

4
33

S K E T C H

OF

CABUL OR AFFGHANISTAN,

COMPILED FROM THE

LATEST AUTHORITIES

AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY AN OFFICER.

BOMBAY :

RE-PRINTED AT THE IMPERIAL PRESS, CIRCULATING LIBRARY,
NO. 5, CHURCH LANE—BY A. WILLARD.

1838.

Am
DS 351.5
.55x

P R E F A C E .

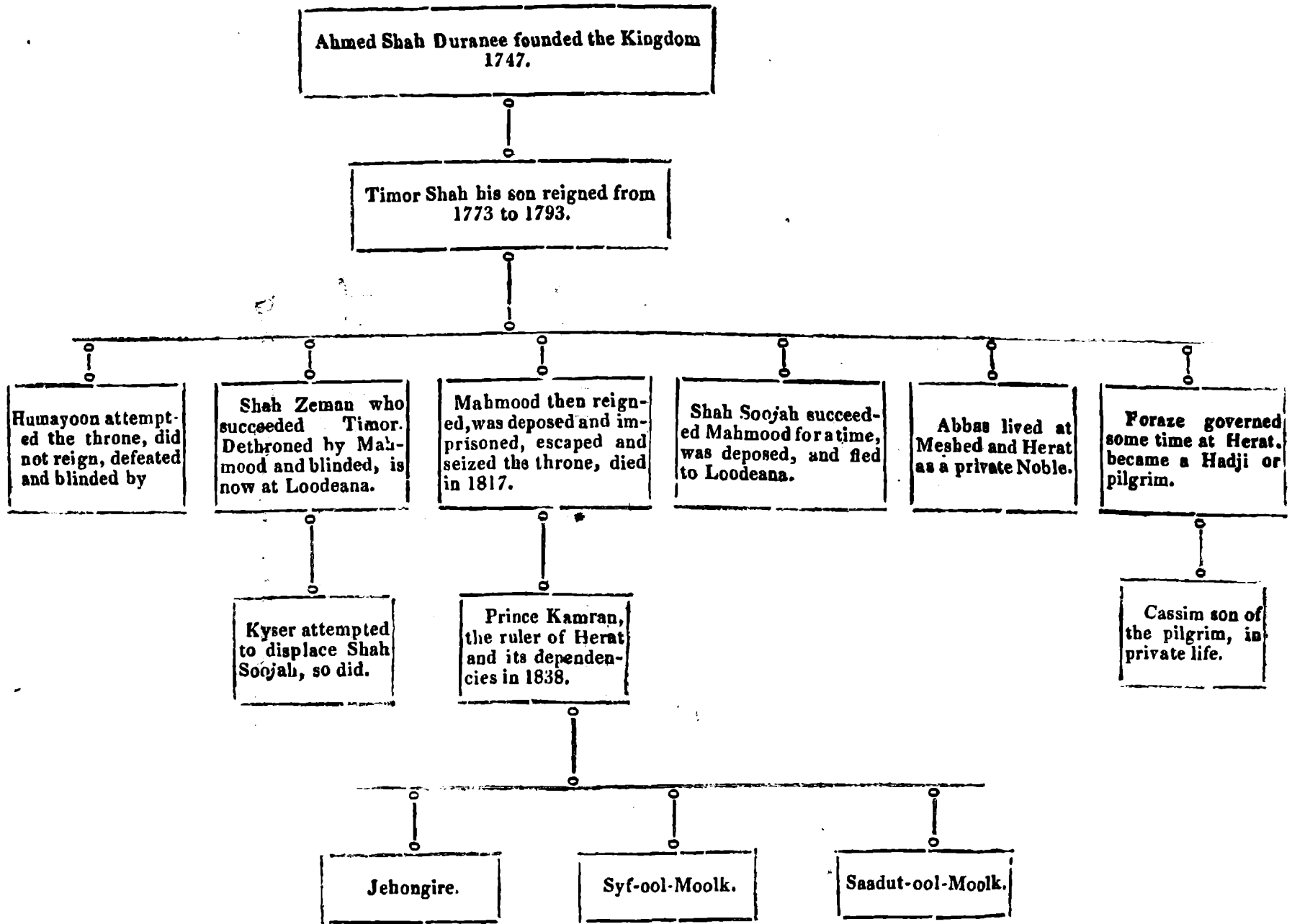
The Compiler of the following pages commenced his labours about four or five years ago ; under a strong presentiment that some time or other the British Government would have to interfere with the affairs of Affghanistan ; and finished them after it became public that the time for that interference had at last arrived.

Finding his own extracts from the various authors he consulted in a more condensed form in some newer and more recent publications ; he did not scruple to adopt the phraseology and arrangement when it suited his own plan, altering the text to suit the altered circumstances of the country—he has also occasionally introduced reflections and matter of his own, all the result of information obtained from sundry intelligent individuals—his sole motive being to make the work *useful* to the Army about to proceed to Cabul (to them hitherto, a kind of terra incognita) ; he trusts it will be received or appreciated by his brother Officers in the degree in which it may prove useful.

CONTENTS.

1.	Sketch of CABOOL or AFFGHANISTAN , compiled from the latest authorities, and brought down to the present day, by an Officer,.....	1
2.	HERAT (<i>abridged and condensed from the Englishman</i>)	19
3.	AFFGHANISTAN — <i>from Conolly's travels</i>	23
4.	Ditto the climate of— <i>from the Indian Journal of Physical Science</i>	30
5.	CABOOL — CANDAHAR — <i>by Mr. Forster</i>	36
6.	Route from CABOOL to CANDAHAR , by ditto.....	40
7.	Ditto CANDAHAR to HERAT , by ditto.....	43
8.	Ditto HERAT to TURSHISE , by ditto.....	48
9.	PESHAWUR — <i>from Burnes's travels into Bokhara</i>	54
10.	Ditto the Chiefship of— <i>from ditto</i>	70
11.	WESTERN AFFGHANISTAN —on the affairs of—(Herat and Candahar) <i>from ditto</i>	75
12.	DOST MAHOMED KHAN —Person, temper, and habits of— <i>by Alif, (from the Delhi Gazette)</i>	77
13.	AFFGHANISTAN —Sketch of Events in,—since the year 1809—(<i>from Burnes's travels into Bokhara</i>).....	90
14.	CABOOL —Summary of the affairs of—(<i>from ditto</i>)...	103
15.	Ditto—Journey to—(<i>from ditto</i>).....	106
16.	Ditto—On the commerce of—(<i>from ditto</i>).....	116
17.	AFFGHAN HISTORY —(<i>from Conolly's Overland Journey</i>).....	121
18.	CABOOL —(<i>Abridged from Burnes's Travels into Bokhara</i>).....	155
19.	Ditto— MAP OF —(<i>from Conolly's Skeleton Map, with additions</i>).....	
20.	Ditto— Dynasty of —from 1747 to 1838.....	

DYNASTY OF CABUL, 1838.



* This Mahmood, the third son, was a second time expelled by the exasperated family of the Vuzeer Futteh Khan, who seized the Government, the head of which family is Dost Mahomed. Mahmood fled with his son Kamran to Herat and there became independent, he ruled for about twenty years in that province and was succeeded by Kamran who appears from his earliest years to have been a stirring character. Dost Mahomed, the head of the usurping family, is of very ancient and noble descent, and his Tribe for many generations powerful and influential in that country.

Distances from Loodiana to Cabul.

	<i>By Lahore.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>
Same distance to go		
by Umbrizur to	{	
Ferozepoor.....	{	70
Lahore.....	{	45
Jellapoor (Jelum).....	{	85
Attock.....		130
Peshawur.....		40
Cabul.....		150
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	520

SKETCH
OF
AFFGHANISTAN.

AFFGHANISTAN is a country of Asia, extending from the Indus on the east to Persia on the west, and from the great chain of Hindoo Koosh on the north towards the Indian Ocean on the south. Taken in its largest acceptation, and including the nominally dependant provinces of Balkh (ancient Bactria), Cashmere, Herat, Beloochistan, &c. &c. the limits of the empire are the 24th and 27th degrees of north latitude and 62d and 77th degrees east longitude.

This great territory includes a varied population of above fourteen millions, consisting chiefly of Affghans, Persians, and Indians.

The name is Persian, and though not unknown to the Affghans is not used by them; they call themselves 'Pustanch' (pronounced, Pooſtanch).

An enormous table land of high elevation extends from the coast of Korea to the Black Sea, varying considerably in its breadth from north to south between these two limits. It consists of two portions, of which the eastern is the higher. This table land has also its elevations or mountains; of which the Himalaya range forms the great southern boundary, the western part of which is called the Hindoo Koosh.

The higher ridges of the Hindoo Koosh are bare rock, perfectly free from verdure, and in many parts covered with perpetual snow.

The gentlemen of the British embassy in June 1809, saw no diminution of snow on this ridge, though at Peshawur, within fifty miles, the thermometer stood at 113 degrees. It is much intersected with narrow, but fertile vallies, and is finely wooded near its base. Its

general height is very great, and some of its peaks are supposed to be higher than those of the principal ridge, which runs about two hundred miles farther north, and is there called the ' Mooz Tagh' or Ice Mountain.

