedient servant. Sultan Ahmed Khan of Herat will come forward himself immediately on Dost Mahomed's death, and take the lion's share in the inheritance. He is outwardly for the English; but really hates them. So does the Dost. As to Persia, the Merv expedition is undertaken under Russian auspices. When Merv is taken, Russia will come forward in the Herat line. The road thence through Balk to Caubul is easy, and well supplied. Afzul Khan has occupied Koondooz and the territory above the Bamian passes, with a couple of thousand men. The Dost now looks for Mennenah. As for me, I am on a dangerous mission. Sultan Ahmed Khan will receive me politely;* but hasten me away. In Candahar and Caubul I must be prepared

* The result showed that when Sultan Ahmed Khan had come to give me his confidence, he treated me very well, and I remained nearly a month in the Herat districts.

for revengeful acts from Afghans whose friends fell during the war. It is a blood feud, and an Afghan retaliates even the loss of a tooth after 30 years.

Well, I dare say I shall see some fun; and if it comes to extremity, why one can die game. Any ways I am directed to return to India viâ Herat, Candahar, and Caubul or the Southern Passes, and so by Herat, Candahar, Caubul or the Southern Passes,* I return, unless I lose my head *en route*.

Among other subjects the Akoond touched on that of Mr. Ferrier's caravan travels. He had met General Ferrier at Meshed on his way to Herat, and afterwards. But he positively asserted that Mr. Ferrier had never travelled by the Mennenah and Balk road. His route was from Herat to Furrâh, and thence to Ghirishk, where he was imprisoned by the son of the Governor of Candahar, to which latter place Mr. Ferrier was ultimately forwarded, and from which place he returned to Herat disappointed in the object of his travels. My Mirza, who was at Herat with Mr. Ferrier, also tells me that this gentleman never went by the Mennenah road; that he was some time at Herat under surveillance in the house of a Sirtoep, that he departed at length viâ Furrâh, and returned by the same road or by the Scistan route.

An hour or so before dawn on the 27th the Akoond, Saleh Mahomed, awakened me. We took a parting cup of tea on our ledge in the caravanserai, and then parted at the gateway, he to return to Meshed, I for Calcutta, and so on. I rode this morning one of a lot of seven yabobs that I have hired to carry me and mine to Herat. The remaining six are allotted, one to the Mirza, one to his servant, one to Hashum Beg, one for my large saddle-bags, and one for the presents I am about to offer on the part of Government to Sultan Ahmed Khan. Every horse carries, besides his rider, some small saddle-bags, besides any amount of horse clothing which hangs over the animals in any shape or fashion the rider may please, varying from the sort of trappings we see in

* In the result I did go by Furrâh, Ghirishk, Candahar, Kelat, visiting the heads of the Passes, Bolan Gundawa, Moollah and so down to Lus and Kurra-
chee.

the pictures of the cloth of gold to the more humble covering of a square brown tattered felt. I cannot say much for my yaboo; he stumbles, grunts, and has no go. However, he or one of his fellows must carry me to Herat, so in with the spurs and down with the whip; about 9 o'clock we reached our old station of Shureefabad. We found the post-house already occupied by the mother (now returning from pilgrimage) of my old acquaintance Prince Feroze Mirza, Prince Governor of Teheran, so we returned into the serai. It is not one of Shah Abbass' buildings, but was erected by the father of a noble now in quod at Tabriz. The serai is nevertheless capacious, well distributed, lofty, and of burnt brick and mortar structure. You enter through an arched gateway with a massive wooden door. [Here I left a blank space in the Journal, intending to sketch in some amusing scenes I witnessed at this caravanserai. But time was wanting, and once in Afghanistan, I had to be careful how I wrote. Also constant watching and fatigue made me cut my notes as short as might be.]

To-day, *Friday, the 28th*, we were off before the morning star, bright Venus, yet showed above the horizon, and moved over hilly ground for a couple of miles until we came to the point where the Teheran road leads along towards Ruddun gate, and where another road dips into a plain in a southerly direction, passes an old caravanserai, and after about four miles winds up into the mountainous tract leading to Turbut Hyderee, whose lofty summit we could already espy, and to Khaff. We took the latter road, and about an hour after entering the hills passed Kaffir Killak by our left hand.

About five fursacks distant from Shureefabad, and immediately before reaching the stage of Robat Sufced, we struck off the main caravan line into a bye road to our left, thus taking a central and mountain road* to Khaff, along a line passing between.

* This central path, however, is unsafe. The reasons for my selecting it were that no European had been along it before; and secondly, because I wanted to seek out the hiding place of the Prince Mahomed Reza. But the road by Turbut Hyderee is the safest; and this is not saying very much, for the Turcomans have utterly ridden rough shod over the entire frontier.

two great roads to Herat, of Turbut Sheik to the eastward, and of Turbut Hyderee to the westward. We commenced ascending at once; and from the first eminence I could see the trees and fort of Robot Sufeed, in a valley to our right. In front were a series of ever heightening ranges of hills, with intervening dips of alluvial ground, covered with low scrub-wood. Our highest point was distant some $2\frac{1}{2}$ fursacks from the forking of the roads, and from this height there is a fine cantering slope of some four miles to the base of an abrupt wall-like range, upon whose hither skirt is nestled the village of Nassar, which being interpreted from old Persian into English, means the coldest of cold places. Even thus early in the autumn the air here is very cold. We reached at noon and I was still comfortable in my great-coat. The village is wretchedly poor; its fort walls are in ruins, and its people almost moneyless, and very dirty, though fresh complexioned. As to the site of the village it is picturesquely perched at the mouth of a rugged pass; with a fresh stream of water, and some trees and garden grounds brightening the hollows. I am installed in a room with two open spaces called windows; and with any number of sooty recesses in its mud built walls. As usual, during the evening a large cat comes down the chimney, stares at me in amazement, receives one of my slippers in full flight, and disappears. Sometimes the cat is white, to-day he was a large tabby. Sometimes he takes a drop leap through the round air-hole in the mud roof. Sometimes, as to-day, he comes down the fireplace. But come where he will and go where I may, there is always a hungry cat ready to appear directly the kabab comes on the carpet.

This morning at Nassar one of the guards amused himself by galloping standing on his saddle and pirouetting round me at full speed, making feint of firing on me from right, left, and rear. These fellows are certainly natural horsemen. During our stage we crossed many *cafilas** *en route* to Meshed. They

* These were small caravans carrying produce from the country to Meshed
 10122.

were for the most part, of donkeys carrying cotton, grain, and miscellaneous goods. There were some camels also, and a few yaboos, among one or two of the cafilas. The common weapon of the peasantry and caravan drivers seems to be a stout stick some four or five feet in length. At the village of Nassar, I fell into conversation with a soldier recently from Merv. He does not speak very hopefully of the Persian operations.

Started about 3 A.M. on the morning of the 29th for the village of Futtehabad, said to be some seven Khorassan fursacks distant. We found it however to be at least eleven fursacks of Irak; and we did not reach our stage until past three o'clock in the afternoon. I could not, however, regret the length, for the tract through which we passed was the wildest I have ever come across. Immediately after clearing the fort of Nassar we entered the pass. It is narrow, with a stream gushing down it; and with high precipitous cliffs on either hand. The moon being at its full, showed the wild grandeur of our tract to us under a favorable light. But the cold was very great; and I was glad to dismount and walk some six miles to the highest point of the pass. Here day broke on us; and I have never witnessed any sunrise more remarkable. Behind us rose the lofty precipitous cliffs through which we had just wound, all in shadow; their highest outline faintly silvered by the sunken moon. On our immediate right rose the principal peak of the range, and it bears the reputation of being the coldest spot in Khorassan. To our left were lower peaks rich with iron ore. In front the Pass sloped down through dark irregular hills. Beyond was a wide expanse of plain, and far in the distance rose deep purple promontories of hills, jutting out into the plain like headlands in a calm broad sea. Beyond all was the yellow dawn now glooming up. And now the world rolled the great sun to the horizon's brink; and blood red streaks, striped plain, and hill and sky. And now he peered above the outline of the far away promontories rimming the purple hills with light; and turning the plain bright green, shot with unreal yellow. Looking back, a livid spectral light flung over craggs and slopes a warm yet ghastly hue. Descending a little we passed the ruins

of what was once a welcome caravanserai. Yet a little lower and we came upon a fresh stream running down to the plain. The wild rose and willow in pretty groups embower it. Sweet scented thyme, some wild flowers, and here and there some reeds or docks line its margin. All over the slopes far up, even to the highest summit, unless where the bare rocks peer out in craggy masses, a coarse nutritious grass grows in tufts, and during the spring and summer months forms the food of the Illyat flocks. Yet a little lower still and we came on a caravan dismounted and at their morning meal, by the side of the brook. The salaam Alekoom is carefully given; and as punctually returned by us, is the Alekoom salaam. The slope became more gradual and finally faded into the broad plain in whose centre we could faintly descry a fort or two. Beyond the plain rose some hills; and beyond the hills a sharp, steep, and fantastically outlined mountain range. Our wished-for stage of Futtehabad lies on the other side of those peaks. Still a little lower and the guide proposes to leave the regular track and take a short cut to the fort. Accordingly we turned into the tufted grass and traversed a succession of heights and depressions, rising and falling as over the long swell of an ocean. At last we reached the plain. It is of good soil and stretches away eastward to where the hill of Turbut Sheik Jamee lies on the direct road to Herat; and stretches away westward with hills on either side its fine expanse, to where Turbut Hyderee lies, below a hill near the main road from which we branched off yesterday.

It was a long ride, however, to our fort. It was in fact five miles from the base of the slope. And when we came up with it we found it, like all its fellows on this beautiful plain, silent, desolate. The Turcomans had attacked it, plundered it, and carried all its inhabitants, men, women, and children into slavery. There were the outlines of the fields still visible; and the little ovens where the peasant had cooked his meal. A fine stream of water went past useless. A glorious sun shone down on some 300 square miles of rich alluvial soil in vain. It was impossible not to be touched by the scene. Onwards about two miles we

saw a party of men with their camels. They evidently mistook our cavalcade for Turcomans. For immediately they saw us they dismounted, turned their camels loose, and hurried with their goods into a small deserted building. After passing them we came on the freshest stream of waters I have ever seen in Persia. The water tasted delicious and ran past in copious stream. Come Turcomans or no, I could not resist the temptation to pass an hour dreaming on its banks. So I ordered the horses to be unbridled, a cup of tea to be prepared, and my carpet to be spread close along the bank. There I lay down and mused on the past. It is just a year to-day since I embarked at Bombay for Egypt, *en route* for Persia. How much has since had place, and yet how little ! Strange thoughts in solitude arise in man, and so they rose in me as I lay listening in this desolate plain to the gurgle of the useless stream, and looking up into the deep and beautiful expanse of blue space.

Four more miles and the ground again slopes up to the distant hills of the morning. Now we enter. Suddenly two horsemen set off at full speed. What can it be ? Two sheep-dogs are at their heels biting and barking. It is a flock of sheep. The first who reaches the shepherd claims one of the flock in gift. This is an immemorial custom, doubtless originating in a sort of black mail. A sheep* is selected accordingly, and we move on.

After crossing these lower downs, and passing another trickling rivulet, green with water-cresses, we commenced to descend into a long and winding glen which divides the wall-like range from the downs. At first our way lay among bold and naked crags, such as one sees about Cheddar ; then the path narrowed until it became the bed of a torrent, now shrunk to the size of a brook, running between steep cliffs, and fringed with old willow trees and blackberry and rose bushes. Here and there a small patch of cultivated slope broke through the wilds. Anon the rock partridges whirred across our road. At length, after a winding course of some four miles, we debouched on the open

* At first when I saw this sort of thing going on, I used to remonstrate ; but I soon gave up, and contented myself with paying for what I saw stolen.

plain which slopes down to the village of Jullalabad, where our mountain path again strikes into the main caravan road. At the debouchment of this glen is a watch-tower, so arranged that in the event of incursion the Turcomans can be seen coming down the glen from a distance. The alarm in such case is immediately given by the guard stationed permanently at the tower firing off their matchlocks, and lighting a fire at the summit of the tower; the smoke ascending warns the neighbouring hamlets, and these in turn take up the alarm, and rouse the entire district. After leaving the glen we sloped gently through cultivated ground for some mile and a half, until we reached our resting-place of Futtehabad, a wall fort, with some poor huts outside. The people were very civil, and offered me either the Musjid or the best house in the fort. I preferred the latter, as in the event of any fanatical notion seizing on the village, a night in the former might have cost me my head. Many Syud. reside in this village. In the evening the head man of the village, and whose outer rooms I occupied, called and smoked.

Sunday the 30th.—Left Futtehabad an hour before dawn; the morning very cold, and yet we are in an usually warm plain. The people anticipate that the winter will set in early this year. If so, the sooner we prepare for an icing between Seistan and Candahar the better. After a couple of fursacks we came upon the village of Jullalabad. Just on the further side of the village our path joined that of the main caravan line from Turbut Hyderce to Khaff. Another fursack or so brought us to the boundary hamlet of Manceabad, thence to Nuscerabad, Ruee, and to the Persian Frontier and the Desert towards Ghorian.

The district of Khaff is divided into Balā Khaff, upon which we are now entering, and Khaff Paiceen, or Lower Khaff, including the old town of Ruee, commonly marked on the maps as Khaff. This district is held under a sort of hereditary feudal tenure of the Shah by the tribe of Timoorees, who were settled here, some eighty or so years ago, by Ahmed Shah Dooranee. Previous to that period these Timoorees had formed a portion of the tribes yet bearing this name, but still inhabiting their original territory on the flanks of the Paroparnissus.

The present Chief of the Khaff Timoorees, and who enjoys the title of Scharib-ool Moolk, is now at Meschid. He had politely obliged me with letters of introduction to his eldest son, who is his Lieutenant for Upper Khaff; and to his uncle, who is his Lieutenant for Lower or Khaff Paieen. Accordingly at a point a little in advance of a hamlet in the neighbourhood of his son's head quarters, I was welcomed by a younger brother with a party of horse. Immediately afterwards we passed through a congregation of black goats' hair tents. These formed an encampment of Temoorce Illayat. Just as we reached them an old weird looking woman with dishevelled hair rushed from one of the tents and passed wildly among our horses stirring a small cauldron full of fire and some mixture. This she offered to the young Chief while its smoke and steam rose under his nostrils. The Chief raised his hand, and the old hag flew onward with a hurried side-long motion and a wild stare. Anything so like a realization of one of Shakespeare's three, I have never before beheld. At length, after a slow-paced walk, horses screaming and large dogs barking, we reached the draw-bridge of a stoutish-looking mud fort. This was the head quarters, Nusseerabad. My room was situate immediately over the gateway; and had a fine look-out across the plain to the northward; and up into the steep range of hills we had passed last evening. After the customary cup of tea and a kalyon, the young Chief retired, carrying with him a considerable following, who had remained at the open balcony applauding us during our tea-drinking.

With the Chief was a middle aged sturdy-looking man of honest countenance. There was something in him noticeable; although he took a retired position. I asked his name of the Chief, who replied he is "my uncle." When the party had gone out, the Mirza whispered in my ear "that is the man who has faithfully concealed Shah Zadah Mahomed Reza, during the past two years. Twice his house and fort have been searched under suspicion; but on each occasion the prince has escaped through an underground drain." "And what," I asked, "would have been the result had the Prince been discovered." "Both host and guest would have lost their lives. Such is the Government

order." "Why then has this man endangered his life on a stranger's account?" "The Prince is connected with him by marriage; and is a chief of the royal tribe." "But how so? The Timoorese Chief told me only just now that this man was his uncle." "Ah! that was a compliment. In fact, they are of wholly different tribes." It was impossible not to think better of these wild people on account of this man's constancy; and had it not been for the ties of official discretion I should have been glad to honor the poor fellow. As it was, when I again saw him in the evening I could not but give him a heartier shake of the hand than I did the Chief.

About noon the elder brother called. He is a sedate, pointed-featured, lean youth of some 24 years; wholly unlike his younger brother, who looks as if he were two fat boys rolled into one. During the visit the conversation fell as usual upon the subject of the Turcomans. They were not spoken of with anger or disrespect. On the contrary all present were unanimous in praising their horses, their horsemanship, their daring, and above all the good price they would give for a Turcoman who had fallen into the hands of the Persians.* Pointing to the southwards where a gorge in the hills opened towards the road for Ghayn, the Chief showed me the ruins of one of his forts which had been attacked only last year. "It contained," he said, "some 300 households. They were all carried into slavery; and their fort and lands were laid waste. "We have since," he continued, "redeemed about 500 individuals; but this is very expensive work." "And what ransom do you pay on an average?" "That," he said, "depends; for instance, some few years ago my father, the Scharib-ool-Moolk himself, was captured with some five hundred of his horse, and carried to Merv, and the redemption of the whole party cost about 100,000 Tomans (£45,000). The Scharib-ool-Moolk himself was well treated, held his levies, and was allowed provisions from Khaff, but he had to pay 6,000 Tomans for his own ransom. And as he would not return to meet the families of his followers until the latter also had been redeemed,

* One Turcoman is usually exchanged for five or six Persians.

we had to expend an enormous sum to ransom them in the first place." The Chief then told me that the inroads of the Turcomans had increased fearfully of late years. During the period of the power of the Asalf-ool-Dowlut at Meshed, things were managed better. Mild measures, and presents, and dresses of honour held the Turcomans at a distance. But, afterwards, when the Asalf's son Salar rebelled, affairs in Khorassan fell into disorder. The Salar availed himself of Turcoman aid and asylum against his own countrymen; and since that period a system of mutual retaliation has been established between the Turcomans and the present Prince Governor of Khorassan; and the result is that no man dares be out of his fort after night-fall; that no man dares cultivate a field unless there be a tower of refuge in his immediate neighbourhood; that the Illyats have lost their flocks and are reduced to great straits; and that the districts on the eastern frontier of Persia between Meshed and Ghayn are becoming depopulated.

In the evening, returning the Chief's visit, I observed that the gateway of his citadel was of circular form and made of burnt brick and mortar. I found that a huge stone like a gigantic millstone was let into the wall on one side, and that on emergency this was rolled forward, thus covering the circular space. Behind the stone were the ordinary heavy wooden doors. After this second visit I was just preparing for my solitary dinner when I received a message from the Chief to the effect that he would be glad to come and dine with me. Accordingly about eight in the evening he came over bringing his fat brother, and two round metal trays, well arranged with kababs, pickles, and sherbet; and in the centre of each tray a savoury pillow of rice with a boiled fowl buried in it. We set to work roundly; cakes of bread forming our plates, and fingers supplying the place of knives and forks. The pace at first was too good for talk, but when nature was somewhat appeased, conversation commenced, and I did my best to describe to my host the steam-ship, the railway, and the telegraph. A caravan was of course the nearest comparison I could make for the train, and a kettle top lifted, the nearest similitude for our application of steam power. The stout party was desirous to

know if one could go to sleep in the steam caravan; and on my assuring him it was practicable, his eyes lighted up, and he declared emphatically that Feringistan was a place of great ease. They have much natural tact, these people, even the wildest of them, and perceiving I was somewhat tired they excused themselves, almost directly the cloth was removed, and left me to repose.

The entire length of to-day's stage may have been somewhat under five fursacks; but the road throughout was level and good, over an alluvial plain, with here and there spots of cultivated ground, on either hand.

Monday 1st October.—Moved on a couple of hours before dawn towards Khaff, or more properly Kowee. The distance is seven fursacks; and the road of the same character as yesterday. On our right we opened more distinctly the track on the hills leading to Ghayn; and after riding some three fursacks, passed through the ruins of the old town Salamee.* Monoliths of rude form, and varying from three to eight or ten feet in height, stand up on either side the road and mark the site of an old burial ground. In this neighbourhood I turned off the road to examine a small earthwork thrown up in the middle of some farms, as a rendezvous for the cultivators in the frequent contingency of attack. The work seemed well adapted to its purpose. It was just a thin walled redoubt, square, with sides about 80 feet in length, and corner towers or bastions. Neither curtains nor bastions were above five feet in height. There was an exterior ditch with a rough berm. In the centre of the square was a small round tower, serving as a look-out, a prewarner, and a position for matchlockmen. Below the tower was a well. On the whole, the work seemed to me quite sufficient to bring up irregular cavalry, and to admit of the cultivators holding out until they should receive aid from the township.

* I think this old site very curious.

En route this morning we met a caravan from Bokhara, a set of ill-looking fellows, mounted on donkeys. Nearing Ronee we passed through rather more than the usual extent of ruined houses and broken down enclosure walls, then through some garden land, and some wasted suburbs. At last, turning sharp to our right we entered the Bazar and the citadel of the Timoorees. I had refused to allow any one to go on ahead to announce my arrival, thus escaping the tedious ceremony of an Istikbal. But shortly after installing myself in the guest's room of a tumbled down old building roared round a neglected square, I was called on by the Khan's Nazir, and shortly afterwards by the Khan himself. The latter is one of the most disgusting objects I have ever seen in the form of a human being. Huge, fat, with a neck three feet in circumference, nose sunken in, eyes nearly shut up, and sluggish vast mouth, and inarticulate speech. He was, however, roughly courteous, and his people seemed to fear him. He sat an hour, asked after my welfare, ordered breakfast for me, whispered often and mysteriously with his steward, politely reproached me for not having given him any intimation of my approach, and then retired. Presently a capital breakfast and a tray of melons made their appearance. I did justice to them both, and then mounting a neck-breaking stair-case wandered over the extensive roof of the citadel. To the southward were gardens with a sort of walled town; and beyond these a remarkable stony hill. North-eastward stretched the plain fading away into the desert to Ghorian; and across which my next march lies. Northward, at a distance across the plain, rose the steep hills of the last two days, and looking westward lay the partially cultivated plain towards Nusseerabad. In the evening the steward called again. He asked me for some medicine for a young wife who had been suffering a long time from ophthalmia. I told him I was no doctor, but that I would give him some lotion for her eyes, and would write to the English doctor at Teheran, to know what he could do; the remedies should be sent through our Agent at Meshed. I gave the lotion but the case for me is hopeless. The steward had two more requests. One that I would give him a penknife; which I did. The second that I would write my name on the wall. Ac-

cordingly I carved it in large letters on the plaster. The steward seemed highly delighted.

2nd October.—This morning my sowars from the Herat territory were to have been here. They are not, however, arrived; so I move on at noon without them, across the desert to Ghorian. Meantime I have paid a return visit to the Khan. He did not look so odious this morning, and was seated in a large room at a broad open window, outside which his followers were standing. On my entering, he rose, moved to the door, and then handed me to a windowed recess on the other side of the room. There we conversed on England. Like all these Central Asiatics, he attributed our wealth to the possession of mines. And for the hundredth time I lectured in bad Persian, upon the administration of justice and the encouragement of trade. He was most anxious to know if our Ministers took bribes or exercised illicit patronage. I told him that our laws and usages were wholly in opposition to such proceedings.

Again the Nazir came and wished on the part of mine host to give my horses a supply of barley for the transit across the desert with other miscellaneous provisions. These offers I politely but firmly declined, thanking the Khan for all his hospitality, but assuring him that I had myself already paid for the full hire of my horses to Herat, and that it was for the owner of them to feed them at his own expense. I succeeded at last in convincing the Khan of the justice of this mode of procedure. A splendid Turcoman horse, evidently a favourite, was tethered just below the Khan's window. I wanted to buy it and sounded the Nazir, but in vain. I could not offer direct, or the horse would have been forced on me as a present, since I had cast an evil or a jealous eye on it.

We left Khaff about two o'clock in the afternoon to prosecute the long desert march across the frontier to Ghorian. Just before starting the Nazir came for a last time and told me that he had a private petition to make to me, would I listen to it? "Certainly." "But," said he, "I cannot make it before any third parties." "Then clear the room." Accordingly all follow-

ers disappeared, and then the Nazir asked confidentially whether the report were really true that the king of England was a woman? I assured him that England was at present blessed with a Queen. He shook his head solemnly. "Then it is really true; by a woman!" Again and yet again he shook his head, and at last slowly drooped it in perplexed and sorrowful silence upon his bosom.

Mounted, I rode outside the fort, and sat down under the vault of a water tank, until my guide sowars should arrive. I knew this was the only way to expedite them, and that there would be no chance of their quitting their kalyons so long as I remained in the citadel. After waiting about an hour at the tank, the guides straggled up, and we moved in an east by north direction for some two fursacks across the plain. At this point the road sloped up over stony ground, and entered the hills. We had scarcely reached the first gorge when I saw two horsemen coming out of it at a jog trot. They were dressed in the loose picturesque robes of Afghanistan, and their naturally brick-dust colored faces, absolutely glowed like Red Indians, as they were smitten by the setting sun. My friends were the advance of a party of horse sent across the border by the Chief of Herat, to escort me to Ghorian. They handed me two notes from their Chief, and then reining round accompanied me for some three fursacks through the hills, until we reached first (after a distance of about two fursacks) a spring of water embedded in long grass, and finally a bushy dell further down the stream, where we came upon the party of horse,* now picketed, and with their fires alight. On dismounting I was welcomed by the Nazir or steward of the Governor of Ghorian, sent out by Sultan Ahmed Khan to meet me. We arranged to start at midnight, and as I was tired and was suffering somewhat from a feverish chill caught in Khaff, I gladly hastened to ensconce myself in my boat-cloak, and sleep as quickly as I could during the intermediate four hours. At midnight Hashem Beg roused me, the fever and headache were

* Afterwards I sent my sowars back. They came to this same spring, and dismounted. They had scarcely done so when a party of borderers attacked and cut them up.

still on me, but I put on lots of clothes, drank a couple of tumblers of scorching tea, and then mounted. Our road lay for a fursack downward by the stream to the foot of the hills. We then opened a vast amphitheatre of desert surrounded by hills. Across this desert covered here and there with a low brushwood, or camel thorn, we travelled for some four fursacks. Then branching off to the left, traced the brink of what should have been a stream; but what was in fact, little more than a moistened saline efflorescence, with here and there little hollows scooped out by the Turcomans, and in which oozed up a brackish almost undrinkable water. In the hollow, we dismounted, settling ourselves low down so as to be out of sight in the event of any rascally Turcomans coming along the distant hills to espy prey in the Desert. I shared the carpet of the Nazir and his companion. The latter had been twice in the hands of the Turcomans and had twice purchased his freedom. The Nazir had been once caught, and had run away after grinding corn for some four months for them. They regaled me with tales of the Turcoman mode of life. It appears that the enlightenment of the 19th century penetrates even their wilds; and that they are apt scholars in the destructive arts. They make gun caps, prepare or purchase gunpowder, and use three light field pieces which they originally carried off from the Khiran Territory, and which they have mounted all in battery, upon one broad carriage drawn by 15 horses. The water at our halting ground was so bad that even the poor horses, parched as they were, refused it. I lay watching them wander from pool to pool, sniffing, and then passing on. The only way in which the sowars could induce their horses to drink was by scraping the surface water up in a shallow vessel and conveying this to the animals' mouths. In such plight I thanked God for tea and water-melons. The first disguised the water, the latter rendered me independent of water. No one can appreciate the value of a melon who has not tasted its delicious, icy, melting pulp and syrup, in the dust and heat of a parched and sultry desert. After my melon, I was glad to avail myself of the shade of the salty bank, and dose until we were again ready for a start, about noon. We then struck into the main track, and crossing the remainder of the desert reached

after three fursacks, a series of rocky eminences, the last of which bore a cairn and the name of the Dockturur-i-Sung. Descending gradually for two fursacks across a second valley of smaller extent we paused for a few minutes at a ruined caravanserai, situate immediately at the foot of a range of hills, which we entered at sunset; crossed in somewhat over a fursack, and so debouched on the plain. My horse was lame and tired, so I dismounted, and exchanged nags with the Nazir; riding his beast to a covered tank distant some three quarters of a fursack on the hither side of Ghorian. Here, at about 9 P.M., we alighted for the night. The men seemed still fresh; and two of them had *walked* the entire distance from Khaff; a length of road of 19 fursacks of Khorassan or about 76 miles, although I calculated it at nearly 90 miles. These same men had previously footed it day by day through all my marches from Meshed. I have not seen them fag once, and on arrival at our stations they unload the animals, feed them, and walk them about as if no march had taken place. Again, the horsemen I have just brought back with me originally left Ghorian on the night of the 1st, so that in less than 48 hours they have marched 29 Khorassan fursacks, or I would say more correctly about 130 miles, and this across an arid desert, without water for the larger portion of the way. The pace throughout was leisurely, changing from a walk to a scuffle, an amble or a jog-trot. The pace of the footmen was the same. At the tank I passed the night of the 3rd October.

At sunrise on the 4th we moved somewhat less than a fursack into Ghorian itself, crossing on the road the dry bed of a tributary of the Heri-rood. At Ghorian, the quarters of the Governor, the Sirteep Mahomed Ghyas Khan, had been hospitably prepared for me. The Sirteep himself was absent with the expedition now carrying on against the Jumsheedee tribe. But his brother Abdool Ghyas Khan met me about a mile beyond the frontiers, and informed me that he was nominated by the Sirdar to accompany me as Mehmandar to Herat. At his brother's house he brought

* NOTE.--The Wuzier of the Sultan of Muscat rode one camel 28 fursacks, or roundly 100 miles in 20 (twenty) consecutive hours, on the occasion of his coming to meet me at Muscat last month, December 1864.

me some trays piled up with magnificent grapes, pomegranates, and melons. In the evening I mounted the walls of the fort in which the quarters of Ghyas Khan are situate. This fort was built by the Persians in the war of 1856, on the site of the old ark. It is just a fort within the walls of the old ark, whose battlements are in part still standing without the ditch. The crest of the old walls forming a sort of *fosse braie*, and beyond it the old ditch forming a second or outer ditch. The sides of the present fort contain four curtains, each of some 34 paces in length, and each with two corner and three intermediate demi-circular bastions. The width of each bastion at its base from the exterior of the flanking walks is about 11 paces. Looking northward from the fort walls, the ruins of the old fort are immediately below you. In the distance across the plain, in the same direction, are the ruins of the fort attacked by Mahomed Shah. Eastward lies the present town, embowered in trees, and containing some 500 households. Southward, at no great distance, are hills which lead, as do those also on the north-east, up towards Herat itself. Three or four marked eminences stand out in the plain and point the line to the city. On the whole it seems to me that well-served artillery would speedily shell any garrison out of the present fortress of Ghorian, and that resolute troops might carry it by a *coup de main*.

At sunrise on the 5th we moved out of Ghorian and so easted up to the plain of Herat. About half a fursack from Ghorian we came on the banks of the Heri-rood, here margined with trees. Again leaving the river to our left, we passed some forts ruined by the Turcomans; crossed a fine breadth of cultivated ground, and halted for breakfast at a village distant some four fursacks from Ghorian. The horse I had been riding during the morning was one of the most trying I ever mounted; and this is saying a good deal. He was an ugly, ill-tempered beast, daubed over with red paint, thick necked, lame with a hitch in his off hind-leg, a vile stumbler, with a bad cough on him, and vicious in the extreme. I was glad to exchange him at our breakfast ground for a good tempered nag that was lame in the near fore-leg, but that went cheerfully with the remaining

three. The painted beast I lent to a strong-built Akoond Zadeh, who is acting as Assistant Mehmandar. He rode him to our station, distant four more fursacks; and came in dead beat, swearing at the animal, and looking dead blank at my loud laughter. These four last fursacks were for some portion of the way through swamp and river ground. The river itself we crossed once *en route*, and although this is the driest period of the whole year, the water was running rapid and clear, in a stream above 12 feet wide and higher than the horse's knees. I have not seen such a river in Central Asia. It is the stream that blesses Herat, and with her fertile plain might render her the granary of Central Asia. At this moment she is daily exporting grain to Persia, and while wheat is selling at one kran (about 10 or 11 pence) the two maunds at Teheran, here it is selling at 11 maunds for the kran. Hashem Beg emphatically announces to me that it is no wonder Herat manages to revive so rapidly when grain is so frightfully cheap.

My resting place this evening was a summer-house in a garden belonging to the Sirteep. It was originally the property of Esauk Khan, the quondam Governor of Herat, who first made away with his master Syud Mahomed Khan (son to the able and virtuous Vizier the late Yar Mahomed), then transferred the Government to Prince Mahomed Eusaf Sæddoozye, and then during the Persian siege of the city in 1856, handed over Mahomed Eusaf to Prince Sultan Morad Shuza, and assumed the Government himself. Installed in the Government, he hoisted English colors; despatched a Jew envoy for assistance to the Indian frontier, and carried on the war until, at last, beaten or entrapped, he lost his Government and his life at the hands of the Persians. Prince Mahomed Eusaf lost his life in the same way. A Prince of the Baruckzye family, named Alum Khan, son of Ruhimut Khan of Kandahar, was then nominated by the Shah to the Government; but was soon afterwards, and before he had reached Herat, superseded, and fell by the hands of the Georgian Turcomans, as already noticed in this Journal. Then was put forward the present ruler, Sultan Ahmed Khan,*

* Sultan Ahmed Khan is now dead; 10th September 1864.

who, in turn, called in his old friends the family of the Sirteep Mahomed Ghyas Khan Alipozyce, from Kandahar; and among other favours bestowed on him the favourite wife of the late Governor Esauk Khan. Thus fell the garden I now write from into the hands of the Sirteep. The Mehmandar being the Sirteep's brother, has selected this spot for my halt previous to entering the city; and my friend the Akoond Zadeh being the Sirteep's man of business, is here to entertain me. Thus comes about our party in the Sirteep's garden. The enclosure itself is pretty, containing in front of the summer-house rows of vines, trailed over parapets of earth; and behind the house a second garden containing miscellaneous vegetables. From the roof of the buildings one could see, at a distance of some five miles, the outline of the city, and further northward, immediately below a range of hills, the ruins of an ancient mosque, Hursella. Looking east the plain stretched away, far as the eye could reach, between two ranges of mountains, and led towards the hill country of the Huzarehs. A little southing from east lay the mountain tract leading to the Teymooreo region. Yet further south was the point where the caravan road to Kandahar entered the hills. Westing from south the road to Ghazu lay among low hills. West lay the Khaff and Ghorian road, along which we had just passed. Northing from west was the point where the direct frontier road to Meshed struck into some steep hills; and directly north of the city the road to Khoosk and Bokhara led across a series of valleys and ranges, whose tops appeared one above the other in the far distance. As one passed the lines of communication in review, and then surveyed the rich and well watered plain immediately at our feet, it was impossible not to admit the commercial and agricultural advantages which Herat possesses in Central Asia.

Towards evening Hussein Ali Khan the Naib-ool Hookumut, Governor of the city, and reputed to be the ablest and most trusted Minister about the Sirdar, called at the summer house. He is a stout, middle-height man, with a cheerful full moon face; forehead rather retreating, retrousse nose, eyes largish, but set Tartar fashion; mouth large and sensual. His manner is frank and free,

to my mind an agreeable change from the vain, empty formality of the Persians. After the Khan's departure I waited a couple of hours, and then returned his visit in a tasty little tent which he and pitched in an adjacent enclosure. This time I positively refused a chair, and we squatted on the carpet, and were soon in merry conversation. He caused to be brought in and presented to me, trays over-brimming with bushels of magnificent grapes, and others filled with sweetmeats. Then we had some good green tea; and finally we arranged to dine together, I being host and he providing the dinner. Accordingly an hour or two after sunset the Khan came over. The Sirteep's brother I asked for company, and the Mirza washed his hands as though he proposed to cut in also. I could not but ask the solemn Akoond to come up and give us the luck of an odd number. I must, however, notice an incident which occurred immediately before dinner, and which was a more than usually narrow escape for me. The upper floor of my summer-house was laid under nine-domed roofs, three vaults, that is, every way. One row of domes was set apart for my private rooms. The centre and larger set were for dinner, and the remaining set were used by the Mehmandar. When, accordingly, I learned in my private apartments, that the Naib-ool-Hookamut was arrived, I came out of my rooms by a doorway which led into the rear-most of the three centre domes. I found the Naib standing on the other side of this dome, under a broad archway, which opened into the middle dome of the three centre. I walked towards him, welcomed him, and then turned to move across the middle room into the furthest of the three centre domes, and which formed a sort of balcony where the people of these countries frequently sit and converse, while the dinner is being laid out. The light of the stars was shed through the arch of the balcony; but the space occupied by the middle room was quite dark. I had not made two steps when I suddenly heard a shriek of horror from in front and seemingly close below me; and at the same instant I felt myself seized roughly by the left arm from behind. For the moment I fancied I must have been on the point of treading on the dinner things, already, perhaps, spread out upon the floor of the middle room.

But a fellow rushing forward with a candle discovered to me that the middle room was as yet unfloored, that my left foot was partly over the brink of the unguarded edge of the back room floor, and that my right foot was in the air hanging over a fall into a quadrangle below, where the people were standing who had set up the shriek, and who could see my form against the sky through an opposite archway. It was the Minister who had seized me. Had my right foot descended another two inches; or had my left in my previous step been two inches advanced, I must inevitably have made a summerset into the area below. The Minister was the only man who had retained his presence of mind. The Mirza and the Sirteep's brother were aghast, mouths open, and hands in the air. On discovering the state of the case I deemed it better to pass it off with a laugh. So I just told them, that God was above; and that I was accustomed to similar escapes; but that in the path of duty* nothing ever hurt one. "True," said the Minister, "but I shall at once sacrifice two fat sheep in charity, in token of God's mercy this time; for had you fallen I should instantly have leapt after you. I could never have appeared before the Sirdar again; and the English Government would have said that this floor had been cut away for the purpose of entrapping you in the dark. There are plenty of people in Herat who would have sworn to the fact, and who would probably have added that they saw me give you a push." "But what good would it have done you to leap down and break your own neck?" "Why," he said, "I should then have been out of the scrape; or if I had escaped with my life, a broken leg or so would have testified in my favour, and perhaps have appeased the Government." But the poor Sirteep's brother could eat no dinner; and from time to time looked across at me with a resigned face of wonder and fright. As for the Mirza he made a hearty dinner, declaring his heart was in his mouth, and that he had quite lost his appetite. In sooth the fare was not bad. Three fine large trays (the Mirza dipped his fingers into mine, as the largest and the best), and

* I tried to interpret to them the motto on my crest: "Deo ducente nil nocet."

every tray containing at its centre piece "a mountainous" pillow of Peshawur rice, with a boiled fowl buried just below the crater. Then there were savoury roasted fids of mutton upon iron spits; five spits to each guest, all stretched upon leech-shaped flat cakes of bread which acted as plates. Then there were side dishes, or more strictly, since the trays were round, dishes between the cardinal points of the compass. These were for the most part slop-basins of old China, containing fowls concentered in cherry syrup; soups, or as they were appropriately designated, meat water; fine walnut pickles in tea cups, girkins in like manner, only quite innocent of copper. There was no second course; but the pace over the first was good. About five pounds avoirdupois to each person in as many minutes, and seven pounds for the Mirza. When all had drawn breadth, we dipped a carved ladle of cherry-wood into a China vase, and sipped some pomegranate sherbet. Then we gave the dinner grace; and the servants stooped down and carried off the trays, all leavings that had fallen outside the trays being netted in the chintz which had formed our dinner cloth.

Saturday, 6th.—After a merry breakfast with my friend the Minister, I had a long talk over Herat politics with the Akoond. He seems a man of good sense, and faithful to the Sirdar. But he does not wholly approve of the Sirdar's method of coercing the Jumsheedees. He would prefer to see gentle measures adopted, as he fears that the Herat State has not the power to subdue the Jumsheedees, who are a strong tribe (numbering 7,000 or 8,000 households), and excellent horsemen; who possess, moreover, good horses, and are in league with the Turcoman tribes of Saloor and Sarvokh, now settled at Punjdoh, and also with the Uzbecks of Themenah. The Sirdar's eldest son, Shah Newaz Khan, is at present on the Moorghab, preparing to attack the Jumsheedees.

About 11 A.M. mounted, and, escorted by the Naib, the Sirteep's brother, and an unnumberable rag-tag, moved slowly for the city. After crossing an old bridge, about two miles from my garden, I fell in with the party of the Governor's son, Sirdar

Abdullah, for Sultan Ahmed Khan had politely sent his young barbarian out to meet me. The boy might be about eleven years of age. He was mounted on a tall horse; was booted up to the thighs; and sworded a couple of feet below his heels. His eyebrows were well daubed with antimony; and the youngster slanged his groins *ad libitum*. We both dismounted on meeting, and then rode together to the city. He was evidently in charge of his relative the Naib-ool-Nizam, a dashing-looking fellow with a fancy ball dress on. This Naib is a sort of Commander-in-Chief, or rather Lieutenant General of the Forces. He looked something between a horse jockey and a sporting Havildar of Sepoys. Every now and then he would dash his horse to the front, bending his body here and there, turning the horse on his heels, and then return at a gallop with a self-applauding air. Nearing the city we passed the Persian Camp of 1856, and of Mahomed Shah to our right, and then nearing the fort wall at a corner bastion, entered it by the Kandahar gate. The walls had a battered but angry look, as though they had seen real service. Every loop-hole was evidently bored for work. There was no show. Passing through the gate we entered one of the principal bazars, and to my surprize I found that the whole town had turned out to meet me. From the gateway to the ark, the streets were lined with spectators on both sides, as close as they could stand. The welcome was obvious; and the continuous salaams were frequently interspersed with praises of the Dowlet Englese. After passing below the ark for a short distance we entered the Char Bhag, and I was received by the Sirdar in his Durbar-room. Nothing could be more markedly courteous than the reception. And after delivering the Minister's letter, and reassuring the Sirdar as to the wishes of the British Government in regard to the independence and prosperity of the Herat territory, I asked leave and retired. The Sirdar handed me to the door; when I was accompanied by the Naib-ool-Hookumut, the Sirdar's son, Mauzoor Khan Ghilzie (a confidential Minister of the Sirdar's), and by the Mehmandar, to some apartments prepared for me in the immediate vicinity of the Sirdar's inner apartments. Here then I am installed for the next fortnight

and welcome is the rest, and possibility of arranging my notes after the fatigue and interruptions of this long ride of a thousand and odd miles from Teheran.