It enters Affghanistan to the north of Cashmere, crossing the Indus, which rises in the principal ridge in the north-east and proceeds, chiefly with a western direction, to the high peak of Hindoo Koosh, north-west of Cabul, long. 68 degrees lat. 35 degrees, where it loses its name and character. About 71 degrees long. the range sinks suddenly to receive the river Kama, which rises in the chief ridge. With this exception, all the streams which join the Cabul on the north, have their sources in the Hindoo Koosh.

From long. 68 degrees, a range of mountains of a lower character, extends three hundred and fifty miles to the west, reaching nearly two hundred miles from north to south. These mountains are called by European Geographers the Paroparnisan Mountains: they are generally cold and barren, difficult of access and very little known. Their northern face is a rapid descent into Balkh, part of Ancient Bactria.

Another chain inferior in height to the first mentioned, extends from the Cabul river, immediately opposite the great chain, to the 29th degree of latitude; this range is called the Mountains of Suliman. It runs parallel to and near the Indus, to which river it has a steep descent. It is traversed by the river Gomal, whose sources are far to the west, and its continuity is doubtful in other parts. Except its northern extremity, where snow is found throughout the year, no part of the Suliman range has snow beyond the spring.

Beyond these, our accounts of the mountain courses of Affghanistan are founded chiefly on conjecture. Several branches appear to extend westward from the Suliman, and are said to join the Paroparnisan: but their ranges are unknown. The southern country appears full of mountains, which reach from the south of the Suliman in parallel ridges westward to the table land of Kelat in Belochistan.

The whole of Afghanistan, extending south from the great ridge, is a lofty table land, considerably elevated above the neighbouring countries. Its northern boundary looks down on the low land of Balkh, and its eastern limit on the valley of the Indus; towards the west, it slopes gradually to the desert, and on the south sinks rapidly to Beloochistan and the Indian Ocean.

The RIVERS of Afghanistan, though of considerable length, are not large, and are fordable during the greatest part of the year. Although many give great promise on issuing from the hills, so much of their water is drawn off for the purposes of irrigation; and so much exhausted by evaporation, that excepting in the rainy season, scarcely one reaches the end of its channel. The Cabul, the chief of those flowing eastward, is formed by various streams uniting to the east of the city of that name, the Capital. The rivulet which gives its name in our maps to the whole river, rises 25 miles west of Cabul (about 34 degrees north and 69 degrees east). It is joined a little below the city by a much larger stream, from the west of Ghiznee, and further east at 70 degrees, by the united streams at Ghosebund and Punjshur from the ranges of Hindoo Koosh. At Kama (71 degrees east) near Jellalabad, it receives the great river of Cashgar, called in our Maps "Kama" which issues from the Pooshtikhur in the Beloor Tagh, near the source of the Oxus (38 degrees north and 73 degrees east). This is the most important of all the branches of the Cabul. The united stream falls into the Indus about three miles above Attock, (34 degrees north, and 72 degrees 20 minutes east). The names here given are those of our Maps; in fact, there seems to be no general name for any river of Afghanistan; every branch has its separate appellation; and the same stream rarely retains the same name above fifty miles of its course.

The principal river, of those that run westward is the Helmund (the Etymandrus or Hermandrus of the Ancients), which rises in the same range which contains the sources of the Cabul. After running about two hundred miles through mountains, the Helmund continues its

course across the western desert, until it reaches the great lake of Segestan commonly called Zarrāh.

The Helmund overflows every year like the Nile, and like that river spreads fertility over its banks; for although the lower part of its course is through a perfect desert, the immediate shores of the river form a fertile, populous, and well cultivated country called Gurmzeer.

The CLIMATE is very variable, and a region hot as India may be found within a day's journey of a perpetually frozen country. The east is generally much hotter than the west, and in the plains of Peshawer, a thermometer in the shade, rises to the height of 128 degree in July (?) In the same place frost lasts to the beginning of March. The spring is very rapid; before the end of March, plum and apple trees are in full foliage; barley is in the ear: the heat is already disagreeable, and in May the very wind is hot. In the hot parts of the country the simoom is felt occasionally. This is a hot wind which lasts but a few minutes, but its effects are terrible—a person exposed to its full influence drops senseless, and rarely recovers. Its approach is known by a peculiar smell, on preceiving which every living being runs to seek shelter. It is conjectured that the hydrophobia, which attacks dogs, wolves, and jackals is caused by the simoom.

The season of RAINS called in India the S. W. monsoon, is felt in the east parts of Affghanistan, though not so violently as in India. It commences about the end of July, when the earth, which has been parched by the summer heat resumes the appearance of spring with miraculous rapidity—at other times there is little rain; fogs and clouds are rare, and the air is usually dry.

The average heat is much less than in India, and the difference of temperature between day and night, and winter and summer, is much greater than either in India or England. The climate generally is healthy; the most common diseases are fevers, colds, and ophthalmia; and occasionally the small-pox is very fatal in spite of inoculation which has been long practised.

The **MINERAL** resources of Afghanistan are not much developed. No gold is found with the exception of some grains in the torrents near the great northern mountains, and but little silver. Mines of lead and iron are worked, and fine rock salt are dug in the N. W.—whole cliffs of lapis lazuli exist in the mountains. The western country is high and bleak, much fitter for pasturage than for agriculture; and is generally inhabited by shepherds who dwell in tents.

The **ANIMALS** of Afghanistan are like those of India. The lion is small and very rare. Tigers and leopards are found in the eastern parts, and hyænas, jackals, foxes, and wolves, every where. There are many bears, but they rarely descend into the plains. Horses are common, and in some parts very fine. Asses are much used in the labours of agriculture; but the chief beast of burden is the camel, the same long-legged animal which is used in India. The stout short camel with two humps is sometimes made available but more rarely. The principal stock of the rural population consists of sheep: a fine handsome animal with a tail of solid fat a foot broad. Goats, dogs, and cats, with long silky hair are all in abundance.

BIRDS, GAME, &c.—Two or three sorts of eagles frequent the mountains, and several species of falcons which are used in hawking to which the Afghans are much addicted. Their game is chiefly the same as in Europe. Wild ducks, swans, quails, partridges, &c. &c.

The **TREES** are generally the same as in Europe, and our finest fruits grow *wild* in the plains and valleys. The products and agriculture are wheat, barley, rice, Indian corn, millet, pulse, tobacco, &c.—carrots, turnips, cabbages, and garden vegetables of all sorts. In the eastern parts, dates, ginger, turmeric, cotton, and sugarcane are cultivated in favorable situations.

In a **GOVERNMENT** so unsettled as that of Afghanistan the Political divisions are necessarily variable. When the British embassy was at Peshawur in 1809, the kingdom was divided into twenty seven provinces or governments; eighteen of the most important of which

were superintended by resident **Hakims** who collected the revenue and commanded the troops.

Many of the provinces such as **Sind**, **Moultan**, **Cashmere** and others are now quite independent [or have fallen into other hands—Transcriber]; others as **Balkh**, **Herat**, **Seestan**, &c., though nominally connected with the government do not come within our object which is only to describe **Affghanistan**, and not its dependencies.

On crossing the **Indus** at **Attock**, the first province is **Peshawur** in the valley of the **Cabul** river; the provinces of **Jellallabad**, **Lughmaun** and **Cabul**, follow in regular succession westward along the same river, and at its sources is the united province of **Bamian** and **Ghorbund**.

All these provinces lie immediately south of the great chain of the **Hindoo koosh**, and though small, they are the most important of the kingdom by their fertility and population. South of **Cabul** is **Gizni**. **Kandahar** lies considerably to the S. W. of it, and **Fuwah** much further to the west within the country of **Khorassan**. In all these, the chief town has the same name with the province.

The remaining nine divisions are composed of countries almost wholly inhabited by **Affghans** or pastoral tribes where there are few towns. There is a **Governor** appointed to each whose authority is little more than nominal, as he never resides, but leaves (in general) the government wholly to the heads of tribes—subject, perhaps, to occasional control. These nine provinces comprise the greater part of the *surface* of the kingdom; the others, though politically most important, being only small, populous districts, chiefly inhabited by people of foreign extraction, and intersecting the nine large divisions. The most important of these, are the tribes of **Domaun**, inhabiting the countries between the right bank of the **Indus** and the **Suliman** mountains. The **Ghiljees**, stretching over the centre of the country, from the neighbourhood of **Kandahar** to the mountains of the north, and enclosing the provinces of **Gizni**, **Cabul**, **Lughmaun**, and

Jellallabad. The Eimanks form a Province in the west of the Paroparnisan mountains, and eastern the part of the same range is the province of the Hazarees of the Sheah sect. The remaining include all the Affghan tribes subject to the government of the king.

The capital is Cabul,* the chief city of the province of the same name, which forms the eastern half of Affghanistan. The city is situated on the river which bears the same appellation, in a large well-watered plain filled with villages.

The town is surrounded on three sides by low hills, on one of which to the north is the king's palace. The tomb of the Emperor Baber, on a hill near the city, surrounded by large beds of flowers, commands a noble prospect.

The town is not large, but is handsome and compact ; and the houses are built mostly of wood, to avoid the consequences of the frequent earthquakes.

Beautiful gardens surround the town which is celebrated for its fine climate, though the proximity of the mountains, causes great varieties of temperature. North latitude 33 degrees 10 minutes, and east longitude 71 degrees 43 minutes.

Peshawur is situated in a plain nearly circular, about thirty-five miles in diameter, and surrounded by mountains on every side, except a slip of about fifteen miles wide to the east. The plain is well watered, and is always green. It is in high cultivation, and produces plums, peaches, apples, pears, pomegranates, and mulberries, with a few dates. The city is about five miles in circumference and contains 100,000 inhabitants. The houses are built of brick about three stories high. The streets are narrow and slippery, but are paved, and have a gutter in the centre. Part of the town is flooded during the spring rains which makes it then an unwholesome residence.

When the descendants of Ahmed Shah were driven away by Futtch khan's family, some of the members of

* Pronounced Cabool.

it seized Peshawur and governed there till dispossessed some years ago by Runjeet Sing.

Gizni or Ghuznee, was once the capital of an empire reaching from the Tigris to the Ganges, and was adorned with the most splendid buildings in Asia, but is now reduced to about 1,500 mean dwellings. Some remains of its ancient grandeur are still to be seen in the neighbourhood—among others, the tomb of the Sultan Mahmood of Gizni, the conqueror of India.

This structure is about three miles from the city, and is spacious (though not magnificent) and covered with a cupola; the doors, which are very large and of sandal wood, are said to have been brought as a trophy from the far-famed temple of Somnaut in Guzerat. On a tombstone of white marble, lies the mace of Mahmood of such a weight that few men can wield it. Mahomedan priests are still maintained, who constantly read the Koran over his grave. Gizni is 30 degrees 11 minutes north latitude, and 68 degrees 57 minutes east longitude.

Kandahar is in the site of an ancient city conjectured to have been founded by Alexander the Great;* the present one is quite modern, being founded by Ahmed Shah in 1747 or 54. That king made it the capital of his dominions; but, on the accession of Timor Shah in 1774, the seat of government was removed to Cabul. Kandahar is large and populous, and supposed to contain 100,000 inhabitants. Its form is oblong, and its plan perfectly regular; four streets meet in the centre, in a circular place fifty yards in diameter, surmounted by a dome. This place is called the 'Chaursoo,' and is a public market place surrounded by shops. These four principal streets are fifty yards in width, are lined with shops, and extend to the gates of the city; the smaller streets are narrow, but straight, and all cross each other at right angles.

The town is well watered by canals from the Urghun-

* And named Alexandria; or, in the language of the country 'Iskondria,' thence Kandahar.

daul, a tributary of the Helmand ; and a small stream runs through almost every street. The tomb of the Sultan Ahmed Shah, the founder of the monarchy, covered with a gilt cupola, stands near the king's palace, and is held as a sacred asylum ; the king himself not daring to take a criminal from it. Kandahar, unlike any other of the cities, is chiefly inhabited by Affghans, who have conformed externally to the habits of their near neighbours the Persians ; it is situated in 32 degrees 10 minutes north lat. and 66 degrees 30 minutes east long.

All the large towns are inhabited chiefly by Persians and people from India, an Affghan never keeps a shop or exercises any trade. The only Affghans found in towns are the Officers of Government and their followers, soldiers, priests, and perhaps a few labourers. The houses of the rich are enclosed by high walls, and contain three or four courts with gardens and fountains. Each court contains a building with several small apartments and three or four large halls, reaching to the roof supported by wooden pillars carved and painted. The apartments open on the halls, and are filled up with paintings and looking-glasses.

One room at least has glazed windows, and several have fire places. The doors are carved, and covered in winter with velvet or brocade. The floors are covered with handsome carpets, and thick *felt* seats go all round the room close to the wall, and are covered with silk or velvet.

The houses of the common people are of one story, and usually of a single room about twenty feet by twelve : they have little ornament and scarcely any furniture. Neither tables nor chairs are used ; their place is supplied by coarse woollen carpets and thick cushions of felt.

The genuine Affghans, who compose little more than a third of the dwellers in Affghanistan, are of moderate stature, but remarkably hardy and athletic. Their high cheek bones and prominent noses distinguish them essentially from the Tartars with whom some persons have confounded them. Their complexions are various ;

men as fair as Europeans being found in the same places with others as dark as natives of the East Indies. The western tribes are fairer than those of the East; (they are removed at a greater distance from the chance of intermingling with Indian races); their hair and beards are mostly black, occasionally you see brown or red; the usual dress is a sort of frock reaching below the knee, and loose dark cotton trowsers. The head is covered with a low flat-sided cap of black silk with a colored or brocaded top; they wear half boots laced in front; the dress of the western tribes resembles that of Persia, and the people of the East imitate their neighbours of India.

The manners of the Affghans are frank and open; they pay little respect to rank, but shew great reverence for old age. They are very sociable and give frequent dinner parties, which are accompanied by music, singing, and dancing. Any game of chance or skill, however childish that may lead to a dinner, is played with great zest; marbles, prison-bars hunt the slipper; hopping, &c. &c. and the losers treat their opponents.

They are fond of sitting in a circle, conversing or listening to story tellers. The people of the East remark the attachment of the Affghans to truth, in which they are much superior to their neighbours of India and Persia, although Europeans may not rank them very high in that respect. They are strongly imbued with family pride, and fond of recounting long genealogies, scarcely allowing one to be a genuine Affghan, who cannot prove six descents. They are very jealous of attentions paid to others, and can be more easily wrought upon by kindness than threats.

Hospitality is the great characteristic of the Affghans: it is with them a point of honour: and a greater affront cannot be given to an Affghan, than by inviting his guest to another dwelling. A man may travel without money from one end of the country to the other; and the bitterest enemy is safe if he claim the protection of hospitality. A person who has a favor to ask of another, goes to his house, and refuses to sit down or partake of

food until the boon be granted. This custom is called 'Nanawattee,' and it brings disgrace on a man to reject a petition under such circumstances.

Another resemblance to the Arabs of the desert, so celebrated for their hospitality, is the practice of robbery by the ruder tribes of Affghans.

A traveller passing through certain districts must expect to be plundered if not under strong protection; while a traveller come to settle amidst them is perfectly safe.

These robberies, however, are never accompanied by murder, and where the government is powerful, the traveller is safe.

The good qualities of this people have been summed up, by stating that they are faithful, hospitable, brave, frugal, laborious, and prudent; their bad qualities are revenge, avarice, envy, rapacity, and obstinacy. Among the western tribes, the pastoral character is much retained; many tribes live entirely in black coarse woollen tents, and migrate with their flocks from place to place as convenience directs; but although the larger extent of *ground* is occupied by the dwellers in tents, the householders are the more numerous body. Agriculture is very generally on the increase; many parts of this country are highly cultivated and the most remote regions are not without the marks of human industry.

The religion of the Affghans is the Mahomedan of the Soonie sect (Conolly particularizes whole districts of the Sheah sect) though accompanied with less bigotry than usual. Hindoos and Christians live peaceably and respected among them; and even Persians who are of the opposite or Sheah sect (followers of Ali), and therefore more abominated by the orthodox than even infidels, who hold high official situations among them, upon the single conditions of abstaining from curses of the three first Caliphs: the denial of whose right to the commandership of the Faithful, forms the chief reason of their dissent.

Social intercourse with women is less restrained than among other Mahomedans. Though in towns the females of the upper ranks live secluded, and never go out

without a covering from head to foot, in the country women go out unveiled, in the lower ranks ; they do the work of the house, and in some of the inferior tribes, assist the man in the labours of agriculture. Their marriage ceremonies are like those of the Persians.

The LANGUAGE of the Affghans is called 'Pushtoo,'—half the words of it are Persian, but almost all the participles and verbs, are from some unknown root ; many of the words have been said to be identical with those of the Zond and Pehlevi, the ancient languages of Persia, and with those of the Sanscrit, the ancient (but now dead) language of India, and this in cases where the words are quite obsolete in the modern dialects of these countries. This, however, is doubted by some.

The structure of the Pushtoo, refutes* the old opinion (the *lost tribes* of Israel were said to have migrated from Media or Mesopotamia and Capadocia towards Affghanistan) that the Affghans are descended from the Israelites. The sound of the language is rough but not disagreeable to those accustomed to Oriental tongues. They use the Arabic Alphabet with points over and under certain letters, to represent sounds unknown to Arabic.

The only original Pushtoo authors are poets. Their compositions are chiefly lyrics of a spirited and bold cast, breathing a strong attachment to liberty. No Pushtoo authors are above a century and half old ; but Persian works are as familiar to the educated Affghans as their own, and the Persian language is that chiefly used in composition.

The EDUCATION of the Affghans is not neglected. Every village has its school, generally kept by a priest, and every boy attends it. In some tribes boys are sent to a distant village where they live in the mosque, but are under the sole guidance of their schoolmaster. The most celebrated university is at Peshawur. Many females are acquainted with Persian literature, and almost all those of a certain rank can read. But writing is not commonly taught among them.

* I say no ! It is notorious that languages change in the course of centuries so as to be scarcely recognised as the same.—(Compiler).