The impression left on me before by Sultan Ahmed Khan has been strengthened by my interview of to-day. He possesses much natural capacity; and circumstances have developed him into a wary and able public man. The experience of the Afghan war has not been wasted upon him. And I think it probable that, after Dost Mahomed, he is the astutest Afghan statesman now alive, and the one perhaps who best understands our power and would most effectually serve our interests. In person the Sirdar is decidedly imposing, large, with regular, well-defined, reposeful features. The forehead retreating, but prominent over the highly arched eyebrows; the nose aquiline and markedly handsome; the base of the forehead broad, and the length between the eyes and the chin considerable; upper lip shortish and curled, denoting pride and impatience, but the mouth good though large; the chin full, as are the checks also. The Sirdar's hands are small for his size; and the fingers tapering. Dinner was served for me after sunset; and I found it to be the intention to make me the Sirdar's guest until my departure. To this, however, I demurred,* and sent the Mirza to the Naib-ool-Hookumut to say that I was obliged by the Sirdar's kind consideration, but that with his permission I would from to-morrow provide for myself. The Naib replied that it was a delicate objection to make to the Sirdar, but that he could call and see me in the morning, and then arrange with me for the best. I find a white Persian cat is domiciled with me, and seems quite at home.

* Subsequent experience has taught me to consider that I erred in thus demurring. On such occasions in such countries one should at once politely accept the proffered hospitality, and pay the Chief's attendants liberally. Every country has its own notions of etiquette and tact, and *savoir faire*. Do as Rome does, so long as essentials are not concerned.

The fact is an Anglo-Indian officer employed in distant Oriental States, brings with him the traditions of rules which are sometimes ill-suited to his new sphere of work.

Sunday, 7th.—Strolled out into my little garden with the Mirza, who pointed out to me the several residences of our old Mission under Major Todd. My rooms, since repaired, had been those allotted for the Treasury. In the garden itself had stood the Treasurer's tent. The Char Blag, where I was yesterday received, was the Mission-house repaired by Major Todd. After breakfast I was called on by the chief Hindoos settled in Herat. They were sent to me by the Sirdar. It appears there are now some thirty Hindoos here, established in the caravanserais, which are entirely at their disposal. The men who waited on me were all goomashtahs of firms at Shikarpoor. One, the Chief or Mookhee, had resided 40 years at Herat, and remembers the several sieges, and Europeans that have had place or resided here during that period. The Hindoos have held a spot of ground for burning their dead during the past 100 years. They have also a Byragee and Yogee with them; but they have no place of worship. They grumble at the injustice of the Mussulmans; and at the difficulty they experience in recovering money lent out. They declare their rates of interest to be low, amounting to less than fifty per cent. per annum. They trade (like the Hindoos I saw at Khaff and Nusserabad) in indigo, and in Europe goods, coming from Sind and Kurrachee via the Khilat road. The bunyas prefer this route for its safety and rapidity. A maund of goods coming from Kurrachee via Sukkur and the Bolan could be delivered at Herat for 14 annas carriage, but there would be risk of plunder through the Bolan Pass, and the goods would be a long time on the Indus.

At noon the Minister called, and informed me that his orders were to call every morning before presenting himself at Durbar. We then conversed frankly on the state of Herat and on the past difficulties of the Sirdar. The Minister went away intensely pleased.

About 3 P.M. the Sirdar himself called. He left his courtiers at the door of my Court-yard, and then entered alone. After a few complimentary phrases I opened freely, assuring him that having yesterday delivered the message with which I was charged on the

part of the English Government, I was now ready, if he pleased, as a friend, to discuss with him his past career at Herat, his present position, and his prospects. I assured him that I had and could have no object in view but his welfare. But that if he had the least suspicion of an opposite tendency, I was equally ready to waive all private conversation. He then pressed me to speak out, and declared that he on his part would be quite frank. I said plainly, I am aware of the difficult position in which you found yourself on reaching your government. And I perceive from the statements made by you at Tcheran, and from the conversation of your Minister here, the ideas which then prompted and still influence your policy. You considered, in brief, that in order to establish yourself as Governor of Herat you had no choice other than to lean on the Persian or English Government. The latter did not afford you immediate and substantial aid, so you considered it the wisest course to encourage the belief that you were supported by the Shah, as well in order to intimidate your domestic and neighbouring enemies, as in the hope of obtaining from the Shah arms and money. But, I continued, you are not the man I take you for, if you continue to coin money and read prayers in the Shah's name, one day after you feel yourself strong enough to stand alone. "True," replied the Sirdar, "What I really wanted was to get what I could out of the Shah, to flatter him by empty return compliments, to consolidate my rule in Herat, to enrich the territory of Herat upon Dost Mahomed's demise, to recover my lost territory of Furrak, and if possible, taking advantage of the disunion likely to appear among Dost Mahomed's sons, to consolidate all or a larger portion of Afghanistan under my own rule, and then to be to the British Government of India a second Dost Mahomed." Sultan Ahmed Khan continued to discuss at length the difficulties of his position. Our conversation, which commenced when I was perched upon a chair and the Sirdar squatted on the ground, by degrees drew us nearer, until I discarded my seat, and we were jostled together on the carpet, the Sirdar in his earnestness tugging at the lace on my uniform.

Monday, 8th.—Exactly four weeks have elapsed since I left

Teheran. I returned to-day the visit of the young Sirdar, Abdoollah. I found him seated in an upstairs room with his mother's chief eunuch. By the way the mother is always called Nawab Sahib. This title somewhat puzzled me the first time the eunuch asked after my health as from the Nawab Sahib. But now I am initiated; and I always reply in a low tone of voice and express how much flattered I am by the Nuwab's consideration in thinking of me. In the afternoon I returned the visit of the Naib-ool-Hookumut, and had a frank private talk with him for above an hour. I proposed a trip to Mumenah and Balk, in order that I might, from ocular observation, arrive at some opinion as to the condition of that frontier, and as to the proceedings of Mahomed Afzul Khan. It seemed to me that a friendly word from me to the latter in favour of his respecting the independence of Herat might have a good effect. The Naib concurred in this view, but suggested my waiting a day or two before proposing the journey to the Sirdar, in order that the Herat troops might in the mean time deliver battle against the refractory Jamsheedees, who lie on the Mumenah route. "And what," I asked, "have I to do with the Jamsheedees?" "Why it was the Jamsheedees, Abdoollah Khan, who plotted the dethronement of the Sirdar with the English Agents. And if you went among the tribe, now that the Sirdar's troops are on the eve of forcing the tribe to submit, the Sirdar might suspect that you were gone there to encourage them in resistance."

In the evening the Sirdar sent me letters just received from the Kalifah of Mumenah, and from Hookumut Khan, Chief of Memaneh, praying for aid against Mahomed Afzul Khan, who they allege is pushing forward the troops of Andakobea, and Shibhergoir upon Khurabad, distant only some six fursacks from Memaneh itself. They further allege that the refractory Jamsheedees are in league with Mahomed Afzul, and have written to him saying that if he will advance and take Memaneh, and so pass on to their lands, they will aid him in absorbing the Herat territory itself. The letters from Memaneh concluded by alleging that some tributary presents, *en route* to Herat, had been stopped by the Jamsheedees. The whole is a plausible story; but I am not

quite convinced but that the fact may be that the Memaneh Chief is playing a double game, and while thus accounting to Herat for the non-arrival of tribute, may be maintaining his own independence, and perhaps putting forward the non-transmission of the tribute as a plea for exemption from Mahomed Afzul's proposed attack.

Tuesday, 9th.—Called on Abdool Ghyas Khan and the Akoond Zadek. They insisted on my staying to breakfast with them, although I assured them I had just eaten a hearty breakfast immediately before leaving home. In the afternoon an old Hindoo called who had held charge of the godown in the time of Major Todd. It appears that on the Mission leaving Herat, Yar Mahomed seized all the stores still on hand and thus half ruined the poor Hindoo. This, however, was not his last misfortune in the money line. For in 1856 a Turkish subject made his appearance in Herat dressed in English clothes, and asserting that he was sent by the English Government to assist Mahomed Eusoof in maintaining the defence then making against the Persian Army, drew bills on Hindoostan which the Hindoo cashed. These bills were of course dishonoured. In fact the impostor was unable to write the English character, and simply scrawled a series of pot-hooks along a slip of paper. I saw one of these slips upon the faith of which the unhappy Hindoo had paid 170 Tomans. When the Hindoo was alone with me, he asked me in a low tone why the English had left Herat to fall in 1856; a Saheb had saved it in 1838 and if there had been a Saheb here in 1856 the Persians would never have taken the place. He then asked me if I had come to reside here; as the presence of a Saheb would be a great god-send for the Hindoos, and would make Herat prosperous and rich in a couple of years. I asked him whether he preferred Herat to his native town of Shikarpoor. "That place is best where one can get a livelihood. If you have five pence in your pocket you are a happy man and any place looks cheerful; if you are penniless, all places look equally tight."

Wednesday, 10th.—I called in the morning on the Naib-ool-Nizam. He is a Baruckzye Sirdar, and cousin to Sultan Ahmed

Khan. He seems to be purely a soldier, frank, boastful, vain, but without guile. He had caused his staff to be drawn out in the court below the window where we sat conversing, and certainly they looked ragged enough. The Adjutant General or rather the two Adjutants General were particularly introduced to me; but as they spoke nothing but Pashtoo, our conversation was limited. The Commander in Chief expatiated on the extent of his command. The trust reposed in him by the Sirdar was unbounded. He commanded infantry, guns, horse, and a large portion of the Civil service. He had been in the Punjab; and visited Colonel Chamberlain. He had thrashed 5,000 Taymonees, with a company and a half of regular Herat Infantry. He had a man who had served in our Belooche Regiment. Here the said man stepped forward and saluted. He was evidently somewhat of an authority on military matters; and once or twice contradicted the Commander-in-Chief. But the latter seemed to dislike this in my presence; and on the third occasion rose slightly from his cushion with a forward motion of the right leg. The orderly thereupon prudently disappeared. On the whole I liked my friend the Naib. Among other matters he observed that I had deprived my guard of their arms, and furnished them with walking sticks. I pleaded total innocence of any such invasion of his authority. But he pointed to six rogues standing below, and whom I then recognized as having walked in front of my horse when on my road to the Commander-in-Chief's house. On inquiry I found it was Mr. Hashem Beg who had done the mischief. And he excused himself by saying that at Teheran we were always preceded through the streets by Ferashis with sticks for a like purpose. "But these people," he concluded, "don't understand manners, what can one do?" I begged Hashem not to interfere for the future with the military discipline of a Foreign State; and the Chief ordered the men always to appear with their regular accoutrements; and thus ended the difficulty. On leaving, the Chief informed me he had 150 private horses always at my disposal, and that he would be always happy to ride out with me. I took him at his word and arranged for a ride to-morrow evening.

In the afternoon called on the Sirdar; he received me in a Sirdab, and we had a long confidential talk for a couple of hours.*

In the evening the minister called and gave me a good deal of information relative to Bokhara.

Thursday, 11th October.—Was awakened by voices under my window, and heard one man say that he had come with a message from the Sirdar to the effect that the Amcer Shah Nawaz Khan had engaged and beaten the refractory Jamsheedee tribe in their stronghold of Bela Moorghah—distant some 40 fursacks hence. The action had lasted till evening. The Amcer has now occupied the fort of Bala Moorghah, and seized women, flocks, cattle and camels. A younger son of the Sirdar, who was in the action, is wounded in the face.† About an hour later the Minister called with the same intelligence; and I returned with him to the Durbar to congratulate the Sirdar in public. On my return from the Durbar I commenced a letter to Sir Henry Rawlinson; and was in the middle of it when the Minister came in hurriedly with a message from the Sirdar to say that the Persian army of some 50,000 men had been utterly beaten and destroyed by the Tekkie Turcomans at Merv, and that the Shah Zadeh, (Commanding-in-Chief) with a wreck of some few thousand men, was in swift retreat upon Herat. In a short time the Commander-in-Chief brought me the Amcer's letters announcing his victory, and an autograph letter or rather hurried scrawl from the Prince Humza Mirza, announcing his defeat, the latter still vaunted the power of the Shah, and asked for aid. From all I can gather, guns, commissariat, infantry, baggage, and all are in the Turcoman camp. The Turcomans will, of course, be at the heels of the Prince. The Saloor and Sarook Turcomans must, even if

* This was our least pleasant interview. The Sirdar got excited over the intrigue to overthrow his authority, and asked me if I proposed to serve him a similar trick. I took him up quietly but firmly; and made him understand, once for all, that either he must keep his temper and have trust in me, or else I would have nothing to do with him. All the time of this interview we had a maniac shouting at us through an iron grating.

† This youth died of his wound a few days afterwards.

they like not, join the Tekkies. The Jamsheedees, still unconquered at Moorachak, will take fresh heart; and it only wants Mahomed Afzul Khan to make his threatened appearance at Mernach to have the whole north from Meshed to Balk in one continuous uproar. Some two thousand Persians of all arms who chance to be here, *en route* to Merv, can at once be pushed on to the Prince's camp with provisions. I shall move on to Roussan myself, directly confidence is restored here, and then see if I can aid the Prince, stop the Turcomans by remonstrance or arrangement, and rescue, if possible, the hapless French photographer who was with the Persian force. Employed till late in the evening in writing reports, relative to this disaster; my arrival at Herat; Sultan Ahmed Khan's victory; the Mirza Hein-ool Abadin's position; Prince Mahomed Riza, and the visit I had proposed to make to him; and Mahomed Afzul's proceedings at Balk.

In the afternoon the Sirdar himself called. Both he and his minister are desirous that I should not leave Herat until things settle down.

Friday, 12th October.—Drafted report on the route followed by M. Khanikoff and his party. In the afternoon rode out with the Naib-ool-Nizam to the Mursella, whose dome and archways and minarets surpass in beauty and proportion, size, and decoration, all that I had expected to find them. The ruins of this edifice cover a large extent of ground; and stand in the heart of what was the old city of Herat. From the Musella, a straight road or track of good breadth still leads up to the hills on the north; and through what was apparently the first quarter of the old city. From the eastward and northward a fine rapid stream, which, even at this driest season of the year, is some 15 feet wide and 4 feet deep, passes through what was once the entire breadth of the city, and so past the Musella. This stream is spanned at intervals by elliptical arches. Nothing could be better selected than the site of this old city. From its commercial and military position, from the fertility of the adjacent plain, from its abundant supply of water, and from its beautiful climate, this spot was intended to be the capital of a great empire in Central Asia. Even the destruc-

tive energies of man could not turn this site into a waste. Other cities throughout Asia have arisen, been sacked, and passed away. But Herat, though sacked, ruined, enslaved; depopulated, through a long succession of centuries, still thrives among its ruins. In 1839 it was so reduced that grain was not to be purchased in the bazar. And the Vizier, Yar Mahomed Khan, had at length resolved on abandoning the site, and removing northward with the wreck of his subjects and followers to the plain of Rooskh. From this dilemma, however, the arrival of the English Mission and an outlay of £200,000 of English money saved the Vizier. Herat weathered the year, and as its people say, it requires to be left alone but for two years to become once more populous and flourishing even after the heaviest disasters.

From the Musella we passed a garden enclosure with the ruins of a country house in its centre. The Naib pointed out this place as having been the house where his uncle, the celebrated Futch Khan, was deprived of sight. Yar Mahomed's tomb was visible to our north, immediately under the hills.

Saturday, 13th.—News in to-day of a second disaster sustained by the Persian force, at the hands of the Saloor and Sarookh Turcomans of Punjeh. It appears that the force turned off its direct line of flight, and moved east to the Sarookh stronghold. These tribes were in enmity with the Tckkies, and had recently aided and provisioned the Persian army. They now received the Prince with courtesy, and fed his followers. Suddenly the following morning they rushed on the Persians, seized their baggage, animals, and supplies, made slaves of some three or four thousand, disarmed many more, while the Prince, his second in command, and some immediate followers mounted horse, and trusting themselves to the guidance of an Hazareh Chief named Mollah Youssuf, fled towards Herat, followed by some eight or nine thousand stragglers on foot, and who had either escaped in the confusion, or who had been taken, stripped, and turned loose as valueless.

Sunday, 14th, and Monday, 15th.—Employed in arranging about the Persian force, and in writing reports for Teheran and India.

Tuesday, 16th October.—Was just mounting to ride out to the Persian camp beyond the river, when the courier arrived from Teheran, 14 days *en route*. Brings letters from the Minister and friends in England and India, also papers, but no presents for the Sirdar, as these had not yet arrived at Teheran. On my way to the camp my horse, a fine Cabulee, lent to me by the Sirdar, lay down with me in the river, and gave me a thorough ducking, besides squeezing my left side; rode on to the next fort, and then put up for an hour to change my clothes. The fort was an Illyat encampment belonging to Abdool Ghyas Khan, who joined me shortly afterwards, and gave me a fowl kabab. I amused myself watching the Illyats; the women unveiled, with remarkably full forms. They were making felts, and the process in its early part is like that of Indian paper making. But when the felt has taken form it is rolled up and then rolled and pressed for an hour or more by people on their knees. Both men and women were employed at this work, and some of the women had their children on their backs all the time. Reached the camp and sent to ask to see the Prince; but he postponed the visit till the following morning. Found some 8,000 unarmed men; many foot-sore, and half-clothed, all lying about the bye-ways. Poor fellows! they have been sacrificed to mismanagement; but no man complained, and only one begged of me. Put up in a vineyard. Night cold.

Wednesday, 17th.—Saw the Khaem-ool-Dowleh, and remonstrated with him upon his neglect of his men. All to no use. He said it was a case of *saure qui peut*; followed me out of his tent; and mounting his horse rode towards Meshed, some cavalry following him. I then went to the Prince but found him almost broken down with grief. At length, after ascertaining that what His Highness wanted was money; after learning also that the French gentleman who went to photograph the Turcomans was dead; and after urging his Highness not to go by the frontier road, but by that of Khaff; I rode back to Herat, and consulting with Sultan Ahmed Khan sent out money for the Prince, and wrote to him a letter, also pointing out that his best plan would be to leave his foot-sore and damaged men behind, when I would take care of them and send them on under escort; that he himself with his

efficiently should move at once, as every day is of importance, the winter setting in and the Turcomans being on the alert; finally that he should move his infantry by the Khaff road, have a cavalry flanking party along the Frontier road, and so be in a position to find shelter and have timely notice.

Thursday, 18th.—News of Sultan Ahmed Khan's son's death, Shere Ali Khan by name. He was only twelve years old. He was shot in the mouth, and the ball was extracted at the back of the neck. At first he did well, and wrote to his father, only a few hours before his death, that he was getting all right.

Friday, 19th.—Sent off a courier via Candahar to the Sind Frontier. He carries a letter from Mahomed Ameer Khan. Also letters from me to Earl Canning, Sir George Clerk, and Major Merewether. An official to Lord Canning; and some nine accompanying copies of letters and memoranda. I have to-day purchased such a sturdy, dark brown horse.* He comes from the Cossacks, and there is no doing any thing with him. I have been also to pay a visit of condolence to Sultan Ahmed Khan, but I am a poor hand at doing the doleful. So after sitting for a few minutes I said I would call again when matters mended. The Mirza is in great delight over the amount of sorrow done among the ladies of the family. He says that her ladyship has torn six dresses to-day, and cried loud, like a regular Princess. When the Sirdar joined her wailing you could hear them six doors off.

Saturday, 20th.—Rode out on my new pony to the Musella mosque, which is the finest ruin I have yet seen in Asia. It is situate north-west of the fort, and at a very short distance from it. The proportions of the mosque itself are gigantic, and yet in excellent taste. The frescoes, arabesque and glazed brick-work, are chaste, and finer than any I have elsewhere seen. The dome is magnificent; and all the finish and ornamentation of the building

* This Cob is now in the stables of Mr. Tracey, of the firm of Messrs. Ritchie, Stewart & Co.

leave nothing to be desired. I ascended one of the four corner minarets, which are of dizzy altitude, and command a complete view of the fort and plain and surrounding mountains. The column of burnt brick-work round which the stair-case of the minaret is spiralled, looks as fresh in its brick and mortar as if it had been finished last year. This mosque is the conception of Shah Rookh Mirza and Shah Hussein.*

A little way to the north hand of the mosque is a beautifully proportioned dome standing alone. It contains the tombs of Shah Rookh Khan, who was a son of Timourlurg, and of many of his relatives and successors. All the tomb-stones are blocks of black granite, polished, chiselled, and engraved with the names of the deceased. There is one smaller block, beautifully chiselled.† It lies, I believe over the daughter of Shah Rookh Khan. It is said that before the Persian invasion of 1838 this dome contained nearly 100 tomb-stones, all of the Uzbek dynasty. But the Persians, glad to insult the tombs of the Sunnees, broke up the monument for cannon shot, and fired them at the fort. Nothing could be more beautiful than the arabesque of this dome, or deeper than the blue, on which a rich gold border is traced round the arches.

A little further north again we come on what was the college. Five magnificent glazed tiled minarets still remain nearly intact. But this portion of the ruins being nearer to the stream than the other has suffered more.

Of what was once a dome containing the tomb of Shah Hussein, only the foundation and base of the walls remain. But a black granite tomb-stone (this stone is brought from Meshed) exquisitely and deeply chiselled in flower patterns still declares itself the monument of Shah Hussein himself. Looking on these ruins is enough to make one think how strange, that man who does all on this globe, should be dependent upon a piece of stone for his own monument. Time is like a watch, of which the generations

* Son and grandson of the great Timourlurg.

† The carving is an inch deep, in beautiful scrolls of flowers, as I remember

are the second hand, and the great periods the hour hand. The generation ticks it round while humanity moves a minute.

Further north and passing through what was the avenue of the old city we come to other two domes of yet more ancient date. In one of these is a subterranean dome, whose centre is connected with the centre of the dome itself. The centre of this subterranean dome is open for a diameter of about three feet, which forms the entrance into widely ramifying catacombs. This struck me as an ingenious method of preserving the dead from the desecration of strangers and fortune.

Easting a little we come on the mosque garden and burial ground, prepared by the celebrated Yar Mahomed for himself and family. He was at great pains to bring Mollahs here and to settle the people on some adjacent land. He has been dead only some eight years. Yet his own tomb is desecrated. The white marble head-stone is broken and thrown down, and all is deserted and going to ruin; thus quickly do dynasties pass away in this part of the world.

While standing on this spot I could see the funeral procession in the distance, winding to the Gazer Gah with the remains of the Sirdar's son, Shere Ali Khan.* I won derhow long the Baruck-zye tombs will remain sacred!

Returning home I rode into the ruins of the Shah Bhag. This is the house in which Shah Kamran caused Futteh Khan to be blinded in his presence. The victim was afterwards hacked to pieces about two fursacks north of Ghuznee.

I omitted to mention above that the old Delhi Faqueer, mentioned by the Officers of Todd's Mission, is still at the gate of the Musella mosque. I dismounted and talked with him; and told him all I knew about his old friends, Dr. Lugin Sahib, Major Todd, and Pottinger.

I am never tired of wandering about these ruins. They are beautiful, as is the climate of Herat. On my return home pre-

* 1864. The family of Shere Ali Khan rule no longer at Herat. Its representative is a prisoner at Caubul.

pared samples * of all the principal articles of commerce produced in or imported into Herat.

Sunday, 21st.—Sent off a courier for Teheran. Afterwards I rode out with the Mirza, intending to visit the Gazer Gah, but when we had ridden rather more than half way towards that spot we fell in with the Tucktarawan of the Sirdar's mother, who was going to visit the grave of her grandson, buried yesterday. It would have been improper and indecent to appear at the Gazer Gah while the lady was there, so I turned off the road into the skirts of the hills, and looked over Mahomed Shah's old country palace of Tukt-i-Suffer. The building itself is now in ruins, but its position on one of the lower spurs of the hills, commanding a panoramic view of the town and plain at Herat, is well chosen. Immediately behind the palace is a steep knoll which is sprinkled over with a kind of garnet. Tradition holds this hill to have been formerly a ruby mine, but that its resources were destroyed by a stroke of lightning.

From the Tukt-i-Suffer descended across cultivated ground, amply watered by running streams, until we came to Sultan Morad Mirza's camp of 1850. We wandered all over the lines, and then returned to the city by the Khoorkh gate.

As we looked towards the Musella *en route* we observed that all the minarets inclined towards the north. The Mirza explained this by saying that when they heard that Imam Reza was not to be brought to Herat they salaamed to him at Meshed.

Visited both the Sirdar and the Minister to-day, informing them of my intended departure on Saturday. We arranged that I should visit Anardhurhaa and Siestan, *en route*, sending my kit† and servants direct from Sebzev to Furrâh, and reaching the latter place myself by the circuitous route of Anardhurhaa, Laush,

*These samples I have made over to the Central Museum at Bombay.

† My kit, however, was so small that this method seemed unnecessary; so I took my saddle-bags with me. The road, however, round by Furrâh prove to be unsafe; and perhaps this was the real reason for the Sirdar suggesting that I should ride light.

and the lake of Siestan. The Minister speaks lowly of the fidelity or trustworthiness of the Chief of Laush, Ahmed Khan, but we must hope that all will go on well. The Minister gave me an amusing account of his visit to the Prince Governor's camp, from which he has to-day returned. He says it is the intention of the Khain-ool-Dowleh to lay all the blame of the recent defeats upon Prince Humzed Mirza. But I should think this falsehood would hardly hold, unless backed by enormous bribes at Teheran. Meantime the Prince has got his two thousand sowars from this place, has left a few of his foot-sore men; but has, I believe, taken the frontier road. If so, I feel pretty sure he will yet have another mishap ere he reach Meshed. It appears that one of the Persian Surbaz's, who visited the city yesterday, was found this morning at the Candahar gate with his head cut off. The Minister finds that some Afghan has committed this murder in the hope of securing a place in Paradise (as Ghazee) for having killed a Kaffir. In the evening went to the Hummums; and enjoyed the warm bath very much, the more so as it eased the pain in my left arm and blade bone which has been troubling me since I fell in the river. I am conducted to the bath under a guard, and in the darkness of night, as it would not be considered safe for a Christian to be found bathing in the Humnum of the faithful. The cossack carried me beautifully to-day, and is becoming a great favourite.

Monday, 22nd.—This morning we visited the caravanserai where the celebrated Herat carpets are made. The looms were erected in small chambers in the upper story of the building, and were of the rudest construction. One carpet, which was about three parts finished, was of most beautiful color and fineness. Its cost, when complete, is to be 50 Tomans. But it cannot be got ready under another 26 days, and this will be too late for me. The long threads are of cotton and the short threads of hair in these rugs; but in the rugs prepared in the huts of the Illyats, both web and woof are of hair. Hence the longer durability of the Illyat carpets. But the colours in the latter are inferior in brilliancy to those dyed in the city, and their price is much lower. A first-rate Illyat carpet, such as may be bestowed on a girl at her marriage, costs about

nine or ten Tomans. Returning from the caravanserai we wandered through the main bazar and to the Chersoo; thence to a deep, large, and nobly vaulted tank. All in Herat gives one the idea of a once rich city, that has seen heavy service, and is now going to ruin. On our return home the Naib-ool-Hookumut called with his horse-vakeel or broker, and they brought me some very good colts and horses to look at. I purchased five, and the scene of bargaining was worth all the money paid. First there was a large handkerchief under which the Naib and the broker closed hands, and arranged what should be the highest bid and what the starting offer. Then the broker in an encouraging tone addressed the owner of the horse, sung my praises, and assured the owner that he ought to esteem it a favour to give his animal to a renowned member of a great Government, who was travelling round the world, and who would carry the fame of Herat horses to the poles. There was then a shuffling under the kerchief, and then an oath, and solicitation to the Prophet, and a bold assertion on the part of the broker that he had never been known to lie. Then another squeezing under the kerchief, followed by a volley of abuse to the horse owner; and then a shrug of the shoulders, and a silent appeal of despair to the Naib. But now again the broker has gained breath. He turns to the Mirza, declares him to be an impartial man of honour; squeezes his fingers; gets hold again of the horse-owner's hands, and so a sort of triangular finger pinching goes on for three minutes or so. Surely the bargain is struck this time. No; down comes the hand, and the broker begins to open his abuse-artillery. Finally the owner is ordered to be off. But now the Naib puts in a word. Still the owner is hard-mouthed; and at length beats a retreat. The broker follows him smiling out of the room. But on the steps I hear one, two, three, and something about a son of a burnt father. The horse-owner has simply been kicked downstairs, had his beard pulled, and his turban knocked off by the broker, who now reappears, seats himself, and looking out at a window calls in a friendly manner to the horse owner to come back, and that by blessing of the Prophet all will be well. In the same breath the broker orders the horse into my stable. The owner reappears;

receives a few more epithets, and the bargain is closed ; the only person left in ignorance of what the terms may be is myself.

And now two more horses appear. We go down to examine them. I admire the casty-looking dark grey with black points. He presses a strong built bay with black points. " But my friend, he is too straight in the shoulder. If he had a shoulder like the grey, then I admit." Here the broker (whose face was somewhat like that of Socrates with his nose knocked in) suddenly interrupted me. " If, Sir, my nose and mouth were taken out, and yours were put in, why my face would make a good looking youth." This sally excited a roar of laughter among the bystanders ; and the broker seizing the auspicious moment hurried us up into the sitting-room, and concluded a bargain for both grey and bay.

Thus in the course of some three hours, were struck bargains for five horses. Every now and then when the broker had made a good hit; he reminded me that I had purchased the " cossack" at an exorbitant price, and spoiled the market.

And now came the process of payment. This was a long affair. First, the bargains had been made in silver Krans ; and now the money was to be paid in gold Tomans, upon which there was a loss of a Kran per Toman. Then the Tomans had to be weighed, for like all gold coin in Persia, they had been clipped by the honest dealers through whose hands they chanced to have passed ; and my Tomans were particularly light ones, because, having chanced to form a portion of some treasure sent to the Commander-in-Chief of the Khorassan expedition, the Khaim-ool-Dowleh had taken an extra little clipping before paying the troops.

At length, however, by aid of the broker's brother, who was a shroff, and by dint of the Mirza's calculation and frequent oaths, all was arranged ; and the horses deposited in my stable. Nothing now remained but a present for the broker, and a payment of 10 per cent. on the value of all the horses, as being goods purchased in the city of Herat. The latter charge was readily settled ; and

I left the Mirza to arrange the former. But in about half an hour, and while I was looking at my new purchases, the Mirza and the broker appeared to say that they could not quite adjust matters, since the former would only give three Tomans, and the latter hoped for five. I paid the five at once with a good grace. For it has always seemed to me policy in horse dealing, to satisfy your broker thoroughly.

The horses disposed of, a merry looking weaver from Ghayn appears on the tapis. He is round-faced, large round-eyed, stout, vulgar, and jolly-looking. I think I must have seen his brother in a stroud factory. His eye glistens at a coming stroke of business; but winces a little as it glances at the Mirza, who looks cloudy, his patience evidently nearly exhausted by the horse discussions. The carpet is unrolled; and certainly the colors look beautiful, and in excellent taste. The price is not large, but the work, as the artist himself assures me, is better than has been seen in Herat these seven years. I feel generous, having bought the horses cheap; and am not averse from leaving a favourable impression among the weaving craft of Central Asia. So I put my hand into my waistcoat pocket, and finding there nine unclipped Tomans which the Treasurer of the Mission selected for me when I left Tcheran, I offer them all to the weaver for his rug. But the Mirza springs between. To waste money in this fashion and raise the price of carpets in his native town? Never! So I invite the weaver to sit down, but this he declines, looking inquiringly at the Mirza. I am resolved, however, to elevate the weaver above the man of the pen. So I step across the carpet as if to examine it, and get the weaver on my right hand. Again I address him earnestly, respectfully calling at the same time for tea. "Mr. Weaver, pray sit down, the house is yours. You honour my threshold. Your fame has reached my country. What generosity of disposition to have yielded the exquisite climate of Ghayn, with the companionship of so many brethren of the loom, to come to this dog-hole, Herat." Bottom swells visibly; looks upwards; expands his robe; and sits down, taking care to face a little towards the window, so that the other admiring weavers who stand below with unsold carpets on their

heads, may see that he is actually seated. And now comes the tea. I offer a cup with mine own hand to the Weaver. He accepts it, squinting backwards at the window. He looks even more contented when I tell the servant to help the Mirza. And now we proceed to business. "The sahib's condescension is noble!" simpers the Mirza, smothering his wrath. "What petition shall I make? But my father, as the Weaver knows, was great here in former days, and bought carpets by the thousand. He would never have given eight Tomans for this one. Eight Tomans in silver; eight Tomans and a half in gold." "Come then, we are not far apart. And as for you, Mr. Weaver, you shall have the odd five krans for the honor of the great Dowlut Englise. Take your leave; and here is the money." The Weaver disappears. But what do I see as I peep through the lattice. The Mirza's step quickens; so does the Weaver's. The Mirza breaks into a trot; the Weaver legs it at full speed. But too late. His neck is already in the grasp of the Mirza, who now calls him the son of a burnt father, &c. &c., and used to him other language unfit for record in English. Call no weaver happy till he is clear of the Mirza.

But I want a second carpet. I receive it, paid for, and all settled from some invisible artist. The Mirza evidently has no ambition for a second tea drinking with Bottom.

Tuesday, 23rd.—The Minister called in the morning and told me of a letter the Sirdar wished to send by me to the Viceroy. He brought also some letters received from the Wallee of Mumenah. The Chief of the Jamsheedees, the Ex-Governor of Scripool, and the Chief of the Saloor and Sarrokh Turcomans have also written. In the afternoon I rode out to the Gazer Gah, a pretty dell in the slopes of the mountains about four miles from the town. The old mosque is in ruins; but its quadrangle has been used as a grave yard, and is picturesque. Conspicuous at the further end of the quadrangle is the tomb of Khojah Abdoollah Susab, a holy personage, who is asserted to have died about five hundred years ago. This tomb is of huge proportions, with a white marble head-stone, artistically chiselled. One tree bends

over the tomb. Around the quadrangle are small cellular compartments; and in one of these is the tomb stone of a daughter of Timour. It is of black polished granite, in one slab, most exquisitely chiselled in patterns of flowers and scrolls. It is perhaps the work of the Europeans carried by the Conqueror from the West into captivity; or of some artist either brought or coming of his own accord from Cutch, where, as also in the Jain temples at Belgaum, I have seen work similar to that of this tomb. To the proper left of the mosque is a domed building whose walls and vaulting are frescoed in golden arabesque upon Albert blue; and of unsurpassed beauty. This ornamentation is obviously by an European artist, of more recent date than the sculptures in the mosque which was reared by Shah Rookh Mirza. Various other ruins surround the Gazer Gah; one by Shah Abbass must have been of chaste architecture in its day. The view from the platform among the ruins over the Herat plains is very fine, and in the happier days of Herat this spot was the chosen resort of the citizen, in the spring of the year. An old carver of tomb-stones showed me over the ruins, and seeing my especial admiration for the tomb-stone of the Royal Princess, he told me confidentially that he had himself recently cut one like it. He showed me his work. It was the Venus, copied by a country stone-mason. I observed a small hut in front of the mosque with some Mollahs reading prayers in front of it. They stood over the still open grave of the Sirdar's young son, who died last Sunday of his wound received in the recent affair with the Jamshcedecs.

After my return from Gazer Gah, I looked at the old house of Yar Mahomed Khan, near the northern gate of the fort. But I could not give the modern hero his proper share of attention. My mind would revert to the Uzbecks and the tomb of Timour's daughter. How strange to see these real monuments of a family associated in one's mind from childhood with the marvellous and unreal.

In the evening went to the Hummums. The bath-man (as usual with all the people here) asked me, when alone, whether the

English would not come and rule over Herat. He told me that he passed both sieges in his house ; never going out into the streets, and secure beneath his domed roof. He took no interest in the fights. He had been bath-man to Yar Mahomed and Major Todd. He spoke well of both of them, though he admitted that in his earlier career, the former had been tyrannical.

Wednesday, 24th.—The Sirdar sent me to-day a goodish Tekhee Turcoman colt, that I have named “Sirdar ;” and the Minister an inferior nag that I have called “Naib.” Passed some time with the Minister during the afternoon.

Thursday, 25th.—Called on the Sirdar, and wrote despatches.

Friday, 26th.—Employed writing report on Sultan Ahmed Khan’s letter to the Viceroy ; and on the political condition and prospects of the Herat country.

Saturday, 27th.—I had wished to start to-day ; but as usual, am delayed by visits of ceremony ; and by the Minister not having the Sirdar’s letters ready. In the afternoon the best of the horses I purchased a few days ago for the journey, fell down in a fit of the gripes. He looks to me as if he was going to die. Went to the bath in the evening.

Sunday, 28th.—I was to have started this morning, but the horse was still ill, and the letters still unforthcoming. In the afternoon the horse, after being bullied by two horse doctors, and after having gulped the blood of two goats, died in convulsions.

Monday, 29th.—I called on Sultan Ahmed Khan shortly after sunrise, and took a friendly leave of him. His son then came over to my place ; and we mounted and went over to the Minister’s, where we enjoyed a stirrup cup of tea, and then, with a large cavalcade at our heels, moved through the main bazar, and so out of the Kandahar gate. The young Sirdar and the Minister insisted on accompanying me for some three or four miles beyond the walls, down to the river bank, where, after my good friend had hastily scratched me a couple of letters of introduction to the Nazir of Sabzver and of Anardhurra, we parted. So ends my

visit to Herat, of which I had so often dreamed, and which has passed off so favourably; not, however, without its incidents. For within the past four weeks I have had three narrow escapes with my life, have had to deal with the Chiefs of a discomfited Persian army, to mitigate something like a panic in Herat, and to restore confidence to the mind of a naturally suspicious Afghan Chief.

Just before I left my rooms, one of the Hindoos of Herat came howling to me to say that all his business would now go to the dogs. I had shortly before told him to send me a written statement of the grievances he had to make, and that I would transmit them to the Minister at Teheran, as they were all against Persian subjects. So I now asked him why he had not written the statement. He said he was afraid; and had sent his papers to a Parsee merchant at Teheran. I at once opened the Post-bag, took out his envelope, and made him open it; when I found truly enough that these were all his complaints, together with a letter addressed to the Minister, all under cover to this merchant. I instantly placed the whole bundle under an enclosure to the Minister, in view to showing him how we are imposed upon by these self-constituted go-betweens, who for their own interest, compromise our good name.

The environs to the south of Herat bear marks of the last siege; but are rapidly recovering. There is an ample supply of running water; the soil is good; altogether the farm-steads looked very comfortable, and reminded me of Europe. At the point of the river bed where I crossed it, are the ruins of an old, burnt-brick bridge of some 16 or 20 arches. Many of these are fallen in; and I infer that in the spring the river must be crossed in a boat. We left the garden and house prepared by the old English Mission to our left. They looked all ruined; shortly afterwards we passed the bivouac of the Jamsheedees to the number of nearly two thousand families, just beaten by the Sirdar's son at Bala Moorghab, and transported to this neighbourhood. They looked peaceable people enough. But it is curious thus actually to see an entire colony driven as the Illyats drive their flocks from one pasturage

to another.* These Jamsheedees will now be tqld off, and located in the several villages around Herat itself.

At about two fursacks from the town we left Rozbagh, an old country-seat of the Suddozye dynasty, to our left. A little further on cultivation ceased. The road then began to slope very gradually up the skirts of the southern hills, of which we crossed one low spur; and on entering the valley, passed an arched cistern to our left, distant about three fursacks from the city. Another four miles brought us to our station, Mir Daud; an old caravanserai, one of the many substantial buildings of the same character with which Shah Abbas the Great blessed his dominions. I passed the afternoon with my guides, and it was very amusing to listen to the several vauntings of their respective tribes. One was a Beloochee who had formerly been brought into the Herat territory by Nader Shah; a second was a Noorzye of Adreskan; a third an Isackzye of Laush; but the one who carried all before him was a Baruckzye, of the clan that is, which now possesses sovereign power throughout Afghanistan.

I slept in a sort of open upper room, and passed a good portion of the night in roaming over the roof of the serai, looking at the fine outlines of the neighbouring hills, and listening to the gurgle of a fresh perennial stream that runs just in front of the serai. No one can really appreciate a small stream of fresh good water, unless he has travelled in such waterless regions as those of Central Asia.

About one o'clock A.M. of the 30th, *Tuesday*, we were in the saddle and moved on for Adreshkan. After a ride of some three fursacks we came upon a partially ruined serai, still one of Shah Abbas', close upon the dry or nearly dry bed of a mountain brook. Willow fringed the line of the latter, and from the appearance of its bed I should infer that it must be a running stream nearly the whole year round. Another three fursacks brought us to the prettily-fringed stream of the Meer Ali; which falls into the Rood-

* The scene forcibly recalled to me the Psalm, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept!"

i-guz, and which in turn is an affluent of the Adreshkan river, which falls into the Seistan lake under the name of the Harooh-rood. We crossed the Meer Ali in a pretty dell filled with reeds and willows, under which we rested for an hour, and then moved on for a point distant about two fursacks, where the road crosses the Rood-i-guz. Here the timber becomes larger and more frequent, all willow or poplar. After crossing the Rood-i-guz we followed its left bank down to the Adreshkan river, which we crossed, and wandered through some boskage to our resting-place, which was formed by the ruins of an old post-house reared by the English Mission. It is now a roofless ruin, but the outer wall is still standing, and one can trace the outlines of what were the stables, the store-rooms, and the traveller's room over the doorway. Looking north from the latter we had a view, up the valley, of the Rood-i-guz. Distant about a mile in that direction stand the ruins of one of the Shah Abbas' serais. Looking east one gets a fine glimpse of the mountains of the Paropamissus, standing out in beautiful forms under this October sky, and relieved by the autumnal leaf of the trees of the Adreshkan valley. Looking west, the view is shut in by a series of tumultuous hills; and on the nearest of them are some groups of black tents belonging to the Noorzye Illyats, now pasturing their flocks in the valley, as they pass from their summer Eylaks among the Taymoonee hills to the warmer lands of Ghayn and Beerjoon, where they will winter in their Kishlaks.

It soon became known among the Illyats that a Feringee Saheb had arrived, and in a short time the two Chiefs of the Noorzyses came and called. One was of gigantic frame with a strongly marked countenance. He complained that there was no Governor of the District; and that if he cultivated, the exactions were so heavy as to deprive him of all profit. I begged him to sit down, and we had a familiar cup of tea. He then asked me for some medicine and some sugar for his youngest child of one year old. I made him up some homœopathic dose of Gregory's powder, for I knew that if these did no good, they could at least do no harm. He then asked me for some remedy for dim eye-sight, but the Mirza

laid hold of his beard, and told him that so long as that was white nothing could cure his eyes. This argument satisfied my visitor, and relieved me of having to give him an experimental doze. I may here mention that my knowledge of medicine being limited, I am often somewhat puzzled in administering to the various patients who seek advice and medicine by the way-side. However, as the Physician of the Legation at Teheran kindly provided me with a small assortment of common remedies, I usually administer these to the best of my ability, and trust to a benevolent Providence to bless the means.

Some of the pill-boxes and powders are docketed, "Only for Persians or Afghans with strong constitutions;" so these I administer with extra care. I rarely give the dose indeed, until I am on the point of starting, and then I strictly enjoin 24 hours' fasting as a preparatory. I calculate that by this regimen the patient receives the full benefit of the medicine, and I the full benefit of 24 hours' start. I regret to find that the laudanum bottle is broken, and that its contents have soaked into the pills and powders.

The Noorzyc Chief expatiated to me on the merits of his tribe; and said that with a whistle he could call together 1,000 horse-men; this was of course a falsehood. But I dare say he might have called some 200. He then begged me to accept of a fat goat, which I did, paying him a sum two-fold its value. But just as the goat made its appearance one of the horses fell down in spasms of cholera. So the poor goat's throat was instantly cut and applied to the horse's mouth. The horse drained the goat dry of blood, and then the sowars finished the meat; the goat-skin being tied, hair outwards, over the sick horse's head. In this position the poor horse was compelled to walk blind-folded up and down the yard of the post-house, cutting the most ludicrous figure, and every now and then, trying to lie down from sheer agony. However, with one man tugging in front and a second whipping him from behind, to lie down was, of course, a hopeless attempt.

I omitted to notice that a preparatory remedy was to bleed the horse in the mouth and near the eye. Whatever may have

been the cause, in four hours the horse began to recover. My own horse, as I noticed, died under similar treatment, so that it seems to me the treatment of the Afghans for horses with cholera, is not much more certain than that of our own doctors for men with the same disease.

Wednesday, 31st.—Our course lay for about four fursacks over hilly ground, until we came to a point where the road diverges, one way leading towards Giraneh, and so along the direct road to Candahar, and the other way ascending over high ground to the right, whence we command an extensive view of the Sabzvar plain and of the hill to its south. From this elevation the ground slopes gradually down to the principal fort of Sabzvar, a distance of about three fursacks or somewhat less. At a distance of about two fursacks from the fort is an old ruined cistern. It was dry when we passed it, but is supplied with rain water during the spring. Sabzvar is a congeries of forts with surrounding pasturage and cultivation. They say that there are some 100 forts included within the District of Sabzvar; the fact being that every small collection of huts is enclosed for security. Of these, some are called river forts, which means that the surrounding cultivation is watered by the river. In like manner other forts are called kaviz, or conduit water-forts. There may be some 6,000 households in the Sabzvar district, divisible into 3,500 Illyats 2,500 in the villages, and about 400 in the town, and 100 in the fort or ark of Sabzvar itself. The district supplies a horse contingent of about 300 sowars, who are collected from the eight Dooranee tribes, all of whom are represented in this district. These sowars are usually selected from the best families of their several tribes, the intention being, by thus entertaining a few of the best youth, to secure the loyalty and services of their brethren and inferiors in time of need. In the case of Sabzvar, for instance, some 3,000 horse and foot could be made available for war if required. Of course in selecting the flower of the youth the Government has to pay them superior salaries; for instance, if one of the principal families of a tribe put forward a son who was associated with some ten youths of lesser consequence, he might receive from the Herat Duxtur a sum-

nud specifying his own name and those of his companions, and stating that he was himself entitled to pay at the rate of 30 Tomans a year, his two principal followers to pay at the rate of 20 Tomans a year, and the remaining eight to pay at 10 Tomans a year. The party would also receive each say 30 to 125 Jureebis of land, according to the produce thereof, so that the principal holder should collect say 20 to 25 khurwars of grain, and his companions from 6 to 10 khurwars each. A copy of the sunnud given to the head sowar would remain in the central Duftur at Herat, and it would be notified to the Governor of the District wherever the sowars might be enlisted, that they were entitled to pay as specified in the sunnud, upon presentation of the same. The head sowar would accordingly cause the sunnud to be presented at the Duftur of the local Governor, and would thence receive an order upon such and such landholders for the amount of pay due in money. At the same time the landholders would be directed from the local Duftur to pay the said amount. No fresh presentation of the sunnud, nor fresh order from the local Treasury would be required after the first year, unless in the contingency of the grant being altered or cancelled, in which event the Central Treasury would notify the fact to the local Treasury, and the latter to the landholder, who would thenceforward decline payment to the sowar.

As to grain, it would be collected in the same manner, and the landholder would be obliged to transport the sowar's share to the chief town of the District at his own expense, if so required by the sowar.

But the holder of a sunnud upon land is at liberty either to cultivate that land at his own risk, or to receive the Government share of produce from the ordinary landholder. In the former case the sunnud holder would pay all the cost of cultivating, and would divide produce with his labourers in the proportion of eight-tenths for himself and two-tenths for the labourer, who would also receive occasional presents of shoes and mantles. In the last case the division of produce would be equal halves, all expenses falling on the cultivator.

The income thus accruing to the sowar in money and grain would not, however, represent his entire gains, for he would make a recognized sum by perquisites in the form of fines and threats. For instance, if deputed to any named District to collect the Government revenue, he would make something also for himself; in like manner if deputed to detect a thief or other-criminal, he would turn his temporary authority to his own account.

My resting place at Sabzvar is a garden house just outside the fort; and built by the Suddozyes. It is agreeable enough in its position; but rather cold, as it has no doors. However, Sirdar Mir Efel Khan, who is at present residing in the Ark, has done all in his power to render me comfortable; sending me carpets and the sides of a tent to keep the wind out. My horses are picketed in the garden, and these, together with the people, afford me amusement. One of my friends is a Baruckzye, of rather good family, and daily gives me much information about the state of affairs. For example, he has most simply let out that he is returning to Sabzvar partly on my account, but also to keep a look-out on what Mir Efel does; for although the latter is the guest of Sultan Ahmed Khan, and is residing in the Sabzvar fort at his suggestion, still the Governor of Herat deems it prudent to prevent all chance of accidents.

The Baruckzye sowar tells me also that he makes his own gunpowder. He showed me some of it, coarse, and slow burning. He gets his saltpetre from Furrâh, which is celebrated for this production; his charcoal is from the willow on the river banks, and his sulphur from the hills. He mixes in the proportion of six lbs. of saltpetre to one of charcoal and one of sulphur.

In the afternoon they brought me a Taymonee yaboo for my extra load. It was a casty-looking beast; and its hoofs, which were quite unshod, were as hard as flint. The Taymonee country is for the most part rocky mountain and valley; and yet this yaboo has been carrying loads in it these four years without shoes, and his hoofs are still quite fresh. He was too high-priced. They wanted £7 for him. I offered £6, and the man rode away. He will of course return to-morrow. But I am obliged to seem close in money matters, otherwise I should be drained or robbed.

Towards evening the Sirdar sent me over a capital dinner, which I pitched into, with many apologies for allowing him to take so much trouble on my account.

Thursday, November 1st.—The two past nights have been very cold, and remind me that a march through Afghanistan in the winter is no play.

This morning the Sirdar's Mirza came over early to explain that his master had been suffering from a bad eye, and was unable to come out; if I would waive ceremony and make the first call. This of course was all an apparent falsehood. However, as I wished to see the Sirdar, of whom Sultan Ahmed Khan has spoken to me in very favourable terms, I went over to the Ark and called on him. He is the son of Poerdil Khan, and until Candahar fell under the power of the Dost, was esteemed the man of most character and ability among the younger branches of Candahar Sirdars. He is a middle sized man, of perhaps 55 or 56 years of age, with large eyes, somewhat goggled, and a not unpleasant countenance. His young son was in the room with him; and during our conversation a little child, of whom he seemed fond, also came in. The Sirdar cleared the room after a little time, and then asked me abruptly if I had come to Herat to carry out the policy of returning Furrah to Sultan Ahmed Khan. He then went into Afghan politics, explained how bitterly the Dost had deceived him, that it was he himself who had solicited the good offices of the Dost, when, after the demise of Kohundil Khan, the Candahar Sirdars could not agree among themselves. He spoke of the Dost having asked him to Caubul, of his residence there during five years with ever decreasing comfort, until the Dost had put some crowning insults on him, and thus but a few months ago compelled him to quit Caubul altogether. His son-in-law, Shir Ali Khan was no better than the Dost. Shir Ali Khan had married his (Efzul's) daughter, and should have protected him through a thousand difficulties, but he had wholly failed in this duty. Nothing now remained to the Sirdar but his life, and this he was prepared to throw away in a struggle for power, and against Dost Mahomed Khan.

Nothing but the good offices lately exercised by Sultan Ahmed Khan now kept him quiet. He was sitting in this wretched fort for a few days until he should see what turned up. The recent proceedings of the Shah in expelling the Afghan refugees on account of a squabble in which a Syud had been killed, was unpardonable. The Syud had called an Afghan a Kaffer, and the law of Mahomed was that in such case an Afghan should kill the offender. As to himself he would not now set foot in Persia; no Afghan would for the future. But still he did not regret his misfortunes. No man understood the world until he had experienced real sorrow, and for his part he thanked God for his misfortunes. But on the demise of the Ameer, perhaps even before, he would see what was to be done. He thought that in the anarchy which will fall on Afghanistan after the Dost's death, the good offices of England, used through an Envoy, would be of effectual good in settling matters. He himself, with his friend Ghulam Meyhedin Khan, who accompanied him from Candahar, and who is now at Herat, consider their chance of resuming power at Candahar as excellent. The latter has, I understand, some ten lakhs in specie, jewels, and shawls. The Sirdar himself may have perhaps two or three lakhs. And as the Mirza says, every thing in Afghanistan is done by money. The Sirdar advised me on no account to go into Seistan, as I should certainly be killed. They are all in confusion, and no man is head since the murder of Sirdar Ali Khan at Sheik Nassoor.

The Sirdar further discussed Herat affairs with me, and gave me the age of Sultan Ahmed Khan as being about 43 years.

The fort of Sabzvar is a square, I think. Its walls, as seen from inside, are lofty, but all the interior space is more or less a ruin. There is a small bazar in the place, in which some Hindoos are settled. The position of Sabzvar might be rendered a good one by management of the neighbouring river, as some water courses already intersect the neighbouring low lands, and more obstacles of like nature might be readily formed. But as to the fort, like most that I have seen, it would be rendered untenable by a few hours of good modern practice. The point where the road forks for Giranch and Sabzvar, would be a good one for an outpost,

as there is water in that neighbourhood, and a commanding site overlooking the Herat road might be easily selected.

On the eastern-most spur of the range of hills lying immediately south of Sabzvar, is an ancient fortification called the Killa-i-Docktur. It is traced over the spur; encloses a considerable extent of broken ground; and although there is no water within the wall itself, the river passes immediately below the spur and close under the eastern gateway of the fortification. This portion of the river is said to have running water in it all the year round. When I crossed it to-day it was about two feet or so deep. Four fursacks higher up the river-bed is said to be dry.

Friday, 2nd November.—The Sirdar came over and called, bringing with him his Sirteop and all his retinue. I met him at the top of the stairs, at which the old man was very pleased. Mir Efel has a preoccupied look, and has a peculiar habit of drawing a deep and sudden breath every now and then; a habit which I have noticed to accompany a disappointed or unhappy disposition. Mir Efel's features are regular, his eyes large and protruding, his nose good, as is also his mouth. But his chin falls away, and shows want of decision. After a longish visit he withdrew, and sent me a good breakfast; after which I mounted *en route* for Anardhurra.

I have learnt, however, during any stay at Sabzvar the plans of the Sirdar in regard to Candahar politics. It appears that he and Ghulam Meyhedin Khan at Herat are resolved to make a final dash for power in the spring of next year; and even sooner should the Dost die sooner. These two Sirdars consider that all the younger members of the Candahar families are in their interest; and that the feeling among the people and military of Candahar is also with them. It appears they have received a promise from Sirdar Ahmed Khan to aid them when the struggle comes, and that the Seistanees, to whom, it seems, the Sirteop was deputed *en route* hither, have made a like promise. The Taymoonies also are said to have acceded to the Sirdar's written request to join him when the time comes; and that they have invited him to Gour in the meantime, to be then close on Zemin-

daree, and ready for the dash on Candahar itself. But Mir Efel prefers to remain where he is at present. Sabzvar is situated on the Candahar road, and convenient for his plan and communications. I doubt myself the abilities of the Chief to do anything successfully so long as Dost Mahomed lives. But Mir Efel is bursting with rage; and as he is reported to be among the bravest of the Candahar Chiefs, it is possible he may, in a fit of rage set out for his old capital, especially if the mediatory epistle which Sultan Ahmed Khan told me he had addressed to Dost Mahomed should fail of effect.

Shortly after my breakfast we mounted, and after winding through some lanes and gardens, crossed the river and stretched over the plain of Sabzvar in a south-west direction, passing some black tented Illyats on our right, and thence gradually sloping up into hilly ground. The plain seemed to trend away a very long distance to the northward from the point where we commenced to ascend. And there is unlimited pasturage in this plain during the spring. Our road now lay along stony ground, with ranges of mountains on either hand; and here and there wild looking plains between the lower ridges. After a ride of quite seven fursacks we reached our halt, a small square fort in a small plain with a few orchards attached. Its owner lives at Herat. But the few acres of surrounding cultivation are tended by some Illyats, whose black tents are at present pitched just without the walls. My horses were tethered inside. The head of the Illyats, who are Alikozyes, came to salaam; and I took up my night's abode in a round tower at one of the angles of the fort. Mounting to the top of the ruin to examine the surrounding country, I soon found all my followers with me. The Afghans have no notion of modesty or respect for persons. A nice little stream of fresh water runs through the plain, and at a short distance from the fort is a tomb or holy spot on a low rock. There are two roads to this halt from Sabzvar, or rather one road leads out of Sabzvar, and then forks; that to the right being the shorter and rougher road. I came by the lower or left road.

Saturday, 3rd November.—Came on to Anardhurra, some five full fursacks over rough ground. The country along this march

is remarkably stony; ranges of precipitous mountains rising on all sides, and sometimes breaking into scarps and lofty blocks of perpendicular rock. Indeed, I should say this country is impassable, unless by the line of the road itself; and as this winds over a succession of low passes with intermediate valleys, it might be defended at almost every mile. The valleys themselves are covered with low brushwood, and, I understand, that during the spring the pasturage throughout is excellent. We passed a few black tents and some flocks; and shortly after leaving our ground, came on a clear fresh stream which crosses the road, and runs southward towards a patch of cultivated ground, and a few trees. About four miles from the start we descended into a fine valley, with the steeps of Anardhurra in our front, along the valley's lower edge. The soil seems good, and a fine clear stream, at which we dismounted to boil tea, runs the entire length of the valley from east to west. After crossing this fine valley, one comes suddenly on a group of trees placed immediately above a spring of water, and shading the dwelling of a holy man. And passing this spot, one is at once in the chasm of the mountains whence the village receives its name of Dhurra, or door or gateway; the prefix "Anar" signifying pomegranate, which fruit is grown in great abundance and remarkably fine, in a succession of orchards which fringe the margin of the stream leading from the spring to the southern opening of the chasm, where the water disappears. The greater portion of the breadth of the chasm is occupied by the stony bed of the stream. Although on either bank are well-kept gardens, to right and left rise the precipitous sides of the chasm in lofty mountains of limestone. The entire length of the chasm from north to south may be a mile or so, and midway on the right in a nook is nestled the village of Anardhurra, containing some thousand houses. I put up in the hut of an Hazareh Chief from Killeh-now. Like every man in these regions this poor fellow had seen many vicissitudes in life. Originally of good family he had lived in the Hazareh territory, had thence moved to Sabzvar, during the reign of Yar Mahomed, under whom he held some offices. Subsequently my host had fallen upon evil terms. The Persian invasion had ruined him;

and he had come to hide his head in this chasm. He was a fine looking man, and his young wife a very fine woman. He amused me with an account of Khanikoff's Mission at Anardhurra. They had surveyed all the adjacent tract, and measured all the heights. The Hazareh had been employed by them on their excursions, and had been even offered money for his trouble, which, however, he had rejected. He had asked the Russians, he said, what business they had surveying in these parts, as they belonged not to Russia but to England. The Russians had laughed heartily at his hostile remarks. But, concluded the Hazareh, they were close fisted. They passed two days here, set all the people to work for them, and paid small coin. Anardhurra is inhabited principally by Tajiks, who perform much of the carrying trade between Herat and Candahar. The site is capitally chosen for the purpose, being easy of defence, surrounded by extensive pasturage, and centrally placed for supplies of grain from Furrāh and Sabzvar. The Tajiks cultivate hardly any land themselves. But according as the harvest is bountiful at Furrāh or Sabzvar, import grain. At the present time grain is selling at Furrāh at 25 maunds the kran (about eleven pence) some weeks back 30 and 35 maunds was the market price. Formerly and in plentiful years as many as 50 or 60 maunds were sold for the kran. Pomegranates are selling at Anardhurra at the rate of eight maunds the kran.

From Anardhurra to the districts of Persia is a distance of 30 fursacks. The road is along an absolute plain (unless for one point near Anardhurra) to Gizik, which is 30 fursacks distant. From Gizik the roads branch off to the Painkaff villages, six fursacks; to Gunabad 20 fursacks, without any barren stage; to Birjoon 15 fursacks, with intermediate villages. The direct road from Birjoon to Furrāh is little traversed, being waste and tramped by Beloochee robbers.

From Anardhurra to Laush is three stages, namely Kullah-koh Shewah-koh, seven fursacks; Kullah-koh Poshteh-koh five fursacks; Laush seven fursacks. The road leads out of the southern mouth of the chasm, and after leaving the district of Anard-

hurra loses itself in a vast plain which belongs to the Furrak region, and then enters at a distance of some fursacks from Laush, upon the territory of that Chieftainship. But the boundary between the Herat and Caubul Governments in this quarter is not well defined at present. The fact is that originally Anardhurra formed part of Furrak, but was not incorporated in the tract which fell to the Afghan Government when Dost Mahomed Khan seized upon the fort and adjacent districts of Furrak, about a year after the demise of Yar Mahomed. Hence Anardhurra still belongs to Herat, while Furrak, minus Anardhurra, belongs to the Dost, to whom it fell with the other territories of the Candahar Sirdars.

In the evening Sirdar Atta Mahomed Khan, brother to Sirdar Ahmed Khan, Chief of Laush, and son of Russool Khan, the present Governor of Anardhurra, sent to me to ask whether I proposed to visit Laush and Seistan. That if so, he would set out with me the day after to-morrow, and reaching Laush either himself or the Deputy Governor of Laush would accompany me to the lake of Seistan. From Laush to the lake is a distance of six fursacks, viz, three fursacks to Peshawasan, one fursack to Kheirabad, and two fursacks to the water. The Sirdar says that three forts on the western shore of the lake are subject to Laush, viz., Durk, Samoor, and Luftan. It appears there is a civil war in Seistan, since the death of Ali Khan, who was a Chief generally recognized in Seistan, although his actual rule extended over only a portion of that territory. He was killed about 18 months ago, and now Ibrahim Khan, the son of Mahomed Reza Khan, and Taj Mahomed Khan are fighting it out.

I was also called on to-day by Ghulam Reza Beg, a relative of the Naib-el-Hookumeh, and to whom the latter had given me a letter of introduction. This person is now here collecting transit dues for the Khan Naib. He has travelled much; and has lost all his original fortune in trade. An unfortunate speculation in horses which he took down from the Gulf to Bombay contributed to his ruin; and the plunder of a caravan in the winter of 1856-57, completed it. He has written out for me a statement of the circum-

...of the latter accident, and I propose forwarding it to the Sind Frontier to ascertain whether the good offices of Major Mewether may not still be of some avail for this unfortunate fellow.

Sunday, 4th.—We came on to Furrāh, a distance of full 11 fursacks across a fine plain. The Nilkoh on our right front. At about 6 or 6½ fursacks along the road we came upon the ruins of a caravanserai upon our right, and an arched cistern upon our left. The former must have been of large proportions and well built. But the style of architecture is different from that of the caravanserais of Shah Abbas. At the cistern we dismounted to rest our horses. A stray lad whom we had overtaken just outside the Dhurra, and who had kept pace with the quick amble of our horses from that point to the serai, had done the distance in four hours by the watch. From the serai the road winds gently up round the eastern-most spur of the Nilkoh, and thence descends as gently into the plain of Furrāh, whose walls are visible in the distance about three fursacks off. Apparently close behind the walls of Furrāh rise another line of hills, and on the left a remarkable bastion-like spur stands boldly out from this line. The plain of Furrāh is strewn with the ruins of successive towns and villages, dating down through all ages from the earliest and fabulous times. The river Furrāhrood is crossed about one mile and a half before reaching the northern gate of the fort. At this season the water is not running; but lies in pools along its beds. Report asserts that for the past five years the river has been unusually low, owing to scant rains in the Paropamissus. Entering the fort, one has before him the realization of Wordsworth's four naked walls that stare on one another. At first, you literally imagine the place to be desolate. But as you ride through the wide ruin you see smoke ascending here and there from huts hid amid the inequalities of the ground. Any place more dreary and desolate I never saw. Yet it claims, and probably justly, an extreme antiquity. The walls are nearly two miles in length, lofty, and the earth of which they are composed so hardened as to be incapable of removal. They are strengthened from within by arched counterforts; outside, the walls are defended by a double ditch; with a covered way around the inner ditch. The water in the fort is bad. But

it is asserted that water is always obtainable by digging three or four feet. The climate of Furrâh bears the worst reputation; and fever is frightfully prevalent. At present the days are hot, the evenings agreeable, and the early mornings very cold.

Almost immediately after arrival and although somewhat tired by a long ride of between 40 and 50 miles, I called on the Governor, a son of the Ameer Dost Mahomed. He is a youth of about 16 years of age, goodish looking; his name Luft-oollah-Khan. His mother was a lady of moderate birth. His Naib or Deputy Governor is an old Kuzilbash, who seems to detest the place, and to be very unwell. I have given him some doses of quinine, and recommended him to a change of air. The Mayor of the place, who came out to meet me at the ruins, is a jolly fellow, who has passed the last 40 years at Furrâh. He remembers Conolly, Forbes, and Ferrier. My lodging is a ruin, and as I look up at the cracks of the vaulting I am in bodily fear of the whole dome coming down suddenly. However I trust it may last till to-morrow.

Monday, 5th.—Cantered up a fursack through the northern gate of the fort, to visit the ruins of the town erected by Zenghis Khan when he had destroyed this old place. The ruins are situate on the northern bank of the Furrâhrood, distant about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the fort. They are very extensive and are commanded by a citadel which I carefully examined, as it is supposed to contain some bricks bearing cuniform inscriptions.* But I could not find one, although I am of opinion that the site of the citadel was occupied long before the surrounding city was reared by Zenghis Khan. Burnt bricks are found pushed into the more recent mud structures. But none of the bricks bear any inscription. Abundance of excellent saltpetre is found in all the ruins, as in the fort of Furrâh itself. South of the Zenghis ruins at the distance of about 12 miles, is another ancient fort reputed to be the work of Feridoon's son. The tradition is that the fort of Furrâh was built by Feridoon himself. Far away to the south-

* It was supposed that these ruins contained some cuniform bricks, 14 inches by 3, being similar to those found in Nebuchadnezzar's kitchen.

ward rise a line of hills, behind which is Laush; and on the left of these hills, as I look on them, are the plains of Seistan, lost in the horizon. We turned up a fair number of partridges in our ride this morning. Just outside the north gate of the fort are encamped some regular troops of the Ameer. But they look a sad, tag-rag lot.

Returning to my quarters, the Deputy Governor called on me in state. He is intensely fond of show. He tells me he was well acquainted with Burnes, Sir W. Macnaughten, &c. On the Deputy Governor's right was a man who told me he was with Pottinger when he escaped from the Kohistan for Caubul, when all the party save himself were killed or taken prisoners. Every one speaks of Burnes as having been very hot-tempered, and over-bearing.

Tuesday, 6th.—Left Furrak at sunrise for Khormalek, distant about six fursacks. But immediately after passing through the southern gate of the fort, we left the main line, and turning south-wards, crossed some outlying spurs of the hills, until, after a ride of about six miles, we reached the ancient hill-fort of Sipehot or Roostum. It consists of solid stone and mortar turrets, connected by massive walls of a similar description. These turrets crown the summits, and these walls enclose the upper precipices of a lofty, scarp, and detached spur of the Paropamissus, overlooking the boundless plains of Seistan. Tradition asserts it was the place of greatest strength and consideration in all the regions of Seistan, and that all the forts in Seistan owned its Suzerignty. I ascended the scarp. Rather more than half way up we passed a burnt-brick well and reservoir, the former of great depth, cut into the rock. Above this point the ascent to the citadel becomes very steep, and there is a detached peak to the southern and western extremity of the spur, which is at present inaccessible, although crowned with a massive stone-work, rising sheer out of the rock, and known by the name of the Treasury. Below, in the plain, at a distance of two or three miles is another fort called the Fort of the Slaves. And past this fort from a northerly direction are traceable the ruins of an

ancient water-course. Tradition assumes this lower fort to have been the retreat of the conquered race, by whom the surrounding plain was cultivated for the benefit of their lords in the hill. Many other traditions are abroad; for instance, one to the effect that a white-looking hill in the far distance to the westward was a point whence the hill lords received their baked bread, and that the bread was passed across the intervening plain by a line of slaves, and with such rapidity as to reach the fort while still warm. One tradition speaks of a terrible fight between these hill lords and those of Killah Koojah, in the Seistan Lake, and in which the latter were defeated and their stronghold destroyed. I observed in the hill fort of Sepehpot that some of the walls were pierced for archers, and that some of the ruined stair-cases winding up the towers were supported by arches. The breadth of the lower fort walls may be eight or nine feet at base, and six feet at the crown. I remarked that in the lowest wall of all is embedded a wooden beam still in good preservation. On the whole, I imagine that this fort is of a date contemporary with those of the Roostum period in Seistan, but that, after being deserted, it has been again repaired, and that the lower works are those which are of the more recent date. It is undoubtedly a place of incomparable strength, and if the well were supplied with water, would, I should think, be quite impregnable.

We reached Khormalek during the afternoon, after a tedious road, winding first over hilly ground and finally across a plain strewn with coarse grass. About seven or eight miles before reaching our station, we came on a spring of water close to the roadside. It wells up from an old waterduct, and is a haunt of the Illyats at some seasons of the year. Near it are a few palm trees, the first I have seen for many a long day. Khormalek itself is a small village with a few palm and other trees around it. Two forts are still visible in the plain, and the ruins of one or more old forts. I bivouaced in the enclosure of a Musjid, and was half amused, half worried by the chatter and noise of the villagers, who assembled during the evening in front of the Musjid, and there kept up their joviality until midnight, at which hour we got the loads

and saddles ready, and moved on for the plains of Buckwa* Khormalek.

Wednesday, 7th November.—The first three fursacks of our road during the night lay over hilly and broken ground, among scarped rocks until we attained our highest point at a stony pass. Here some footmen who had accompanied us for protection against the Beloochoe Borderers,† left, and we commenced to descend for some two fursacks until the plain of Buckwa opened on us, and the Kohee Doozdan stood out therefrom in the far distance. Just before reaching the plain, we turned to the right and found some good water at the foot of the last eminences. A long coarse grass abounds all over these valleys, and the hills are said to be full of game, especially of the wild sheep, of which I understand as many as a dozen may sometimes be killed in the course of a couple of hours' sport. The water to which the guides took us lies immediately below a hill on the edge of the valley. But a little further on, and concealed behind a steep rock, is another and deep pool of water called the Seah-ab. Descending into the plain, we passed two small forts to our right, and after some three miles came on the point where the road branches off towards Ghirauch and Herat. There we learned that the Chief of Buckwa was residing in a village about two fursacks distant across the plain to our right front. So we left the main road and gained our station after a tiring ride and walk from Furrâh, of about thirty hours, without sleep. I observed on entering the village that no one came to welcome me or to pay the civilities usual in these countries upon a stranger arriving. However, I was very tired, and gladly retreated into

* Khormalek is not an inviting spot to remain at, as its neighbourhood is infested with Borderers, while it is itself the dwelling of a thievish lot of half-nomadic people. Our party were on the alert all the night.

† I look back upon the neighbourhood of Khormalek, and the Border side thence to Buckwa and the Koh-i-doozdan, as having been the most delicate ground, almost, I have been over. My Mirza told me at Bushire, afterwards, that he was in such a fright during this route that he could not chew his tea. In fact all round Furrâh and towards Laush, Jowani, Seistan, and Anardhurra you are in the vortex of Borderers, for the Frontiers of Persia, Herat, Afghanistan, Seistan, Beloochistan, and of the Hill Districts, all impinge on this region.

a long barn-like room in which my rug had been spread. There I relieved myself of nearly all my clothes, and throwing a Jubbah over me, lay down to sleep. Suddenly the Mirza came in and told me the Khan was coming to see me. But I desired him to inform the Khan that I was undressed and about to go to sleep, and that I should feel obliged if he would postpone his visit. Immediately afterwards the Khan appeared, followed by two youths, a third person with his face and head wrapped in a towel, and by some other miscellaneous persons. I had scarcely time to rise and cover my lower extremities with my Jubbah before the Khan and his suite had seated themselves on my carpet. Compliments were rapidly exchanged, and then the Khan launched out concerning my journey through Afghanistan. It was a dangerous road. It was dangerous every where, even to Caubul itself. Every one robbed or killed. Feringees, especially, were robbed and killed. It was from apprehension of this that the Ameer had declined to receive an English Officer on permanent residence at Caubul. As to Buckwa it was the most dangerous place of all. "There," said the Khan, "is Sirdar Malek Khan, son to Ibrahim Khan, Seistan (the person who murdered Dr. Forbes); his men would murder you any where. He himself would send on and direct his people to intercept you at the Kash road. What is to hinder him? The Afghans themselves would kill you if it were not for me. We are Afghans, great swords-men, very brave, and do what we like. This is our country. I know not what Feringees can want here."

After a good deal more in this strain, I replied that I was surprised to hear so unfavourable an account of the safety of the roads through the territories of the Ameer. But that I trusted none the less that I should in due time reach Caubul, quite sound; and that I had received no orders regarding danger or murder. I was simply an English Officer travelling on duty through a friendly state. If, as I understood was the case, the Beloochees were on the road across the Buckwa Desert, I had no doubt the Khan would lend me a few sowars to escort me as far as Washeer; if there were no great chance of meeting with

highway-men, I should prefer not to trouble them in any way. I proposed to move early in the morning. Thus concluding, and by dint of a good deal of yawning, I induced the Khan to perceive that I was tired, and to withdraw.

Upon his return to his house the Khan (as I afterwards learned from the Mirza) again launched out in an exaggerated degree against Kafirs in general, and against English Kafirs in particular. He explained to his audience that it was no crime to kill an infidel, that the Koran itself laid down that law, and that not Dost Mahomed's father himself would dare to ask questions of an Afghan for disposing of a Kafir. The Mirza, it appears here interposed with a suggestion that although it might be allowable to kill Kafirs, yet that I was a guest, and it was not allowable to kill a guest. To this the Khan objected, that it was not only allowable to kill the infidel himself but all his servants. The Mirza, however, rejoined that there were degrees of infidels, that the followers of Jesus had a book, as the Prophet himself had admitted, and that it would not be fair to kill a Christian, while the out-and-out Kafirs, the Hindoos, were living in Candahar in peace and plenty, and with access even to the Harem, serais from which the Faithful themselves were excluded. This argument seemed to pose the Khan.*

Reflecting upon the Khan's words and upon his demeanour, it was plain to me that he was an untamed and fanatical barbarian, who was not master of his own passions, and that he might at any moment commit some rash act, which would render it impossible for me to shield his Government from being compromised. I concluded, therefore, that the best plan to pursue would be to return his visit† in a polite manner; and to start without delay for Washeer; thus putting myself beyond his jurisdiction.

* I ought to add that the Mirza came back to me in a very crest-fallen state. His impression was that the Khan was Khylee Sukth, and that he did not see how we should get clear of Buckwa.

† I visited him during the evening in an open raised platform. He was polite but distant; and kept a couple of fellows with a blunderbuss each standing close behind me, with their muzzles pointed at my hips.

Accordingly when the Khan's Master of the Horse came to me, and told me that I could have sowars, I informed him that I proposed to move at midnight. But on the Master of the Horse reporting this to the Khan, the latter objected in a positive manner; declaring that I should start early the following morning, and so get across the Desert by daylight; as it was unsafe near the Kash road at night, when we might be fired on from the slopes of the Robbers' Hill, without possibility of retaliation. This argument seemed valid; and I consented to move at day-break. Accordingly, after a watchful night,* I got my horses saddled, and mounted. But still no sign of the Khan or of his sowars. However just as I turned my horse's head, and ordered my servants to follow me along the Kash road line, the Mirakoor came up to me and said that the Khan had some letters to write; that if I would go out in the Desert to a spot called Hajee Ibrahim, and there halt till noon, the sowars and he himself would certainly join me at that hour, and escort me to Washeer. I replied, "Well and good. But escort or no escort I move on for Washeer at noon." At this point in the dialogue, I heard a shouting, and looking up I saw the Khan in the distance, standing in his night dress, and shouting "Khoosh Amooded, and by the faith of God you shall have the escort by noon."

Reaching Hajee Ibrahim I unloaded the animals, gave them a good feed, gave my men a sheep for breakfast, and resolved, come what would, to start punctually at noon for Washeer; making a forced march of some forty miles. I required, however, a guide; and soon secured one from some Illyat black tents at a short distance from my pitching ground. In the meantime, however, I was joined by the Parseewau, who had accompanied my Camp from Furrâh.† He seems to have received as little consideration as myself from the Khan. He informed me that the Khan had received instructions from the Governor of Furrâh to show me all respect and attention. This of course renders his crime

* The Mirza and I paced sentry the whole night in front of the horses, so as to prevent their being stolen, and ourselves left in the lurch.

† And who now made his appearance on the sly from behind a bush.

doubly black. I told the Parseewan that I was about to move at noon. But he was in the most abject alarm, begging me to refrain as I should certainly be attacked. However, I persisted, and ordered the animals to be got ready. We had scarcely, however, moved when the Mirakoor with the two Seistan Chiefs and two horsemen made their appearance. The companionship of the Chief of the Beloochee robbers was not quite that which I could have wished for this particular march. But there we were, and I was resolved that, come what might, I would not remain in the neighbourhood of the Khan, who might at any moment again break out and come to blows with me. So we moved off—and as matters turned out, I had no reason to regret doing so. The young Seistan Chief proved to be a very sensible fellow of some 23 years of age; who, after waging unsuccessful war against his father for a period of some 11 months, had at length been seized in the fort of Jehanabad, and had been thence conveyed to his father's capital of Sheik Nassoor; where he remained for some time with his followers, shut up in his house, while his father occupied the citadel. Neither Chief dared to move out for fear of assassination by the other. Some months passed in this manner; during which time the young Chief twice fired at his father (on one occasion wounding his horse). The father at length caught the young Chief's confidential servant, and lopped off his nose and ears. Hence the muffled figure that I saw with the Khan on the occasion of his visit. After this last outrage the young Chief and his brother had mounted a dromedary and a horse, and fled with their mangled servant along the Kash road to Buckwa. They were now on their way to the Camp of Sirdar Mahomed Shreef Khan, the Governor of Ghirishk, with ultimate intentions of visiting Candahar and there either awaiting the natural death of their father, or obtaining aid towards removing and replacing him. The cause of enmity between his father and self the young Seistan traced to his step-mother, who had unbounded influence over his father, and who exercised a *Jadow* over him. She herself had two sons by him, and desired to make away with the children by a former wife with intent to securing the succession to her own offspring.

Thus closed the evening of the 8th November over me in friendly converse with the son of Ibrahim Khan Seistanee, at that point of the Beloochee Frontier which is the most notorious for the depredations of the Beloochee Borderers, and which only three nights ago was the scene of murder and rapine. However, we moved on in good-will, and in very interesting conversation. The Chief gave me all the details of his father's murder of Dr. Forbes; related to me the present political difficulties of Seistan, and its connection and impending dependence on Persia. He informed me of the means taken by Persia in 1856-57 for storing Laush with grain; of the transmission of men to Sekooha; of the presence there still of a Persian officer with an escort, of the transmission of hostages in the persons of their sons by the Chiefs Taj Mahomed* and Ibrahim Khan to Teheran; of the intention of Persia to forward a brigade to Sekooha by way of the western side of (Deh Bundee) the Seistan lake; and of the intention of Persia to build a fort at Sekooha or Deshuk. Malik Khan gave me also some interesting facts relative to the antiquities of Seistan.

Nearing the Kash road, the common caravan road winds down to the point of the Doozdee Kok, nearest the bank of the river. But we struck off from the road in a more northerly direction, and passing over a long extent of broken ground, descended through a succession of ravines until we struck the river bed, at a point distant about three or four fursacks from the village of Washeer. The Kash road was dry when we passed it. But, at one point we came on a pool of water immediately below a perpendicular-rocky bank. Here we watered our horses; the first water they had had since leaving Hajee Ibrahim. Ascending the river bank we continued to wind up a succession of ravines into high ground;

* At this point I felt quite overpowered with sleep. I had been in the saddle, on the walk, or on watch for three days and nearly three nights. So I told the young Chief I was going to sleep, and that he must keep watch over me. When I awoke, I found the Chief sitting by and guarding me. During our course he challenged me to ride him after wild donkeys, over bad bits of ground, and among brush-wood. I always accepted his challenge; and ran him hard, allowing him, however, just to beat me.

until about one o'clock in the morning of the 9th November we reached one broadish ravine containing a streamlet.* There we dismounted and bivouaced until daylight, when we finished this long ride into Washeer,* reaching it about nine A.M.

At Washeer, which is a small village with a fort and some orchards, I bivouaced under the trees until noon.† At noon we moved on another village distant four miles or so from that of Washeer. Here we were met and entertained by the Governor, who had come from his Dhera to meet us. My lodging was in one of the black tents of the Illyats. But the poultry and dogs of the owners seemed but ill-content at my intrusion. The former fluttered about and at length roosted close to me, while the dogs howled incessantly; and at intervals made assault upon the inside of the hair work in view to dislodging me.

At 2 A.M. on the 10th we mounted again, and moved through a long tract of hilly ground forming one of the spurs of the Paropar-nissus. After some eight fursacks we came to the village of Siah Pooshtkoh, where I put up in the hut of a Jemadar. He seemed a broken-hearted man, and complained bitterly of the smallness of his pay, and of the revenue exactions of the Dost's Government. He told me that for six months in the year he received six Candaharee Rupees per mensem, and that for the remaining six months he received one khurwur of grain, equivalent to about one Rupee per mensem.

We started a couple of hours before day-break on the 11th for the Sirdar's camp at Killah Ghuz. Our road lay over rolling ground. The entire distance may be eight or nine fursacks. At an intermediate village we met the Steward of the Sirdar Governor, sent out to welcome me. We halted for an hour at the village stream, while a horseman went on to give intimation of my approach; and then pursued our way over rolling ground until we approached

* Before arriving the Chief said to me, "Two Sahibs have come to our country. Forbes we killed. You I have escorted along the Border. Give me credit for this in India. But don't let any more Sahibs try the same chance."

† I met here an old friend of Major Todd's, and gave him a present in remembrance of old times.

the Helmund. Here the Istikhbal * met me ; and accompanied me to Killah Ghuz, situate immediately above the river's bed. The Governor was in the fort; and I called on him at once. We had a long friendly chat, and breakfasted together. Afterwards I was conducted to a tent which had been politely placed at my disposal, and pitched on an eminence immediately above the Governor's camp, commanding a view of the reach of the Helmund. I found the quiet and repose of my tent most agreeable after the watching and anxiety of the past few days.

After taking a warm bath a servant of the Sirdar's came to my tent with some tea. He addressed me in Hindoostance, and on my inquiring into his history I found he was an Arab of Caubul, who had taken service when quite a boy with Major Broadfoot and had accompanied that officer to Jelalabâd, India, and Moulincin, and had eventually been with him when he was killed in the battle of Guzerat. The man spoke most affectionately of his old master ; said he would never have taken service with the son of Dost Mahomed if his old master had lived ; but added, that having lost him he had not heart to take to another Sahib,

On the morning of the 12th the Sirdar again sent to me to beg I would come over and see him. He received me in a turret, and I remained with him some two or three hours. He was good-natured, inquisitive, and childish. He admired my gauntlets, and I immediately presented them to him. He then sent for a pair of polished leather boots, and gave them to me. I could not at first make out what he intended. But at length I found that he had noticed on the previous day that I wore Afghan

* My rule was to avoid all show and ceremony while traversing villages or when coming in contact with small fry. But whenever I had to deal with a big man, or with a neighbourhood where I might be detained or over-borne, I at once assumed the big man ; sent on ahead and requested Istikhbal, or ceremonial reception, and then rode in at its head, keeping all else behind me. I found this method answer. On one occasion only, viz., in the middle of the bharsoo in the Candahar bazar did my hosts allow their fears to get the better of their deference. The mob becoming angry and abusive, my hosts closed up all round my horse, so that it would have been almost impossible for any bullet, unless fired from a house top or window, to reach me.

boots;* and supposed I had none of English make. It was in vain that I protested I was over-laden with boots. He insisted on my accepting his.