The whole nation is divided into **TRIBES**, which continue much unmixed, each under its own peculiar government with little interference from the royal power. Their internal government is *republican*; they are divided into separate clans, and each clan has its chief or khan chosen from the oldest family. The khans administer justice in most cases, but rarely without the concurrence of a council of the heads of families. These clans are eminently *exclusive*, and are often at feud with each other. They appear to be little attached to their chief, but very strongly to their tribe. They are very jealous of interference, and their republican spirit has preserved the country from degenerating into ordinary Oriental despotism. The reply made to an English traveller, who expatiated on the freedom from alarm, blood and discord, which must ensue from a more steady government was, 'We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, but we will never be content with a master.'

The question is, whence did they *derive* these republican institutions, the exclusiveness of the tribes and the patriarchal government of them, so totally different from all the neighbouring nations, they must have originally migrated from the westward. Their features are half European, (or Greek) half Israelitish: and there can be little doubt whence this people derived their forms of government, notwithstanding the change in the language or the absence of any remaining vestige of Hebrew amongst them. The army of Alexander the Great traversed Cabul twice, and besides the Greek colony of Bractia in its neighbourhood, he founded a city in this kingdom.

The **LAND** is cultivated by tenants who pay rent, or by persons who give half the produce to the landlord, receiving seed and instruments of agriculture from him. Many small proprietors cultivate their own land by the aid of hired labourers, or slaves attached to the soil.

The **TRADE** of Afghanistan was formerly small, but has greatly increased of late years. The most important is with India, whence they import cottons, muslins, ivory,

indigo, tin, wax, sugar and spices; the exports are horses, furs, shawls, tobacco, and fruits. Horses used to be purchased in Cabul (where from the abundance of Lacerne clove, they used to be reared in immense numbers) for the service of the East India Company; but since the formation of the Studs, the trade in horses though still considerable has declined.

The Government is a limited monarchy; the king may make peace and war; he has the controul of the revenue, and appoints to such official situations as are hereditary. He cannot increase the revenue which arises from a fixed assessment on lands and amounts to about two millions sterling; he is in fact the Khan of the Douranees, the principal tribe, and altho' his power has encroached upon the republican institutions of his own clan, his right over other tribes extends only to the levying of troops and collection of revenue. Over those of his subjects, who are not actually Affghans, his power is less limited, but is rarely exercised with severity.

The Duranee or (Dourance) Lords controul the King, * who can rarely act without their concurrence. The crown is hereditary in this family, but elective as to the person. The administration of justice is corrupt, as in every other Asiatic government. A Cady is appointed to every large town, before whom causes are brought, and whose awards are rarely disobeyed, death is very rarely inflicted and the horrid mutilations so common in Persia are unknown.

The Cadi never interferes unless called upon; most cases are decided by the heads of tribes. As the Affghans dislike all applications to law, and even a murder, if in retaliation is rarely inquired into. The Police, generally speaking is defective. Watchmen are appointed in all large towns and paid by the inhabitants of the different wards; parties are stationed in dangerous places

* This was the case in old times, and upto 1809; but Dost Mahomed belonging to another tribe, the Ghiljees, having overcome the Duranees and seized the throne, the latter tribe succumbed of course; whether Dost Mahomed's tribe controul him is doubtful.

for the protection of travellers; who find however the purchase of security from the clans, a more efficient guard.

The **MILITARY**, from the last historical accounts, would appear to be only 30,000 but we know at the present day that the strength of the usurping holder of the country (Dost Mahomed) is at least three times that amount. The classes from which this army is recruited are as follow:—one third Ghiloms or military adventurers who enlist for life, and one third furnished by the land owners at a stated rate, and a large contingent was supplied by the Duranee clan when they were in power in terms of the feudal tenure by which they held their lands.

The Affghans are chiefly irregular cavalry and their arms are swords and matchlocks. The **HISTORY** of the Affghans cannot be traced to a remote period—in the 9th century, they were possessed of the north eastern part of their present empire; and at the close of the tenth, a chief Khorassan conquered the country and made Ghizni his capital. For two hundred years his family governed the empire, but although the plains were conquered the Affghans maintained their independence in the mountains. At last, under the conduct of Mahomed of Ghore, a descendant of their ancient princes, they dethroned this Khorassan King of Ghisni and burned his metropolis, A. D. 1159.

The new dynasty extended the empire from the Tigris to the Ganges, and Mahomed of Gizni is recorded as having been the first Mussulman invader of India which he overran and planted Moslemism which exists to this day—he is characterized as bigotted and awfully stern.

But while making conquests abroad, their own territory became the prey of a stranger; and while Affghans were seated on the throne of India, Jenghis Khan, a Tartar of the Mogul race, and his descendants ruled in Affghanistan.

The Moguls reigned over the plains, and the Affghans

dwelt in the mountains. After the death of the grandson of Jenghis Timor, * being in 1405, the country appears to have been independent for a century.

In 1506 the Emperor Baber of Delhi a descendant of Timor, conquered Cabul and made it the seat of empire, the most glorious epoch of the Delhi family. The plains of Afghanistan were then divided between India and Persia but the Affghans still preserved their precarious independence.

At the death of Aurungzebe in 1707 when the Mogul empire was shaken and lost its power ; the Affghan tribe of Ghiljee grew strong, conquered Persia, and founded an empire of vast extent, but of short duration. This dynasty was overthrown by Nadir Shah of Persia (the author of the massacre at Delhi), who conquered the Affghans and annexed their country to his empire. At his death in 1747, Ahmed Shah, a duranee and an officer of an Affghan troop in the service of Persia, fought his way back to his own country, and founded the present monarchy—from that time to the death of his son Timor Shah in 1793, the empire maintained its splendour, but on that event a civil war broke out between the sons of the deceased king.

Humayoon the eldest in an attempt to reign before his father's death was defeated and blinded. Shah Zeman the second son, succeeded to the throne on his father's death and was dethroned by his younger brother Mahmood after several attempts to seize the musnud, and blinded. He has been many years residing at Loodeanah.

Mahmood was in his turn deposed and imprisoned, but not blinded ; he was succeeded by Shah Soojah al Moalk the fourth son of Timor Shah, during whose reign his two nephews, Kyser the son of Shah Zeman, and Kamran the son of Mahmood, successively contested the throne with him. They were each set up separately by the celebrated Futteh Khan an ex-Vuzeer, and the

* Commonly called Tamerlane and Timor the Tartar, his name is Timor the lame or cripple.

Warwick or king-maker of Affghanistan and of high descent.

Shah Soojah at length gave way, and Mahmood, who had escaped from prison, again seized the throne of Cabul, while his brother the Shah retired to Loodeanah where he has lived for many years on the bounty of our Government.

Mahmood, mainly assisted by the Vuzeer Futteh Khan in this enterprize, became jealous of him particularly as he in a manner guided the affairs of the Government in Mahmood's name, he therefore had him assassinated. On which, the brothers of the Vuzeer raised an army and again dispossessed Mahmood, who fled with his son Kamran to Herat not without showing a great deal of pusillanimity, he there reigned (Herat being a dependency* of Affghanistan) till 1829 and was succeeded by Kamran who now governs the city and province. Futteh Khan's brothers, on the flight of Mahmood, seized the kingdom and divided it amongst them and their families as follows :—

Dost Mahomed, the eldest of the race, possessed himself of Cabul, and the commands of the troops. Ameer Mahomed took Gizni for his share. Sooltan Mahomed established himself at Peshwur, sharing his power with two brothers. Khandahar fell to the lot of some junior branches of which Rusheem Dil is the head.

In this state of things, some dependent rulers threw off their allegiance, so that the monarchy is little more than a name.

But the peculiar organization of the tribes, obviates the evils which elsewhere result from civil war. The people take but little part in it, considering it merely 'a quarrel of kings' to whom they have not much attachment; and contents themselves with defending their mountains, where they are rarely molested.

And although the cities and 'grand routes' occasionally suffer from the dispute of contending factions, and the

* In the hands of Mahmood, it could not be called a dependency; he was its lawful sovereign.

plunder of marauding armies ; the country has lost few of its resources, and *none of its enjoyments*. In short they appear to be strongly imbued with the good old Oriental notion 'that the Sultan and the fire *never die*.'

The Institutions of this fine country, resembling those of England in the Feudal times, and of Scotland down to the last century, in their family jurisprudence, contain within themselves the elements of the most assured prosperity, provided they are placed under a securely settled government and properly defended from external enemies. Contrasted with the neighbouring governments, these institutions, afford a deep and interesting subject for contemplation, and in spite of the objection to the absence of the Hebrew idiom (and every one knows who has at all studied the subject that languages *wear out* sooner than manners and customs) if we do not eventually find among them traces of the 'lost tribes' we shall at least find them 'a peculiar people' deserving of our support and alliance.

HERAT.

(Abridged and amended from the 'Englishman,' &c.)

Formerly an integral part of the ancient kingdom of Cabul, became a dependency in 1703, and since the seizure of it by Mahmood, the son of Timor Shah, it has been an independent principality, if we except a small tribute or kind of 'black mail' paid to Persia. It was at one period considered very strong, and to this day is reckoned the key of Affghanistan on the north west frontier.

Among the various accounts of it, we think the following the best, and select it accordingly:—All agree in placing it in a rich well-watered valley, about thirty miles in length by fifteen in breadth, and covered with villages and gardens. The area which the city itself covers is estimated at four miles square, and the length of the suburbs some three to four miles. Latitude 34 degrees and 10 minutes north, longitude 62 degrees east.

The city is covered by a lofty mud wall, with numerous towers and a wet ditch; it has a gate in the south-east and western faces, and two in the northern one—in which face, upon an elevated mound in the same line with the wall, has been erected a small square castle of burnt brick, with towers at each angle, and surrounded by a wet ditch; over which there is a draw-bridge: an outer wall and dry ditch have been constructed as outworks.

In the centre of the town there is a large market place called the Chor-soo, to which lead four wide streets lined with shops, one from each gate (or face); the principal one leading from the south gate to the Gunge bazar or cattle market, in front of the citadel, is covered with a vaulted roof. These bazars and trading streets are so filled with people on market days, as to be scarcely passable. On each side are spacious serais where merchants have their chambers of business; each serai having a cistern of water independent of the public reservoirs on either side of the bazars. The residence of the

Prince is a mean building, of which nothing is seen except a common gateway, with a nokara khanch above, for the royal band of music, in front of which there is an open space. The Musjid-Jumah or chief mosque has been a magnificent edifice, ornamented with domes and minarets covered with lacquered tiles, and comprising with its courts and reservoirs an area of 800 yards square but it is fast going to decay. The private buildings in Herat are by no means in the same situation, for no city has less ground unoccupied or can boast of greater population for its extent. The inhabitants are estimated at 100,000 * of which 10,000 are Affghans, about 600 Hindoos—a few Jews the remainder Mussulmans in general. The Hindoos are rich and much respected.

The gardens of Herat are very extensive; the Bagh Shahee, planted by order of Timor Shah, and the Ordoo Shahee as being places of public resort, were pointed out to notice formerly, but are now attended to for their produce, which is sold in the bazars.

An avenue of firs, a mile in length leads to the former, adjoining to which are the four minarets of a mosque said to have been intended for the tomb of Imann Reza, who, however, died near Meshed.

Every thing tends to prove that Herat, (like Affghanistan in general) notwithstanding the various revolutions which has occasionally desolated the country, continues to prosper. It is considered superior to every city in Persia, Ispahan excepted, in size and population.

Herat owes its prosperity to the great commerce it enjoys being the only channel of communication between the east and west of Asia; all the trade and produce of eastern Cabul, †Cashmere, and India from the one side, and of Bokhara, Persia, Arabia, Turkey, and even Europe (Russia) on the other must pass through the city; and consequently the richest productions of all these countries centre, and are exchanged in its bazars. Its exports are silk, saffron,

* A common mode of reckoning the population of oriental large cities—they are all 'dus Lakhs'.

† The trade of western Cabul, find vent to India by Kaudahar.

assafaeteda, pistachio nuts, almonds and dried fruits of note, in which last a great trade is carried on to the Gangetic provinces. Its principle manufactures are silk stuffs of various sorts; some of which only are much esteemed. Carpets both of silk and wool, celebrated all over the East for beauty of pattern and brilliancy of color; consequently in great demand. Sword blades and cutlery, the former equal to those of Meshed, are also much esteemed, and owe their excellence to the same cause, viz. the transportation of a colony of sword cutlers from Damascus by Timor Shah. Besides abundance of the finest fruit trees, the mulberry bush is cultivated to a great extent for rearing silk worms; wheat and barley are plentiful; pasture of the best quality abounds on the mountains, and all the necessaries of life are cheap and plentiful.

The revenue of the *city* is derived from tolls levied upon produce of all descriptions entering or leaving it, and amounts to four lacs and a half of rupees, while that of the *province* and city together was estimated by Mr. Elphinstone at a million sterling.

The city of Herat is of great celebrity as well as antiquity; it is mentioned by the earliest writers, and more than once served as a residence to the greatest conquerors of the East, and was the capital of their Empire. Shah Ismail, the first monarch of the Suffavean race, took the city and province from the descendants of the great Timor, about A. D. 1509, and it remained attached to the Persian crown until the celebrated Affghan invasion, which put an end to the dynasty, when Herat fell into their hands about the year 1715. It was re-taken by the great Nadir Shah in 1731, but fell to the arms of Ahmed Shah in 1749, and has ever since been the residence of an Affghan prince, generally as a dependency upon Cabul, until the time of Mahmood, who, flying before the Vuzeer's brothers, who had expelled him, seized Herat as his patrimony.

The government of Herat was held by Timor Shah in the life time of his father Ahmed, on whose demise, Timor,

his successor, conferred it in like manner on his son Mahmood, for whose history vide page 16; after him ruled another son, Foraze, called the Hadji, a pilgrim. In the revolutions, which took place during the struggles between the sons of Timor Shah for the throne of Cabul, Herat fell into the hands of the Vazeer Futteh Khan and his brother; finally it came back to Mahmood, on his being a second time restored to the throne (vide page 17), and on being expelled as above, he took refuge and possession there with his son Kamran, being all that remained of his once large dominions. Mahmood reigned at Herat till 1829, when he died; he was succeeded by his son Kahmran Shah, who is now (1838) bravely defending this renowned city, his patrimony, against the Persians.

Herat is situated at the foot of the great range of Hindoo Koosh, enjoys a delightful climate, and is plentifully supplied with every necessary and luxury of life, chiefly from the fertile vales of the neighbouring mountain, at a moderate price.

AFFGHANISTAN.

(From Conolly's Travels.)

THE capabilities of Persian Khorassaun must not be judged by its present condition, for it is in its worst state: much of the country is naturally fine; it has been rendered a desert by the turbulence of the chieftains and by the inroads of the Toorkmuns, but these are both evils which may be corrected, and if they should be, the province assuredly would in a great measure recover itself. The roads do not appear to oppose many difficulties to the march of troops: the country is level, water is in sufficiency, and even now the country west of the small branch as far south as Khauff could send considerable supplies to commissariat points. Once rendered safe, the roads would be thronged, the country would be re-populated, and plenty would take the place of barrenness.

Heraut is a well fortified town, three quarters of a mile square. It contains about forty five thousand* inhabitants, the majority of whom are Sheahs; and there may be one thousand Hindoos settled there, and forty families of Jews. The outside wall is thickly built upon a solid mound formed by the earth of a wet ditch, which filled by springs within itself, goes entirely round the city. There

* When we enquired about the population of Heraut, the inhabitants told us that there were twelve thousand houses within the walls; but our host, who was the calender of the city, said that only four thousand houses were registered in the Shah's books, or as he expressed himself, only four thousand house doors. At the high computation of ten persons to each house, we have only forty thousand souls, but one entrance may lead to more than one domicile, and I think that, considering this, and taking into account the inmates of the citadel and palace, those who reside in seventeen large caravanseras, and in some of the shops, the residents may altogether be rated at the round number of forty-five thousand. Captain Christie estimated the population of Heraut at one hundred thousand souls: either I conceive that officer was misled by the statements of the inhabitants, or he took into account some quarters outside the walls which were destroyed when the city was besieged by the Candahar Sirdars, I think in 1824.

are five gates, defended each by a small outwork, and on the north side is a strong citadel, also surrounded by a wet ditch, which overlooks the town. The interior of Herat is divided into quarters, by four long bazars covered by arched brick, which meet in a small domed quadrangle in the centre of the city, it contains four thousand dwelling houses, twelve hundred shops, seventeen caravanseras, and twenty baths, besides many mosques, and fine public reservoirs of water.

The city itself is, I should imagine, one of the dirtiest in the world. Many of the small streets, which branch from the main ones, are built over, and form low dark tunnels, containing every offensive thing, no drains having been contrived to carry off the rain which falls within the walls, it collects and stagnates in ponds which are dug in different parts of the city. The residents cast out the refuse of their houses into the streets, and dead cats and dogs are commonly seen lying upon heaps of the vilest filth. In a street which we were obliged to pass through to get at the bazar, lay for many days a dead horse, surrounded by bloated dogs, and poisoning the neighbourhood with its unwholesome effluvia. More could be said about the beastiality of the citizens, but, as it is not a choice theme I will not enlarge upon it.

“*Rasm ust.*” — “It is the custom,” was the only apology I heard from those even who admitted the evil; my wonder was how they could live, but, as the Aukhoondzadeh observed, “the climate is fine, and if dirt killed people, where would the Affghauns be!” Candahar is quite as dirty a place, and Cabul, the “city of a hundred thousand gardens,” is said to be little better.

But though the city of Herat is as I have described it, without the walls all is beauty. The town is situated at four miles distance from hills on the north, and twelve from those which run south of it. The space between the hills is one beautiful extent of little fortified villages, vineyards, and cornfields, and this rich scene is lightened by many small streams of shining water which cut the plain in all directions. A bund is thrown across the Herirrod, and its waters, being turned into many ca-

nals, are so conducted over the vale of Heraut that every part of it is watered. The most delicious fruits of every kind are grown in the valley, and they are sold cheaper even than at Meshed : the necessaries of life are plentiful, and cheap and the bread and water of Heraut are a proverb for their excellence. I really never in England even tasted more delicious water than that of the Herirood ; it is "as clear as tears,"* and the natives say, only equalled by the waters of Cashmeere, which makes who drink them beautiful. The climate of this country is said to be salubrious ; the heat is excessive for two months in summer, and in winter much snow falls. The year before our coming to Heraut, the cholera morbus had swept away many thousand persons from the city and the provinces round ; but this is a scourge which seems to visit all climes. The small-pox, I imagine, occasionally makes sad havoc among the people of this country ; they hardly know the practice of vaccination, and are so dirty that any contagious disease must spread rapidly among them. On the 24th of September the thermometer stood at 85° (in the shade at the hottest time of the day) : between that date and the 6th of October it fell gradually to 65 deg. and on the four last days of our stay at Heraut, the mercury stood at 70 deg. the nights were very cold, and winter was evidently fast approaching.