At one moment he produced a pocket book, and begged me to write in it, as a memorandum for him of my visit. This I did, extolling his country and his hospitality, and indirectly contrasting his reception of me with the treatment accorded to Mr. Ferrier. At this the Sirdar was highly delighted. But he inquired particularly as to the details of Ferrier's reception. I translated them to him from Ferrier's own book; and some of the people recognized the truth of the statements, and dwelt particularly on the pertinacity with which Ferrier begged that his MS. might not be seized.

I then showed the Sirdar a map of Asia; and, in particular pointed out to him the position of Sabzver, Kirkkeh, Gour, and Muminah, these being the points upon which it is supposed that the Dost meditates aggression. The Sirdar at first did not perceive the drift of my insinuation. But his followers did, and burst out into a fit of laughter. This attracted the attention of the Sirdar and he readily acknowledged that these places were in the mind of the Ameer, who had conquered all Balk and the Sis Oxas territory, with the exception of Kukee, and that he proposed to take Muminah, at least, immediately his preparations were complete. As to Gour and Sabzver, the Sirdar informed me that he was himself about to march with a couple of regiments upon Furrak, where he would remain some three months, and then move round the Taymonee Frontier towards Gour, and so back to Ghirishk by Lemnemindawur. In the afternoon the Sirdar returned my visits; pressed me to remain longer at his camp; and, at my request, arranged for my moving towards Candahar on the following morning.

As to the proceedings at Buckwa I have remained, and intend to remain wholly silent. But I have allowed the Mirza to inti-

* When riding I used to pull a great wool lined pair of boots over my own, and so keep out the cold and the chill of the stirrup iron.

mate to the Governor, in a confidential manner, what occurred ; leaving it to his good sense to punish the Khan.

Leaving the Sirdar's camp at daylight on the 13th we at once forded the Helmund, and thence, arriving on high rolling ground, had a fine view of the fort of Ghirishk, in the distance to the southward. It may be some nine fursacks to Kooshk-i-Nakoot. Skirting the hill-country on our left, and leaving on our right a gently sloping tract, which loses itself in the boundless sandy deserts of Beloochistan, the village of Kooshk is situate at the extremity of a mountain cape which stands out like a promontory into the plain.

At day-break on the 14th we were in the saddle again for a long march of ten fursacks to the environs of Candahar. After six fursacks we came to a domed water-tank, where we dismounted, and where a confidential servant of the Sirdar Mahomed Ameen Khan, of Candahar, met me. Thence four more fursacks over cultivated plains with hills, and the line of the river marked by a belt of trees on our right, until we reached Sunjeree, on the banks of the Urghaidah river. Here again I rested in the house of the chief man of the village, and was struck with the squalor and emptiness of his tenement.

15th, Thursday.—We moved shortly after sunrise from Sunjeree, and crossed the Urghaidah at about a mile beyond the village. Thence we skirted hills to our right, leaving a cultivated and picturesque valley to our left ; the back-ground broken with hills. Crossing a barren tract of some mile or so in length we found ourselves below a tower situate on a scarp, above the old town of Candahar. Here the Istikhal met me ; at its head Sirdar Munsoor Khan, and Syud Noor Mahomed Shah. Thence we crossed bye-lanes, through the old cantonments to the Herat gate of the Fort ; and thence passing the charsoo reached the citadel, where I at once called on the Sirdar. Despite my endeavour after quiet, I have been received with ostentatious pomp ; all the guards turning out, and drums beating. The Sirdar came out to meet me ; and we had a brief conversation, after which, I was con-

ducted to my apartments, being those formerly occupied by Sultan Ali Khan, in the citadel. A captain and a guard of twenty men are over my doors; and an orderly captain is in attendance. Four of the Sirdar's confidential servants never leave me day or night. This is something very like being a prisoner of state. However, I pretend not to notice the fact. But the Mirza is in a sad state of mind about it.

16th, Friday.—I called on the Sirdar early in the morning, and in the course of conversation he made several objections to my going to Caubul to the Amcer; the coldness of the season, the danger *en route*, and the length of road. I parried all these objections; but I see I shall have difficulty in getting off. In the afternoon the Syud called, repeating the Sirdar's conversation. The Sirdar then sent to sound me as to whether I expected him to return my call. I begged that he would on no account disturb himself for me. That I should always consider myself as at his service during my stay in Candahar, and would at any hour go over to see him. It is evident there is the greatest jealousy relative to my visit to the Ameer. I propose to wait until orders arrive from the Ameer himself, and then either to proceed to Caubul or to move south, as circumstances may seem to dictate.

September 10th, 1864.—Here broke off my journal. The worry and constant calls on my time while at Candahar were too great to permit of my continuing it regularly. Suffice it now to say that during the days I passed at Candahar I visited all the scenes of our old encampment, and its neighbourhood. At first the Sirdar compelled me to take a regiment out with me for protection. I took the men to the Sirdar's garden; made them pile arms; and then told them to bathe in the garden aqueducts. Meantime I cantered off with my Mirza and got clear of the entire following. When the Sirdar heard of this, he let me have my own way.

One day, and before any news came from Dost Mahomed, I received a telegram, viâ the Bolan, from the Earl Canning, instructing me to join his camp by the shortest route. This settled matters. I told the Sirdar I was ordered to join the

Governor General by the shortest road, and that I should therefore be unable to go to Caubul.

Shortly afterwards I left Candahar, and took the road to the Kojuck Pass. The mob, on my leaving the citadel, and through the city was so dense and surly, that although the Sirdar had given me some picked mounted officers to escort me to the gate, we could scarcely get through. However, beyond hard words no one interfered with me until outside the city; when two men coming along the road from an opposite direction suddenly slanted towards my horse, and one of them drew his sword on me. Instantly, however, one of my mounted friends rushed on him and cut him over. I heard he was despatched to the rear. But I did not deem it expedient to turn round or ask questions.

My march to the Kojuck was much interfered with; and at the mouth of the Pass, I found myself and horses famished with hunger and no chance of relief. I saved the horses by urging them at once through the Pass, and thus reaching the more hospitable valley of Pisheen before the poor brutes absolutely gave in.

From Pisheen I moved on to Quetta, Bhag, Mustong, the head of the Bolan, Moonguchur and Kelat. From Kelat I moved by a cross road or rather succession of ravines and drops on Pundaracae; thence to Noorgam, Nushk, and to Khisht, where I passed a day with the Sirdar Taj Mahomed. Thence I went for the Gundaa Pass, and after going some half way down it, turned back again, wishing to see the rest of Beloochistan.

So to Bhagum, Khozdar, Lunquum, Maree Kund, Peer Kulud, Girilar, Balach, Shaqru, Tweid Ali Kund, Jaru, and so down Lusways until I turned east for Muggur Pur and reached Kurrachee.

I called at once on my old friend Shaw Stewart, but he did not recognize me.

I brought, in all, eight horses with me from Herat. But, with one exception, they were all dead beat by the time I reached Kurrachee. Had it not been winter, I am persuaded they would have died *en route*. They were told off for marching as follows:—

- 1, a Russian yaboo, which I rode, carrying my cloak, choga, and stuff for sleeping on. This is the horse that stood it out. He is now in the stable of Mr. Tracey or Mr. Lidderdale, at Bombay.
- 1, a Turcoman ridden by the Mirza.
- 1, a Herat horse, ridden by my groom, with saddle-bags for provision and tea.
- 1, a Taymoonee horse, ridden by the Mirza's groom.
- 1, a nag, carrying the clothing and feeds, and head and heel ropes of all the horses.
- 1, a nag, carrying saddles, bags with our kit, also a couple of Herat rugs.
- 2 Horses, young, running loose as spare horses in case of emergency.

8 Total.

I took with me one thousand gold Tomans (£500). I carried the money always in an old sock, just knotted at the top. I have often seen all sorts of ruffians squatted on the saddle-bags containing the sock. These bags, however, always formed my own pillow, when asleep.

I do not remember to have lost so much as a penny, or a rope even, throughout my journey from the Black Sea to Kurrachee.

The trip inclusive of purchase of horses, presents, mission expenses at Herat, travelling, wages, &c., cost about two hundred and fifty pounds, I think.

The information I collected *en route* was contained in a series of reports or letters addressed to the India Government, and to the Minister at Tcheran. Some of these are appended.

LEWIS PELLY.

APPENDIX.

To

THE EARL CANNING.

Herat, 27th October 1860.

MY LORD,

On the 19th instant, I had the honour of submitting to your Lordship a copy of my letter No. 2, of 11th instant, to the address of Mr. Alison, and relating to my visit to Herat.

I have now the honor to submit a letter,* with which the Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan has entrusted me for your Lordship; and in conformity with my instructions, to add a few remarks on the political condition and prospects of that portion of Afghanistan comprised within the territories of Herat, and upon the feelings entertained by the Heratees towards the Persian Government, Dost Mahomed than, and ourselves.

As regards the letter, I venture to hope your Lordship's Government will consider that it is in all respects satisfactory. While frankly admitting that the conspiracy of Shahzadeh Mahomed Riza has been a source of much trouble to him, the Sirdar goes on to state that what is passed is forgotten; that he feels his interests to be dependent on the good will of the English Government; and that he is prepared to subordinate his policy to the will of our Government, and to adhere to the terms of the Treaty of Paris. Your Lordship will remark that the letter obtrudes no request. The Sirdar leaves me to submit my own observations upon himself and his territory, for such consideration as your Lordship may deem them to merit, consistently with the more immediate requirements and interests of the Indian Empire. It is just towards Sultan Ahmed Khan to add, that I believe him to be thoroughly sincere in his professions.

It does not seem incumbent on me to enter on any review of that portion of the Sirdar's letter which reverts to the subject of the Suddoozye conspiracy. Suffice it to say that both the Sirdar and his Minister Hussain Ali Khan have unreservedly related to me the circumstances of this plot, as they learned them from our own Agents; and from the Heratees who were compromised by

Mirza Sultan-bhador, its failure. I deeply regret upon public grounds and for the sake of our national character, that this conspiracy was ever thought of; and the embarrassments it has entailed on me during the earlier days of my visit to this town have been numerous and unpleasant.

The questions which had been touched on between Sir Henry Rawlinson and the Sirdar at Teheran, and which as I gather from the Sirdar's conversations he would deem I should re-submit to your Lordship; relate:—

1st.—To a Treaty of friendship.

2nd.—The deputation of an English officer to reside at Herat.

3rd.—A Subsidy.

4th.—A grant of Arms.

5th.—The Reversion of Furrah to its original Government of Herat.

As to the question of a Treaty, I have been careful in no way to commit myself; because I am aware that in respect to Afghanistan in general, Her Majesty's Government are averse from involving themselves in Treaty engagements, pending a re-settlement of affairs upon the demise of Dost Mahomed Khan. Further, I have invariably treated this subject as one of importance, and as involving the grant of an extraordinary boon to the Sirdar. For in my respectful opinion, all the Chiefs above the Passes should look towards British India as to a great central Power, whose friendship is to be sought as a high and valuable honour, and whose friendship formalized in a Treaty, is not to be obtained unless upon well-considered grounds.

At the same time I would most deferentially submit, that perhaps many reasons might be adduced for according to Sultan Ahmed Khan a Treaty of one article, namely, friendship; while I do not understand that the arguments which militate against Treaty engagements with Afghanistan in general, apply to the territory of Herat, whose independence and prosperity under the Sirdar have, on more than one occasion, been publicly announced as the sole wish of Her Majesty's Government in respect to this territory.

The advantages which might accrue to ourselves from such a Treaty would be greater security, and the consequent improved commercial and political conditions of Herat itself; secondly, the maintenance of one portion of Afghanistan free from anarchy on the death of the Dost, and capable of becoming an useful nucleus for the settlement of the Dost's dominions; and lastly, the creation of a guarantee for Sultan Ahmed Khan's fidelity to our interests, to the exclusion of any renewed offers from adverse quarters.

The advantages which the Sirdar himself might derive from the Treaty, would be the consolidation of his rule, and a more widely recognized and superior status for himself.

Perhaps, too, it may be held by your Lordship that Sultan Ahmed Khan merits some recognition from the English Government in compensation for the serious injury he has sustained at the hands of our Agents, in connection with the Suddozoyee plot, and on account of his rejection of a Russian Treaty by the advice of the English Minister. These latter circumstances have not, however, been urged by the Sirdar in support of his request, which he has entirely based upon his own necessities, and upon his conviction that there is no permanent stability or success for any Afghan ruler, unless in an alliance with the British Government.

In respect to the deputation of an English Officer to reside at Herat, I am of opinion that while the presence here of a Native Agent as our representative is a positive evil, the prolonged presence of a plain dealing English gentleman in Herat, might have extensive and excellent results. Indeed I am not acquainted

with any locality where such a Resident would possess an equally wide field for beneficial influence. Politically his post would be one of observation. But his simple presence would give confidence to the trading classes, and beyond any local measures would contribute to the commercial prosperity of the Province; every tradesman I meet speaks to me confidentially on this subject. It might however, be advisable to appoint such Envoy to Afghanistan in general, and so disarm Russian jealousy in regard to Herat in particular. While the envoy himself, although residing, in the first instance at Herat, and so tending to consolidate the rule of the Sirdar and to restore the confidence of the people, would be in a useful position, and available for exerting his good offices towards a peaceful solution of the crisis when it falls on Caubul and Candahar. I trust I may not be considered as claiming the slightest personal merit, if in exemplification of the advantages resulting upon the presence of an English Officer at Herat, I venture to observe that the submissive letter received within the past few days by Sultan Ahmed Khan from tribes so arrogant as the Tekkie Turcomans (now in the pride of their victory over the Persians), the Jumshedecs, the Salows and the Mumenah people, may in some degree be attributable to the accident of an English Officer having chanced to be at Herat during the recent confusion.

I confess to being opposed to a subsidy considered in the abstract. A subsidy is a drain upon the resources of India; and experience proves that it is frequently misapplied, and after a time is received without gratitude. It is liable to misinterpretation upon political and military considerations. Finally, a subsidy is perhaps faulty in principle, as involving the theory that a Government supports the people, while the fact remains that it is only the labour of the people that can support both themselves and the Government. Whatever I gave I would give through my own Agent for a specified purpose and for a specified period, and perhaps in this manner a moderate sum might be economically bestowed in relieving the Herat citizens of various petty and harassing direct taxes, which the Sirdar at present levies against his better judgment, to meet the imperative requirements of a

depressed Treasury. Nor is it to be forgotten that money so disbursed through an Agent, renders the presence of that Agent an immediate and a visible boon to the people, and might perhaps create in the latter some sense of gratitude.

If four heavy pieces of ordnance for the principal bastions of the Herat fort, and two or three thousand stand of good small arms could be conveniently spared by your Lordship's Government to the Sirdar, they would doubtless be a boon to him. But I would not recommend that any small arms be sent unless they be really effective; for in such case the Afghan levies would still adhere to their native weapons, and the imported arms would be laid aside. I should add that Sultan Ahmed Khan himself presses neither for the arms nor the subsidy. His remarks on this subject are always to the effect that if the English Government can conveniently assist him, he will be enabled at an earlier date to restore the defences and prosperity of his state; but that in any event he is confident he will be enabled to do so himself, time being granted.

An opinion to be given by a Governmental servant upon the question of the Hurrah Districts must depend, as indeed must all opinions bearing on our political relations with the Herat territory, more or less depend, upon the view which such officer entertains upon the general question of north-western defence for India. If it be granted that our rule in India is still of the nature of a trust, requiring for its successful exercise the good-will and support of Asiatics, and if further, it be granted that there is great and present danger of India being invaded by a Russo-Persian army, then it would, in my opinion, necessarily follow upon these premises, that more or less close alliances with all the states lying between our Frontier and the threatening Powers, are advisable for our safety; that among all these states the alliance and integrity of Herat are essential to us; that the territory of Herat can never be considered intact for our purposes of defence so long as it is possible for any army marching from Persia upon Candahar or Caubul, to reach those points by roads passing between the forts of Laush and Herat without infracting Herat soil, and consequently that since, so long as the Herat state remains deprived of its Fur-

rah Districts, it is practicable for an army to march from Teheran and Ashrabad by direct routes, concentrating at Ghaynoror, Beer-joon, and thence debouching on Furrah; this District should, on political considerations alone, be at once restored to its original Government, Herat; the rather so, because the recent careful surveys of Monsieur Khanikoff's Mission over all the tracts lying between the Seistan Lake and Kuiman on the south, and the line of road running from Teheran to Herat on the north, show that the attention of Russia is turned in that direction. While in the event of an expedition being planned by that route, it could doubt-

less be carried into effect; would isolate Herat, would reach Candahar by the shortest lines, and would perhaps find that in Candahar, it possessed the most central position for dominating the numerous Passes which lead from Afghanistan down into Sind and the Punjaub.

But if, as I incline to believe, the present available power of Russia is not imminently dangerous to your Lordship's empire, while the power of Persia for independent aggression is effete; and if, as I further incline to believe, that from the period of the mutiny, the British Government in India has gradually ceased to be in the nature of a trust, and has become a rule of self-sustaining force, ready indeed to accept good-will when it may be forthcoming, but prepared also to coerce when good-will may be wanting, then, upon such premises it would, in my judgment, follow that our policy above the Passes may be confined to less decisive measures, and that our Frontier defence might be regulated by maxims enumerable somewhat as follows:—

1st.—To concentrate our means and energies upon the establishment of the Frontier itself, as it lies below the mountains along the right bank of the Indus, between Peshawur and Kurrachee, neither encroaching nor yielding one inch of ground.

2nd.—That the measures carried into effect for the establishment should be indeed defensive; but conceived and executed in the spirit of self-conscious strength, providing

for repose; and never, in the spirit of weakness, seeking support or soliciting forbearance.

3rd.—That our policy above the Passes should be limited, as a general rule, to observation, and to good-will, to an acceptance of the *status quo*, and to the maintenance of friendly feelings towards the native Chiefs actually in power. That our advice when solicited should tend towards settling and rendering permanent both dynasties and boundaries; and that our words and actions should be in good faith and conciliatory, to the end that while we abstain from inconveniently entangling ourselves in Afghan affairs, we might, in the contingency of aggression from the westward, find among the States above the Passes, an inclination to repel the intruder, and rely on us, rather than to welcome the intruder and aid him in attacking us.

4th.—When we happen to find a sensible man in power above the Passes, to give emphasis and publicity to our relations with him, by embodying them, always however at his solicitation, in the form of a Treaty limited to terms of friendship; but ever bearing in mind the broad fact that such engagements can be but temporary and personal, and that no permanent political structure can be reared with materials so shifting and untrustworthy as those to be found in Afghanistan, where there exists no impersonal system of administration; where boundaries and parties change with the Prince; where the Prince himself changes from prejudice or caprice; and where every man of influence pretends or aspires to sovereign power.

Applying some of the above general considerations to the question of the Furrâh District, as it at present stands, between Dost Mahomed Khan, Sultan Ahmed Khan, and your Lordship's Government, I would submit that since it would be just towards Sultan Ahmed Khan that this portion of the Herat Territory should be restored to him; since its restoration would remove one principal cause of present soreness and prospective strife between him and the Caubul authorities; and since its forming portion of

Herat would be convenient to ourselves under existing circumstances, it might on the whole be advisable to cause its retransference to Herat, provided this can be accomplished without any concession of territory on our part; but if the Dost should stipulate for any cession of soil on the right bank of the Indus then I would on no account urge the question of Furrâh's restoration, for it seems to me, under correction, that the integrity of our Frontier as it now lies, is the first consideration; that any yielding there would be injurious to our moral power, and that to yield Peshawar would not only be peculiarly injurious to this power, but might upon some future occasion prove inconvenient upon military considerations. In the supposed contingency, I would suggest that Furrâh should remain for the present as it is, and that on the demise of Dost Mahomed, the Sirdar should be allowed to take it, as he no doubt would, if he felt he could do so without provoking the displeasure of your Lordship's Government.

There remains but one portion of Sultan Ahmed Khan's letter which seems to require comment. The Sirdar expresses his intention of adhering faithfully to the terms of the Treaty of Paris. This declaration has of course especial reference to those Articles in the Treaty whose spirit he has hitherto infringed by reading the *Khutbeh*, and striking coin in the name of the Shah. Sultan Ahmed Khan has on more than one occasion offered to read and strike in his own name at once, if I should so advise. But I have told him that the moment of the Shah's discomfiture is not a happy one for further humiliating His Majesty's pride, and that I would recommend him to continue, as at present, until the passing crisis in Persia is over, and then honestly and publicly declare (if he continue so to deem advisable) his adhesion to the terms of the Treaty. The Sirdar has promised to follow this advice.

Although it is proper that the Treaty of Paris should be strictly observed, I confess that apart from this consideration I attach little importance to the Sirdar's Persian connection; it was in fact the result of imperative necessity. The Sirdar came to Herat as the protogé of Persia, and before the Treaty of Paris had been pro-

mulgated. The Persian army was still before Herat, and prayers were still read and coin struck, as they had been before the Sirdar's arrival, in the name of the Shah. At length the Treaty showed the Sirdar that this state of affairs would not endure, that the Persian Army would retire, and that the English Government would probably provide that whoever was Governor, Herat should be independent under a native Afghan Chief. Sultan Ahmed Khan perceived that on the withdrawal of the Persian Army he would be left in Herat without any party to support him, unless a few personal adherents whom he had hastily collected from Caubul and Candahar, that he could expect no countenance from Dost Mahomed Khan, who was on bad terms with him; and yet that he would be suddenly called to rule the Herat territory, impoverished and distracted by recent war, disordered by protracted internal commotion, looking traditionally for the Government of a Suddooye Prince, rather than of a Buruczkye Sirdar, and surrounded and devastated by predatory Jumsheedee, Hazareh, Ferozekohee, Belooch, Afghan, and other miscellaneous tribes.

In his dilemma, Sultan Ahmed Khan turned to England, and hurried off an agent to implore the support of the English Minister in Persia. He was ready to break all other connections for the sake of one with the English Government. But he desired that in respect to Persia he might be allowed gradually to desist from those outward ceremonials which he had practiced while yet a subordinate of the Shah, rather than lay himself open to the charge of ingratitude by abruptly lowering the majesty of the king to whom he owed his position as Governor of Herat. An English Commissioner visited Herat; officially recognized the Sirdar as its Ruler; and (as Sultan Ahmed Khan avows and as our Native Agent admits) plotted the Sirdar's overthrow.

Sultan Ahmed Khan then saw that but one resource lay between him and utter ruin, viz., the continuance of an outer show of Persian support. Accordingly he continued to flatter the Shah in outward ceremonials, and received in exchange substantial aid in arms and money. His discontented subjects were thus convinced that he enjoyed the direct support

of Persia, was in fact the Shah's vassal, and submitted. On a calm review of the Sirdar's predicament, I consider that he acted as a wise Ruler would have acted, and that it is a proof of his administrative ability, that notwithstanding the embarrassing circumstances by which he was surrounded, he has succeeded not only in holding his own position, but in restoring order; in retrieving, to some degree, his finances; in subduing his refractory tribes, and improving the commercial and agricultural conditions of his territory.

But the Persian alliance was intended to endure only until better prospects should appear. Like most strict Afghan Sunnees, Sultan Ahmed Khan entertains in his heart a contemptuous hatred for the Persian Sheeah. And he has seen too narrowly into the state of politics at Teheran not to understand that solid strength or permanent support is not to be derived from the Government of the Shah.

In regard to Persia the opinion of the Sirdar is shared by his people. The people of Herat have a current saying that "Herat never submits to Persia so long as there is grain in the Fort;" that it then only submits until the English take the Bunder (Bushire); that it is then retrieved from the tyranny and ravages of the Persians, and that in two years Herat is flourishing again. Though broadly stated, there is much truth in this saying, for it is observable even by a passing traveller that the Heratees look to England as their deliverer, and to Persia as their natural enemy and periodical invader. While in respect to the boast of rapid recovery, it seems literally true. The commercial and agricultural advantages of Herat are so great that it appears beyond the power even of man to turn it into a permanent waste. Other capitals throughout Asia have flourished, been sacked, and passed away, but Herat, although besieged, sacked, enslaved, depopulated, through a long succession of centuries, still thrives among its ruins.

I am aware that M. Khanikoff informed Sir Henry Rawlinson that the position held by England at Herat was poor, compared with the trouble and expenso incurred there. But it will be remembered that M. Khanikoff visited Herat shortly after the

failure of the Suddozye plot, when those in power were incensed, when many among the people were compromised, and when all were disappointed by our extraordinary proceedings in that particular affair. But it is not the less a fact that during the last siege merchants of Herat who had refused aid to their own Governor in resisting the Persians, lent their all, and in some cases, I regret to add, lost their all, so soon as they learned from the Indian Frontier, that the English would support them in maintaining their independence. There is in my opinion no doubt that the Heratees look to England as their best and most powerful friend. I observe that the effect of our recent expedition to the Persian Gulf, is greater in Herat than it appeared to me to be in the Gulf itself; and if any regret be expressed in its regard, it is solely that the expedition did not arrive before the Persian Army had subjected the Herat peasantry, mined the Herat fortifications, murdered the Herat Governor, insulted and plundered the Herat citizens, and tortured, transported, or reduced to utter poverty some of the richest and most influential of the people of Herat.

Of Major Todd's mission, or of the two or three hundred thousand pounds sterling that it scattered, the Heratees still speak with affection. They look back to it as to a day of happiness among many years of unhappiness. They acknowledge that its bounty alone then saved Herat from famine and desolation, and I have not, since my arrival here, found myself in private conversation with one individual, who did not ask me with an earnestness not to be mistaken, whether the English would never come and govern Herat, or at least send a "Sahib" to give confidence to its industrious classes.

As regards Dost Mahomed Khan, the feeling among the Heratees and the conviction of the Sirdar is, that the Ameer's views upon their territory are aggressive, and that he lacks but the opportunity to incorporate Mumenah, and invade Herat from the north, and to push on from Girishk to Gour, and so through the Taymonee tract from the south-east. They think also that the Dost is our vassal, or is at least acting under our inspiration.

I can offer to your Lordship no clear opinion upon the political prospects of the Herat territory while I am still in doubt as to what degree of countenance your Lordship's Government may deem well to accord to Sultan Ahmed Khan. If he be countenanced, I shall confidently hope that Herat will permanently flourish under his rule, and be exempted from the effects of the crisis which must soon fall on Caubul and Candahar.

What course the Sirdar may then pursue in regard to Caubul politics it were premature at present to predict. I have had many free conversations on this subject with Sultan Ahmed Khan; and the gist of all his observations has been that in the event of your Lordship entering into a Treaty of friendship, he would in that case, as in all other matters, subordinate his policy to the wishes of your Lordship's Government. But that, viewing the state of parties as they now are, he would be inclined to support Shere Ali Khan as successor to the Dost, since he has been declared heir apparent by the Dost himself, and is own brother to his (Sultan Ahmed Khan's) sole wife.

But if any person other than Shere Ali Khan should appear as a competitor for sovereign power, Sultan Ahmed Khan (unless in Treaty with England) would hold himself at liberty to take his own course; and he feels perhaps an almost overweening confidence that in the event of a general struggle for power in Afghanistan, he would baulk all opponents.

Your Lordship may perhaps expect from me some notice of Hussein Ali Khan, the Minister, who is generally reputed to enjoy the greatest influence in the Herat Councils. My own business has been conducted personally with the Sirdar, and I perceive that, whatever report may allege, he acts for himself and does not even communicate many of his proceedings to his Ministers. The Sirdar has never put forward to me either Hussein Ali Khan or any other person as a medium of communication, but has always either unceremoniously come over to my rooms himself, or invited me over to his. My estimate of Hussein Ali Khan is favourable, but not high. He is devoted to the Sirdar; fears him; is subdued by the Sirdar's superior force of character, and serves him well in

administrative details. But Hussein Ali Khan is after all more merchant than statesman.

Of the Sirdar's son and heir Sha Nawaz Khan, I have seen nothing; he being absent on a military expedition. Report speaks favorably of him.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from SULTAN AHMED KHAN.

My object in writing is to assure your Lordship that before the arrival of the British Vakeel at Herat, I behaved as a friend and ally to the British Government, and that I sent Mirza Zynoolabadeen to * * * to relate to him my circumstances. This the Mirza did at his interview with that gentleman at Teheran.

* * * *replied that he would appoint a Vakeel on the part of the British Government, who should go to Herat to settle matters there, and to confirm me in the Government of the place. On the receipt of this happy news I was entirely satisfied, and pleased, until the arrival of * * * to whom I went to pay my respects. After a short time I was given to understand that the British Vakeel intended to remove me from Herat, and confirm the Prince Mahomed Reza in the Government of Herat. This intelligence induced the neighbouring people to prepare for hostilities and to assemble at Tamrood for opposition. I was disappointed and discouraged at the conduct of the British Vakeel, and with great endeavours I overcame this difficulty until tranquillity prevailed. After this disappointment I proceeded to Teheran and there I had an interview with Sir H. Rawlinson, who gave me entire satisfaction on the part of the British Government, and he promised to send Major Chargé d'Affaires Pelly to settle matters at Herat. On the arrival of this gentleman I availed myself of his visit and obtained full satisfaction, and I am certain that this gentleman has nothing in his mind but the wel-

fare and improvement of Herat, and to strengthen me in the Government; and I have given him a full account of the past, and of matters up to the present time. He will represent the same to your Lordship when he shall have the honour of an interview; and whatever he may say, I trust your Lordship will consider as a true statement, and this will be a cause of great pleasure to you. The word or title of "Dostdar" in Persian (meaning Nowab Alee in English) is confirmed to me, otherwise I would have troubled you for a higher degree. My meaning is this, that if the British Government wish that matters should be fully settled, and my Government be strongly established in Herat, I am ready to serve the British Government according to the Treaty of Paris, even as Amcer Dost Mahomed Khan, the Ruler of Caubul does. If on the other hand the British Government wish that I should not hold the reins of Government in Herat, then let your Lordship kindly appoint for me some place where I may retire to with my family.

To

THE EARL CANNING.

Herat, 29th October 1860.

MY LORD,

In conformity with my instructions I have made it my "business to ascertain the real effect which has been produced by the visit of the Russian Officers to Herat,"

Instructions to Sir Henry Rawlinson from the India Office, No. 2, of 24th August 1859.

and who were reported to have made political "advances by a system of such lavish expenditure as almost to amount to subsidising the whole Province."

I have of course heard much of M. Khanikoff's Mission, as I followed in his track. I happened to explore the same mountain path by which he reached the turquoise mines, branching off from the main road at Sufferoonee. At Meshed I chanced to entertain his muleteer, and since I have been in Herat, Sultan Ahmed Khan himself, and others, have spoken to me unreservedly respecting the Russian views as explained by M. Khanikoff.

The mission was, I think, commercial and political, but partially veiled by the circumstances of M. Khanikoff being himself a savan, travelling under the patronage of the Geographical Society at St. Petersburg. The instructions seem to have been—

1st.—To survey or examine that block of territory contained between the points Shahood, Meshed, Herat, Furrâh, Laush, Sowain, Kerman, and Yezd.

2nd.—To feel his way with Sultan Ahmed Khan, and if possible to arrange for the establishment of commercial and political relations between Herat and Russia.

3rd.—If possible to follow the same course in respect to Dost Mahomed Khan and his territory.

4th.—To avail himself of any opportunity offering for extending his surveys to the eastward of Herat, along the direct lines of Caubul and Candahar.

5th.—To collect scientific information.

In regard to the 1st item of instructions we find that the block of territory in large part surveyed, and for the remainder traversed by M. Khanikoff, is exactly that which a General desirous of isolating Herat, and of reaching Candahar without passing by Herat from the south-eastern corner of the Caspian, and from the Teheran line of road, would desire to examine, and I entertain little doubt that M. Khanikoff must have satisfied himself that it would be quite practicable, with ordinary prudence as to arrangement of season and provisions, to concentrate a large and well-equipped force in the neighbourhood of Furrâh and Sabzver, by lines branching off from the Meshed and Teheran road in a south-easterly direction, and forming the hypotenuses of triangles, whereof the lines to Herat and thence to Furrâh would form the remaining sides. The districts which M. Khanikoff most carefully surveyed, to which indeed he deputed, as he himself admitted to Sir Henry Rawlinson, two separate parties, and proved the two surveys by causing them to work the one into the other, were the districts of Toorsheez, Tabhas, Toon, Khaff, Ghayn, and Laush; and it is remarkable that these districts contain the lines along which a well-equipped force would most easily branch

from the main road, at points in the vicinity of the well-supplied plains of Muzenoon, Gubzanur, Nishaipoor and Meshed. The town of Beergoon, upon which all these branch lines concentrate, holds a site little inferior to that of Herat itself for commercial and military purposes.

M. Khanikoff was not, I think, so fortunate in carrying out the second item of his instructions. Sultan Ahmed Khan talked politics with him, learned from him that Russia had intentions of extending her direct influence over Khiva, Bokhara, and Turcomania; promised to go to Teheran to discuss the details of more intimate politico-commercial relations, received his present, and sent him on his way to Seistan.

As respects No. 3 instruction, I believe that M. Khanikoff received a flat refusal from the Dost.

As for No. 4 it is not clear why M. Khanikoff wintered at Herat. His plea to Sir Henry Rawlinson for so doing was, that he was overtaken by bad weather; but if so, the ready and obvious way of ridding himself of bad weather was to march a few days southward and find himself in the warm country of Furrah. Again it is plain that if the weather were bad enough to detain M. Khanikoff's party at Herat it was bad enough to prevent their ascending the hill country. Nevertheless, M. Khanikoff admitted that he sent a survey party during his stay at Herat along the line of the upper Hin-road, and that they pierced the mountain tract as far east as Khooyorkh, on the direct line between Herat and Caulve,* *viá* Douhet Yar, and the Hazareh territory. It is further noticeable that by wintering at Herat M. Khanikoff arrived on the Sabzver and Laush and Ghayn line in the spring, the season which an army would probably select for arriving at the same points.

Finally, for No. 5 item, M. Khanikoff's collections of scientific facts of archæological remains, and of geological and botanical specimens were, I believe, complete and very valuable.

The reports of M. Khanikoff's expenditure have doubtless been exaggerated. I have carefully collected many statements

* 12 days' march.

on the subject, and in the end they all resolve themselves into this, that M. Khanikoff loaded some 80 camels with water to go into the desert on his way from Seistan to Teheran, and that unless he had wished to throw money away he would not have done so, for the plain and common road to Teheran lay before him well supplied with water. His Mission seem to have lived liberally at Herat, but no more. He presented Sultan Ahmed Khan with a jewelled cup. The Sirdar, who is a connoisseur in jewels, and who has very little romance, passed his eye artistically over the stone, poised the gold and appraising the whole at 1,000 Tomans, sent it to his treasury. The Heratees seem to have regarded the Russians as interlopers against their friends the English.

If we wish to account for M. Khanikoff's mission, it is not, I think, difficult to do so. I infer that when Persia's last attempt to hold Herat failed, the Russian authorities wished to ascertain whether it might not be practicable to approach Hindoostan, or to threaten an approach to Hindoostan by the Candahar line, and yet to avoid the plain of Herat. The Persian Government, then hostile to England, favored their views, and Sultan Ahmed Khan was sounded on the subject of a Russian mission to his territory. In the first instance, however, Sultan Ahmed Khan, and more particularly his son and heir, were averse from receiving the mission, as tending to compromise them with England, and as holding out no solid advantages to the Herat Government.

But in the mean time, the conspiracy to supplant Sultan Ahmed Khan by a Suddozye Prince led to a misunderstanding between the former and the English authorities. Our Native Agent was expelled Herat, and all correspondence ceased between our Mission and the Sirdar, unless for some unworthy notes that were written by our first Persian Secretary, Mirza Aga, requesting Sultan Ahmed Khan to re-accept the Agent.

In this posture of affairs the Shah's Agent at Herat was recalled to Teheran, and thence under direct instructions from the Sudr Azim, wrote to Sultan Ahmed Khan advising him to receive the Russian Mission as a foil for the English; who would then,

no doubt again court his friendship, when they found that the Russians were ready to do so in their default. The letter so addressed fell into the hands of our Native Agent *en-route*. The Agent confesses to me that he read it, and returned it to the messenger. On its reaching Sultan Ahmed Khan he approved its arguments, and in due time a Russian Mission went to Herat.

On the whole, I am of opinion that, in so far as Sultan Ahmed Khan and the people of Herat are concerned, the Mission of M. Khanikoff is without results. The former rejected the Russian Draft Treaty in May last, and on his road back from Teheran rejected further solicitations, which he tells me were importunately urged on him by the Russian Governmental Mercantile Company, established at Shahrood. In brief, Sultan Ahmed Khan has convinced himself too thoroughly of the close and overwhelming power of England, and of the distant and shadowy power of Russia, to allow of his discarding the former so long as it holds out the slightest hope to him. He has within the past three days, often and most earnestly assured me that if the English Government should give him a Treaty of friendship in regard to Herat, similar to that which they have given to the Dost for Caubul, he would cut himself at once adrift from every other connection, and subserve our policy in all matters.

But though I consider that the Mission of M. Khanikoff failed in its direct commercial and political objects at Herat, I can by no means say the same of his survey over some tracts which had not before been visited by Europeans, and over lines of road which must have assured him that, unequalled though the fort of Herat be in the political and commercial advantages of its position, yet that in designating it *the key* of India, we have perhaps concealed under a metaphor, a complex proposition requiring analysis, and that it is susceptible of being turned and isolated.

I respectfully submit then that whatever attention the recent Mission of M. Khanikoff may merit, is due to his surveys; although I trust that even these, unless some unforeseen accident should befall, may remain for an indefinite period unused.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

No. 20 of 1860.

To

THE EARL CANNING,

&c. &c. &c.

Bombay, 27th December 1860.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to submit that the total sum for which, as permitted in Mr. Alison's instructions, I have to solicit the sanction of your Lordship's Government, on account of my travelling expenses from Teheran to Herat, and thence through Afghanistan and Beloochistan to Kurrachee, amounts to two hundred and sixty-five pounds sterling (£265). This expenditure extends over the months of September to December inclusive, and its total includes the amount of all small sums given to individuals for trifling travelling services, and the cost of Mirza Zemoolabadi's travelling from Meshed through Herat to Kurrachee.

Instructions, dated 10th September 1860:—

“On leaving Teheran you will take up Bills for such amount as may be necessary to meet your travelling expenses, with due economy of the public money. The amount so advanced I will cause to be adjusted with Her Majesty's Government in India.”

permitted in Mr. Alison's instructions, I have to solicit the sanction of your Lordship's Government, on account of my travelling expenses from Teheran to Herat, and thence through Afghanistan and Beloochistan to Kurrachee, amounts

The total sum I have expended in the collection of political information, and in acknowledging the courtesies of the several Chiefs whom I have visited *en route*, amounts to eighty pounds sterling (£80), and for this disbursement also I have to beg your Lordship's sanction. This amount includes some presents given to the Minister and Mehmandar at Herat, when tendering to the Ruler of Herat the presents from Her Majesty's Government, whereof I was the bearer. It further includes the cost of a Pattern Army Rifle given to the Sirdar Mahomed Ameen Khan at Candahar, as an arsenal muster.

I venture to hope that your Lordship will consider that the above amounts are not extravagant. But I should add in regard to the travelling expenses that this item could not be taken as a

guide for the expenditure of any Political Officer who may hereafter travel through Central Asia, unless he should travel without tents or baggage.

I respectfully solicit that your Lordship will be pleased to specify the salary I should draw during the period I am employed on my present duty. I have taken up an advance on account of this salary from the Government of Bombay, as some funds are really necessary for my current expenses.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLÿ.

Copy No. 13.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY CHARLES ALISON, Esquire,
&c. &c. &c.

Herat, 27th October 1860.

SIR,

I submit to your Excellency a few remarks on the Bokhara territory.

In the spring of the current year * * * represented to the Mission that, * * * was all powerful with the Ameer of Bokhara; enjoying in that state the title of * * * and entertaining ambitious views in regard to Bokhara, Herat, and even Persia. Her Majesty's Government considered it would be advisable to maintain communications with * * *

Since my departure from Teheran I have conversed with many persons who have within the past few years resided at Bokhara, but I have not as yet found any one who recognised * * * under the title, * * * or who supposed him to possess any influence over the Ameer, or any power in the state of Bokhara. My informants were aware that the * * * had been enjoyed by * * * some years ago. But they asserted

that this title lapsed, and that neither this nor any other distinction has since been conferred on him by the Ameer. The generally received opinion is that the Ameer is absolute in Bokhara, tolerating no Minister, jealous of the slightest interference in public affairs, and ruling literally with a rod of iron, since he demonstrates his displeasure at the Council Board by tapping his principal Secretaries on their heads with an iron-shod cane.

It was insinuated that a secret friendship for ambitious purposes subsisted between Hussein Ali Khan, the Minister at Herat, and * * * But Hussein Ali Khan has frequently spoken to me in a frank manner, of * * * and has left on my mind the impression that the statements were distorted. * * * and * * * were formerly associated in trade, and are still on terms of friendship; but in the opinion of * * * his friend possesses no influence and holds no permanent official position in the Bokhara state. He holds occasional command. But on the breaking up of an expedition his command ceases, and the guns are packed in the immediate vicinity of the Ameer's own dwelling place.

If then, the alleged schemes of * * * are to be realized, it must be after the demise of the present Ameer. But the Ameer has a son grown up and of average intellect, and who, although excluded at present by his father from participation in public affairs, would succeed his father by general assent. In any contingency it is held to be in the last degree unlikely that the people of Bokhara, who are bigoted Sunnees, would tolerate the rule of a Sheah.

The opinions summarized above are shared by Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan, who has himself resided in Bokhara, and who is personally acquainted with its Ameer and politics.

The military resources of Bokhara are stated to be as per margin. I gather that the people are not warlike, and that if the power of Dost Mahomed Khan were sufficiently established in the Cis Oxus provinces, to admit of his denuding these provinces of troops while he crossed the river and

15 Guns.

3 Mortars.

500 Foot. Ghulams being Persian Sheeahs purchased from the Turcomans.

Some 1200 irregular horse of no repute.

invaded Bokhara, the latter would readily fall into his power. But the advice recently tendered from Her Majesty's Government will probably induce the Dost to confine his views to this side of the river. Bokhara will in such case be safe, and the danger of Mumenah be proportionately increased.

As regards commerce, all the merchants with whom I have conversed are unanimous in their praise of the Ameer's liberal and just ideas. The person and property of the trader are free of arbitrary interference. Customs are levied by the year. Native merchants pay only one duty upon one and the same goods, wheresoever transported or re-sold within the territories of Bokhara, during a period of twelve months. Upon foreign merchants some additional tax on re-sales has recently been imposed. Trade between Bokhara and the Russian frontier continues brisk; groceries, crockery, miscellaneous goods, and specie being received from the Trenborough line, and furs, lamb-skins, opium, and hair and woollen goods, felted or woven, being exported in that direction. Trade between the Persian frontier and Bokhara, *viâ* the direct route of Merv, is wholly closed owing to the depredations of the Turcomans. Goods* from Persia, from the Gulf, and from Candahar reach Bokhara *viâ* Herat and Mumenah: in particular, piece, dyed and white cotton, long-cloth, chintz, opium, and a sort of coarse Indian net work. In return Bokhara sends by this route lamb-skins, red-dye, tea green and black, iron in bars, coarse silk neckerchiefs, cotton and silk woven robes, and coarse cotton printed piece goods. But not more than from five to six hundred camel loads, per annum, are imported; and as many exported by this route, which is liable to interruption, and is in fact unsafe. The increasing commerce in the direction of Bokhara is that of the Lohannees, leaving the Punjab in the spring and reaching Bokhara *viâ* Cabul in the summer. This line owes its success to its safety and certainty.

* The goods now specified are named after personal inspection of the Herat Bazar as it now is.

Teas find their way to Bokhara from Bombay and Kurrachee. The former are of good repute, but the latter of ill-repute in the market. The one comes in boxes ; the other in small papers. It is the latter that are refused. The fact may perhaps in some measure be explained by the circumstance of soldiers' tea being re-dried and re-sold in the Kurrachee bazar, packed in its old paper or lead. I remember to have inspected some of this twice drunk Kurrachee tea, in the course of official proceedings.

In his political relations towards foreigners the Ameer is if possible fiercer and more cruel than when he degraded and butchered our Envoy. With Khiva he is on the worst of terms, and he has lately rejected a suggestion for a Russian Consulate, conceding, however, a caravanserai for Russian trade and residence. Sultan Ahmed Khan in speaking of the Ameer's political character briefly characterized him as "mad."

It is perhaps worthy of remark that I have found the names of English Officers who have laboured successfully in Central Asia, remembered by few beyond those who had benefitted by their liberality or come within the direct influence of their personal characters. I have found the names of Conolly and Stoddart familiar in the mouths of all men. These marvel to this day how the Ameer of Bokhara dared so to insult England, and how England failed to avenge, and discredited her Envoy. Truly it seems to me we must build up our fair fame piece-meal, while a disgrace makes us notorious throughout,

I have, &c.,

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

REPORT

ON A

JOURNEY TO THE WAHABEE CAPITAL OF RIYADH

IN

CENTRAL ARABIA.

BY

LIEUT. COL. LEWIS PELLY,

H. M.'s. POLITICAL RESIDENT IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

WITH MAP AND APPENDICES.

Bombay:

PRINTED FOR GOVERNMENT

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1866.

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No. 57 OF 1866.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

From Lieutenant Colonel LEWIS PELLY,

H. B. M.'s Political Resident, Persian Gulf,

To C. GONNE, Esq., ..

Secretary to Government, Bombay.

British Residency, Bushire, 15th May 1866.

SIR,

I very much regret the delay which has occurred in the submission of a report on my visit to the Wahabee capital, Riyadh, in the spring of last year ; but within three or four days of my return from Central Arabia, His Excellency in Council directed me to proceed to Muscat in view to aiding the Sultan of that territory in his difficulties with the Wahabee Power. From Muscat I went on to Bombay, and thence to England, and on the day of my return from England, Government again did me the honour of deputing me to Muscat, in view to aiding the Sultan, whose Government was then in imminent risk of being pushed into the sea by the Wahabees. From that date until a few days ago I have been unintermittingly cruizing, or actively engaged on the Arabian Coast. I had but one clerk with me, and he, like the rest of my following, fell ill ; and, as Government are aware, I was at last unable to keep up even my current correspondence.

2. Moreover, the objects I had in view in proceeding to the Wahabee capital did not, in the first instance, include the writing of a detailed report. Those objects were—

1stly, and principally, to remove from the mind of the Ameer any feelings of animosity which our Anti-Slavery proceedings on the East Coast of Africa and our attacks on

the sea-board had left on His Highness's mind, and to substitute for that animosity, in so far as I might be able, by personal interviews, those friendly relations which seems to me desirable for the general peace of the Persian Gulf, for the development of its trade, and for the satisfactory discharge of my duties as the Political Resident of Government in these regions.

3: I confess also that two minor considerations contributed to impel me to make a journey through the Wahabee territories, for—

1st.—The Royal Geographical Society in London had recorded that no European could show himself in the Capital of Najd without probable fatal consequences: and this record was shown to me as a sort of challenge, which I was inclined to take up, since it had been my habit to consider that an English Officer, with caution and experience, can go any where in Asia where his duty to the Indian Government requires him.

2nd.—I understood the President of the Geographical Society to have admitted that we moderns knew less of the geography of Central Arabia than did the ancients of the time of Ptolemy; and it seemed to me very desirable, therefore, to commence determining the latitudes and longitudes of the principal points in that region as soon as might be convenient, collecting at the same time, such natural specimens as one might be able, en route.

4. I succeeded in these three objects, and supposed my work to be virtually concluded, for any report on the matter could only be explaining in detail the manner in which these results were arrived at; and I could not but be sensible that any description I could submit would be found very inferior to those already published by eminent travellers like Burckhardt, Niebhur, Mr. Layard, and others.

5. In any case, the delay which has occurred will not, I trust, be found to have been altogether without advantage, since during my residence in London the obliging kindness of Sir Roderick Murchison and Dr. Hooker have enabled me now to append to my Report—

1stly.—A Map prepared by Mr. Edward Weller, Cartographer to the Royal Geographical Society, showing my line of route.

2ndly.—An analysis of such Geographical specimens as were collected during the journey.

3rdly.—A list of such of the Flora of Central Arabia as were collected, and have since been arranged according to their natural families.

4thly.—I have been enabled also to scrutinize what little statistical information I was myself enabled to collect on route, and thus to append to my present Report statistical statements as below :—

Itinerary of Routes from Kowait to Riyadh, *viâ* Sedoos.

Itinerary of Routes from Riyadh to Al-Ahsa and Ocair.

Statements showing the number and names of stages along the routes from Kowait to Kateef.

Statement showing the number and names of stages along the routes from Kowait to Al-Ahsa.

Statement showing the distances of some of the districts and towns in Najd from the capital Riyadh, and from the seaport of Kowait.

Statement of the Riyadh weights, measures, and currency.

Statement showing the names, approximate number of population, and annual revenue of districts in Najd, and the number of fighting men each district is capable of producing.

Statement showing the names and approximate number of the Bedouin tribes in Najd, and the annual revenue paid by each to the Ameer.

6. On the whole, I respectfully trust that the Government of India may consider my present explanation of the delay which has occurred as satisfactory.

7. I will now proceed to submit in so far as my recollection serves me, a sketch of the manner in which my trip was brought about, and to comply with the Government demand for an "Account of what I saw, heard, and did in the course of the visit he (I) paid to the Wahabee Ameer at Riyadh in February and March last year."

8. His Excellency in Council is aware that about 50 years ago a confederacy of Arab tribes loosely included under the religious appellation of Wahabee, were at the zenith of their political power. This confederacy germed in a religious idea: the restoration of the pristine spirit of Mahomedanism. The founder of the sect, one Mahomed ben Abdul Wahab, was born at Ayenah in the Wadeo Hancefeh, the capital of the Beni Amer dynasty, who then ruled over a part of Najd, or the highlands of Central Arabia. This enthusiast found a tool for conquest and plunder in a neighbouring Chief of Riyadh, named Saood; and these two men became respectively the founders of the religious and political power of the Wahabee confederacy, the tribes component of which called themselves indifferently Wahabee or Ben Saood's men. For some time the spiritual power continued to reside in Ab-el-Wahab's family. But eventually the temporal incorporated the spiritual; the family of Saood became Imams as well as Ameers; and at the present day the family of Ab-el-Wahab is represented

only by his son and grandson, the former of whom lives in retirement, enjoying no temporal or spiritual authority, while the Imam takes precedence of all Moolahs, and is mentioned at public prayers in terms almost equivalent with those which are lavished on the prophet himself.*

9. The Wahabee confederacy once germed, grew by an artful policy, which enabled the central authority to combine two or more of its subordinate tribes against some single exterior tribe, thus eventually crushing the hostile tribe, which, in turn was absorbed by the confederates. In this manner the Wahabees encompassed nearly the whole of the Peninsula of Arabia. Yemen and the coast of the Hadramoot alone remained unconquered, when the confederacy was in turn invaded, and for the moment, crushed, by the Egyptian Pashas; while we attacked the confederacy along the sea-board of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

10. The confederacy then shrunk inland to the mountainous region of Najd; and in his day of weakness the Wahabee Ameer made overtures for Treaty Engagements with our Government. His overtures were rejected; time passed on; the Egyptian Pashas retired from Arabia, and eventually we ourselves disappeared from the Gulf as a Naval Power. Any influence which the Chieftains of the Arab littoral might have exerted towards checking the confederacy was annulled by their own blood feuds; and the Sultanet of Muscat, shaken by the death of its ablest leader, commonly but erroneously known to us as the Imam Syed Saeed, was afterwards partitioned and weakened under our abutment of 1861. Meanwhile, the Wahabees recovered themselves, and resumed their old policy of aggression, unnoticed. They found in the Ameer Fysul a head most capable of striking terror into

* The daughter of the grandson has recently married the son of the present Imam, Abdoolah; and this connection may possibly result in his taking some active share in politico-religious affairs.

the Bedouins, and of consolidating his dominions under one peaceful and prosperous, though thoroughly despotic and fanatical rule. Abdullah, the eldest son of this Ameer, served his father efficiently as a military leader. The comparatively rich Provinces of El-Ahsa and Kateef were annexed; thus once more rendering the confederacy a sea-board power. Their shore line was extended by the utter subjugation of the powerful maritime tribe Bën Khaled, whose haunts lay between Kateef and the head of the Persian Gulf. To the westward, the hill tribes of Kathan on the road to Mecca, were held in check. The Turkish Government was propitiated through its Shareef of Mecca by a nominal tribute. While to the northward, relations of mutual forbearance were entered into with the tribes of Jubbul Shummer and Dafeer. Even in India the Wahabees began to be spoken of as a powerful body of fanatics. They were newspapered into an exaggerated notion of their own importance; and possessing, as they do, agents at numerous distant points, and many detached bodies of co-religionists along the Coasts of Persia and Arabia, and in Hindoostan they considered the juncture come when they could aggress with impunity, and put in train measures for re-establishing their direct dominion over the territories of Muscat, and the chieftainships of the pirate Coasts: thus attempting to realize, what, at a subsequent interview, the Ameer Fysul explained to me, as being the consolidation of the kingdom which God had given him, extending from Kowait to Rasul Hud, and even beyond.

11. When I arrived as Resident in the Persian Gulf, now 3½ years ago. I found that among my other duties were those of Arbitrator of a Maritime Truce entered into by the series of quasi-independent Chieftains among the Arab littoral. And on inquiring further into the matter I ascertained that these Chieftains were in fact more or less the puppets of the great inland Power of Najd, which, pressing along the inland frontier of the Chieftains, received from them tribute, or otherwise dominated

Vide my Report No. 39 of 2nd February 1863.

them; that past experience had shown that the Wahabee influence of Najd had been principally exerted in an evil direction; and that a previous domination of the Wahabee Government over the entire Coast line of Eastern Arabia, from Kowait to Rasul Hud had been found to be synonymous with piracy on a large scale in the Gulfs of Oman and Persia, and in the Indian Ocean, to the great detriment of trade and of the general peace.

12. It appeared further that the intense hatred which our destruction of Arab property on the East Coast of Africa in prosecution of our anti-slave proceedings had induced against us in the Arab mind, had extended into Najd, and that the Wahabee Government had recently been further annoyed by our attacks on his own coast. All relations between this Residency and the Ameer of Najd were broken off. At the same time I could not but observe that all parties admitted the Ameer Fysul ben Saood to be a just and stern ruler who had been unprecedentedly successful in curbing the predatory habits of his tribes; and who was desirous of inculcating among them more settled habits, and of turning their minds towards agriculture and trade. No one seemed to like the Ameer, but all seemed to admire him, and he was spoken of with a sort of dread in which respect and hatred were curiously mingled.

13. It appeared to me that effectually to suppress the mischievous propensities of the littoral Arabs, we must go to the root of the matter and deal with the Wahabee Government; and I felt confident that if I could re-establish relations with a ruler like Fysul, we might expect the benefit of his influence over the Coastal Chieftains, without having to dread that that influence would be exerted otherwise than in a civilizing direction. Accordingly, I addressed a polite note to the Ameer, expressive of my desire for friendly relations, and informing him that, if

agreeable, I should be happy to pay him a visit in his own capital. His reply was laconically uncourteous, reflecting on my predecessor in office. It seemed to me nevertheless that this estrangement between the English Resident and the Ameer was liable to inconvenience; and I therefore availed myself of another opportunity of addressing him, assuring him that although he appeared to misapprehend my sentiments in his regard, I was not the less willing to give him all credit for his just rule among the tribes. His Highness did not reply.

14. Eventually I learned from natives who had been at Riyadh that the Ameer had spoken as though he were becoming sensible that I had nothing but the public good at heart; and eventually I determined to proceed to his capital in view to a friendly conference with him. Accordingly in January 1865 I crossed the Persian Gulf to Kowait, and there landing, had an interview with the Sheikhs, and informed them of my intention to proceed in a south-westerly direction towards Riyadh, returning to the Coast *via* El Ahsa and Ocair, or such other route as circumstances might seem to dictate. At the same time I addressed a letter to the Ameer Fysul, informing him that I was en route to visit him, and that from what I had learnt from his dependents, I was persuaded our becoming personally acquainted would be mutually satisfactory. This letter I forwarded by an express courier, intending to follow it myself without delay by regular marches. The head Sheikh of Kowait described in my letter

Vide my Report, No. 67
P. D., dated 13th April 1863,
paragraph 128.

now noted, concurred in this view, saying briefly, "Take the camels and God go with you." But Sheikh Yoosuf ben Bedr, who has long been known in the Bombay horse market as a principal exporter of Arab horses, seriously objected to the move. Finally all the Sheikhs sat in Council, and resolved that it would be preferable to wait a little, collecting good camels and a guide, and receiving some intelligence from Najd. Pending a start, therefore, I accepted the hospitality of Yoosuf, and collected from the neighbouring tribesmen such information as I was enabled, concerning certain

questions which had been propounded in the Royal Geographical Society, and concerning the general topography and conditions of the Wahabee country; subsequently, I submitted a note of my inquiries appended to my letter No. 11 of 14th February 1865; and which I believe has since been communicated to those interested in these questions.

15. My stay at Kowait afforded me a welcome opportunity for seeing the interior and every day life of an Arab Sheikh's household; and no English gentleman could be more unobtrusively courteous and hospitable than was Yoosuf ben Bedr. Yoosuf was about 72 years of age; and had, I believe, been some twenty-six times married; one or more of his wives still dwelt in the house with him, while others by whom he had had issue were comfortably established in separate houses. The respect paid to him by his numerous grown up sons was unrestrained and remarkable. The time and services of these sons were entirely at my disposal; and I passed a week with them out at one of their country forts, hawking, and admiring their blood mares. The fort which I allude to is named Jaharah, and lies at the north-west angle of the bay of Kowait. It is reported to be a very ancient site, and bricks and other remains of buildings are still found in the adjacent soil. It is here that Yoosuf collects his horses brought down in small detachments from the Shummar, the Onayzah, the Najd, and other tribes, securing them within the fort walls, and reviving them after their long desert marches with artificially watered lucerne, until the season opens for export to Bombay, when he passes them into Kowait, and ships them. Yoosuf favored me with a list of the most highly reputed breeds, which I now beg to append, and which I have since found corroborated from authorities in Oman and elsewhere.

16. Of an evening the Sheikh would sit in his reception room; Arabs whether of the town or desert would fall in without ceremony; and anecdote would follow anecdote without intermission. Strict in his own religious observances Yoosuf had yet made himself acquainted with the writings of other faiths, and dwelt on

them with perfect calmness. Sometimes an anecdote would sound a little broad; but it evidently did not arise from any nastiness in thought. Less reserved than us in language, an Arab seems to think much, as all mankind do, only he calls a spade a spade, without using Lord Macaulay's periphrasis.

17. Coffee and the Turkish pipe circulated freely, for, as the Sheikh would remark, an Arab's marrow is made of coffee; and that the fast of Ramadhan (then setting in) bore hardest upon him chiefly in respect to abstinence from this luxury. During re-unions, Bedouins and others would enter, squat down with their swords laid in front of them, join in the conversation, and then with the restlessness characteristic of their race, suddenly jump up, shuffle on their slippers, and disappear. One man would come to say that he had a particularly fine horse out at his encampment, and that he would like a few provisions, some powder, and a bit of piece goods for his women, to enable him to bring it in. Another would explain that his tribe had arrived at a certain pasturage and wanted supplies. A third would bring a few dollars which he had borrowed, perhaps years before, and which it was necessary to repay before starting on his proposed pilgrimage to Mecca. He would count down the money and then express his willingness to borrow it again, or take it out in goods. Some of these nomads let fall racy observations illustrative of Bedouin life, and of the extreme hardships to which they are subjected during the hot season, and in their predatory raids. Among other matters I collected from them and the Sheikh a summary of some of the methods by which a stranger claims protection, and which are traditionally supposed to be forty in number. A note of some of these is appended.

18. It may not be uninteresting in this place to submit a few remarks on the bay of Kowait—the sacred bay of the ancients, on whose shores stood *Girvanhensis*. The word Grane is said to be derived from Gern, a horn, which the bay is said to resemble in shape. The present Kowait, from Koot, a fort, may be about a hundred years old. Originally the Sheikhs of Kowait occupied a fort called Mongassar, on the Zobair Creek a little to the north-

ward. They were the pirates at the entrance of the Shut-el-Arab; but being attacked by the Turks they sailed south, and pitching at their present position, fortified it on the inland side against the attacks of the Bedouins. The tract around for a radius of about 8 or 10 miles is considered to belong to them; but it is, with the exception of two or three forts and their surrounding irrigation, entirely unproductive; the water at Kowait itself is brackish. Nevertheless, Kowait is one of the most thriving ports in the Persian Gulf. Its craft are large and numerous, trading with India and the Arabian Coasts. Its sailors are reputed the best in these regions. Its trade is considerable; importing rice from Shooshter, Busreh, and the Malabar Coast; corn from the Persian Coast, dates from Busreh; and timber for ship building from the West Coast of India. On the land side it barter with the Bedouins who, during the winter and spring, bring down "rowghan," wool, and horses; exchanging these for coffee, rice, and other necessaries. The Bedouins have free access to the town on condition only of leaving their arms at the gate, where the Chief Sheikh and the Kadhees sit daily to hear the news, superintend trade, and administer justice. A large dinner is prepared daily in an allotted hall for the entertainment of strangers. The currency at Kowait is in Maria Theresa dollars, Persian krans, and Turkish copper coin. English sovereigns are occasionally to be found. Bills can be obtained on Busreh, Bushire, Bombay, and the Wahabee capital. The inhabitants, Jews included, enjoy complete religious toleration. No taxes or duties are levied. Those who can afford it, make the Chief Sheikh an annual present. There seems indeed to be little Government interference of any kind, and little need for any.

The Kowaites have a considerable carrying trade, and are perhaps the best boat builders round the Gulf.

In climate, though exceedingly hot in summer, Kowait is considered remarkably healthy. The diseases seem few, and scarcely any remedy seems to be practised save that of firing with a hot iron. I learn, indeed, that since my departure my host has cured himself of an attack of cholera by what he devoutly terms

providential medicine ; that is to say, on being first attacked, he placed a thousand dollars under his pillow, to be distributed in charity on recovery. The remedy seems to have been effectual. I remarked during my residence with this Sheikh, that every Friday the street beggars collected at his door, and were paid gratuities. Is this the secret of his green old age ?

19. In regard to food, the rich, of course, as elsewhere, feed according to fashion. The staple food of the poor along the coast line is dry fish, with a few dates, while in the interior the staple diet is dates, corn, and camel's milk. In the Bedouin encampments, indeed, both families and horses sometimes subsist on camel's milk alone, which is considered to be extremely fattening. Camel's milk is further considered good for the eyes ; and essential for the perfect rearing of a colt ; the other essentials being that the colt should enjoy desert air, and be ridden from one year and a half upwards by a weight proportioned to his strength. A native gentleman with whom I chanced to pass a few days near Jaharrah, mentioned that it was his practice during the spring, when the camels feed on green grass, to move far into the desert and change his ordinary diet for camel's milk. He assured me, and his appearance confirmed his words, that camel's milk diet was *too* fattening. I ascertained, however, that my friend usually selected the month of Ramadhan for his desert trip, as the fact of travelling dispenses a believer from the general fast. Both the Bedouins and townsmen at Kowait store locusts, which they deem very savoury. On one occasion my attention was attracted by the whole town turning out with shouts of joy for the double god-send of a shower of rain and a flight of locusts. At Kowait, as along the sea-coast in general, the Arabs are far less bigoted than in the interior. They smoke the Persian Nargeilah, with tobacco brought from Lar, through Lingah—and the Turkish Checbook, with tobacco brought down the Tigris, from Mosul or from Yemen, *viâ* Mocha. Commonly, in the desert, they smoke the Arab sabeel, as the cheapest and most portable sort of pipe.

20. There is a tradition at Kowait that an artificial canal once passed from the Euphrates down through the littoral district of

Adau towards Kateef. I could not find that there were any traces of this canal at the present day, but on a former occasion having sailed to the head of the Zobair creek, to a point about 10 miles distant from Busreh, I found there was a small canoe channel which connected that creek with the Busreh rivers; and I may mention in this place that it seemed to me that the Khore Abdullah leading up into the Zobair creek might possibly hereafter be preferred by sea-going steamers to the present channels leading up to Busreh. The entrance of Khore Abdullah is wide and sufficiently deep. I anchored at the head of the Zobair creek, close alongside the bank, in four fathoms water. From the head of the Zobair creek, a railway might reach the Mediterranean in a direct line of some 800 miles. The Arabs assured me that there are two direct lines to the westward of the Euphrates, one passing mainly through the desert, and the other touching at townships. It is possible that these lines may be surveyed some day.

21. Reverting to Kowait; after a few weeks passed with the Sheikh, a Wahabee of respectable position arrived from Riyadh, en route to Baghdad. He had brought with him three camels, bearing the Ameer Fysul's mark, and he informed me that having three distinct items of business to perform, his instructions were to send back one of the camels at the conclusion of each item, as a token that the item to which it corresponded had been concluded. This man halted a day or so on my account at Kowait, affording me a good deal of miscellaneous information concerning the state of affairs at the capital. Among other things he described the manner in which my first proposal to visit the Ameer had been received in Durbar. How on the receipt of my first letter both the Ameer as well as all about him had peremptorily negatived the visit. How on the arrival of my second letter when I had also requested the good offices of the Ameer in aiding me to purchase some first-rate Arab horses, the Ameer had relaxed a little, and how at the moment of his leaving Riyadh the Ameer, learning that I was en route to visit him, had commenced laughing, whilst the Moollahs and the Court remained

dogged as before. I asked the man if he would like to give up his trip to Baghbad, and become my guide to Riyadh. For the moment he seemed inclined to the change, but after a nocturnal conference with his followers he returned next morning and explained that the Ameer would likely kill him if he returned without executing his commissions. He added, however, that he would be happy to place one of the marked camels at my disposal, and that if molested en route I should only have to show the mark, when all the Bedouins would salaam from a distance. This arrangement made no provision for the camel dying, or for the Bedouins being unable to read camel marks, so the negotiation broke off.

22. Eventually my return courier made his appearance. He brought a laconic note from Fysul, permitting me to advance ; but no guide or deputy accompanied the note. However the season was advancing, and no time was to be wasted. I had in the mean time collected a certain quantity of topographical information, some of which was embodied in the memorandum which accompanied my letter No. 11 of the 14th February 1865. On the whole, then, I had again a meeting with the Sheikhs of Kowait, and resolved on an immediate start for Riyadh. My camels were collected, apparently from any and all tribes. None of them were riding-camels ; they numbered in all from twenty-seven to thirty. I took with me Lieutenant Dawes, an officer attached to the Residency steamer, in view to astronomical observations ; also Mr. Colvill, the Residency Surgeon, in medical charge of my Camp, and with instructions to collect such flora and rocks as he might be able, without attracting notice. I had besides my Arabic Interpreter, Mr. George Lucas, a couple of orderlies, being Mussulmans from the North West Provinces in India ; a Chuprassee, from Calcutta ; a Persian servant ; and a Portuguese cook. I made all of them wear the Abba over their clothes so as to avoid unnecessary annoyance and thieving. And certainly when, on the evening of the 17th February, the cortège moved out of town to take up its first ground, and see that all was complete before making a final start, I could not but inwardly confess that we looked much

the sort of company that Falstaff would have objected to marching through Coventry with. Our only tent was a rowtie; our provisions consisted entirely of preserved soups and meats, with some dates and rice; and the sequel showed that unless for these we could not have reached the capital. I took with me also 3,000 dollars to meet contingencies, and a couple of boxes of presents.

23. The chronometer, sextant and artificial horizon, were carefully packed in my own portmanteau. The chronometer, made by John Pool, Fenchurch Street, was managed in the following manner:—The gymballs and brasswork were entirely removed from the case, and the lower part of the lid was locked, leaving the upper one free, but without the glass. The chronometer was packed tightly in cotton in the lower part of its case, the upper part being filled with a wad of cotton wrapped in a soft handkerchief, and so fitting as just to allow of the lid closing. The case was then fitted into an aperture cut in the tray of the portmanteau and bedded in a layer of soft flannel. The lid of the tray, which was of millboard, closed and clamped over the packing. The remainder of the portmanteau was filled with soft wearing apparel packed sufficiently tight to deaden as much as possible any concussion. In this manner the chronometer was carried across a road-less country on a baggage camel for a distance of between 800 or 900 miles. It was carefully rated before starting and compared with other chronometers having well ascertained rates. On return it was found by Lieutenant Warner and Mr. Dawes to place the observer $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the eastward of the correct position.

24. Before moving inland I instructed Captain Warner, Commanding Residency steamer, to proceed to Bahrein and lie off the Wahabee Coast in that latitude, communicating, from time to time, with the port of Ocair, in view to gaining intelligence of our movements, and of being prepared to receive us on our return by that route. Copy of my instructions is appended, and the event showed that we had been enabled to calculate our time of arrival at Ocair to a day.

25. I think I shall be able to give the most faithful, although not perhaps the most artistic sketch of the journey, by extracting from my Daily Note Book ; and this method, accordingly, I propose to follow. Premising only that in describing a march across a barren waste, the narrative, if faithful, must necessarily partake of the character of the region traversed.

26. On the morning of the 18th February, then, we left our encampment immediately outside the walls of Kowait, and moved for an hour in an easterly direction, and then gradually trended south-south-east to a Fort, named Malah, which is five hours distant from Kowait, and on the inland frontier of the little arrondissement of that Sheikhdom. Around the Fort are some wells, a little cultivation, and a few temporary huts. A camel track is traceable from the town to the Fort ; but here all sign of road suddenly ceases. The general character of the country is that of a horizon-bounded prairie, undulating like long low waves. During the first hour we rode over scant grass, eaten by locusts. Afterwards the plains were sprinkled with low brushwood, attempting to look green at this season of the early spring, and which the camels browsed as we went along. Our halting ground this evening lay about an hour and a half beyond the Fort, and immediately on the confines of the Wahabee territory. A conical hill, named Warrah, bore south-west and by south, and distant about four or five miles, while a second and more distant hill, named Sebayah, bore south and by west. Our halting ground was not marked by any hut or fort. We collected a little water from the pools due to the rain-fall of this morning ; ordinarily no water would be findable here.

27. On the morning of the 19th we broke ground at daylight, and as this was our first undisturbed day's march, it may be convenient to give it as a sample of our ordinary method of procedure ; which was, to rouse the camp just as our head camel-man called his followers to morning prayer. This enabled us to have the rowtie struck and the baggage packed and on the move by sun-

rise. Hardy as the Arab is, and although during our march to the capital our camel-men without exception rigorously observed the fast of Ramadhan, yet it is not the less true that the Arab is very sensitive to cold, and that I doubt if anything less than imperative religious obligation would have induced our fellows to turn out so early in the morning. And even as it was their prayers once finished, they would habitually shirk loading the animals, and cower over the brushwood fire.

20. At sunrise however they seemed to open out; and the cavalcade moved on leisurely at a rate of about 3 miles an hour; no camels straying to any great distance, but every one describing a continuous zigzag in search of titbits of herbage. Occasionally when any particularly attractive tuft showed its green head three or four camels would make a simultaneous rush, each straining his serpentine neck to the utmost, and if unsuccessful, avenging himself by a grab at his neighbour. Towards 10 o'clock or so we would push on a little in front of our camels and prepare our coffee, with such breakfast as might be at hand, until again caught up by the caravan; and so on throughout the day. We halted usually a little before sunset, so as to have the camp pitched and all secure before dark. Immediately on being unloaded the camels would be turned loose to find their own supper; but would be herded again at about 8 or 9 o'clock, when they were made to squat down in a compact line, close under the lee of which slept the camel drivers. Our own rowtee we pitched with its mouth towards the north, and when the camp was safely asleep set to work with our sextant and artificial horizon. The North Star could of course be taken without risk of discovery from the inside of the tent. For the longitude, whether by lunar or stellar observation, the artificial horizon was adjusted immediately without the side-curtain of the rowtee, and the time was observed from the portmanteau in the innermost part of the rowtee. In this manner the latitudes and longitudes of all points where the character of the country changed or was otherwise remarkable, were, I believe, accurately laid down. And as the changes were very marked, and as they were met equally in passing to and from the

capital, two series of points were obtained, determining the general direction of the plains and hills, and sand-ranges, over considerable areas. Our inland and return marches indeed formed two legs of a triangle, of which the capital was the apex, and of which the base, extending from Kowait, our point of starting, to Ocair our point of return, may have had a length of about 200 miles. Of course the points actually laid down were those only which fell along our own line of route; but by collecting local information as to the bearing of certain known townships on successive days, I was enabled to use these as cross bearings for determining the positions of those townships, with what, I trust, may be approximate accuracy.

29. Government will observe that the sketch map shows the date of each successive march. The lists of flora and rock are similarly dated; and hence by comparing these lists and the sketch map with the way-side notes from which I am now about to extract, the region of each natural specimen may be readily ascertained.

30. To return to our march of the 19th. Before starting I had my first little difference with the head camel-man on account of my desire to change the route, and proceed round by Sedair. In the mean time I was joined by a Sheikh of the Sebaa tribe, from whom I had purchased a horse while at Kowait, and whom I agreed to take with me, thinking he might be of use in the horse-flesh line. He was an ill-looking man and dead lame; but described himself as being one of the personal attendants of Abdullah bin Fysul, and a person of some consequence when he was at home. He stipulated, however, that he should on no account be taken further than Riyadh; and that he should receive fifty dollars up to that point. It turned out that he never was able to show me a single horse; that the welcome given him by even some of his own tribe whom we chanced to pass on the route was not altogether agreeable; that on one occasion he was very nearly committing the camp by falling in with one of his blood enemies; and, finally, that on reaching Riyadh, he was greeted by Abdullah with a request to know what that dog of a Sebaa was doing up there, and

was immediately trundled forward to fight the Kahtans on the road to Mecca.

31. It was on this morning that the two sons of our host Yoosef ben Bedr, who had thus far accompanied us to the frontier, took leave, having impressed all our party by the natural urbanity and unobtrusive hospitality of their family circle. It has more recently been agreeable to me to send some little presents to this household in token of remembrance.

32. Our road lay to-day for two hours south and by west. Then south and by east for an hour, and finally south for an hour and three quarters. To-day's march was comparatively short; and we halted in a slight depression of ground known as Legcet; the character of the country very similar to that of yesterday. During the march we passed one black tent; and in the evening a Bedouin made his appearance with three camels. I purchased two of them to provide for accidents. The season of the year chance^d to be the most favorable we could have selected. The air is light and bracing, the brush-wood as lively as it can be in these deserts, and the prairie sprinkled with a goodly number of wild blossoms. From the place where we halted to-night, the road diverges to Zolfce being the northernmost town of Sedair, and a principal halting place for the pilgrim caravans going from Busreh to Mecca. To our left, that is between our halting place and the Persian Gulf, lies another route known at Kowait as the Ureplyan road to Riyadh. In point of fact there are three or four roads along which the tribes pass in their annual migrations to and from Kowait and the highlands of Najd. All these roads lie irregularly parallel one to the other; and are determined by the pasturage, by the presence of wells, and by the practicability of the sand regions.

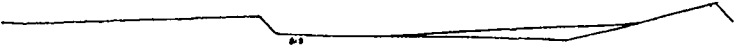
33. On the 20th we left Legcet, and, after three hours' marching, came on a depression known as the Khore or Creek of Grane. This depression joins the Persian Gulf; and a hill a few miles to our right, bore the name of the Creek. After eight hours' marching we encamped on a hill on the hither side of a range called

the Hier or Della-ud-Della. The halting ground is quite uninhabited, and derives its name from the lands of Wubreh, which lie a little to the eastward. The country this day was of the same character as that of yesterday. During the morning we came upon a party of Wahabee Bedouins, but far from wearing the puritanical aspect which one had been inclined to attribute to them, these fellows seemed to me some of the wildest, most restless, inquisitive creatures, I ever came across. They came down on us at a scamper without nose-rings to their camels, or bits to their horses. In an instant they were dismounted; and a halter passed between the horses forelegs, and made fast just above the hock. The camels went browsing on their own account. The groups squatted down around us, and sounded us for tobacco, offering their daggers in exchange; and on our feigning non-possession, rejoined that it was of no consequence, as they would be in Kowait to-morrow and smoke their full. The parley over, every rogue arose without any reference to his neighbour, scuttled after his camel or horse, and disappeared.

34. According to the Kowait authorities the low range of hills bending round our front, marks the inland boundary of the Adān district, as noticed in my previous memorandum.* According to the Kateef people, on the other hand, Adān is a name applying generally to all the sea-board tract from Kowait to Rus Tanoreh, which forms the northern boundary of the Kateef districts, while the sea-board region describing the bight in which the present island of Bahrain lies, was formerly known as Bahrain throughout. The Bedouins, it appears, distinguish their several districts by the direction of the strata or various formation of earth. For instance, the ground of Adān is identified by its strata lying in the direction of the low hills now in our front: that is to say south-east by north-west, and it is asserted that, when, during the hot season, the land marks become invisible owing to the

density of the atmosphere, a Bedouin will ascertain which district he is in by digging a little into the earth crust.

35. On the 21st, leaving Wubreh and immediately crossing the Della ud Della hills, we entered the districts of Shug, with low hills trending away northward on its further side until they reach a point between Sabahah and the Sufwaun hills near Zobair. The strata of Shug follow the curve of the hills which mark the boundaries of the district. The ground to-day rose gently inland and sloped very gently eastward across our path, the general character of the rise being somewhat in this fashion.



A conical hill showed to our left; and about four miles in front was a curve of five separate hills known as the Sulphur Hills. Two of these only bear sulphur, however.

36. We encamped to-day at Della-el-Chebreet, or the Sulphur Hills in Shug.

37. On the 22nd after riding 5 miles the easternmost and largest of the Sulphur Hills bore south a couple of miles. The hill we passed close to, afterwards bore south-west by south. As we neared the latter, an intermediate hill opened out. Two others about west and west-north-west completed the set of five hills; they formed an arc across our route. All the Sulphur Hills are in Shug. The character of the country was to-day less regularly undulating. Low detached hills were dotted here and there, the ground more open; brushwood decreasing, and spaces of thinly sprinkled shingly ground showing up. In one or two places sandstone cropped up just level with the soil. The country seemed to ascend inland on our right and to slope gradually on our left. We were evidently slowly ascending as we diagonalized towards south-west. The atmosphere, too, was much cooler, the morning indeed almost unpleasantly cold. I was glad to dismount and walk a mile or two during the morning. We met a Bedouin family travelling about nine miles from our starting point. I bought a water-skin from them; they would not sell their milch camel. A little before reaching our halting ground

some pyramidal hills, a few miles to our right, appeared. They looked like sand piled up in pyramids; but their inclination seems too steep for them to be of sand. They bore east-south-east from our halting ground, and were some three or four miles distant. The ground between Shug, which we have left, and Wuriyah which we have not quite reached, is called Redaif, or the sand mounds.

23rd February.

38. On starting the ground continued to be of the same character as that of the latter portion of yesterday. After one hour we entered the district known as Wuriyah; the lands we have just left being those intermediate between Wuriyah and Shug, have no name other than Redaif. Wuriyah is a sort of threshold to Summan; that is to say, the ground gradually becomes more broken up into patches, strowed with pebbles and mounds of earth and sandstone, until, after six hours, or about 18 miles south-west half south of our starting point, we entered Summan proper. It is a region of confused earth and low flat-topped sandstone hills with intermediate scourings from the winter rain-water. The valleys are winding and flat, brightened here and there by some grass, wild flowers, and brushwood, at this season of spring. The hills become higher, and more tangled as you proceed into Summan. After eight hours we dismounted at some black tents. The men had gone to the Coasts to sell their rowghan. Their women were asked for some milk. They inquired who we were, as they said our forms were not those of Bedouins and that our dresses did not become us. Shaik Abdel Azeez said we were soldiers, and our forms were different. The women wanted to know why he threw good milk to soldiers. He explained that though soldiers, we were still Mussulmans. So she gave us some milk. A girl was standing by, and Shaikh Abdel Azeez said we wished to offer 10 dollars for her. The girl ran laughing into the tent; and the women saw us off, saying, "God forbid she should ever fall into the hands of your tribe." We had intended to go on to the water at Wubreh, but it was too far, and we halted for the night about an hour short of it, near some tents of the Soodan

tribe. The Bedouins brought me an Obeyah colt for sale, also a sheep, as a present, for which I paid two dollars, and the giver then demanded another half dollar for the skin. Summan is said to extend eight days' journey northward, when the region loses its sandstone and is covered with boulders, some of them large and black. The district then assumes the name of the Hajar. The Hajar reaches to Soong-es-Shiyakh. The shaking of the camels was very great to-day. Some of my cases were positively shaken to pieces. As Summan reaches further north than Dahneh, so Dahneh reaches south quite into the desert known as Rubel Kholee or Yemameh, that is old Yemameh, a region which seems to have been once well peopled and afterwards obliterated by the sands, and destroyed in its political existence by the more recent invasions of the Mahomedans. In the evening some women from the tents invaded my interpreter. They asked him to sell his buttons and silk handkerchiefs. And on his declining, they laughed and said, All right, but "we must have them," and thereupon cut off his metal buttons, and picked his neck and pocket of his kerchiefs:

39. The route to Sedair branches an hour hence near the wells. So my guide came to re-discuss the matter of my taking that route. I was most anxious to go by it and had determined on so doing. But the reasons against doing so were as follows:—

First, That from the wells I should be three days in Summan; and two good days in Dahneh, in all five days without water. I have only eight skins for ten people, and the skins are leaky. I find some now out of water although I have only been three days since my last watering place. Second, The road is little frequented; and is for two days among enormous sandhills. They trust to the smell, damp, or otherwise of the ground in the event of their coming to a doubt as to the right way, and if they miss the way they are sometimes ten days in winding their way out round the succession of mounds. Third, The route

is south-west and by west, while the direct route is south and by east. It would occupy at least five extra days in transit to reach Riyadh. The suspicions of the Ameer might be increased, and any good my visit may do in a political point of view be more than neutralized. On the whole it seemed I must either send back my following, and ride the route alone, and fast, or else give it up. Most reluctantly I gave it up, determining however to turn off somewhat at further south, and go to the Mahmèl district and Sedoos, on plea of my seeking the latter town as a convenient point whence to inform the Ameer of my approaching arrival.

40. On the 24th we quitted our halting ground, expecting to reach Wabreh in from one to two hours. As, however, it was uncertain in what condition we should find the wells, and as to what number of Arab tents might already be there, our men scooped up a little good rain water which they found lying in a valley pool, and which proved just sufficient to fill our seven skins. Meantime we turned to the right of the valley to some tents which we found to belong to my Sebaa Sheikh's tribe. There were four or five families squatted up in this nook; but the tent of each family was pitched at some considerable distance from its neighbour. We sat down in front of one of the two largest tents, and from either tent the women brought out large round metal trays filled with Bedouin cheese, in which goat's hair was plentifully mixed; also some Najd dates, and some Bedouin butter in a bowl, together with an ample draught of sour milk. These luxuries were of course produced on the Sheikh's account, in conformity with a Bedouin practice whenever a Sheikh on his travels presents himself at the tents of one of his own tribe. Had we been alone or had our Sheikh been of another tribe, it is doubtful whether we should have got any thing out of the good dames; or at most we should have had to content ourselves with a lump of dates, and a drink. As it was, we were hungry as hunters, and made an excellent meal. I observed that the little girls and also the young men outside the

tents wore long braids of hair at the back of the head, and that one of the youths had tied two of his front braids round his chin.