In the province of Heraut there are eight belooks, or pergunnahs, into which are divided the lands in the valley, chiefly watered by eight large canals from the river, and four small velaits or countries. We were able to obtain the following registered account of the villages, water, ploughs, assessment, and *teool* lands, which I have every reason to believe a correct one.

"*Teool*" is a jagheer ; land held free, or on condition of military service, as the greater part of Affghaunistan is, or rather was, under the royal government, for the rebel sirdars have in a great measure resumed the crown grants. The produce is calculated from the num-

* "Clear as pearls," or "clear as the waters of the eye," are terms commonly used by Persians.

ber of ploughs that are rated against the villages of each district, for every plough is averaged to turn up land for three khurwars of seed. The soil of Heraut returns at a medium calculation tenfold, and at this rate the produce is estimated : *i. e.* for every plough three khurwars of seed; and ten times the quantity of the seed for the gross produce.

The eight belooks are named—Inteel, Alinjaun, Oodvan-o-Teezan, Khiabaun, Subbukur, Ghoorrivan-o-Pushtaun, Goozara, and Kumberrauk ; and in these districts are four hundred and forty-six villages, eight large canals, which feed innumerable smaller ones, one hundred and twenty-three canals,* and two hundred and eighty-eight ploughs. The gross produce of wheat and barley in the eight belooks, by the above calculation, amounts to more than sixty-eight thousand six hundred khurwars, or measures of hundred maunds† of these twenty-eight thousand are assigned to the crown, and the rest to the cultivators, except a tithe, which is set apart for seed.

The velaits, or—countries are Oubeh, Koorkh, Shaffbaun, & Ghourian. Our accounts gave to the three first eighty-three villages, and six hundred and forty-eight ploughs, or a produce of nineteen thousand four hundred and forty khurwar, of which five thousand seven hundred were assigned to the crown. We could obtain no statement of the produce of Ghourian, further than that the Shah received five hundred khurwars, and granted the rest in teool; but, as it is the finest of the velaits, its produce may well be estimated at ten thousand Tabreez khurwars. Formerly the country of Ghourian sent in much money and grain, but of late years it has suffered from the inroads of the Toorkmuns, and there has been a great falling off in the duties which were once levied upon the passing trade. When we were at Heraut, the government of Ghourian was held by the brother of Sirdar Yar Mohumud Khan, protected by whom, it was

* Artificial water courses.

† The khurwar of Herat is one fourth larger than the standard of Tabreez ; our statement are according to the latter measure.

said, he generally gave a very flamish account of his receipts.

The above estimates gave a total of about ninety-eight thousand khurwars of wheat and barley. So much of the land being teool, the produce can only be guessed at, but I should conceive it to be greater than above calculated, because Kamran has frequently laid extra taxes of grain upon the cultivators, and as they do not appear in the first instance to get their just share, they could not well otherwise have met his demands. The lands were considered to be under assessed, and as far as we could judge from the information we received, very irregularly; of the crown share, eight months were stated to be given in teool. The population of the province must now be great, and, were this fertile country settled, and equitably governed, there would scarcely be bounds to the produce.

Kamraun's money receipts from the city of Heraut and its vicinity were rated at twenty thousand two hundred and eighty eight heraut tomauns. A Heraut tomoun is divided into twenty reals (or rupees), thirteen of which make one tomaun of Iràk; so that we have thirty-two thousand nine hundred and sixty eight Iràk tomauns or £21,492. 4s.

This money was collected by assessments on the eight belooks, on the many gardens and vineyards, and on citylands; from several Flaut tribes (or portions of them) tributary to Heraut; from the customs (two and a half per cent. upon every thing, whether money or goods,) and from the mint (said to yield a good profit). Part was realized by many vexatious duties imposed upon nearly every thing marketed in the city, few articles being allowed to be sold without the Shah's stamp upon them; the law extended even to butcher's meat, and any one who transgressed it rendered himself liable to a fine and a beating. The strangest in the account was the sum of a lac of Heraut rupees, said to be the rent from the police; so that our visiter, Mirza Aga, had to make a profit upon this sum,—by charging the inhabitants for the protection of his night watch, by taxing wine and gambling houses, and levying penalties upon every sort of

immorality, real or pretended, he not being likely to want evidence of any offence that he might choose to affix upon a person able to pay a fine. In bad seasons, he was obliged to stretch a point or two to make up his rent, sure of support from the Shah; and the monarch sometimes made him his instrument for performing an act of violence with a show of justice. Not long before our arrival they had carried into execution the following ingenious scheme for plundering a very respectable and wealthy merchant who had come to the city. As he was too prudent a person to give the authorities any just cause of offence, Meerza Aga gave a dancing girl money to make her way into the man's house at night and create a disturbance; he took care to be in the way, and when the noise commenced, entered the house with a party of myrnidons, and took the stranger prisoner, for acting immorally and making an uproar; nor was the man released until he had paid a very heavy fine. In the lock-up house in the bazaar there were generally one or two offenders, sentenced to punishment on a certain day, who continually shouted out entreaties to the passers by to contribute a trifle towards the sum required for their release, and they often obtained it.

With regard to trade, the merchants declared that Kamraun's exactions were scarcely proportioned to their means of meeting them, and that they were for the most part ruined; assertions in which there was evidently much truth. "If we but knew," they said, "the actual sum that he would extort from us yearly, we would make up our minds to pay it, or to go and live elsewhere; but in addition to the regular heavy duties, we are constantly called upon for extra contributions. The sum of twenty thousand two hundred and eighty-eight Heraut tomauns was the nominal amount to be collected as above stated, but the people said that his Majesty had not failed one year to exact fully as much more upon some pretence or other. In the accounts which were shown to us, there was no mention whatever made of the districts of Furrah, Subzaur, and Ghore; neither

were the money receipts from the smaller places given. These governments are held by the Shah's sons, or by favoured sirdars, who doubtless do not account very strictly for their collections either in money or grain. The province of Furrāh, we learned, is almost entirely teool, and, as I before observed, the capabilities of a country thus disposed of are not easily ascertained: however, though many items were wanting on the records, the total annual money income was stated in a sum amounting to (Irāk) tomauns one hundred thirty-seven thousand three hundred and five, or £89,248. 5s.

In my account of the trade at Meshed, I mentioned the articles that are exported from Heraut. Silk is obtainable in the neighbourhood, but not in sufficient quantity for export. In the city, many lamb and sheep skins are made up into caps and cloaks, and returned into the country round, from which they were brought. There were, if I remember right, more than one hundred and fifty shoe-makers' shops in the city, but they were unable to supply the demands from the province, and many camel-loads of ready made slippers were brought from Candahar, where they are manufactured in great quantities. The leather comes from Hindoostan.

The lead mines in the vicinity of Heraut are reported to be rich, but they are scarcely worked. The carpets of Heraut, so famed for softness and for the brilliancy and permanency of their colours, truly deserve their repute: they are made of all sizes, and at any price, from ten to one thousand rupees; but carpets of any size and value are now seldom ordered, and the trade has altogether declined of late years. The best pieces that we saw appeared to me to equal the Turkey carpets, and considering their texture and beauty, to bear a moderate price; but I fear that the expence of the land carriage would prevent our receiving many of them in Hindostan, in barter for the goods which the Affghans yearly take from us.

THE CLIMATE OF AFFGHANISTAN.

(From the Indian Journal of Physical Science.)

Our professional brethren will doubtless expect from us a full account of the climate of Affghanistan, in order that they may be prepared to encounter such diseases as may occur, with judgment, promptitude, and success; we shall therefore glean for them, from the works of Elphinstone and others, every important particular. The climate of Affghanistan, is represented as different to any thing our brethren have been accustomed to. The monsoon is well known to exhibit a delay in its commencement, and diminution in the quantity of rain as it recedes from the sea. In Affghanistan the monsoon is therefore scarcely felt. The N. E. of Affghanistan, however, is to be considered as a remarkable exception, which although further from the sea than Candahar, that part of the country, according to Mr. Elphinstone, receives the monsoon from the East, that able writer speculates, on the cause of this anomaly. His observations are valuable to our readers; we shall therefore quote them in full.

It is to be observed, that the clouds are formed by the vapours of the Indian ocean, and are driven over the land by a wind from the south west. Most part of the tract in which the kingdom of Cabul lies, is to leeward of Africa and Arabia, and receives only the vapours of the narrow sea between its southern shores and the latter country, which are but of small extent, and are exhausted in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast. India lying further east, and beyond the shelter of Africa, the monsoon spreads over it without any obstruction. It is naturally most severe near the sea, from which it draws its supplies, and is exhausted after it has past over a great extent of land. For this reason, the rains are more or less plentiful in each country, according to its distance from the sea, except in those near high mountains, which arrest the clouds, and procure a larger supply of rain for the neighbouring tracts, than would have fallen to their share, if the passage of the clouds had been unobstructed.