41. Leaving the tents we ascended some more low hills, and in half an hour came down into the valley in which are situate the wells of Wabreh, being a main central halting place for the tribes on their way to and from the Coast. There are upwards of 100 wells all within a space of about 400 yards square, and the ground for a considerable distance around showed the foot-prints and manure of large encampments. We did not ourselves find a single tent there. Of all the wells only a few were in good repair, and we drew our water from one well which was esteemed sweeter than the others. The wells are cut some three or four fathoms deep through the sandstone rock; and their mouths are worn into deep ruts by the friction of the drawing ropes. The wells are indeed reputed to be of most ancient date; a tradition with which their appearance well accords. When the Bedouins arrive here in large numbers and parched with thirst, both men and animals scimmage for water, and the confusion is said to be something terrific, until at last the sweet wells become exhausted, and the Bedouins are then compelled to clear the adjacent wells, some of which are very brackish.

42. Wabreh is a central point upon which many roads converge. Standing at the wells, one route which leads to the town of Majmaa in Sedair bears about south-west and by west, across masses of rugged sandstone hills. The direct road to Riyadh loads up at once from the wells in a direction about south and by west; and immediately after entering this broken ground, on an eminence a little to the right, are the traces of a small hill fort. It is said to be of very ancient date, but judging from the crockery which I picked up, and from the general appearance of the ruin, I should infer that although the site may be old, yet that the present debris does not point back many hundred years.

43. After leaving the Fort the Summan district becomes more open; the hills being less confused, and the valleys broader, and flat bottomed, lying generally in winding fashion, about north

and south. The side hills become low, flat-topped, and frequently ribanded near their bases with brick colour. In some instances, where the hills are conical, the summits of the cones are brick colour. We followed one of these long valleys until sunset; and then halted with the rising ground on its southern extremity immediately in front of us. During the day we picked a good many wild flowers, and also some wild parsley. The common brushwood of the country seems to be a sort of wild myrtle. One of the camel-men brought me a plant with a bulbous root; he peeled off the rind, and both it and the inside reminded me, both in appearance and taste, of a Brazil nut. Sour sorrel grows plentifully, and the Bedouins say it was imported into Najd from Egypt, by Khorshid Pasha; and that it is now commonly eaten by them. The ground we traversed to-day was more barren and glaring than any we had yet come across. The camels however came on faster as they browsed less. I noticed that a camel will browse as he walks, and still make his three miles an hour. Our people described to me the ruins of the Fort called Taj lying to the southward and eastward of us at a distance of some three days' march inland from Kateef. They state that Taj was in former times the chief town of El Ahsa; and was built of large white stones; and they add that its foundation walls are still traceable for a mile or more in length and nearly half a mile in width. Ruins and water are still found in the neighbourhood. It appears further that a large and flourishing town named Duta has more recently sprung up in the neighbourhood of Taj. This township is described as being in the centre of a fertile and well watered region, and its inhabitants as being agricultural, addicted to commerce, and extremely discontented under the recently introduced rule of the Wahabees.

44. At daylight on the 25th we decamped and emerged from the valley in Summan above described. But almost immediately we entered a second ramification of valleys. The ground for the first three hours like that of yesterday, or along a

flat-bottomed valley lying nearly due north and south, with low flat-topped sandstone hills on either side. General aspect of the Summan milder. After three hours the ground became more broken and confused. Patches of green grass in the valleys with some wild flowers, and the usual brushwood of the Summan, mixed with the wild myrtle, which predominates in the Om-al-Jenaib. Course gradually westing. Heat considerable during the day, and Lieutenant Dawes touched by the sun. The morning coldish. Halted in the evening a little before five, after a wearisome march among some low broken sandstone cliffs. Lieutenant Dawes tried a sketch of our Selaibee guide, a benignant old gentleman with regular, rather refined features, and dressed in a gown of deerskin. His account of his tribe is much like that I before collected and submitted with my Memorandum of 14th instant. But he says that the majority of his people are dogs, but there are some among them like himself and that these few are very superior. There is no doubt that his own appearance is as superior to that of many of the Selaibeas I saw at Kowait, as the appearance of an English gentleman is superior to that of a country boor. I observe that the old man eats with the Arabs, and observes all their prayers and fasts as they do during the day, and despite the fatigues of these long marches; this being Ramadhan. It is indeed impossible not to be struck with the strict manner in which these people adhere to their religious forms. No water and nothing to eat has passed their lips during all these consecutive marching-days. When the sun goes down they take their coffee, and such hard fare as they may have with them in their sacks. If they can find and afford a sheep, or if I give one, they enjoy it; otherwise they turn a little water out of their water skins, take some Bedouin cheese, and a few dates, and refresh themselves thus. I gather from conversation to-day: First, that the southern desert is not known to the Bedouins as Roob-ul-khali, the empty abode. They call it sometimes Rob-al-khalec, or a quarter desolate; also Raml-al-khali, sandy waste; but generally it is known in Najd as Yemamah. That is to say, there is the present town of Yemamah in the Kharij dis.

trict. This Kharj is also called the district of Yemameh, and the old Yemameh of ancient days is said to have included not only the present district of Yemameh, but to have run east along the skirts of the desert to El-Ahsa, which province, or rather El-Ahsa under its old name of Hajar, was a province of Yemameh.

Second, that there are eleven principal tribes confederated under the Najd rule. These eleven have numerous sub-divisions with their several Sheikhs. Every Sheikh is judge in his own tribe. If a dispute or a raid between his tribes take place, either they arrange the matter between them, or else refer to the Ameer. They are loth, however, to refer to the Ameer, as he is very severe, and gives scarce any punishment for a grave offence unless death. For a minor offence, however, he banishes to Kateef, which he considers a slow mode of killing by marsh fever. In matters of serious or general quarrel between his tribes, the Ameer either detaches some of his immediate military dependents to quell the disturbance, or else gives permission to the aggrieved tribe to avenge itself.

Murder of one man by another of the same tribe is settled in the tribe by blood-money. Murder against a man of another tribe, or even wounding, may be arranged by blood-money. But the matter is not thus wholly disposed of. For instance, a youth of my acquaintance at Kowait wounded another tribe's man. They laid in wait for him. Finally his father gave 1,200 dollars blood-money. Nevertheless the youth is always on his guard, since if the wounded man were to thrust or kill him, he would only have to repay the blood-money; and so the matter would be settled. It has long seemed to me that one result of this fearful system of retaliation among the tribes must render individuals careful how they incur the risks of it. Hence I consider my own safety increased, for their minds being habituated to this line of thought they would naturally apply it to my tribe.

45. The tribes pay the Ameer in horses and kind as a rule. The exceptions are the people of El-Ahsa and Kateef, and the

region of Kowait, where, as money is in circulation for general purposes of trade, a portion of it reaches the capital. The Ameer sends a man once a year to receive his tribute from a tribe, or the chief or his deputy brings his tribute to Riyadh. The Ameer in return gives him one or more Abbas of honour. These Abbas, made at El-Ahsa, are worth 10 to 20 tomans. El-Ahsa itself sends some of them in tribute. Some of the tribes have their summer head-quarters at the capital; other tribes have theirs elsewhere. For instance, the Sebaa (the braye) are a sort of body-guard to the Ameer. They pitch close to Riyadh during the summer; and during the autumn, winter, and spring, wander as grass and water may tempt, to and fro the route I am now travelling; the limit of their wanderings being the fine pasturage grounds between Zobair, Jaharrah, and the Shat el Arab. The same remarks apply to the Motair tribe. The Soodan tribe being of the Ojman, superior tribe, have their summer quarters in the Summan; they rarely visit the capital, and wander to the sea-shore. The tribes on the Kowait route do not seem to be on friendly terms with those of the El-Ahsa route; for instance, my Sebaa says he should be killed if he were caught in that region. All the tribes call themselves Bedouin, that is pastoral wanderers. And even when in summer quarters they still live in tents. The old Selaibee guide informed me he knows only this part of Najd; of this he knows every crevice, but that he is quite unacquainted of the locale of El-Ahsa. I afterwards found out he knew every crevice in the El-Ahsa district. But the Selaibeas always conceal their knowledge from fear of the Arabs.

Third. The Najd Bedouins, with the exception of four tribes, Sebaa, Motair, Anaizah, and Shammar, have the ceremony of a cross with a red cloth hung on it at the door of a tent when circumcision is about to be performed, as a sign of invitation. Friends send sheep as presents on such occasions. The sheep is tied by a string to the person of the child about to be circumcised, and every friend who sends a sheep may come as a guest to eat it.

A rich man would not kill the identical sheep so received; but would preserve them as a nest-egg for his son. A poor man would

have no option. The Arabs say the Sclaibees adopted the practice of the cross and cloth from them. The Sclaibees maintain the reverse. Both parties admit the custom dates from a time prior to that of the Prophet.

Fourth. The towns and villages of Najd are in large part peopled by settled Bedouins. They still retain the names of their tribe; pay tribute to their Chiefs, and look to him for protection. But they are settled; that is to say, they are Bedouins who for one generation or more have taken to settled industry or agriculture. The Sedair villages and the towns of El Aredh, also El Dowasir, &c., are thus peopled.

Fifth. Najd proper is considered to include El Aredh, Sedair, Mahmal, Kharj, Kusseem, Washun.

Sixth. Jubul Shummar is friendly, and indeed the present Chief, Sheikh Rusheed, owes his position to the Ameer, and the Ameer in turn was helped to power after his return from Egypt by the Sheikh Rusheed. The latter pays some tribute to Najd, but the region is not considered as Najd. Shummar includes part of El Kusseem South, and reaches to the Euphrates Wullayet.

Seventh. The Ameer, although of an Anaizah tribe, is not friendly with them.

Eighth. The original holders of power in Najd, the Ali Dowasir, have made several attempts to recover their rule, but without success. They are now really extinct as a power.

46. Our halting ground of last evening was still at Summan, and to-day, that is the 26th, the character of our march for the first half hour was nearly the same as that of yesterday. Afterwards the country opened out into plains. The hills gradually receding and diminishing in height until they sunk into gentle undulations of sand, stone, and sandstone flakes. We may have ridden about eight hours through this description of country, which forms the western edge of the Summan district. As you leave Summan a clear line of sand hills rises in front of you at a distance of about five or six miles. The ridge stretches as far as the eye can reach

to the right and left front, and with as much distinctness of outline as the sandhills above a sea-beach seen from seaward. This sand-ridge is the first of Dahneh; and between you and it slopes a gentle glacis of hard pebbly ground. This we now ascended and encamped on the summit of the first sand-ridge. Viewed from the top this sandy tract is more a swelling than a ridge, having a height of no more than 70 to 90 feet, with a breadth of 400 yards or so, and stretching north-west and by west, and south-east and by east to the horizon. It is sprinkled with vegetation, which seems in some of its varieties to be different from that which we have already passed. The plants look fresher, too, than those of Summan. Indeed the strip of Summan has had little or no rain. Looking in the direction of to-morrow's march, I could see from my camping ground another plain in the distance, a second range of sand hills heaving like low long waves with breadths of intermediate sea.

47. I have omitted to mention that during my march through Summan this morning we came on a circular fissure in the rock, having a diameter of 35 feet or so, at a depth of about 20 feet down. There was a sort of berme in the fissure, and then a second and lower fissure of about three feet in depth. I cannot determine whether the hollow is natural or otherwise. It looks, however, in part artificial. Its sides are throughout of solid rock. One of my people let himself down by a rope to the berme and thence into the lower chasm; he found no water, however.

48. As an instance of blood-feud mode of life I may mention that my Sebaa Sheikh having got into conversation with the head camel-man, they trotted their camels a mile or so ahead of the caravan, and came suddenly on an encampment. It struck the head camel-man that he might be able to purchase from the Bedouins a milch camel, that I had commissioned. Unfortunately it turned out that the tents were of Wadi Dowasir, in blood feud with the Sebaa. And on making this discovery both Shoikh and camel-man bolted back as hard as their camels could take

them; and when the former rejoined us, he was trembling from head to foot. In the evening he received a general congratulation. It seems that his people killed seventy of the Dowasiree last year.

49. I gathered from road-side conversations to-day—First, that there is an outcast tribe on the desert borders of Yemameh, who have a religion apart of their own. They are called Awāzem. The Mahomedans designate both them and the Selaibeas as outcasts, in that they have no chiefs or tribal organization or recognition. On asking why the Mussulmans, while forcibly converting the majority of the Arabians, spared the Selaibeas, the reply was, that conversion is brought about by means of the heads of tribes; but that the Selaibeas having no chiefs, they could have been converted only by individual compulsion or persuasion; an operation which the Mussulmans were too impatient to put in practice. Moreover the Mussulmans found the Selaibeas so useful as guides, and harmless and subservient as a race, that it would have been bad policy to force or expel them. From what I have since learnt I am inclined to infer that the Mussulman religion has not been accepted by the tribes of Central Arabia as a whole from any very remote date, and that some of them ~~have~~ been converted from idolatry to Wahabecism without passing through any intermediate phase of Mahomedanism, and this within the last century, or even half century. For instance, I am assured by a good Arab authority that the people of El-Howtah in Sedair were converted by the late Ameer Fysul from idolatry to Wahabecism direct within the last 40 years; and that there exist down to the present time sculptured caverns excavated in the ~~Toweyh's~~ ^{Howtah's} overlooking Sedair, which formed the temples of the old Howtah religion. The Howtah people, it is added, still maintain these caverns inviolate to the intrusion of the stranger. The same and other authorities assure me that near the town of Jelajel a little to the northward of Howtah in Sedair, is a hill, on the summit of which are the sculptured remains of an ancient place of worship. Again to the southward, the El Morreh tribe are very recent converts, and even now their Wahabecism is

admittedly forced, and their adherence to the Prophet unstable. It is said that when irritated by the dominant Government, the El Morrek threaten to go over to what they call the religion of the Syed, that is to say, the religion which obtains in Nejram, a province in Yemen. Again, at El Ahsa and Kateef, it is simply the power of the sword which maintains the Wahabee creed dominant; and even as it is the Wahabeeism of those fertile districts is extremely doubtful. The people there smoke, and wear silk, and are lax and jovial. It is asserted even that they drink fermented liquors. In brief, pure Wahabeeism seems to be a phase of Mahomedanism exclusively adapted to a poor and remote region. And although military or political ends may continue it in a sort of galvanized existence among wealthy communities, and in contact with trade and civilization, yet, in such regions, the very nature of things robs it of its essentials and leaves it Wahabeeism in name alone. It is well known that a Wahabee does not hold a Sunni or Shiali to be a true Muslim. The Shereef of Mecca returns the compliment by excluding the Wahabee. And whereas it used to be supposed that Mahomedanism had only seventy-two sects, not including the Shiah who are infidels, so now it is declared in regard to the Wahabees. Again the reigning family of Muskat and that of Najd respectively stigmatize each other as infidels; and on the whole it would be interesting, in the event of a religious war taking place in Asia, to observe how far the cry of "Deen," raised from any particular Mahomedan sect, would be responded to by the others; and how long, if responded to, the "entente cordiale" would last. We know from history that the greatest Mussulman rulers have turned their attention towards blending religious differences into some philosophic neutrality, as though instinct and experience had taught them that lasting achievements by the Mussulmans would not otherwise be possible.

50. To return to to-day's journey; it came out in conversation that the real question between the Imam and Sultan of Muskat is, that the former wishes to increase the tribute money from 12,000 to 40,000 dollars; and that in this view the Deputy at

Braymee has been put forward to invade the Muskat territories. It is the Imam himself, however, who is pulling the strings. Thirdly, it was mentioned to-day that previous to the establishment of the Beni Saood Dynasty, Central Arabia was partitioned among numerous independent small Chiefs, having few social, political, or religious relations in common. Fourthly, that until within the last three years or so pilgrims, not being Arabs, paid black mail to several Chiefs on their way through Najd; whereas they now contract with the Najd Government for 72 dollars per head, of which the Ameer makes over some 20 dollars to the Shereef of Mecca, and 12 dollars to the Chiefs of tribes en route. The number of pilgrims passing annually is roundly estimated as follows:—

<i>Via</i> Busreh	18,000
<i>Via</i> Kowait	2,000
<i>Via</i> El Ahsa	30,000

and from Damascus and the North 150,000

But I presume that these last do not pay any great sum to the Imam; and in any case a revenue dependent on land pilgrims cannot at present be otherwise than a very variable quantity, since outlays must vary. Every season tends to develop the means of transporting pilgrims by steam vessels. And it is unlikely that any nation desirous of visiting Mecca will long continue to subject itself to the insolence, petty theft, delay, want of sleep, food and drink, and to the thousand hardships incidental to a camel transit across the Desert; when, by embarking on steamers, it can reach its shrine in comparative comfort, at a moderate cost, and without any danger to its spiritual welfare. Fifthly, the conversation turned to-day on the Ameer's revenue, and it was mentioned that he receives money revenue from his subordinates as follows:—

From the Bedouins in general.....	Dollars	114,000
From the Province of Kusseem	„	70,000
From ditto of Wushur.....	„	12,000
From ditto of Sedair	„	70,000

Carried forward.. 266,000

	Brought forward..	Dollars 266,000
From the Province of Aredh.....	„	50,000
From ditto of Yomameh, Khurj, and Harock.....	„	30,000
From ditto of Howtah	„	20,000
From ditto of Al Aflaj	„	7,000
From ditto of Al Salcyl.....	„	7,000
From ditto of Wadi Dowasir	„	16,000
From ditto of El Ahsa	„	270,000
From ditto of Katcof.....	„	130,000
From ditto of Okair".....	„	4,000
From districts between Aredh and Huzmer Rojco called Ghoraniah	„	6,000
	<hr/>	
	Grand Total..	Dollars 806,000

Sixthly, I learn that no poll tax is levied in Central Arabia, and it is difficult even to give an approximate census—women and children counting for nothing.

Seventhly, conversation turned on the Amcer's factotum, one Malibob, whose reputed father was a Hubshee slave of the Amcer's. Eventually the Amcer gave him his freedom, and bestowed on him one of his own concubines whom Fysul had brought out of Egypt, although she is said to be of Georgian extraction. Concubinage is not, it appears, approved in Najd. A man may have four wives at one and the same time, and may divorce at pleasure; but the favorite of the hour must be a wife, not a concubine. In blood they apply to themselves the principle which they apply to their horses, viz. that blood once tainted cannot be purified. Hence if an Arab marry an African woman and have issue, it would not be allowed that the halfcaste son should marry a pure Arab wife in the hope of purifying his breed back to that of Arab. On the other hand on the coast line, a son by a Hubshee wife is as well thought of as another; and the late Sultan of Oman who was a few weeks ago murdered by his son, was by a pure Arab, Syed Saeed, of a Hubshee mother. In regard to inheritance amongst the Wahabees, the law is that

of the Koran. A man cannot devise by will more than one-half of his estate. The priesthood appropriate one-third. A widow without children gets her one-fourth. A widow with children gets one-eighth, the other one-eighth going to her issue.

51. On the morning of the 27th we left our encampment on the first sand-ridge, and after passing a few hundred yards across it, dipped into a plain of about seven miles in breadth. We then rose the second sand-ridge, which was broader and heavier than the first. It occupied us an hour and a half in crossing. We then dipped into a second plain of about a mile and a half in width, and then rose the third ridge, and crossing it in an hour and ten minutes, again dipped into the third plain, which was about three miles in breadth. The fourth sand-ridge occupied us an hour in crossing, and all of the sand-ridges and all of the intervening plains observe one common direction, being that described for the first ridge. And I infer that the basis of the general character of the country is that which I assumed immediately after leaving Kowait, viz. a prairie with a series of slight undulations at intervals, and having a common direction; only the Dahneh being a higher plateau, more inland, and flanked on its northern and southern extremities by vast blocks of sandy desert—the sand from these deserts has been drifted by the prevailing winds, and accumulated where it found obstruction, viz. along the undulations, which thus became coated with sand from the sand-ridges I have described, while the intervening plains or valleys, acting, as it were, like funnels for the wind, are themselves swept clear of the sand, which is blown right and left into the adjacent heights. It must be borne in mind always that the prevailing winds in these regions observe the same general direction as that of the Dahneh sand-ridges, viz. north-westerly and south-easterly. In places where the subsoil of the plains is actually discovered the patches have the appearance of the lightest looking clay, broken here and there into breadths of small pebbles, and a debris of sandstone. The flora on the sandhills differ from those found in Summan, and I have to-day plucked a few specimens. The color of the sand is light red or reddish orange.

52. We were crossing the fourth plain when an attack of dysentery, from which I had been suffering for two or three days past, became so painful that I could no longer bear the camel's jolting, and ordered a halt at 3 P.M. We had scarcely pitched our rowtee, however, when the camp was on the alert with an alarm. The party approaching proved to be some of the Sheikh's enemies from Wadi Dowasir. We were too strong for them, so they were civil, but the Sebaa Sheikh told me over his coffee in the evening that if it were not for fear of the Ameer, he would take this opportunity of killing the fellows. My interpreter endeavoured to elicit some information about Wadi Dowasir from these strangers, but they would not even return the "Salaam," and suggested to him to pray to the Prophet. This was a polite way of hinting that we were enemies, and that it were better not to ask questions. I ascertained to-day that one of my camel-men was from the Asseer tribe from the mountains towards Hodcida. He proved to be one of the least ruly men in camp, and on one occasion of my urging a march after nightfall, he headed what threatened to be something like a mutiny; and seemed disposed to go to extremes, by cutting me with his hatchet over the back. I kept my eye on him, however, and compelled the camp to reload and march. Another of the camel-men was a Kowaitce, who proved a first-rate shot with ball; firing from a long single barrel match-lock, and never missing a single shot. The only game I saw him fire at were hares; and his eye was certainly marvellously quick for spotting them in their forms. He seemed to consider it a matter of course that he should hit. The hares, were small, but good eating. For the rest, we had as yet seen scarce any sport. One antelope and a few hoobarrah comprise, I think, all. We found also a few hoobarrah eggs. Snakes were plentiful, and our people would kill a dozen or more daily as they walked along. Lizards too were frequent, as were also beetles, and both seemed to have some curious varieties.

53. On the 28th starting from our ground on the fourth plain we finished the last half of the same, and then ascended the fifth

ridge of sandhills, which was the highest and most dreary we had yet come to. I was too tired to note the ridges in crossing the country to-day; but the plain between the fifth and sixth ridges is, I think, the broadest of all. There are altogether seven distinct lines of sandhills, with their intervening plains, forming the breadth of the Dahneh at the line where I crossed it. But this particular line is selected on account of its comparative easiness; and we could observe that on either hand the region became more confused and broken up. Independently of the seven great lines above described, we passed two smaller intervening ones. But on the whole, the Dahneh as we saw it, resembles seven huge rollers with intervening plains of sea. Standing on the top of the last or westernmost ridge, and which may be about a couple of miles wide, you overlook an horizon-bounded plain, scrubby with brushwood, and flushed, here and there, with scud and sand. You might fancy yourself standing on a sandy cliff and overlooking the ocean, so clearly defined is the base of the sand-ridge, and the commencement of the plain. Our tent was pitched on the most prominent point of the ridge, so as to form a land mark for our old Sclaibee guide, who had been sent on the previous evening to some wells 15 miles out on the plain; and who was expected to return this evening with a couple of skins of water, of which we stood in much need. We are informed that towards the south the Dahneh ends near the Jabul Yebreen, in Yemameh. But that towards its southern extremity it loses the name of Dahneh and is called Naffood; while to the northward the Dahneh is said to bend round the north-eastern extremity of the Towaj hills, and thence westward round Jabul Shummer, and so to the neighbourhood of Jatif.

54. On the 1st March we descended from the last ^{ridge} of Dahneh, and after riding across the plain for some six hours, entered a district known as Ormah. On its boundary we came on some wells known as Ormaych or little Ormah, in contradistinction to some other wells in the same district, but a little more to the eastward, and which are known as those of Ormah proper. Both sets of wells are on the dry banks of a winter torrent which runs from south-west towards east, a little northerly. The

torrent is derived from the rain-shed of a range of hills called Temameh, forming the inland boundary of Ormah. The torrent loses itself eastward in the sands of the Dahneh. On a grass plat near to the wells was a copse of stunted mimosa bushes, and these were the first trees we had seen since landing in Arabia, at Kowait; compared with the vast waste we have now crossed, even the most desert parts of Persia seem wooded and peopled, for we have seen neither tree, hut, nor fowl, and scarce a goat, since we left Kowait.

55. Leaving the wells we followed for some little distance the course of the torrent bed, and found it fringed with scrubby trees. As we advanced the country became more broken up and reminded us of Summan; only that the latter district was entirely barren of trees. At the wells we had met a few Dowasirs come to draw water for their tents, which were pitched some 20 miles off in the Dahneh.

The water which our own camels received to-day from the Ormayeh wells was only their second drink since leaving Kowait on the 17th ultimo. Having observed that our camels seemed to know their way as well as their masters through these trackless wilds, and having further noticed that when laden and turned loose of a morning they invariably went browsing onward in the proper direction, I questioned our men as to the instinct of the camels in regard to locality; and they assured me that a camel can always find its way where it has once been. They pointed out to me further that while all their own camels in camp were turned loose after a march, yet that one, a Dhuffere, had its feet tied while halted, and was loaded the last when starting; and this because he belongs to the Dhuffeer tribe, near the Euphrates, and if he were not hobbled would forthwith start off for his home.

2nd March.—We encamped last evening on the side of a torrent bed, about six hours after passing the wells; and our road this morning still lay along its left bank until, about noon, we neared its source in the belt of hills which formed the western bulwark of Ormah. These hills formed a vast amphitheatre to

our left and right front ; and in the centre of the arc was a remarkable gap, each arm of the hills breaking off in a scarped bluff. These hills are the water-shed of Ormah. The streams to the eastward flowing down winding valleys to the Dahneh,* and those on the western scarps falling suddenly into a narrow plain which lies between the foot of the scarps, and a long broad sand-ridge. In tracings of the hills, the narrow plain and the sand dunes observe one and the same irregular course, and looked like a sort of natural fortification. Our road led down the gap or ravine. It was the first picturesque spot we had come on, a sort of rugged lane, winding with steep sides, moderately wooded, and bearing signs of the rush of water. The scarps laid bare magnificent sections of the hills. Immediately below the ravine, the gap opens on the narrow plain above referred to. The adjacent ridge of sand, we found to be loftier and heavier than any we had passed in Dahneh. It cost us an hour and quarter in crossing. We encamped for the night on its further side close beneath a remarkable pyramidal hill of sand. We had observed this pyramid from the crest of the gap, peering high above all the sand dunes, and bearing south-west. Looking back from our halting place we could observe the Temameh hills, through whose chasm we had just passed, trending away north-west and ending as far as the eye could reach, in a bold bluff. In like manner the hills trended south-east, but the line of sand dunes seemed to break off in this direction. I estimated the height of the Temameh hills above the adjacent plain to be under 1,000 feet. On the whole, as I mentioned before, the district of Ormah reminded me much of Summan on the further side of the Dahneh ; but with this difference, that in Ormah the torrent beds are more marked, better wooded, and bearing marks of a more impetuous rush of water. It does not, however, seem certain that the average rain-fall is greater in Ormah ; but the incline of the valley is steeper, and the force of the water-shed more concentrated. The climate too has sensibly improved since we left Dahneh, the atmosphere being light and the mornings pleasantly cold, although the afternoons continue hot, and the sun and landscape glaring.

We passed a few tents of the Kahtan tribe to-day, just above the gap. They refused us milk, and would not sell a goat, as they said they kept only she-goats, and wanted them all for milking.

56. We quitted the sand-ridge on the morning of the 3rd March; and moved for some three hours across a plain; and then came on some low outskirts of the arid hills. From this plain Riyadh bore due south; and that would have been our direct course. But I wished to visit Sedoos; and for the third or fourth time had a battle with my Arabs on this question. The Sebaa Sheikh especially was very obstinate, and finding that I still held out, he finally pretended that when last passing down this way he had left a cloak at a neighbouring hamlet, and with my permission would now turn off and pick it up, rejoining me in the evening. The meaning of all this was, of course, that if I would drop him behind for a few moments he would scamper his camel straight to Riyadh, and have a long tale ready against my arrival there. I declined his suggestion, and he came on. The rogue then resumed the conversation in the most friendly manner, and asked if I would like to take part in an expedition which the Ameer's son was about to undertake in a few days towards the Kahtan hills, westward. I asked him as to the probable nature of the expedition; and he explained that the Ameer had engaged to give the pilgrims passing through Najd safe conduct to his frontier, lying only a couple of days' march from Mecca, and on that part of the road lying along Kahtan the pilgrims had been attacked and plundered by the tribes of those Hills. Hence during the approaching pilgrim season, Abdullah was to take a force out, and clear the road of robbers. I rejoined of course that I should be delighted to make Abdullah's acquaintance; and be an eye-witness of his well known prowess in war. Encouraged by these friendly sentiments the wily Sebaa suggested that the better plan of arranging the matter would be for me to accept a command and settle down in Najd altogether. The Ameer would give me a beautiful Arab girl with fine eyes, and long hair, besides hundreds of camels and thousands of sheep, and horses, and every thing I wanted. I suggested that I should

have a right to four wives. "You shall have them," he rejoined, "you shall have them, only settle in Najd." I assured him the prospect really looked very pleasing; but that being a Government servant I was restricted from doing many things which might otherwise be very agreeable. At length, seeing I was resolved to go on, they gave in; not, however, without sour and dejected looks, for, as they approached Riyadh, their dread of the Amcer seemed almost to reach fever heat. We were now just on the low broken outskirts of the Aredh hills, in other words of the highlands of Najd proper. The plain itself is called Shaāb at the point where we crossed it, and stretched away northward to our right hand to the extremity of the Aredh hills proper—a distance of one long day's march to our right. It there takes the name of Batinah, until it approaches the Towaij hills, where the flat country lying immediately below the slopes is known as Sedair, one of the most settled and populated regions of Najd. Strictly speaking the Towaij hills are those which come down from Zolfee on the north-east behind Sedair, southing behind the point marked Mahmèl, or the recess in the Map, and so reaching the head of the Wadi-Haneefeh, which the Towaij hills, so considered, skirt on its western side. The Aredh hills again thus strictly considered commence from the point forming the eastern entrance to the Mahmèl or recess, and, always widening, come down on the hither or eastern side of the Wadi Haneefeh. As regards the Shaāb Batinah and Sedair plains, they constitute one and the same plateau lying between the Ormah hills and district on its north-east flank, and the Towaij and Aredh hills on its southern and western flank.

57. At length we entered the Aredh range by a valley called Wattar, which cuts the hills transversely from side to side, that is to say, from the Shaāb plain to Sedoos, and so down into Mahmèl. Wattar is a deepish, well defined valley, with a torrent bed. In places the scarps lay bare horizontal strata of sandstone. We were seven hours in passing through this valley. After about three hours we came on a bright little spot with a small running stream, being the first running water we had seen in

Arabia. Near the stream was a small patch of cultivation, some date trees, and a small fort. These were the first date trees, first cultivation, and first building we had come on since leaving Kowait. The highest crests of the range seemed to be at a point about five hours from the eastern side of this valley; but I doubt if, even these were much over 1,000 feet, although they seemed to loom bold and lofty. At this point also the shed of the water seemed to divide; that most to the westward flowing toward Sedoos. The character of the valley changed too; its sides becoming less abrupt and showing at this favorable season just a blush of light green grass over their rounded surfaces.

58. We halted this evening at Sedoos, a pleasant neat group of hamlets, jotted down in the valley, round a small fort. Numerous detached date groves and enclosed patches of cultivation brightened the neighbourhood. From the suburbs of the fort you look westward down into Mahmèl and so across to the loftier ranges of Towaij. I speak of loftier by comparison, since none of the Nadj ranges are absolutely lofty. Nor is there any thing striking in their aspect. They are neither remarkably rugged, nor wild, nor wooded, nor watered, but are rather tame in their barrenness, like English Down scenery with the green peeled off.

59. Near the Sedoos fort is a mound formed of the debris of what may have been considerable buildings, and on the mound stands an elegant column of hewn stone; its top is broken off, but the shaft is still some 20 feet high. The blocks of stone are circular, each block corresponding with the size of the column, which may have a diameter of about three feet. The plinth and pediment, the latter square, are also of cut stone, and of good proportion as to height and diameter. The villagers excavate stone and soil from the surrounding debris, as well as from the base of the column itself, and at the present time the column is so nearly undermined that the removal of a few more stones from the base would involve its fall. The people seem to know nothing of its history; neither could the Ameer, whom

I subsequently questioned, give me any information concerning its origin. It does not look ancient, and the cement, where cemented, is of mud ; yet all seem to agree that it dates from a period anterior to the time of the Prophet ; and there is certainly no one at present in Najd who could conceive or execute so elegant a structure. Two crosses are engraved on the column's shaft. Is it some remnant of one of the Christian sects who passed into Arabia in the early ages of Christianity ? Whatever may be its origin, a Christian emblem standing in the heart of the Wahabee wilds looks now scarcely less out of place, than does so artistically proportioned a column among the buildings of Najd. I append a sketch of the column drawn by Mr. Dawes shortly after our visit to it.

60. The houses and enclosure walls of Sedoos are neat and unbroken, showing an absence of outrage and violence. We pitched our rowtee near the principal fort, and close by the side of a dry torrent bed, which divides the valley. Here the people collected round us in a sort of half-stupid, half-curious amazement. They were civil and quiet, but seemed very poor ; and had that dingy, unwholesome aspect, which one expects to find in a manufacturing, rather than in an agricultural or pastoral village. They brought us some eggs and a couple of fowls as a present, but I would not deprive the poor fellows of the latter, as their poultry yards seemed but scantily supplied. A few lean cows that strayed round the enclosures comprised all the live stock of the community. Yet Sedoos is regarded in Najd as a highly favored nook ; and even at the sea-board I had heard of the beauty of its date groves brightening the valley folds ; the greenness of the cultivation, and the beautiful run of sweet water throughout the year. In truth the people seemed to make the most of the latter, for we heard the water-wheels at work far into the night. On the whole Sedoos may be described as a valley oasis.

61. *4th March.*—Immediately after starting this morning we ascended the heights of the Aredh by a narrow but not difficult path, and debouched on a plateau about 300 feet above Sedoos. The plateau was strown with fragments of sandstone, and a light

tint of scant mountain grass was just visible. I remarked however that no flocks were any where grazing, and the Arabs explained that the grass of the Aredh hills is preserved for the hot season and autumn. The tribes, it seems, begin to wander into the lower country towards the close of autumn, and pass the winter and early spring in their warmest haunts ; commencing their return journey so as to be back in Najd before the summer sets in.

62. Looking from the plateau to our right rear, we could observe the Sedoos' valley sloping down into the Mahmèl plain, and so across Mahmèl, being a breadth of from 15 or 20 miles, to the foot of the Towajj hills, which were clearly traccable. The villages of the Mahmèl district lie on its further side, under Towajj. To our right was a marked bluff in the Towajj range, which our guide pointed out as the northern entrance of the Wadi Haneefeh ; and we could trace the higher ranges of Towajj proper stretching from that point away towards Kharej. Between those ranges and us on our right front, lower hills appeared to come down and form the right hand cliffs of the Wadi Haneefeh as entered from its northern extremity. To our left front were the Aredh hills. The guide indicated Riyadh as lying from the point where we stood in an east south-east direction ; Sulaimcayah a little more south ; then Seh Yemameh ; Kharej, and finally Howtah, southing to due south. Seh, however, is not the name of a town, but is a term applied to the fresh water springs common throughout the district of Kharej, and where the larger number of the Amoor's blood horses are sent out for grazing. The nearest of those springs may be a full day's march from Riyadh. The fort and district of Howtah being three days distant from the same point.

63. We passed the highest point of the plateau almost immediately after ascending it. To our left were long strands of rolling ground ; and in the distance rounded eminences shutting in the view, and forming apparently the easternmost heights of the Aredh range. Afterwards our track led down a gentle slope forming a tributary to the Haneefeh valley, which we entered

exactly at the point where the ruined town of El-Ayonah straggles along its bed. This town, whose ruins are of considerable length, was the capital of the Beni Amer dynasty ; and further claimed to be the birth-place of the founder of the Wahabee religion. The ruins lie in detached groups occupying the entire bottom of the valley on either side of a gravelly torrent bed. The valley, however, is only a few hundred yards wide. The houses, although deserted, are in great part still standing ; and some jow and other trees give the scene a picturesque and lively appearance ; and on first sighting the place from the height, you might readily suppose it to be still inhabited. Immense labour has been at some time bestowed in controlling the floods, which, after heavy rains, pass down the valley with a depth of many feet, and through the heart of the town, from end to end. Retaining walls of hewn lime stone, but without cement, trace the torrent bed, and are themselves in moderate repair. They reappear at intervals for a distance of nearly two miles. The crests of the retaining walls are smoothed away into quays along which the houses of the old town were built. The old citadel or fort, where the Chief resided, stood in one of the eastern bays of the valley, jammed in between the Aredh hills and the torrent bed. We found only two or three peasants among the ruins ; and these had taken up their abode at the lower end of the town, where they were cultivating one or two of the old garden plots with a promising crop of corn, which they were irrigating with a couple of Persian wheels. The peasants were civil ; and we dismounted at their enclosure, resting there for an hour or so, and refreshing ourselves with camel's milk. They questioned us as to our whence and our whither ; and when we told them we were Englishmen going to see Fysul, they seemed incapable of understanding the logic of it.

64. The course of the Wadi Hancefeh from the bluff at its entrance to the point where we cut into it, is round, from west to east. Our road lay along the torrent bed for the whole of the remainder of the day's march, winding east by south, then south, then again east and by south, and east-south-east until towards sunset, when we reached a point where the valley forks, the main

prong continuing southward, and the minor prong, which proved to be a mere tributary, turning sharp eastward. A mosque, a little cultivation, and a stream, enliven the smaller valley; and it was here that we halted for the night. The Wadi Hancefeh, as far as I traced it, seems to have a uniform character: being a valley of a few hundreds of yards wide, flanked on either side with flat-top scarps, alternating with low slopes. In no case are the immediately adjacent crests more than from 100 to 200 feet high. Numerous tributaries join the valley, the largest being those from the Towaij, or western side; and all of them bearing marks of the rush of water. It is said, indeed, that after a heavy rainfall in the hills the torrent rushes past with a depth of some seven to eight feet.

65. Between El-Ayenah and the point where we halted, we passed several small villages, prettily situated among groups of trees, and filling up the entire breadth of the valley. All these intermediate hamlets were inhabited, and in all of them the torrent bed was skilfully managed between retaining walls, like those at El-Ayenah. We met also some of the Ameer's own people going north; together with a townsman of Sedair travelling homeward, on his camel, accompanied by his wife; all were civil enough.

66. As regards the Towaij hills, some confusion seems to exist. It appears that the Towaij hills proper are the distant and higher ranges which we saw this morning, stretching from Kharej south round by Howtah to the westward, and thence northward to Zulfee; and having a length of ten days' march. Thus defined the Towaij hills are limited to the loftier and western ranges; while the Aredh hills would comprise all the lower ranges and spurs towards the Wadi Hancefeh and Riyadh.

67. Sometimes, on the other hand, by the Towaij is understood all the hill land westward and southward of the Wadi Hancefeh; and thus comprising all the higher ranges above defined, and also the lower ranges down to the scarps immediately overlooking the Wadi Hancefeh: and so understood, the

eastern boundary of the Towaij hills would be the Wadi Haneefeh through its entire length, then northward of the Wadi the recess-like valley of Mahmèl, and northward, in turn, from Mahmèl along the Sedair district up to Zolfee.

68. Finally and lastly, all the hill country of Najd from Howtah round by Kharej, Riyadh, Shaāb, and so up to Zolfee, Kasseem, and Washin, is known as Towaij; and so considered, the Aredh forms simply a subdivision of Towaij; while Towaij is synonymous with Najd or the highlands of Central Arabia.

69. On the morning of the 5th of March we left our encampment in the branch valley of the Haneefeh, and almost immediately afterwards we ascended 200 or 300 feet on to the Aredh plateau: then turning southward we moved across undulating open downs towards Riyadh.

70. To our left, or eastward, and thence entirely round our front to the south-west and west the downs extended far into the distance; while the horizon was lost in the swellings of the Aredh and Towaij hills. The general slope of the country seemed slightly towards the south. We kept the Wadi Haneefeh immediately on our right, at an average distance of a mile or two. It looked a ravine rather than a valley; and we could see the scarps of the ravine, and of its tributaries showing like dark cracks across the plateau. Shortly after emerging from our own branch of the valley we passed a small village on our right; and after an hour or so came on the ruins and outworks of the old capital Darceyah. Our road was through the deserted outworks; but the town lay a little to our right. It is picturesquely situate in a hollow leading down into the Wadi Haneefeh. The place seemed utterly deserted; and its ruins, of considerable extent, contained many upper storied houses. It appears that when the Wahabee Government seized Riyadh from the Beni Doas tribe, and fixed their own capital there, they destroyed the old towns of the Wadi Haneefeh, and among them Darecyah; compelling their inhabitants to migrate to the new capital. Subsequently, when attacked by the Turks, the Wahabee leaders temporarily

vacated Riyadh for Darecyah, as the ground and fortifications about the latter place were better adapted for defence.

71. About an hour before reaching Riyadh we passed a country house and garden belonging to the Ameer; and immediately afterwards, descending slightly, saw the town on our right front. It is built on a plateau at no great distance from the Wadi Haneefeh; and it appeared a considerable and neat looking place, without, however, any pretensions to beauty; but built of sun-dried bricks, and its suburbs enlivened by a few date groves. The word Riyadh is said to mean, gardens or cultivated ground, in the plural. There are several cultivated enclosures in the neighbourhood, in which the crops are artificially watered from wells of about 47 feet deep. In general the town and suburbs seem to be in good repair, as though things were looked after.

72. I was met outside the town by an Emissary from the Ameer, who gave a laconic but sufficient welcome; and conducted me to a garden-house set apart for Turks and other infidels. Shortly afterwards the Ameer's confidential Secretary, Mahboob, called, and explained that they thought it preferable to keep us apart from the town as we smoked the shameful, and might be intruded on. I introduced my staff to the Secretary, and immediately after he had retired, he inquired whether the person who had the Naval cap on was one of those commodores who used to seize vessels in the Persian Gulf? He then expressed the feelings of his Government as being very bitter against my predecessor in Office, and said that had he remained in the Gulf they had resolved on revenging on him the injuries that had been done by our Naval officers. In the evening the Secretary called again, and renewed this subject in the presence of my staff. In the interim the obnoxious cap had disappeared; and the Secretary had intermediately had a conversation with the Ameer. I explained to the Secretary that the young officer with me was not one of the Naval officers who captured craft and seized slaves, but was simply an officer attached to my own staff; and that it was quite as necessary to have a skilful navigator when crossing these oceans of desert as it was in crossing oceans of water.

73. The Secretary was then shown the presents I proposed to give the Ameer and his son ; and also one or two minor ones that I proposed for himself ; but like every body else, he seemed to be in absolute awe of the Ameer, and afraid to appropriate his own share, or even to seem to have seen the presents at all. Suddenly he jumped up and hastened away ; saying there were spies watching him. On my asking him when it would be convenient to the Ameer for me to call on him, he was quite unable to reply, but said that the Imam being a pre-eminently holy man kept two extra fast days after the conclusion of the Ramodhan, that to-morrow would be one of those days, and that it was probable, therefore, the visit would have to be deferred.

74. On the morning of the 6th I awaited of course a messenger from His Highness, but no one arrived, and the understrappers round the house seemed reserved and watchful ; and altogether seemed as if the reception was going to be cool. A little after noon, however, the Imam sent to say that he would be happy to see me in his place of prayer, in the Fort. I at once went to him, taking my staff with me. The Fort was at no very great distance, and situate in the centre of the town. There was a large open space in its front ; and immediately within the outer gate, a few old guns, blocking up the passage. No part of the building had the slightest architectural pretension ; and the reception place was a long low room, supported on rough hewn wooden pillars, approached by a dingy staircase. I found the Imam seated at the upper end of the room, on a small handsome carpet, supported at his back by a heavy cushion. His youngest son was seated close to him. At a distance, and lower down, was seated Mahboob, his confidential Secretary. On my approaching him, the Imam rose, but with difficulty ; took my hand and felt slowly all over it ; and then requested me to be seated close by him on the carpet. He was quite blind, but his face was remarkable, with regular features, placid, stern, self-possessed, resigned. He looked upwards of 70 years of age, and was dressed richly but with taste, wearing over the Arab cheffiah, a turban rolled from a green cashmere shawl.

His voice was well modulated, and his words calm and measured. He was dignified, almost gentle; yet you felt that he could be remorselessly cruel. After an exchange of a few compliments, I introduced my staff, and expressed to him the pleasure with which I made his personal acquaintance. He replied to the effect (but not in terms quite so plain as his Secretary had done on the previous evening) that I was probably aware that Riyadh was a curious place for a European to come to; that none had ever before been allowed to enter; but that he trusted all would go well. I assured him that I had paid numerous similar visits to the chiefs in central Asia, that I had none but pleasant reminiscences in regard to all of them; and that I doubted not our interviews would be equally satisfactory, and that any little uneasiness which might be on his mind in regard to former events would be removed. For the English Government really had no wish in regard to the tribes in Arabia, other than to see them living in peace and prosperity within their own territories, under their own rulers. The Ameer rejoined that he had few relations with foreign states, although his agents were every where, and kept him well informed on matters. He always spoke of himself in the plural number; and included nearly all the Peninsula of Arabia as being his kingdom. "This land of Arabia," he remarked, "from Kowait, through Kateef, Rasulkhymah, Oman, Rasul Hud, and beyond, which God has given unto us." He stated that in previous years the Turks had seized some of his territories; but that he did not fear them. And on one occasion he asked me whether we would be inclined to aid him in fighting the Turks, or other tribes. I explained to him that the English policy in the East was conservative; and that while we were always happy to see our neighbours as friends and traders in our own territories we should not be disposed to aid in any aggression. He said that he had heard somewhat of the English Government from an old friend, a Pasha of Egypt; and that politically it seemed an orderly and good Government, less intriguing than that of the French. But he exclaimed, with an emphasis: "We abominate your religion." He then

interpolated a short prayer that it might please God to convince these infidels of the peril of their ways. But he added, "There is always a distinction between religious and political warfare. When the question is one of religion we kill every body; but in politics we make exceptions." The Imam then reverted to the subject of the French; and said that a ship of war of that nation had gone to Muscat, and tendered military aid to the Sultan in his war against the Wahabees. I assured the Imam that I had no knowledge of the affair and that my private opinion was that he must have been misinformed. The Imam then launched out with contemptuous bitterness against the Sultan of Muscat, calling him a weak man, surrounded by weak men, and a drowning man who would catch at any straw. "Muscat," he said, "is our tributary. We took it by force of arms. The late Imam Syed Saeed understood things, and had conformed to arrangements. But Syed Towcynee was different, and should be compelled by force." The Imam then returned to the subject of the French, and said that some years ago, he had received a letter from a French ship offering him assistance by sea or land in case of his needing it. He did not reply to that letter; but about two years ago a second communication of a like character had arrived with a request that he would send his reply to the French Consul at Damascus. He had replied accordingly; returning thanks, and explaining that he did not at present need any assistance.

75. The Ameer asked me whether I had any business upon which I should like to see him privately. I replied that I had not; that my principal object in desiring to meet him was to make the personal acquaintance of a chief so well spoken of, and that as both he and I had the one common object in view of maintaining peace in the regions of the Persian Gulf, it behoved us to maintain mutually friendly relations. The personal acquaintanceship between honest men was a source of confidence, and prevented third parties from making mischief; and I entertained no doubt that my present friendly visit would improve our relations, and have good results on the civilization

and progress of all people committed to our respective charges. At all this the Imam appeared pleased; and concluded the interview by saying that the present was one of mere ceremony, and that he hoped I would come again alone and have a private interview.

76. On the following morning early I again called on the Imam by appointment, taking with me only my Interpreter. The Imam had not finished dressing when I arrived, and I was received in the first instance by the Secretary, whose manner in the absence of his master was always that of extreme levity and inquisitiveness, although on the entrance of his master he became hypocritically silent, or spoke only in unison with the Imam's religious enunciations. In my private room he smoked cheroots, and asked the Interpreter for brandy. Before the Imam he eschewed all save cant, and declared it impossible the Wahabee Government should go on if people smoked. After a short time a door opened close to the carpet, and the Imam appeared supported by two female slaves. On crossing the threshold two male slaves received him from the females, keeping one on either side and so guiding him to his seat. His welcome to-day was extremely cordial; and from something which occurred, I could not but presume that he was a freemason. We spoke on many miscellaneous subjects; and among others on that of our recent telegraphic proceedings. He said that he understood the character and utility of our views, but that he feared we should have much trouble with the Arabs. He added that, in former years, Abbass Pasha of Egypt had endeavoured to establish postal communication with Najd; but that he had found the annoyances and injuries of the wandering tribes so frequent that he had been compelled to abandon the attempt; and, this, although he had, in the first instance, inflicted the severest punishment on the offending Arabs. The Imam then spoke of our rule in India, and of its recent date as compared with that of the Mussulmans. I told him it was true that we had been in India only some 300 years; but that, thanks be to God, we were already very prosperous there. He then

again asked if we would help him to fight his enemies, and seize countries; whether, for instance, we would be inclined for an alliance against Turkey, or for the invasion of some country further East, meaning, I presume, Persia. I laughed, and repeated that we should be happy to see his people trading in our territories; but that we could not aggress. The Imam then spoke very sensibly on the physical and political position of Arabia; explaining its great want to be that of rain. If only rain would fall agriculture would be possible, and the tribes might then be rendered sedentary. Subsequently he caused a communication to be made to me through his Secretary to the effect that he should be glad if possible to introduce into the neighbourhood of his capital some machines for raising water, of a better and more powerful description than that of the common Persian wheel. I assured him I should be happy to aid in so wise a measure; and it was eventually arranged that I should take the depth at which the water stood in the wells, and procure him a couple of improved pumps or other engines from England; and accordingly on my arrival in England I made inquiries, when, under the obliging permission of Mr. Layard, I was authorized from H. M.'s Foreign Office to lay out a sum of £150 on the purchase of pumps for presentation to the Imam. Subsequent events have rendered it inexpedient that I should for the moment present the pumps. But the fact of the great benefit which the introduction of improved water power into Najd might be, remains, and an improved pump to be worked by animals, and capable of throwing two hundred gallons of water per minute from a depth of nearly fifty feet is now on its way to Bushire.

77. Najd itself already contains among its hills the remains of extensive ancient aqueducts, and it had been the wish of the Imam to repair some of these, especially one leading from the uplands towards the Sedair. The Moollahs however objected thereto; stating that the execution of so beneficent a deed would cause him to be looked on by some one with an evil or an envious eye; and that then harm would assuredly result to his own person.

78. To return to our conversation. However, concluded the Imam, be Arabia what it may, it is ours. We dare say you wonder how we can remain here thus cut off from the rest of the world. Yet we are content. We are princes according to our degree. "We feel ourselves a king every inch." He said that he could manage his own Arabs; and that his plan was, to come down severely on his chiefs of tribes, when their followers plundered or committed other crimes. If you would like to visit the jail, you will see that there are at this moment more than 70 chiefs there. He then went on half musingly, "Yes, we are very severe; but we are just." I asked him if he would allow me to see his blood horses. He replied that just then they were nearly all down at Seh in Kharej, grazing; but that if I liked to take a trip down there, I might select any couple of horses I saw and accept them as a present from himself; and that, afterwards, if I wished to purchase any more, I could do so. I explained that my intention in asking to see his horses was not to hint at a gift; but that admiring first rate Arabs, I was naturally desirous of availing myself of the present opportunity for seeing the finest stud in the world. I added it was etiquette among ourselves when one English gentleman asked to see the stud of another to refrain from remark. I then told him that Sir Henry Rawlinson having taken a bay Najd horse to England its breed had been called in question owing to its color; and that I should be glad to have his decision on the question of color in relation to breed. He said that the finest and indeed all castes of Najd horses might be of any color. But that the prevailing color among the first blood was various shades of grey. As a rule, he added, a foal receives its color from its sire. On the whole color went for little, and height for nothing; casto blood was every thing.

79. The Imam evidently expected me to refer to the Muskat quarrel, and to the proposition of the Sultan that I should arbitrate. I considered, however, that I was as yet insufficiently acquainted with the details of the case to permit of my hazarding any remark, and that whatever might be said in this business, should be said

under the direct authority of Government. Later in the interview he remarked aside to his people that I seemed to be a good man ; and regretted I was an infidel.

80. Turning to me he said I might go any where in his country ; and that he hoped we should now open a new volume of friendly relations. He would always write to me and keep me informed on matters concerning his people bordering on the Persian Gulf. After my departure the Imam expressed himself much pleased with the visit ; and I sent him a rifle gun, a gold watch, some red broad cloth, a gilt pistol, and a sword made to please the Arab taste. It seems that the sword was more admired than any thing else.

81. On returning home the Imam's Secretary called on me, and I had some talk with him concerning my proposed visit to the pastoral and watered region in Kharej known as Seh. Something however occurred this day, of which I am even now, perhaps, not wholly informed, and which gave a sudden and unpleasant turn to my position at Riyadh. Impediments were obtruded by the Secretary to my proceeding to Kharej ; and calling a second time in the evening he finally proposed my remaining at Riyadh until some horses should be brought up for my inspection. I replied at once that this delay was quite out of the question ; that I should have been prepared to deviate a few hours from my direct route in order to see the Imam's horses ; but that having a steamer awaiting me on the coast I could not linger many days for my own pleasure. I had moreover been carefully cautioned at Kowait, that if I persisted in going to Riyadh, I should on no account stay there more than a couple of days at the utmost for fear of accidents ; as Arabs, it was reiterated, are very treacherous, and apt to change their minds. Many things that I had seen and heard during the day warned me that a change was now going on. On the whole, I came to the conclusion that while the Imam himself was a sensible and experienced man, yet that he was surrounded by some of the most excitable, unscrupulous, dangerous, and fanati-

cal people that one could well come across ; and my position was rendered all the more delicate because the Imam himself, being totally blind, was dependant on his Secretary for all his dealings with the exterior world ; and it would have been quite possible for this frivolous and vindictive mongrel, at any moment so to represent matters as to lead to grave complications. Taking into consideration, therefore, my responsibilities to Government, and to my following, together with the slowness of my means of carriage, I determined to skate no longer on such very thin ice. Accordingly I informed the Secretary callously that I should start on the following day, and had ordered my camels for the morning. He replied that he would inform the Imam, and that it would be necessary, in the first place, to have a farewell interview. The Secretary then went to the Imam, but twice returned again during the evening. His manner was now entirely changed ; becoming abrupt and almost hostile. He reverted to the proceedings of my predecessor in regard to the seizure of Wahabee craft, and then launched out again concerning our anti-slavery proceedings. He spoke of us as successful pirates ; but laughed at the notion of our philanthropy. It was a subject, however, which I gladly evaded ; not only because, in a place like Riyadh, it might at any moment become imminently critical ; but because, as Government are aware, a practical acquaintance with our anti-slavery proceedings extending from the Mozambique channel to the head of the Persian Gulf, has induced me to modify my original opinion concerning our suppression of the slave trade, and to anticipate that a day may possibly come, when, even in England, considerable changes in public opinion may have place in regard to this subject. The Secretary was very desirous that I should enter into some Treaty whereby the Arabs of Oman, Soor, and the Persian Gulf should be exempted from our slave piracy ; and receive from us the same consideration which we have accorded to the Sultan of Zanzibar in entering into a Treaty with His Highness confirmatory of the slave trade. The Secretary added that he was empowered by the Imam to offer an exchange Treaty binding him to prevent the Arabs of Oman and the Gulf from committing depre-

dations, or injuring our telegraph establishments. The manner of the Secretary became somewhat familiar, and he stated, that, as I was in their capital, it would be a convenient time to have a draft of the agreement made. I rebuked his manner; absolutely refused his request; and gave him his congé. But I could see that the scoundrel's mind was full of mischief: and on leaving he would not appoint any hour for my farewell visit.

82. The morning of the 8th wore on without any sign of the Secretary, or of my camels. Meantime I caused an extra number of water skins to be got ready, as there was one part of our road where we should have to go five days without finding water; and the few skins we already had leaked abominably. A little before noon the Secretary made his appearance; asked if I really wished to leave, and again suggested delay. I informed him peremptorily that I intended to start that night; and again requested him to appoint an hour for my calling on the Imam. The Secretary retired. Still my camels were not forthcoming, and I then sent for the head camel-man, who excused himself on plea of sickness. So I then went over to him, and explained that if he contributed to get me into a mess his own life should pay the forfeit. He protested his innocence as a perfidious Arab alone can protest. In the meantime, however, I had learnt from a small boy attached to the caravan, that the camels were really at no great distance, and were withheld under orders from the Riyadh authorities. I then returned to the head camel-man, and informed him that I was cognisant of his treachery. By 4 o'clock in the afternoon, however, things began to look so unpleasant that I determined in spite of all opposition to see the Amcer in his Fort, and demand my camels and congé. Before leaving our house, however, I deemed it prudent to make arrangements for preventing unnecessary complications, in the contingency of our baggage being searched, or of any accident happening to me; and among other precautions, I took that of putting a portrait of the Amcer and a sketch of the town of Riyadh, with which Mr. Dawes

had favored me, into the kitchen fire. Nothing could be more comically innocent, than the surprize of my Portuguese cook at my unwonted appearance in the kitchen, where the fellow was pounding his meat with as much demureness as if he had been in the Residency at Bushire. My precautions taken, I started with my Interpreter for the Fort. One of these guards or spies at the gate would have prevented me, but I was in no humour to accept insolence. I had scarcely got half way to the Fort, however, when the approach of our camels was announced; so I turned back, saw them into our enclosure; placod my orderlies over them; and had the door shut. I then resumed my walk to the Imam's. He was friendly, and I believe sincere in his professions of wishing to work in unison with me for the general peace. But the Wahabee, and indeed the Arab mind in general, is so perfidious, so changeable, so volatile, so vindictive, and so fanatical that there was no trusting to the look of affairs' for an hour. The Imam suggested a prolongation of my visit; but I replied calmly, yet firmly, that my arrangements were made; and that I should leave that night. He then dwolt on the pleasure my visit had given him, adding that although at present dwelling in the wilds where I found him, he had not the less witnessed what civilized life is; that he had been a captive in Egypt; had seen the Foreign Representatives of Europe when they waited on the Pasha; and could appreciate the polish of their manners. He expressed a wish that, in regard to Kateef and Ocair, I would refer to him if piracy or wrecking happened; and that he would punish the aggressor to the utmost. He begged me in like manner to protect his maritime interest on the Persian coast; and repeated his desire that I should believe him to be sincerely friendly. He concluded by expressing a wish that I should write to him. I pointed out that I had already done so; but that his replies had not been remarkably encouraging. He said that his curtness had been owing to his previous relations with the Residency; but that now he would turn over a new leaf, and had given instructions accordingly to his Governors on the coasts. He then begged that I would accept a couple of Najd Arab horses

which he had intended as a present to the Pasha of Bagdad; and which were now at Kateef waiting embarkation. Finally, the Imam said that he had placed a confidential servant at my disposal to accompany me to the coast. On leaving the Fort, the Secretary pointed the servant out to me. The man accompanied me to my house, and then asked permission to return as he had a fast camel and could easily overtake me before I reached El Ahsa. It was good riddance, so I let him go; and forthwith ordered my camels to be saddled. The camel-men proved obstinate, and it seemed doubtful whether I should get off. At length I hit on the expedient of telling the Imam's servants, who had been set as spies over my house, that I was determined to go, and that if they could get the camels on their way by 9 o'clock they should have a present, otherwise not one farthing. By 9 o'clock accordingly we were in the saddle, but just as I was moving a man appeared with the Imam's gold watch (one of the frying-pan class) and stated that the watch had got out of order, and that the Imam would be obliged if I could get it repaired for him. This I agreed to, and the watch has since been repaired in England and returned to Riyadh.

83. We were scarcely clear of the town walls when the head camel-man again insisted on an immediate halt. I explained to him that I was now off and that if he gave trouble I would make him march 24 hours without stopping. He continued his insolence until he found that he was likely to be taken out of charge and put under restraint, when he became cowed.

84. The first night of our arrival at Riyadh had been cloudy, and subsequently the constant supervision maintained over us had rendered it difficult for us to take our stellar observations. One morning we managed to get the longitude by means of five solar observations, taken from the top of our house. But we were interrupted before noon; and the latitude remained undetermined. On the night, therefore, of our leaving Riyadh, it was an object to fix our latitude as soon as possible, and we halted for this purpose shortly after clearing the suburbs: marching in

the meantime nearly due north, we pitched our rowtee in the same direction.

85. We resumed our march early on the morning of the 9th, and crossing the Aredh came on the same line of hills (running north-west and south-east) which we had passed on our way to Riyadh, under the name of Temamah. At the point we now crossed it, it is called *Al Aun*, and forms, as it did to the northwards, the western boundary of Ormah, which district may be described as a plateau of about one and a half day's journey in breadth, and broken up into low flat or conical hillocks, with flat intervening hollows, each valley having a gully or dry torrent bed, down the middle of its entire length. Ormah is said to extend northward to a point 4 or 5 hours distant beyond Zolfee, and sinks southward into the eastern confines of Yemamch. It will be remembered, that, at the gap where we emerged from Ormah, on our road to Riyadh, it had an outwork of sandhills. That ridge, however, does not reach so far south as the point by which we reached Ormah to-day.

86. As the camel-men started lazily this morning, and were obstinate, I determined to make them push on until they should give me some assurances as to the time when we should reach the water at the entrance of Dabneh. We went on accordingly well into the dark, but on dismounting the head camel-man turned in, and his men threatened to desert.

87. The Imam's servant had not yet shown himself. The head camel-man, in order to save a dollar or two, had failed to bring the appointed guide, and we were thus on a cruize of 250 miles across these trackless wilds, without, apparently, a single man in the camp who had been here before, unless for our old Selaibee, a man of about 70 years of age, who says he was once on this line at an age when he had not yet donned his deer-skin shirt. For it seems that the first putting on of the deer-skin coat is a sign of the Selaibee's arrival at puberty. The most amusing part of the business was, that water was said to be findable only at one point during the next seven days' journey, and the nearest approx-

ination the Sclaibee could make to this point was, that it was two days' journey from our then halting place, and at the entrance to the Naffoods. However nothing was to be done but to put a good face on the matter, so I gave the whole party a full drink of coffee, and promised them a sheep when we could find one.

88. On the morning of the 10th we started from our halting place in Ormah, the camel-man in better humour, and the country as formerly described, only a little more broken up. For six hours we wound along the edge of a well defined ravine, and then suddenly ascending 70 or 80 feet, came on to a second plateau called Vitailan; and whence we could espy the distant tops of the Naffoods, to our left front. The country was open; and we wound along a series of shallow depressions until evening, when, emerging from the head of the last of these hollows, the Naffoods were distinctly visible straight ahead. The water was asserted to be at no great distance; and as the Arabs declared there were some black tents in sight, I considered that we could readily procure guides to the water in the morning, and consented to a halt. After halting we examined the supposed tents with a telescope; and found them to be only dark ledges of rock. We were therefore left in prolonged anxiety concerning water, and what with theft and evaporation through the skins, the quantity which had filled seven skins last evening, was found now to have shrunk to less than four. The appearance of the Naffoods in the distance was different from that worn by the Dahneh as we had passed it on our way to Riyadh. In the latter the sand hills were long unbroken lines or ridges. Here they were broken up into cones, and confused, many-shaped lofty domes. And hence, in the one region, they are called Dahneh; while here, they are called Naffoods. The country we passed over to-day seemed principally of sandstone strewn with sandstone wash. We saw a few antelope; and passed also a few stunted trees along the brinks of the ravines. We came also on some hobarrah's eggs. The nest was simply a small circular depression in the bare ground. I observed also to-day some birds apparently of the linnet or finch tribe, also a variety of beetles, and one or two very large lizards.

89. Our road this morning was down a gradual slope towards the low ground lying immediately along the base of the Naffoods. A dry torrent bed led down the slope and lost itself in the low ground. The ground showed greenish and damp for some distance, and it was here that we came on the wells, deep, ancient, small-mouthed, and walled with lime stone. It was evident that our Selaibee knew the wells thoroughly; as he trotted his camel straight down on them without the slightest hesitation. Immediately on arrival one of the Arabs let himself down to the bottom of one of the most promising looking of the wells; and the others passed the skins down to him from the top. These he filled; and they were again handed up. In this manner we secured about 15 skins full from two or three wells. They then ran dry; and to obtain more water would have involved time and clearance. Here, as in Dahneh, the wells are reputed to be of great antiquity; and their stone lips are deeply rutted by the friction of the ropes. Our camels watered, we started afresh, and entered the Naffoods in about an hour afterwards. A conspicuous and lofty sand dome forms the land mark; and once on the sand all trace of path is entirely lost. The sand is of a very red or orange color, smooth as driven snow, and piled up in every conceivable shape in confused heights, of from one to two hundred feet above the level of the plain whereon the wells were found. Two or three times our people were at fault, and seemed to recover their line by opening out into skirmishing order, and seeking for the manure of camels that had previously passed. It is to this moment a marvel to me how a broad tract of the description now entered on is threaded without error. The view was on every side shut in within 100 yards of us; and the Selaibee seemed to direct himself entirely by the sun. I can readily credit the accounts which were given us of the fatal accidents which occasionally occurs in these trackless wilds—a dust storm, or a densely hazy atmosphere, would almost certainly send the caravan astray or bring it to a halt. Yet either the one or the other predicament would be almost equivalent to death from thirst. The glare too from the sand is very trying, and in the hot season must be almost blinding. From

what I have seen of these regions, I am of opinion that it would be impossible for a party of Europeans to cross them during the hot season, without fatal consequences; and one of the principal reasons for my resolutely declining delay at the Capital, was the fear that we might be detained on one pretence or another until the heat set in, and that a march then would have proved difficult. The Bedouins informed me that when, losing their way or concealing themselves in the deserts, they come to their last drop of water, the next expedient is to kill a camel, drink a little of his blood, or rinse a watery deposit from the animal's intestines on to the tongue; and it is said that one of the great evils resulting on plundering raids is the injury done to horses and other animals, owing to the plunderers driving them by forced marches along unfrequented and waterless lines of desert. For instance one tribe plunders another and carries off a blood mare. The animal is instantly mounted by a daring Bedouin, who gallops her to the desert, in the direction of his own haunts. He avoids the wells lest the mare should be recognized, and thus subjects the poor creature to the extremity of hardship, or perhaps ruins her for life. To return: on first entering the Naffoods our camels laboured heavily, the sand being soft, the ascents steep, and the drops on the further side sometimes almost perpendicular; so that the camels had to balance themselves on the crests, and then slide bodily down. Gradually, however, the sand became harder, and scattered with brushwood. After four hours of this work we halted; the animals quite tired out. On opening the water-skins which I had procured at Riyadh, the water was found undrinkable; and this, although I had taken great care in causing the skins to be well rinsed out before starting. Whether the Riyadh people had played us some trick or whether it was owing to the ill preparation of the skins, I cannot say. In either case, we found ourselves with a waterless march of four or five days before us, and only four skins of drinkable water left. I then caused these skins to be sealed up and made one of my own men responsible for each skin. Then calling for the Solaibee I explained to him that if I found the camp without water before we should reach our next wells I should shoot him.

This was done quietly at night. The old gentleman then disclosed that he knew all the country by heart ; that if I would only use one skin a day he would get us to water in four days ; but that he was obliged to conceal his knowledge of the desert as otherwise the Arabs would constantly press him into work. Hitherto the Selalbee had always used Mussulman affirmations, but in his dismay this night he swore by the dogstar,* and on being questioned as to this change in oath he confessed that his tribe were Mussulman only outwardly, but that according to their own ancient religion they worshipped the stars.

90. After we had pitched the camp I observed a party of camel-men coming over the heights, and they proved to be the Imam's servant with his following. It appeared that after gaining permission to remain behind, the man had returned to his own house without asking the road we proposed to follow, and that on starting he had taken a southern and shorter road, but which our Selalbee had avoided as being too rugged for laden camels. Finding himself on the wrong track the Imam's servant had crossed the country at right angles until he had come upon our foot-prints. He had then changed his sober Riyadh costume for one of bright colors, and now appeared as a man of some consequence. He encamped at a short distance from us ; but during the evening came over to take coffee and to converse. Among other matters he informed me that the Sebaa Sheikh whom I had treated politely, and paid well, had no sooner reached Riyadh than he commenced to make mischief, alleging many things to our prejudice, and which might have seriously compromised the whole party.

91. The ground which we were now passing must be high, for the climate was cooler and fresher than any we had enjoyed on the road inland, and this, notwithstanding that we were more to the south, and that the spring was advancing. During the afternoon we had fallen in with some of the Dowasir tribe, who were encamped among the Naffoods. One fellow came galloping

* *Vide* Appendix No. XV.

up on a casty bay mare. He did not however seem inclined to sell her.

92. Our march to-day was throughout a continuation of sand hills and ridges, with here and there, at wide intervals, patches where the soil protrudes, and shows itself strewn with small dark colored stones; sometimes the sand hills were in confused eminences and hollows; and later in the day they assumed the appearance of long rollers, and finally took the form of steps. Towards evening the view on our left front opened out and commanded a vast extent of sandy plain. In no part was the land very heavy, and in all parts it was sprinkled with the vegetation common to this region. There was no track, and as far as I could observe very rarely any possibility of a land mark, yet our guide kept on his direct course without ever hesitating. From time to time I tested his direction, and invariably found it true to his point; often we were in hollows where all view was shut out; yet I never once saw him look behind or to either hand as if for guidance. Had he had a compass at his saddle-bow, he could not have made a truer course. We passed a party of Bedouins during the day and got some sour milk from them. I wished our camel-men to buy a couple of sheep, but the Bedouins would not sell, as they said the Imam's men would not allow them to be paid. The climate still continued agreeable and the air peculiarly light. We saw scarce any thing of the Imam's servant, and were glad to keep quite clear of him and his party. Our halt this evening was at a point near the eastern boundary of the Naffoods.

93. On the 13th we crossed the remainder of the Naffoods, and then came on a plain strip, forming as it were a belt or well defined valley between the Naffoods and the cliffs of Summan, which rise in front of you in a broken line of scarps of from 50 to 100 feet high, and stretching from a north-westerly to a south-easterly direction. The intervening strip of plain seems to form a sort of wind channel, and its ground is kept clear of sand by the prevailing winds from north-west and south-east. Ascending the Summan cliffs, which are of friable

stuff broken into bays, you arrive on a broken plateau covered with stone brush, and again after a short distance wind among a succession of sand mounds rising like smaller Naffoods. This sandy-breadth is probably the eastern deposit of sand blown to and fro along the wind funnel above described. Emerging from these mounds the character of the plateau entirely changes and opens out into bare unbroken horizon-bounded downs, strewn with gravel and small broken stones. This was the Summan proper; and we halted in it at sunset. The surrounding country afforded no fodder for our camels, nor material for fuel. The temperature this morning was almost colder than any thing we had yet experienced. Thanks to the expedient of sealing the water skins, our water had lasted well. I find from experience that there must be much less evaporation from a sealed skin than from one unsealed. My following were very anxious to be permitted to drink during the day. During the afternoon we passed in the distance a caravan of pilgrims from Persia proceeding to Mecca. They had landed at Kateef and were now on their way to Riyadh.

94. This morning we finished the Summan, and then again came into a region of flat-topped hills with smaller mounds; and of a lower description than that of the Naffoods. The Arabs call them the Young Naffoods. During the first four hours the plains continued quite bare of vegetation. Afterwards there was the ordinary scant brushwood, but parched and withered. During the day we passed the largest caravan of camels we had yet met. They belonged to a party of the Dowasir tribe, now travelling westward at the approach of the hot season. One of the tribe showed me a high caste mare, which he declined to sell, but said he would give me, on condition of a return present of 400 dollars. The climate this day became perceptibly warmer; and the air more like that from the sea. We halted at night-fall within a couple of miles of a black range of hills under which our next wells were said to lie. During the afternoon I had a conversation with one of the Imam's men. He was of the Al-c-Morraah tribe, whose haunts lie to the southward of the region we were

now passing. He called the great desert of the south Temamah, and spoke of Jebul Yebreen, in that direction, as of a once fertile and well watered district, whereon of old times stood a very extensive city. The city is now in ruins, the water courses choked with sand, and the district comparatively desolate. He says, however, that at certain seasons of the year his tribe proceed there to gather dates, and for pasturage. His tribe have a celebrated breed of horses known as the Al-e-Morrah; and this man told me that he possesses three fine specimens now grazing between Kowait and Bahrein, which he would be happy to part with. He informed me, moreover, that he had travelled in Nejran and Hadramaut; and spoke very highly of those regions. Our camels to-day showed evident signs of knocking up. The heat and the absence of fodder during the past two days had told much on them; and I began to doubt whether they would do more than carry us to the sea shore. This however, is saying a good deal for them; for they would have marched some 900 miles in 30 days, inclusive of the period we halted at Riyadh, and during which period, also, they had a further march to and from their grazing ground and the capital.

95. Our encamping ground of last evening was on the easternmost ridge of sand-hills, from which the country fell suddenly in steps of sand embankments, and then sloped more gradually to the base of a black range of hills. Here we found plenty of drinkable water at the depth of about seven feet or so below the surface. Leaving the wells we again ascended and opened on the downs or rolling plains forming the commencement of the El Ahsa regions. These are occasionally covered with sand, and in other places soft and rotten with a sort of mouldering earth crust. For the most part these places were strewn with stones, and resembled in their general character the open plains of Summan. Our descent to-day was the most marked and considerable of any we had yet made. The temperature became comparatively hot and muggy, recalling the climate of the Persian Gulf. Our camels were much distressed, and one or two gave in and laid down. We had been already 12 hours in the saddle; and I had intended to travel an hour

or so into the night, so as to make certain of reaching El Ahsa the next evening ; but the camels were quite unequal to it, and we were compelled to halt suddenly, allowing the animals to straggle up as they best could. Speaking generally our return route to the eastward of the Dahneh has been very arid, as compared with that which we travelled on going inland ; and I do not find on the Gulf side of Summan, on the route to El Ahsa, any of those fine plains which lie between Kowait and Summan, and which afforded our camels such abundant pasturage. We did not see a single Arab to-day. At the wells, however, we foregathered with the Imam's men ; and as usual the drink was coffee, pounded on the spot in a heavy metal mortar. It is remarkable that while an Arab will not trouble himself to carry a change of clothes, he will still burden his camel with his coffee-pot, mortar, and other apparatus. To this our friends of to-day added a small incense pot which they passed round after coffee : each man in turn closing his nostrils, placing the pot close under his mouth and so inhaling the incense ; afterwards the pot was passed to and fro across the chest, as if to give an odour to the garments. Our coffee had a good deal of saffron in it. Sometimes a piece of amber is placed in the coffee-pot to lend the beverage a flavor.

96. Having given a sheep to our camel-men to-day, my cook wished to preserve the kidneys for our own eating. At this the Arabs became highly indignant, and refused the sheep. I took no notice of them, and after some time they set to work and made a hearty meal. On the 16th we continued our route towards the town of El Ahsa, and towards the afternoon crossed two ranges of hills. It was impracticable however to reach the town, and we halted at sundown, before rising the last range which overlooks the El Ahsa plain.

97. On the morning of the 17th, I started ahead with the Imam's men and my Interpreter, in order to reach the town before the caravan, and ascertain how matters looked. The road led down a winding pass on the El Ahsa plain ; and we could distinguish the tops of the distant date groves.

Entering the plain we struck east for a detached hill immediately below which lies the town of El Hoofoo. Beyond the date groves rose distant hills lying north and north-east; and more to the east a detached lump of hills called Gherra, or the cavern hills, whither resort the inhabitants of the El Ahsa town for cool and shade during the hot season.

98. Approaching the foot of El Hoofoo, which, with its surrounding townships is hidden among date groves and gardens, we left the old ruined town and fort of Moobarrez immediately on our left; and skirting the cultivated land, encamped in a grove immediately on the southern side of El Hoofoo. The town seems more considerable than that of Riyadh; and El Ahsa, with its ports of Kateef and Ocair, is by far the largest trading possession in the Wahabee dominions. It is here that their Abbās, and some of their arms are manufactured. The remainder of the arms coming from Damascus, Nejdran, or Busreh. There are, I believe, seven forts in the El Ahsa districts: each containing a small garrison of Scedees or other Wahabee troops. The district of El Ahsa is abundantly watered by fresh springs gushing copiously up, and pouring themselves in streams in all directions among groves, grass plots, and garden lands. The district thus watered is of an irregular oval shape, having a length of perhaps 50 miles, with a maximum breadth of 15. We met many peasantry bringing produce to the towns, on fine swift trotting donkeys, laden with a kind of Spanish panniers; and altogether there was a look of cheerfulness and movement in the place which we had not seen any where else in the Wahabee territories.

99. The Governor of Hoofoo was civil, and sent provisions, but no one called, as was the case indeed at Riyadh; the explanation being the extreme jealousy of the Wahabee Government.

100. El Ahsa being a recently conquered region and by no means well disposed towards the strictness of the Wahabee routine, the Government are, if possible, more than commonly suspicious of all its movements. Nor is there, I think, any doubt that if they found an opportunity, the provinces of El Ahsa and Kateef

would throw off the Wahabee yoke. The people indeed here seem naturally gay, and addicted to trade and agriculture. They wear silk; and tobacco is sold openly in the bazars. Though I have more recently heard that emissaries and moollas from the capital had been dispatched to El Ahsa to reprove the people for their laxness of life, and enforce the fanatical strictness of Wahabeeism. It appears, further, that these emissaries were suddenly startled in their business by intelligence from the Ameer that we were attacking his seaboard; and that it would be convenient to postpone religious coercion until political difficulties were settled.

101. For the rest, my stay at El Ahsa was so short that I am unable to give any detailed account of the townships.

102. During the 17th, and morning of the 18th, we were employed in passing the desolate sandy tract lying between El Ahsa and the port of Ocair: El Ahsa is in fact, an oasis; and immediately on quitting the last date groves you enter a solitude of sand dunes, until from the last ridge you look immediately down on the fort and creek of Ocair. Here, as previously arranged we found the steamer at anchor in the offing, and a boat awaiting us near the beach. It appeared that the boat's crew had landed, as directed, and pitched a small tent with provisions for our reception; but the Governor receiving an erroneous report that I had been ill-received at the capital, had ordered the tent to be struck and our men to embark. Finding out his mistake, he now became surly civil. I sent for an English crew, and suggested to the Governor to apologize for his proceedings, which he did.

103. Embarking on board the steamer we steamed along a channel between the Island of Bahrein and the main; and thence calling off the town of Menamch on the larger of the Bahrein Islands, made some necessary arrangements with the Sheikh, and then recrossed the Gulf to Bushire.

104. In my previous memorandum I hazarded some remarks concerning the watershed of Central and Eastern Arabia; and any observations that I may since have made do not lead me to any radical change in the opinions then submitted. We have the

broad facts that from the highlands of Najd the general slope of the country is an easterly and southerly direction.—*Secondly*, that the hill regions bear evident traces of the rapid rush of numerous torrents; the rain-fall is, doubtless, scanty; but still there is a considerable watershed.—*Thirdly*. Round the eastern and southern skirts of the hills, we find sources of fresh water springing perennially in the districts of Kharej, Yemameh, and towards Sedair.—*Fourthly*. We find the principal torrents, such for instance, as those passing down the Wadi Haneefeh, and the Ormah district from the Yemameh hills, affording wells of water at no great depth, and wasting their main bodies in the sands of Dahneh and Yemameh.—*Fifthly*. We find on the lower plateaus nearer to the sea line, a second and more copious series of fresh springs, in the districts of Yebreen, El Ahsa, and Kateef.—*Sixthly*. We find fresh water again bubbling up in the yet lower levels of the Bahrein Islands; and, *Seventhly*, we find near Bahrein and to the northward of Ras Tanoreh fresh springs at a depth of from three to six fathoms out in the Persian Gulf. All these facts seem to show that the water, shedding from the hills of Najd as from a common centre, percolates in an easterly and southerly direction; increases at every lower series of springs by the scant rain of the intervening wilds, and eventually washes itself among the coral reefs of the Persian Gulf.

105. There is not, in so far as I have observed or learnt, a single perennial river, or considerable stream finding its way above ground to the shore line between Kowait at the head of the Persian Gulf, down to Ras Mussendom at its southern entrance. Along the Coast of Oman, between Dibba and Rasul Hud, the rain-fall is doubtless more copious; the hill region far loftier, and closer to the coast line, and the soil of the intervening plain less porous. The Oman region between Dibba and Muscat may be described, indeed, as a narrow plain having an average breadth of from 20 to 30 miles, backed by ranges of mountains rising from three to six thousand feet high, which, in turn, slope inland to a high plateau, which finally loses itself in the great desert of Arabia. Compared with Western India the sea-board plain

would be represented by the Concan, the hill region by the Ghats, and the inland plateau by the Deccan. But even in this comparatively well watered portion of Oman there is not, in so far as I have observed or heard, any perennial large body of water reaching the shore line. The torrent beds are doubtless broad, and at times impassable. Behind Seeb, for instance, on the road towards Jebel Akhdar lies a valley in which long reaches of water lie at intervals, during a great portion of the year. But, even here, no permanent river reaches the sea, and after heavy rain the plain presents the appearance of a vast lake of water, which may be impassable in the morning, and in the evening be left a muddy plain, with pools along its torrent beds.

106. Southward of Muskat towards Rasul Hud the hill region comes down sheer to the sea; and about half way to Soor, on this line of Coast, some of the loftiest peaks send their spurs almost to the shore line; and rival in their own vegetation and climate, the celebrated fruit lands of Jebel Akhdar. It was, I may mention in passing, near the foot of this lofty range, that the earliest forts of the Portuguese were established. But nowhere is there any river.

107. As regards the political condition of the Wahabee Government which, as I have before observed, is a confederacy of tribes aggregated principally by conquest, and more or less welded together by a religious idea; there is no doubt that the Wahabee confederacy is dangerous to its neighbours; but this does not altogether save it from containing within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. It dominates the western sea-board of the Persian Gulf, and that of Oman. It receives tribute, whether in kind or money, from the Chieftains of Bahrein, Aboothabee, Debaye, Amulgovine, Ejman, Shargah, and Rasul Khymah. It holds an advanced military post at Beraymee, astride between these Chieftains and the Sultanet of Muskat, which is also its tributary. On the north the Wahabee holds with the Shummar territories equivocal relations of friendship, receiving presents when strong enough, otherwise holding its own. It is usually on ill terms

with the great Oncozoh tribe, whose haunts range the northern deserts. With Hejaz and the Holy Places, its relations are mainly those involved in pilgrim traffic. With Nejram on the Yemen frontier, it holds scant communication, and this only of a commercial character. With the Dhuffeer tribe towards the Euphrates, it seems to be on terms of mutual forbearance, broken by occasional collision. Other tribes graze on the frontiers of the Najd territories under various conditions; one tribe, for instance, may be allowed the privileges of pasturage, but not that of appealing to the central Government for protection. The wandering tribes *bonâ fide* included in the confederacy, are managed as already set forth in this report; but it should not be supposed that one district being settled and another pastoral, involves one tribe being nomadic and the other sedentary. On the contrary you find one and the same tribe in all stages of progress. A part of it, it may be, grazing its flocks and herds from Najd down to the neighbourhood of Kowait and Busreh; a second part of it may be settled in the towns, and industrially employed; while the principal Sheikh with his following may perhaps be at or near the capital, ready to answer for his tribe, or to give his allotted quota of military aid to the Ameer. The fact is that you see society here in the making. The descriptions that we read in Job, graphically describe what may now be seen going on in Arabia, and so long as these regions are blasted with their present physical characteristics, it is probable that the Arabs will remain what they are and have been from the dawn of history.