The obstacle presented to the clouds and winds by the mountains has another effect of no small importance. The south-west monsoon blows over the ocean in its natural direction; and, though it may experience some diversities after it reaches the land, its general course over India may still be said to be towards the north-east, till it is exhausted on the western and central parts of the peninsula. The provinces in the north-east receive the monsoon in a different manner; the wind which brings the rains to that part of the continent, originally blows from the south-west, over the Bay of Bengal, till the mountains of Hemakeli, and those which join them, from the south, stop its progress and compel it to follow their course towards the north-west. The prevailing wind, therefore, in the region south-west of Hemakeli, is from the south-east, and it is from that quarter that our provinces in Bengal receive their rains. But when the wind has reached so far to the north-west as to meet with Hindoo Coosh, it is again opposed by that mountain, and turned off along its face towards the west, till it meets the projection of Hindoo Coosh and the range of Sooliman, which prevent its further progress in that direction, or at least compel it to part with the clouds with which it was loaded. The effect of the mountains in stopping the clouds borne by this wind, is different in different places. Near the sea, where the clouds are still in a deep mass, part is discharged on the hills and the country beneath them, and part passes up to the north-west; but part makes its way over the first hills, and produces the rains in Tibet. In the latitude of Cashmeer, where the hills are considerably exhausted, this last division is little perceived; the southern face of the hills and the country still farther south is watered; and a part of the clouds continue their progress to Afghanistan; but few make their way over the mountains, or reach the valley of Cashmeer. The clouds which pass on to Afghanistan are exhausted as they go; the rains become weaker and weaker, and at last are merely sufficient to water the mountains, without much affecting the plains at their base.

The above observations will explain, or at least connect the following facts. The south-west monsoon commences on the Malabar coast in May, and is there very violent; it is later and more moderate in Mysore; and the Coromandel coast, covered by the mountainous country on its west, is entirely exempt from it. Further north, the monsoon begins early in June, and loses a good deal of its violence, except in the places influenced by

he neighbourhood of the mountains or the sea, where the fall of water is very considerable. About Delly, it does not begin till the end of June, and the fall of rain is greatly inferior to what is felt at Calcutta or Bombay. In the north of the Punjaub, near the hills, it exceeds that of Delly; but, in the south of the Punjaub, distant both from the sea and the hills very little rain falls. The countries under the hills of Cashmeer, and those under Hindoo Coosh, (Pukhlee, Boonere, and Swaut) have all their share of the rains; but they diminish as we go west, and at Swaut are reduced to a month of clouds, with occasional showers. In the same month (the end of July and beginning of August) the monsoon appears in some clouds and showers at Peshawer, and in the Bungush and Khuttuk countries. It is still less felt in the valley of the Caubul river, where it does not extend beyond Lughman; but in Bajour and Punjcora, under the southern projection, in the part of the Caufir country, which is situated on the top of the same projection, and in Teera, situated in the angle formed by Tukhti Sooliman and its eastern branches, the south-west monsoon is heavy, and forms the principal rains of the year. There is rain in this season in the country of the Janjees and Torees, which probably is brought from the north by the eddy in the winds, but I have not information enough to enable me to conjecture whether that which falls in Bunnoo and the neighbouring countries is to be ascribed to this cause, or to the regular monsoons from the south-west.

The regular monsoon is felt as far west as the utmost boundary of Mekkann, nor is it easy to fix its limits on the north-west with precision, but I have no accounts of it beyond a line drawn through the northern part of the table land of Kalaut, and the northern parts of Shoraubub, of Pisheen, and of Zhobe, to the source of the Koorum; it falls, however, in very different quantities in the various countries south-east of that line. The clouds pass with little obstruction over lower Sinda, but rains, more plentifully in Upper Sinda and Domaun, where these rains though not heavy, are the principal ones in the year. On the sea-coast of Luss and Mekraun, on the other hand, they are arrested by the mountains, and the monsoon resembles that of India. In Sewestaun the monsoon is probably the same as in Upper Sinda and Domaun: in Boree it is only about a month of cloudy and showery weather: it is probably less in Zobe: and in the other countries within the line it only appears in showers, more precarious as we advance towards the north.

Besides the usual rains thus described, a second rain falls in

winter, or which may be considered rather a mixture of rain and snow. This extends over all the countries west of the Indus, as far as the Hellespont, and is of much greater importance to husbandry than the S. W. monsoon. It is represented as the most considerable rainy season. This rain extends to India, but there indeed, it never lasts more than three days, and that is not always certain. In some places in Affghanistan the second rains fall in the form of snow. This is represented as most important to agriculture. In those places, however, where it falls only as rain, it is less so than in springs. It is said that the spring rain falls at different times during a period extending in some places to a fortnight, and in others to a month. This extends over Affghanistan, Toorkistaun, &c. The spring and the winter rains come from the west. From the foregoing description of the different kinds of rain, our readers must perceive that the climate of Affghanistan varies in different parts of the countries. Mr. Elphinstone accounts for this difference in reference to the difference of latitude, but more especially to the different degrees of elevation of different tracts. Regarding the winds, we find that some blow over snowy mountains, others are heated in summer, by their passage over deserts and other arid tracts of great extent. Some places are refreshed in summer by breezes from moister countries, while some are so surrounded by hills as to be inaccessible to any wind at all. A strong northerly or north-easterly wind blows through the whole of Toorkistaun or Khorassaun for a period of 120 days. It begins about the middle of summer. The prevailing winds, however, throughout the Affghaun country are from the west. These are cold. The easterly winds are the reverse. The easterly winds convey clouds, but the westerly shed their contents. The wind which is pestilential and called the simoon, prevails only in some of the hot parts of the country. Mr. Elphinstone asserts that it has been known sometimes to blow on the plains of Peshawar, in Bajom, and in the valley of the Caubul river. It is known in the south of the Dourraanee country, and even in Shawl; but in general it is unknown. It is said never to blow except in bare countries, and never to last above a few minutes at a time. Its approach is discovered by a particular smell, which gives sufficient warning to a person acquainted with it, to allow of his running into shelter till it has passed over. It causes instant death when a man is caught in it. The sufferer falls senseless, and blood bursts from his mouth, nose, and ears. The means of sometimes saving life, however,

is by administering a strong acid or immersion in water. The people in places where the simoon is frequent, eat garlic and rub their lips and noses with it, when they go out in the heat of summer, as means of prevention. The wind blasts trees in its passage and produces hydrophobia in wolves, jackalls and dogs. Were we to curtail this account of the temperature of these parts, we should be doing an injustice to Mr. Blphinstone, and diminish the value of this article as regards the importance of the fullest information to medical men on such a subject.

I shall begin with describing the temperature of the plain of Peshawur, which from the length of our residence there, is better known to me than that of any part of the Affghan dominions. When it is described, I shall have a standard with which the temperature of the rest of the country may be compared.

Peshawar is situated on a low plain, surrounded on all sides except the east with hills. The air is consequently much confined, and the heat greatly increased. In the summer of 1809, which was reckoned a mild one, the thermometer was for several days at 112 and 113, in a large tent artificially cooled, which is as high as in the hottest parts of India. The duration of this heat is not, however so great as that of an Indian summer, and it is compensated by a much colder winter. The following is an account of the progress of the seasons at Peshawar.

The mission arrived in the plain of Peshawar on February 23, 1809. The weather was then cold at night, but perfectly agreeable in the day, and not hot, even in the sun, at any part of the twenty-four hours. The ground was frequently covered with hoarfrost in the morning, as late as the 8th of March, but by the middle of that month the sun was disagreeable by eight in the morning. The weather after this became gradually hotter, and the heat of the sun grew more intense, but the air was often refreshed by showers, and it was always cool in the shade, till the first week in May when even the wind began to be heated. At the time of our arrival, the new grass was springing up through the withered grass of the last year; some of the early trees were budding; but all the other deciduous plants were bare. The approach of the spring was however very rapid. In the first week in March, peach and plum trees began to blossom; apple, quince and mulberry trees were in bloom in the course of the second week; before the end of March, the trees were in full foliage, early in April barely began to be in ear, and it began to be cut down during

the first week in May. From that time the heat increased, and was often very severe, even in the night till the beginning of June, when a whole night of strong hot wind from the northwest was succeeded by such a coolness in the air as was uncomfortable in the morning, but pleasant during the rest of the day. This coolness was not of any great duration, and the heat was at its utmost height by the 23d of June, when we crossed the Indus. Violent hot winds from the south blew all night, till the last day we were in the plain of Peshawar when the wind came round to the north-east, and was delightfully cool. From that time it was understood that the heat would again increase till the middle of July, when a cold wind would set in from the east, and be succeeded by cool and cloudy weather. The last half of September we understood was always so cold, as to be counted in winter, and the succeeding months were said to become colder and colder till February. The cold even in winter is not very severe; though frost is frequent in the nights and mornings, it never lasts long after the sun is up, and snow has only been once seen by the oldest inhabitants. Some of the Indian plants remain in leaf all the year. From the remoteness of my station, I have not now access to the diaries of those gentlemen of the mission who kept an account of the thermometer, but I imagine, that its greatest height in the shade is about 120, and its greatest depression in the course of the year about 26. It is to be observed, that the summer of 1809, was reckoned very cool, but there can, I think, be no doubt, that in every year the summer of Peshawar is more moderate than that of Hindostan, while the winter is much colder. The favorable opinion which I have formed of the climate of Peshawar, from a comparison with that of India, by no means occurs to a person accustomed to the coolness of the western part of the Affghan dominions. The natives of Caubul and Candahar, who were at Peshawar with the King, concurred in exclaiming against the intolerable heat, and verses, epigrams, and proverbs, without number, were quoted to shew the bad opinion which was generally entertained of that climate.