108. But there are other districts gained by conquest, and differing from the thorough Wahabee centre in manners and customs, which never can really love Wahabee rule. Such for instance are the provinces of El Ahsa and Kateef, such also would doubtless be the maritime Chieftainships and Sultanet of Muskat, should these ever be forced into the Wahabee organization; and this because in proportion as settlements are near the sea and in contact with exterior civilization, in such proportion will the stereotyped strictness and fanaticism of a religious rule, adhering to the letter

of doctrines propounded in the seventh century, be felt as irksome, retrogressive, intolerable. And the sole hope of escape, in the contingency of the Wahabee disposition again extending, would perhaps lie in the fact that the people on the sea-board, being more intelligent and wealthier than the central Wahabees, would insensibly react on their rulers, more than those rulers could actuate them.

109. It will be noticed that I have styled the Wahabee ruler indifferently Imam or Ameer. In point of fact the original title of the temporal power was Sheikh; and even now it is not uncommon to hear the Bedouins speak of the Ameer Fysul as Ben Sood, or the Sheikh "par excellence." As the temporal power of the Wahabee increased he became Ameer, the title by which he is still commonly known among strangers. But the title which is current among his own immediate dependents at the capital is that of Imam, implying spiritual leadership; and that he enjoys in the 19th century, the privileges of those good old times when priest and king were one, and that one absolute in matters temporal and eternal.

110. My duty since my return from Riyadh having kept me employed in affairs relating to Central and Eastern Arabia, it may not be uninteresting to bring the personal history of the Chiefs referred to in this report, down to date.

111. The Ameer Fysul, already infirm of body, and blind when I met him, sunk shortly afterwards into a state of paralysis, until, about the month of June last, he seems to have relinquished the conduct of affairs to his son Abdullah. I did not personally meet Abdullah at Riyadh, and this although I believe we were mutually desirous of an interview. But it seems that Abdullah feared that if I met him, and gained acquaintance with his failures and manners, I should afterwards exert an undue influence over his career. In August the Ameer's death was erroneously reported through Egypt to London. Eventually he died of cholera on 13th Rejeb 1282, corresponding with the 2nd of December 1865, and was succeeded by Abdullah. The accession of Abdullah seriously altered the position of the late Ameer's confidential Secretary,

Mahboob, who was almost immediately deprived of some of his personal property. Mahboob had, indeed, never been on good terms with Abdullah, and I learn that he now awaits in the capital a favourable opportunity for escape. I told him last spring that the course he was running would likely lead him to the Residency at Bushire; and it seems that he would now gladly accept this goal or that of Mecca.

112. Meantime, the position of Abdullah himself is by no means altogether secure. The sea-board provinces of Kateef and El Ahsa are, as already mentioned, disloyal in spirit, and only await their opportunity. His own brother Saood has for many years been his personal enemy, and would be an aspirant for power should events favor him. Saood is of a milder disposition than Abdullah, and is preferred by the settled population. Abdullah's power lies in his character as a warrior, and consequent esteem among the Nomads. Abdullah has also other two relatives, named respectively Mahomed ben Theneyan, and Theneyan ben Theneyan, who would combine to seize the Imamship could they see a chance of success. Some of the tribes of Najd proper are said to be more or less inclined to revolt, and I learn from good authority that had we chosen to push matters during the recent crisis between Muskat and the Wahabees, it is probable that the Wahabee confederacy would temporarily have broken into pieces, or at least have been rendered innocuous, for a long period to come.

113. As affairs stand, the Wahabee Government will probably remain cowed for a time. Again, they will resume their aggressive policy; and if Abdullah be enabled to consolidate his power at home, and be insured against our intervention abroad, the result will probably be that the Wahabee confederacy will directly dominate the Chiefs of the Pirate Coast; and that all Eastern Arabia from Kowait to Rasul Hud, will ultimately, whether willingly or unwillingly, fall under Wahabee influences.

114. To return to the quarrel between the Wahabecs and Muskat. As above stated, I had scarcely returned from Riyadh to

Bushire with my improved relations, when Government considered that I should postpone the interests of my own charge to those of the general good, and endeavour to arrange matters between our offensive and defensive ally the Sultan of Muskat, and the Wahabee Ameer. Accordingly I proceeded to Muskat, and the Sultan proposed that I should mediate the war on whatever terms I deemed equitable. His Highness handed in a written declaration to this effect, and this proposal was transmitted to the Wahabee Government, but no reply was returned. Meantime I had proceeded to England, and the Wahabees continued their invasion of the Muskat territory. Among other atrocities they wantonly plundered and butchered some British Indian subjects residing peaceably at the port of Soor in the Muskat territories. On my return to India, Government considered that the danger to our ally was imminent, and that it was time to aid in checking the Wahabee aggressions. Accordingly I was again sent to Muskat; and eventually the Wahabee Ameer gave in, sent Envoys with overtures of peace, and passed a written declaration conformable with the wishes of the Indian Government.

115. In the interim, however, and just when on the point of commencing a decisive attack, the Sultan of Muskat was murdered in his sleep by his own son, who thereon declared himself ruler, imprisoned his uncle Syed Turki, walled up his father's confidential servant, threatened his mother for her expostulations, and proposed to sell his half brothers as slaves, on plea of their being the issue of concubines. He further proclaimed absurd and fanatical laws affecting British subjects residing in his territories; and threw the whole state into confusion. Proceeding to Muskat in this crisis of affairs I was enabled to take our Christian subjects and valuables on board ship; to send our British Indian subjects away in boats; and to preserve the lives of the late Sultan's brother and Minister. The parricide thus checked, and himself in daily dread of murder, deputed Envoys to the British Government in India, imploring their countenance. This

the Government hesitated to accord to a man who had murdered his own father, who had come to the throne under British arbitration. The Muskat State now waits the further development of the plot.

116. While aiding the late Sultan it became my duty to punish the sea-port town of Soor, where the Wahabee dependents plundered our subjects and otherwise injured them, and which port has for years been the principal centre whence the piratical slave dhows sailed for the East Coast of Africa. This pirates' nest has now received a lesson which will, I trust, convince the Arabs that they cannot injure our subjects without incurring heavy chastisement. These same Soorees, reputed the bravest and most cruel of the maritime Arabs, were the main instigators of a plot to massacre me in the Zanzibar dominions, as reported in my letter No. 113 of 1st February 1862.

117. In concluding this letter it is agreeable to me to express my acknowledgments to Lieutenant Warner for the care and punctuality with which he carried out my instructions when starting for Riyadh. H. M.'s ship "Berenico," is, I believe, the first ship of heavy tonnage that has ever passed along the unsurveyed channels between the island of Bahrein and the main land of Arabia. I beg to recommend Mr. Dawes to the favor of Government for the valuable aid he has rendered in taking astronomical observations en route; and my Interpreter, Mr. Geo. Lucas, has been of essential assistance to me on this, as on other journeys round the shores of the Persian Gulf.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY, Lieut. Colonel,
H. B. M.'s Political Resident, Persian Gulf.

APPENDIX I.



Scale of Miles
 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

APPENDIX II.

LIST of GEOLOGICAL SPECIMENS, analysed at the School of Practical Geology, Jernyn Street, London, by permission of Sir R. MURCHISON.

1. Friable white Oolitic Limestone. ..
2. Fragments of Siliceous Limestone, associated with pebble of Quartz.
3. Fragments of Flint, the angles slightly rounded, and the surfaces polished by attrition.
4. Compact Siliceous light reddish brown Limestone.
5. Rolled fragments of Quartz and Limestone.
6. Yellowish-brown Sand, composed of fine grains of transparent slightly ferruginous Quartz.
7. Fine-grained whitish Crystalline Limestone.
8. Coarse-grained ditto ditto.
9. Highly Siliceous Limestone, composed of grains of Quartz cemented by Carbonate of Lime.
10. Rolled fragments of hard brown Ironstone, probably highly siliceous.
11. Friable Sandstone.
- 12 & 13. Compact Limestone.

APPENDIX III.

A LIST of such of the FLORA OF CENTRAL ARABIA as were collected, and have since been arranged according to their Natural Families.

CRUCIFERÆ.

1. *Matthiola Arabica*. Borss.—Found sprinkled all over the plains from Kowait to Riyadh.
2. *Farsetia* an *F. lacera*, Dene.—Found in stony places on the 1st of March.
3. *Malcolmia*, aff. *M. Ægyptiaca*.—From sandhills on the 11th March.
4. *Zilla Myagroides*. Forst.—A bush three feet high and about six feet in circumference; found, but not abundantly, on the 1st and 2nd of March.
5. *Savignya Ægyptiaca*. D. C.—Found sparingly during the march of the 18th, 19th, and 20th of February.

CAPPARIDÆÆ.

6. *Cleome*, aff. *Cl. oxypetadæ*. Borss cf. *C. glaucus* D.C.—From hollows between the mounds in the neighbourhood of Riyadh.

RESEDACEÆ.

7. *Reseda Arabica*. Borss.—During the march of the 18th, 19th, and 20th of February, and in the neighbourhood of Kowait.
8. *Reseda alba*. L.—Found on the march during the 18th, 19th, and 20th of February, and in the neighbourhood of Kowait.

9. *Ochradenus baccatus*. Delile.—Halting-ground on the 1st of March, and neighbourhood of Riyadh; scarce.

CISTINEÆ.

10. *Helianthemum Lippii*. Pers.—Found sparingly 24th and 25th of February.
11. *Helianthemum sessiliflorum* (?)—Stony places; 1st and 2nd of March.

CARYOPHILLEÆ.

12. *Sileno villosa* (?) Forst.—Hollows amongst sandhills on 11th March; abundant.
13. *Polycarpon Loefflingii*. Wall.—From the almost barren plains between the sand-ridges, on the 27th and 28th of February.

TAMARISCINEÆ.

14. *Tamarix articulata*, Fahl.—A tree grown abundantly in the gardens round Riyadh, apparently for house-rafters.

MALVACEÆ.

15. *Malva borcalis*? Wallm.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait.

ZYGOPHYLLEÆ.

16. *Fagonia cretica*.—Stony places in the neighbourhood of Riyadh.

GERANIACEÆ.

17. *Monsonia nivea*. Gay.—From the sandhills, 27th and 28th of February. Rather sparingly found. It flowers in the early morning, and the petals wither by noon.

RUTACEÆ.

18. *Haplophyllum tuberculata* (?) Forst.—26th of February. Bare.

LEGUMINOSÆ.

19. *Acacia Arabica*. L.—A tree sometimes fifteen feet high, found here and there in hollows after passing the sand-ridges of the 28th of February.

20. *Ononis reclinata*. L.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait.
21. *Astragalus angustifolius*? Forst.—Found sparingly in the neighbourhood of Kowait, and very sparingly in the neighbourhood of Riyadh.
22. *Hippocrepis cornigera*. Borss.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait.

COMPOSITEÆ.

23. *Artemisia Dracunculus* (?)—Sand-ridges 27th and 28th of February. Abundant. A shrub about three feet high.
24. *Phagnalon rupestre*. D.C.—The brushwood of this portion of the desert. The bushes branch from the ground; they are about one foot and a half high, and from two to five feet in circumference, and where abundant, from three to six feet apart. The root is club-shaped, and easily dragged from the ground.
25. *Anthemis melampodina*. Del.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait, 18th and 19th of February.
26. *Senecio coronopifolia*. Desf.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait, 18th and 19th February.
27. *Anvillea Garcini*. D. C.—From shallow valleys and hollows, on the 24th and 25th of February.
28. *Calendula arvensis*. L.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait.
29. *Calendula Ægyptiaca*. L.—Found during the march of the 18th and 19th of February, and in the neighbourhood of Kowait.
30. *Echinops* sp.—From the sand-ridges, 27th and 28th of February.
31. *Cirsium pratense* (?)—Found during the march on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of February.

DIPSACEÆ.

32. *Scabiosa palaestina*. L.—Found, but not abundantly, on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th of February.

APOCYNÆÆ.

33. *Apocynium venetum* (?)—About two and a half feet high; found, but not abundantly, near our halting-ground on the 1st of March, and in moist places in the neighbourhood of Riyadh.

ASCLEPIADEÆ.''

34. *Periploca*, an *P. aphylla*?—From the ravine passed on the 2nd of March. It is a shrub about ten feet high, the surface covered with gum. The flowers are eaten abundantly, and it is called "Muret" by the Arabs.

CONVOLVULACEÆ.

35. *Convolvulus* sp. near *lineatus*.—From the almost barren plain between the sand-ridges, on the 27th and 28th of February.

SOLANÆÆ.

36. *Licium europæum*. L.—A shrub about six feet high; found in hollows during the march of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of March.

BORAGINÆÆ.

37. *Heliotropium supinum*. L.—Plain, 2nd of March; not abundant; two feet high.
38. *Onosma*, sp.—Abundant in the sandhills and in sandy places. It appears to be preferred by the camels to any other plant.
39. *Anchusa*?—From the neighbourhood of Kowait.

LABIATÆ.

40. *Teucrium* S. *Teucrio* aff. *T. Oliverianum*.—Found sparingly in hollows on the 2nd of March, and more abundantly in the immediate neighbourhood of Riyadh.

ACANTHACEÆ.

41. *Acanthodium spicatum*. Delilo.—From the ravine, 2nd of March; only specimen found.

SCROPHULARINEÆ.

42. *Scrophularia* sp. aff. *Sc. syriaca*. Btt.—From the sand-ridges, 27th and 28th of February. Abundant. About three or four feet high, spreading and collecting pyramids of sand round the stems.

PLANTAGINEÆ.

43. *Plantago ovata*. Forst.—Found sprinkled all over the plain from Kowait to Riyadh.

CHENOPODIACEÆ.

44. *Salicornia fruticosa*. L.—Found on the 24th and 25th of February, growing with the other brushwood.

POLYGONEÆ.

45. *Calligonum comosum*. Zuit.—From the sand-ridges 27th and 28th of February. Abundant; about three feet high.

SALICINEÆ.

46. *Populus* or *P. euphratica*. Small tree, ten to twelve feet high, found along a portion of the valley passed on the 4th of March.

MONOCOTYLEDONS.

LILIACEÆ.

1. *Asphodelus fistulosus*. L.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait.
2. *Gagea reticulata*. B. et Sch.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait, and during the march of the 18th, 19th, and 20th of February.
3. *Uropetalum scrotinum*. Ker.—Found sprinkled all over the plain from Kowait to Riyadh.

IRIDEÆ.

4. *Iris Sisysinchium*.—From the neighbourhood of Kowait, and here and there in hollows in the neighbourhood of Riyadh.

CYPERACEÆ.

5. *Cyperus accnarius*. Betz.—Found sparingly growing round the brushwood.

GRAMINEÆ.

6. *Stipa an orientalis*. Trin.—Grows in tufts, and forms the principal part of the grass of the desert.
7. *Trisetum punialum*. Knutt.—From the sandhills 27th and 28th of February; not abundant.
8. *Bromus tectorum*. L.—Found sparingly here and there, growing at the roots of brushwood.
9. *Danthonia Forstalii*. Trin.—From the sand-ridges 27th and 28th of February. About three feet high.
10. *Andropogon annulatum*. Forst.—From the valley on the 3rd of March. Found sparingly.
11. Gram. dub.—From the sand-ridges, 27th and 28th of February. Abundant.
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APPENDIX IV.

ITINERARY of ROUTES from KOWAIT to RIYADH, viâ SEDOOS, the first being the one followed by COLONEL PELLY.

1st. Names of stages.	Names of Districts.	Time occupied in travelling.	REMARKS.	2nd. Names of stages.	Names of Districts.	Time occupied in travelling.	REMARKS.
Kowait to—		Hours.		Kowait to—		Hours.	
Malah	Adān ..	7½	Wells of brackish water	Malah .....	....	7½	Wells of brackish water.
Legceet .....	....	4½	Rain-water.	Legceet.....	....	4½	Ditto.
Wafrah .....	....	8	Ditto.	Wafrah	Summan.	8	Ditto.
Delā-al-Chebreet.	Shug ..	10	No water.	Lehābah	Dahneh.	18	Wells of fresh water.
Wariyah .....	....	9½	Ditto.				
Tenaysāt	Summan.	10½	Wells in the vicinity called Wabrah.	Dayjānee ...	Ormah ..	24	Ditto.
Mchariyāt	Do.	10	No water.	Sedoos.....	Sedair ..	10	Ditto.
Gharrah.....	Do.	10½	Ditto.	Esferrat	Sanjak..	4	Ditto.
Eraj-ad-Dehood.	Dahneh.	10½	Subterranean aqueducts	Horaymelah.	Do.	4	Ditto.
Owtat	Do.	8½	No water.	Ayenah	A'redh ..	8	Ditto.
Shawiyah	Do.		Ditto.	Malgah	Do.	3	Ditto.
Ghailānah.....	Ormah ..		Wells brackish called Ormahiyah.	Riyadh	Do.	3	Ditto.
Eraj-Bentan.....	....		No water.				
Sedoos	A'redh ..		Wells of fresh water.				
Malgah	Do.		Ditto.				
Riyadh	Do.		Ditto.				

APPENDIX V.

ITINERARY of ROUTES from RIYADH to EL AHSa and OKAIR (the first, called MAKHYAT, was taken by COLONEL PELLY.)

1st. Names of stages.	Names of Districts.	REMARKS.	2nd. Names of stages.	Names of Districts.	Time occupied in travelling.	REMARKS.
Riyadh to—			Riyadh to—		Hours.	
El Daghem	Ormah ..	No water procurable.	El Daghem ..	Ormah ..	10	No water.
Vetaitan	Do.	Wells in the vicinity called Remaylan.	Makhyat.....	Do. ..	8	Ditto.
Howmah	Dahneh.	No water.	Saad	Dahneh .	12	Ditto.
Braysah.....	Do.	Ditto.	Dahneh	Do. ..	10	Ditto.
Orbayth.....	Summan.	Ditto.	Oraj	Summan.	10	Wells of drink- able water.
El Jowd.....	Do.	Wells of the same name.	Rowat Baythah.	Do. ..	6	Ditto.
Ferooy	Naffoods of El- Ahsa ..		Orbaythah	Do. ..	3	Ditto.
El Gheramel.....	Do.		Rowthat Henay	Do. ..	3	Ditto.
El Ahsa	Hajar ..	Springs of water.	Feroog	Do. ..	10	Ditto.
Motah .....	.....	No water.	El Ahsa	Nakra ..	10	Wells & springs.
Okair .....	.....	Wells brackish.	Okair .....	..	13	Wells brackish.

APPENDIX VI.

NAMES of STAGES along the Routes from KOWAIT to KATEEF.

Names of Stages.	Remarks.	Names of Stages.	Time occupied in travelling.	Remarks.
KOWAIT to		KOWAIT to	Hours.	
Abou Helayfah	This is the same with the caravan route to El Ahsa, and until the place called <i>Habs</i> , water is procurable. This part of the route being across sand mounds has no water till Kateef.	Fentass	4	
El Seloo		Abou Helayfah	8	
El Hezaim		Meraghah	10	
El Megata		Megata	5	
El Soodah		Hamadh	10	
El Redayef		Soodah	10	
El Habl		Dobayb or Dobbiyah	12	
El Jezirah		As Sebakhah	8	
El Jebal		El Kateef	4	
El Biyath				
El Owjam				
El Kateef				

APPENDIX VII.

NUMBER and Names of Stages along the Routes from KOWAIT to EL AHSa.

First route through the ruins of Taj.	Second route crossing that of Riyadh.	Third route the same with that of Kateef.	Fourth and direct route.
<p>KOWAIT to</p> <p>Malah. Sebahiah. Warfrah. Meraghah. Arg. Hamadh. Negayer. Noariyah. Antah (village). Taj. Maghar. Debatiyah. Jowdah. Telaimah. El Ahsa.</p>	<p>KOWAIT to</p> <p>Shāybat. Meraghah. Arg. Seloo. Negayer. Hammar. Batnah. Oshbah. Mossallakh. Melahah. El Ayoon. El Ahsa.</p>	<p>KOWAIT to</p> <p>Aboo Helayfah. El Seloo. El Hezaim. El Megata. El Soodah. El Redayef. El Habl. El Daum. El Jowf. El Gheramal. El Ahsa.</p>	<p>KOWAIT to</p> <p>Fentass Aboo Helayfah. Meraghah Megatar Hamadh Soodah El Habl El Jowf Ain Dar El Ahsa.....</p> <p>Distances. 4 hours. 8 ditto. 10 ditto. 5 ditto. 10 ditto. 10 ditto. 8 ditto. 12 ditto. 12 ditto. 8 ditto.</p>

APPENDIX VIII.

STATEMENT showing the Distances of the undermentioned Towns and Districts from RIYADH, the capital of Najd.

Names of Places.	Distance.	Remarks.
Riyadh to Kowait.....	12 days	} The rate of travelling being eight hours a day on camel.
Do. to Kateef	8 do. ...	
Do. to El Ahsa	6 do. ...	
Do. to Okair	7½ do. ...	
Do. to Zolfée	4 do. ...	
Do. to Kasseem	5 do. ...	
Do. to Jebbal Shammar.....	9 do. ...	
Do. to Jowf-al-Amar	12 do. ...	
Do. to Hazm-er-Rājee	9 do. ...	
Do. to Wadee Dowasir	7 do. ...	
Do. to Washem	4 do. ...	
Do. to Hareek.....	2 do. ...	
Do. to Kharj (Yemamah)	1½ do. ...	
Do. to Mecca	18 do. ...	
Do. to Howtah	2 do. ...	

•STATEMENT showing the Distances of the undermentioned Towns and Districts from the Port of KOWAIT.

Names of Places.	Distance.	Remarks.
Kowait to Kateef	6 days	} The rate of travelling being eight hours a day on camel.
Do. to El Ahsa	10 do. ...	
Do. to Okair	10 do. ...	
Do. to Zolfée	10 do. ...	
Do. to Kasseem	12 do. ...	
Do. to Jebbal Shammar.....	16 do. ...	
Do. to Hazm-er-Rājee	18 do. ...	
Do. to Mecca	26 do. ...	

APPENDIX IX.

RIYADH WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

2 Tomans	=	1 Orbaā.		
4 do.	=	2 do.	=	1 Nesayf.
8 do.	=	4 do.	=	2 do. = 1 Madd.
24 do.	=	12 do.	=	6 do. = 3 do. = 1 Saa.

The above are wooden or tin-pot measures.

The only stone or iron weight is the one called Wazna ; 2 Waznas being equal to a Saa.

RIYADH CURRENCY.

2 Bombay Pico	=	1 Turkish Kamarce.
4 do.	=	2 do. = 1 Turkish Robceyah.
20 do.	=	10 do. = 5 do. = 1 Turkish Kran.
26 do.	=	13 do. = 6½ do. = 1 Persian Kran.

26 Pico	=	1 Persian Kran.
65 do.	=	2½ do. = 1 Bombay Rupee.
130 do.	=	5 do. = 2 do. = 1 Dollar.
650 do.	=	25 do. = 10 do. = 5 do. = 1 Eng. Sov.

APPENDIX X.

STATEMENT showing the Names, approximate number of Population, and Annual Revenue of the Districts in the Wahabee territory of NAJD, and the number of fighting men each District is capable of producing.

Names of Districts.	Population.	Revenue in Dollars.	Number of fighting men.	REMARKS.
Kasseem	20,000	70,000	600	The Revenue of these Districts include the Customs Dues and Land and Cattle Taxes. The customs dues are supposed to be 10 per cent. But it varies in many places; in some ten per cent. is levied, at others 5 per cent., and at some also less. The land tax is 10 per cent. where the country is irrigated by natural streams; and 5 per cent. when watered by wells. The cattle tax is just the same among the settled Arabs as among the Bedouins, being one on every 40 camels, on every 100 sheep, on every 20 horses, and so on.
Washem	8,000	12,000	400	
Sedair	12,000	70,000	400	
Aredh	12,000	50,000	1,200	
Yemameh (Kharj and Hareek) ..	6,000	30,000	None	
Howtah	8,000	20,000	500	
El Aftaj	2,000	7,000	300	
Af Selayel	4,000	7,000	500	
Wadce Dowasir	10,000	16,000	1,000	
El Ahsa	20,000	270,000	1,000	
Kateef	6,000	130,000	None	
Ojair or Okair .....	.....	4,000	Ditto
District between Aredh and Hazmer Rājeec, called Garamiah.	7,000	6,000	2,000	
Total.....	115,000	692,000	7,900	

APPENDIX XI.

STATEMENT showing the Names and approximate number of the Bedouin Tribes of NAJD, and the Annual Revenue paid by each to their AMEER.

Names of Tribes.	Number.	Annual Revenue.	REMARKS.
As-Sebāa	800	Dollars 6,000	The amount of revenue is seldom got in cash. It is collected in kind, taking a camel of every forty; a sheep of every hundred; a horse of every twenty, and so on.
As-School	600	" 8,000	
El-Ojman or-Rakhm	1,200	" 8,000	
El-Kahtan	6,000	" 16,000	
Do. El Jamb	1,000	" 4,000	
El Otaybah (three divisions)	1,400	" 12,000	
El Harb	1,000	" 8,000	
El Anayzeh (in Najd)	600	" 4,000	
El Berayh	800	" 4,000	
El Metayr	1,200	" 16,000	
Do. El Ehtaim	400	" 4,000	
As Sahabah	200	" 2,000	
Beni Khaulel and El Ojman in El Ahse	2,000	" 2,000	
Beni Hājir	500	" 3,000	
El Menasseer (in Najd)	400	" 2,000	
El-e-Morrah	600	" 3,000	
El Dowasir	1,600	" 12,000	
Total.....	20,300	Dollars 114,000	

APPENDIX XII.

LIST of the Various Breeds of Najd Horses.

There are five principal breeds, viz. :—

1. Saglāwiyah ben Jedran.
2. Kohaylat al Ajooz.
3. Obayyat oosh Sherrak.
4. Dahmat oosh Shawān.
5. Wadhnat Khersan.

The first is not procurable in Najd. There are a few of them with the Onayzah Tribe. A mixed breed of the first stock is procurable under the name of Saglāwiyah Obair.

From the second breed a number of inferior ones are derived, and named as follows :—

Shovayman,		Jariah,
Hamdaniyah,		Jaziah,
Hadbah,		Hargah,
Rabdah,		Meradce,
Shohaib,		Zohayya,
Maanaziyah,		Jerradah,
Towaysah,		Mossanah,
Atrafiah,		

and many others, known after the names of the Tribes, Chiefs, or Families possessing them. The third, fourth, and fifth principal breeds do not change names when mixed with other breeds derived from the second.

Memorandum.

Arabs are not particular about the form or size of the horse, and will pay any amount for one of good breed. They are very partial to a good horse, and will rather part with their children than dispose of such. Some Arabs, owners of good breed horses, make a comfortable living by using their horses as stallions.

APPENDIX XIII.

STATEMENT of some of the means Arab Bedouins have for protecting those guilty of murder.

1. A murderer² will be safe if he receive a reply to his "Şalam" from the parties seeking to retaliate on him.

2. If a murderer find means of escaping from prison with the irons by which he is bound, and having arrived at any person's door, knock at it, he will be accorded protection (by the owner of that door), and the irons he carried with him will be his own property, and will not be made over to his accusers.

3. If a murderer who is imprisoned for safety in a grave dug for the purpose, and on which a plank is placed whereon his keeper sleeps to prevent any communication with him, find means of inducing any person to extend a string from his house to his place of confinement, and tie that string to his person, the owner of the house from which the string is extended will accord him protection on the plea that the string has been taken to his house.

4. If a murderer in prison succeed in sending secretly to any person's house, and having obtained a morsel of food, put it in his mouth, the owner of that house will protect him as having eaten of his bread.

5. If a murderer who is bound in irons, succeed in spitting on any person near him, that person will clean the spittle and give the murderer protection.

6. If a murderer compromise with his accusers to give them "Deeah," or 100 camels, and obtain a security until the camels are brought; and while the camels are being brought is saluted by any person in the assembly, and returns that salutation, the person who first saluted will give him protection, and the camels will not be taken from him, and no "Deeah" demanded.

7. If a murderer seek refuge in a place where camels are put to sleep for the night, and sleeps there for the night, he will receive protection from the camel men.

8. If a murderer be riding a camel, and tie that camel to any person's house, he will receive protection from the owner of that house.

9. If a murderer send privately to his accuser's house and obtain food thence, and eat that food in his accuser's presence, the accuser not knowing the food is from his house; but discovers it afterwards, he will forgive the culprit as a person who has been his guest.

10. If a murderer when seized is guest of any person, that person protects him one night and one day, because his bread is in his stomach; meantime the murderer tries other means of getting help from elsewhere.

11. If murderer, when seized, succeed in throwing his head-dress at any person, the person at whom it is thrown will protect him.

12. If the murderer appear in the assembly of the party accusing him, muffled, says a "salam," and the parties, not knowing him, give a reply to his salutation, he is safe and will be protected.

13. If when a murderer is seized, he find opportunity to tie his clothes to that of his accusers, he will be protected.

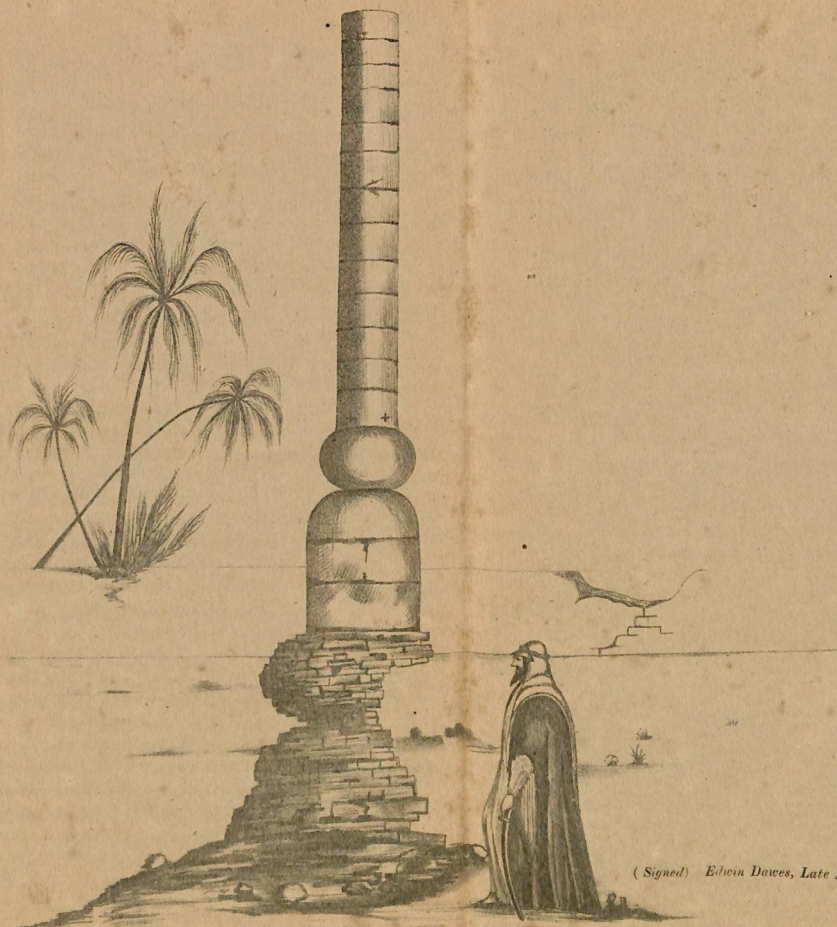
14. If when a murderer is seized he find opportunity to lay hold of the dress of the brother of the accuser, or throw himself on him, he will be protected for one year; meantime he will either find security, or before the year is out get some other person to give him protection.

15. If, when a murderer is seized, he find opportunity to touch any person's hand or foot, the person touched will protect him.

16. If, when a murderer is seized, he find opportunity to throw a stone or stick at any person, the person struck will protect him.

17. If a murderer propose making a journey and is afraid his accusers will slay him on the way, if he obtain the protection of a person belonging to the party of his accusers to accompany him, he will be protected, and, if demanded, will not be given up.

SKETCH OF THE COLUMN AT SEDOOS.



(Signed) Edwin Dawes, Late I.N.

APPENDIX XV.

NOTE on the Selaib Tribe.

If I remember rightly I have already, in the Memorandum attached to my report of the 14th February 1866, submitted a Note on the Selaibeas. To prevent mistake, however, I now subjoin what recurs to my recollection on this matter.

The Selaib or Şelebu are said to be so called because on certain festivals, more particularly on those of marriage or circumcision, they plant a wooden cross, dressed in red cloth, and topped with feathers, at the tent door of the person about to be married or circumcised. This is a general invite to neighbours to collect and dance round the cross.

Another tradition derives the Selaib name from Solb, the back, because this tribe are the oldest, the backbone, in other words, of the Arabs, and of the purest breed. But this pretension the Mussulman Arabs deny, and stigmatize the Selaibs as outcasts; asserting that when Nimrod was about to cast Abraham into the fire, some angels appeared to protect him. Eblis or Satan then appeared on the scene, and explained to the people that if one among them would be so good as to commit some shameful crime, the angels would be compelled to vanish and Abraham would then be left unprotected. On this an Arab seduced his own mother and the angels fled, horrified. But suddenly the angel Gabriel appeared, and changed the place of sacrifice into a garden; and the descendants of the criminal were ever afterwards cast out under the name of Es-Selaib.

Those of the Selaibs who have immigrated into Najd and other Arabian territories conform outwardly to the religious rites and ceremonies of the Mahomedans. But among themselves they have their own religious observances. They believe in one God, and respect the Prophet, as a man, but deny his mission. They

believe also in some anonymous heavenly personages styled the confidential friends of God. They pray three times daily; once as the sun rises, so as to finish ere the disc is full on the horizon; secondly, before the sun dips from the meridian, and thirdly so as to finish with the setting of the sun. Those Selaibs who still dwell in Irak are said to have a purer worship, and to have preserved certain sacred writings in the Chaldean or Assyrian. Among these writings are supposed to be the Psalms of David and some of our Jewish Prophets. The Selaib fasts three times a year; thirty days during the month of Ramzan, four to seven days in Shaban, from five to nine days during the summer months.

The Selaibs adore the Polar star, as the one fixed point which guides all travellers by sea and land. In reverencing it, they stand with their faces towards it, and stretch out their arms, so as to form a cross.

The Arabs would never intermarry with the Selaibs, whose marriage ceremony is simple. It is performed in the presence of the respective fathers, or nearest of kin, of the bride and bridegroom. Mutual consent is the essential. The girl's father receives a certain payment. A Moollah, or a gray-beard then asks the parties if they consent to the union, receives a fee, and sends them off to cohabit.

Forty days after the birth of a child, it is immersed seven times in water.

The child must be circumcised before it attain seven years of age. Then the cross is planted as before noticed; some sheep are killed, and all are welcome to the feast.

In point of fact, the Selaibs of the desert seem to have conformed to the ceremonies of the dominant religion, until from generation to generation they have lost their own. They nevertheless declare that they were originally Sabians, but this seems croneous.

The Selaibs are peaceful; and the tribes disdain to injure or plunder them. They are too useful as guides and drudgos to be injured. They pay no tribute, and the tribes scorn to borrow from

them. The Selaibs have a patron in every considerable tribe, to whom they appeal in case of needing protection, and the difficulty is disposed of by mediation. The Selaib never himself plunders : and, like all men who have nothing to give, is markedly hospitable. They are reported excellent marksmen, and are the safest guides for the deserts. The tribes themselves trust to Selaib knowledge of concealed sources of water. The diet of the Selaib is mainly dates and locusts, with the milk and butter afforded by their numerous herds and flocks. Any surplus they sell on the seaboard, where they pitch for about four months of the year, wandering for the remaining eight months. Their tents are of black goats hair, so handy as to be readily transported. In camp they pitch apart from the tribes.

There seem to be no particular burial ceremonies among the Selaibs. Like the Mahomedans they wash their dead, cover the corpse with a white shroud, and inter it with a prayer. Afterwards they kill a sheep and distribute its flesh among the poor. When a shroud is not procurable the Selaib is buried in his deerskin frock, just as a Bedouin is in his shirt.

They respect Mecca ; but consider their own proper place of pilgrimage to be Haran, in Irak or Mesopotamia. They call the Polar star Jah, and adore also a star called Jédy in the constellation Aries.

All agree that the Selaib women have the finest features of any wandering tribe ; but they are dirty to a proverb, and will eat carrion at the town gate.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

14th May 1866.

ON THE
CHAPEL

AVE MCRASAPIA D SEC V

DON, PHILLIP

III. REY DE SPANA

DONIVAN, DE, ACVN̄A

DES V. CONSCIO, DECVERA
V. S. V. CAPITAN GENERAL
DE LA ARTILLERIA ANO

1605

REINA O D H O M V A E F O H E P O E
R O R O . F . P R I V E R O E S E N C V E R e
H E . ^ S . ^ N O S O N O H O V K V O A N O E D ^
S E V R E A D O M G R O A D E P O R V
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G S P R M E R O C P T I K O E L F N D D R I S 88.

ON THE BRASS CUN

ON THE GATE

AVE M̄ CRASA PIA D^S ECVM.

Ave Maria Gratia Plena Dominus Tecum.

DON PHILLIP

Don Phillip

III REY DE SPANA

III Rey De Spana

DON IVAN DE AGVÑA

Don Juan De Acuña

DE SV CONSCIO DE CVERA

De su Consejo De Guerra

Y SV CAPITAN GENERAL

y su Capitan General

DE LA ARTILLERIA ANO

De la Artilleria Ano.

1605.

1605.

POED-

Pode.

RORO E PRMERO

roso e primeiro.

OVARO ANO ED

Cutaro Ano De

SEV READO M GROA DE PORV-

Seu reinado na Coroa De Portu-

GA MANDOV POR DN DARE M-

gal mandou por Don Duarte M-

ENERES SEV VROR^o DNDIA RE SE HA-

eneres seu vereador da India que se ha-

RESE^o ESTA FORTLEZ MA ES^o EL^o GE

rese esta fortaleza na qual (ser?) eleger

CS PRMERO CAPTAO E ANDDR 1588.

o seu primeiro Capitão e fundador 1588.

Hail Mary full of grace the Lord is with thee.

Don Philipp III

King of Spain

Don Juan De Acuña

Of His Council of War

And His Captain General

Of the Artillery in the year
1605.

in the eighth year of
his reign in the crown of Portugal
ordered through Don Duarte Meneses
His Commissioner for India that this
fortress should be ^{built} made (se hazesse) in which he
caused to be elected its first Captain & Governor 1588

APPENDIX XVIII.

From Lieutenant Colonel LEWIS PELLY,
H. B. M.'s Political Resident, Persian Gulf.

To Captain H. W. WARNER,
Commanding H. B. M.'s Political Residency Steamer,
"Beronice."

Dated Kowait, 17th February 1865.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter, No. 13, of the 22nd ultimo.

Being ready for sea, and weather permitting, please leave this harbour for Bushire on Monday the 20th instant.

On arrival at Bushire oblige me by causing the accompanying post to be made over to the Uncovenanted Assistant Resident.

You will remain at Bushire until the 5th of March, and then, weather permitting, proceed to Bahrein.

On arrival at Bahrein be so good as to communicate by the 14th

Instructions would probably refer to a change of route.

March with Ojair, in view to ascertaining whether any letters have arrived from me from the interior.

Unless you hear from me to the contrary, please await my arrival

If not arrived myself at Ojair on 18th you will find a letter and probably some horses.

at Bahrein. I shall be at Ojair on or about 18th of March. Please cause one of your boats, in company with two good-sized native craft to be in the creek at

Ojair on the 18th March, with orders to await my arrival; and please instruct whoever may be in charge of these boats that he is not to allow any rumour of my change of route to induce him to leave Ojair. If he receive a letter from me it will contain

instructions. If the safety of the boats seem to require that he should not be at Ojair, he will detach one boat to you for orders, and keep the other two as near Ojair as practicable.

My Arabic Mirza, Hajee Ahmed, will proceed with you to Bushire, and will again embark with you when you leave Bushire for Bahrein. I am giving him instructions which he will show you. But all arrangements at Bahrein will be made under your direction.

Please allow my servants and kit, who will embark at Kowait, to remain on board until I rejoin the ship.

I am requesting the Assistant Resident to send on board a supply of barley and hay, and as it is likely that my horses may be short of provender on their arrival at Ojair, I should be glad if you would cause a portion of the store to be sent to Ojair with the boats. Two orderlies will be shipped at Bushire with instructions to proceed in the boats with the provender.

As you are so good as to say that you can temporarily dispense with Lieut. Dawes' services, he will proceed inland with me to take observations and bearings. The instruments which you have been so good as to supply on indent have already been signed for.

Lieutenant Dawes will, I am sure, bear in mind that the people among whom we are going are exceedingly jealous of any intrusion. He will use his instruments only in direct communication with me, and will consider everything in relation to this journey as in the Secret Department.

The Assistant Resident has instructions to make over to you my post, and also a letter outside the post. Please send this letter with the boats to Ojair.

It would be convenient if you showed my present instructions to the Assistant Resident.

Should your services be called on by other authority you will quote this instruction in reply, and postpone compliance with such call until you communicate with and hear from me.

I request the favour of your allowing the accompanying tin despatch box to be placed in your treasure chest until I rejoin the ship under your command.

I enclose a letter to the Sheikh of Bahrein introducing you to his friendly offices.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY, Lieut. Colonel,
Her Britannic Majesty's Political Resident, Persian Gulf.

(True Copy)

(Signed) J. C. EDWARDS,
Uncovenanted Assistant Resident, Persian Gulf.



APPENDIX XIX.

EXTRACT from a Letter of Instructions.

From Lieutenant Colonel LEWIS PELLY,
 H. B. M.'s Political Resident, Persian Gulf,
 To W. H. COLVILL, Esquire,
 Civil Surgeon, Bushire Residency.

Dated Kowait, 14th February 1865.

"Your duty, unless on my special direct requisition, on this journey, will be the Medical care of my Camp.

"All proceedings in relation to this journey are in the Secret Department."

(True Extract)

(Signed) JAMES C. EDWARDS,
 Uncovenanted Assistant Resident, Persian Gulf.



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