CABUL—CANDAHAR.

(By Mr. Forster.)

Kabul, the residence of Timur Shah and capital of his dominions is a walled city of about a mile and a half in circumference, and situated on the eastern side of a range of two united hills, describing generally the figure of a semi-circle. The fortification, which is of a simple construction with scarcely a ditch, and the houses built of rough stones, clay and unburned bricks, exhibit a mean appearance and are ill suited to the grandeur which I expected to see in the capital of a great empire. But the Affghans are a rude unlettered people and their chiefs have little propensity to the refinements of life which indeed their country is ill qualified to gratify.

From the Indus to the western limit of his extensive territory there is an invariable deficiency of wood; insomuch that the lower class of people in the northern quarter, suffer as much perhaps from a want of fuel in the winter season as those of other countries would do from a scarcity of provisions.

Balau-sir, the name of the Shah's palace, where also the household servants, guards, and the slaves are lodged stands on a rising ground in the eastern quarter of the city and exhibits but a slender testimony of the dignity of its master. Ali Murdan Khan, who held an eminent station in the service of Jehanguir, erected nearly in the centre of the city four spacious bazaars, or market places, in a line which consists of a range of apartments on each side of two floors, the lower appropriated to merchants and that above to private use. The intermediate space between the ranges, is covered by an arched roof, and each bazar is separated by an open square, which was supplied with fountains but now choked with filth or occupied by the meanest order of mechanics.

The districts of Kabul abound in excellent provisions, its market is arranged in a neater manner and more like that of an European town than any I have seen in Asia. The fruits are of a good kind and in great plenty, as apples, pears, peaches, pomegranates and a variety of grapes.

This quarter of Affghanistan, possessing but few Indian productions receive sugars and cotton cloths chiefly from

Peshour, whither it sends iron, leather and tobacco. To Kandahar it exports iron, leather and lamp oil, whence the returns are made in sundry manufactures of Persia and Europe with a large supply of melons of an excellent sort. The Tartars of Bochara, bring to Kabul the horses of Turkistan, furs and hides, the latter resembling those in Europe called Balgar, the amount of which is applied to the purchase of Indigo and other commodities of India.

The adjacent parts of Usbeck Tartary of which Balk* is the capital, hold a species of dependency on Timur Shah, and maintain a common intercourse with Kabul. I have seen the great bazaar, crowded with Usbecks, who have the same cast of features as the Chinese and Malays, but more harsh. Among the foreign nations who frequent this city, the Hindoos chiefly of Peshour contribute more than any other to enrich it by a superior industry and knowledge of commerce; and they enjoy under the Affghan government a liberty and protection little short of that experienced by the inhabitants of our Indian possessions. The benefits derived by a state from the residence of any class of people, usually ensure to them a security of person and property; but the Hindus of Kabul are indebted I believe for special indulgence to one of their own sect who controuls the revenues of the Shah, and stands high in favour. The environs of Kabul are chiefly occupied by garden grounds, and watered by numerous streams; the largest running through the city, over which is a small bridge, affords a plentiful supply of salubrious water.

Kabul stands near the foot of two conjoined hills, whose length has nearly an east and west direction. Towards the base of the eastern, stands, on a flat projection, a fortified palace, which was formerly the habitation of the governors of the city; but it has been converted into a state prison. Above this building is seen a small tower on a peak, whence the ground rises to a considerable height, and is united by a neck of lower land to the other hill. From the peak, a stone wall extends over the summit of the two hills, and is terminated at the bottom of the western-most by an ordinary redoubt.

The Affghans are the indigenous possessors of a tract of country, which stretches from the mountains of Tartary to certain parts of the gulf of Cambay and Persia; and from the Indus to

* This city is about two hundred miles to the North-west of Kabul.

the confines of Persia. The inhabitants of this wide domain, have no written character, and speak a language peculiar to themselves. They are a robust, hardy race of men, and being generally addicted to a state of predatory warfare, their manners largely partake of a barbarous insolence, and they avow a fixed contempt for the occupations of civil life.

The Affghans received the religion of Mahomet from their Tartar conquerors, and like them, professing the Sooni creed, are avowed enemies to the Schias or the Sectaries of Ali. Though many of the tribes must have been converted at the period of the Ghizni dynasty, it is seen that Timour encountered a fierce body of this nation whom he denominated infidels. At this day the Affghans are esteemed the least correct of the Mahometans in religious observances; and few of them are conversant in foreign letters. Their common dress consists of a shirt, which falls over the upper part of long and narrow trousers; a woollen vest, fitted closely to the body and reaching to mid-leg, and a high turned up cap, of broad cloth of cotton, usually of one colour, and of a conic form; with two small parallel slits in the upper edge of it facing. Bread of wheat and barley, milk, butter, and cheese, compose the common diet of the Affghans; they also, in the winter season, and on a journey, make frequent use of a food called croat, which is curdled milk formed into small balls, hardened either by the heat of the sun or fire: this, when dissolved in warm water and mixed with bread, becomes equally savoury and nourishing. Their butter and cheese are invariably made of the milk of sheep, which in this country, is said to be better adapted to the purpose than that of Kine. The cheese I thought of a good quality, though this opinion might have arisen from my long usage to a course of slender diet.

The customs of the Affghans, agreeably to the cursory observations I made, seem in all the greater lines, similar to those of other Mahometan nations; with that difference which necessarily arises from climate, and from the disposition of a rude and polite people. Their women are concealed, though not in a very rigid manner; nor are they so much devoted to the pleasures of the haram, as the Indians, Persians, or Turks. They avow an abhorrence of that unnatural passion to which many of the Mahometan sects are addicted; and the perpetrators are punished with severity.

The Government of the Affghans, must ever receive a weighty bias from the genius of their ruler, and the degree of authority

he may possess. But when not constrained, by some extraordinary power or capacity of the prince, they disperse into societies, and are guided by the ruder principles of a feudal constitution. Conformably to this system, the different chieftains usually reside in fortified villages, where they exercise an acknowledged, though a moderate sway over their vassals, and yield a careless obedience to the orders of government. Rarely any appeal is made to the head of the state, except in cases which may involve a common danger; when I have seen the authority of the Shah interposed with success.

The landholders are assessed, according to their capacity, in a stipulated sum, which is paid into the public treasury; but as it is known that the demand of a large tax would be resisted, the government is temperate and lenient in its treatment of the native Afghan subjects.

The armies of the empire are composed of a diversity of nations: but the best troops are drawn from the Afghan districts; each of which, on the event of service, furnish a stated quota at a low rate, and look for a greater reward in chance of war. The cities and towns are chiefly inhabited by Hindoos and Mahomedans of the Punjab, who were established by the former princes of Hindostan, to introduce commerce and civilization into their western provinces; many families of Tartar and Persian extraction are also dispersed through different parts of Afghanistan. The latter are denominated Parsewauns, the other Moguls;* but they have both adopted the use of the Persian language.

Cavalry constitutes the chief military strength of Afghanistan, which as well from its districts, as its contiguity to Tartary and Persia, procures good horses,† at a moderate rate. A corps of Infantry armed with matchlocks, composes also a part of the Afghan army; but, as in countries where cavalry is formed of the higher classes of the people and denominates military honour and rank, the body is held in low account, and is little superior to the undisciplined soldiery of India; and the Afghan artillery, may, without depreciating it, be estimated by the same scale of comparison.

* The traders in horses and fruits, who make annual journies into India, are chiefly of this joint class.

† A serviceable horse is procured at Cabul, from five to six pounds sterling.

Having made the requisite preparations for my journey and hired one side of a camel, on which a pannier was suspended for my accommodation, I joined a party proceeding to Kandahar.

ROUTE FROM CABUL TO KANDAHAR.

On the 1st September, at Killah Kazzee, the remains of a fort, three fursungs* distant from Cabul. This being a kafilah of camels, which in Affghanistan and Persia, are usually driven in the night, that the heat of the day and the effects of thirst, may be less felt, we departed on the evening of the 22d, and early next morning halted on a barren plain, five fursungs. The road lay through scattered hills of a moderate height, and a county thinly cultivated.

On the 24th, in the morning at Azeabad, five fursungs. The country, which I reviewed at day break, was interspersed with low hills, and generally cultivated.

On the 25th halted near a small fort, four fursungs. The night air was very cold, and the country presented the barren aspect of a bare plain, on which were scattered hills of rock and sand.

On the 26th, at Ghizni, four fursungs. This city remained the capital of an extensive, powerful empire, for the space of four hundred years, and according to the historian Ferishta, was adorned by the Ghisnavi princes, particularly the great Mahmood, with many a sumptuous and stately pile. But, ah! what humiliating sorrow did I feel, how quickly did every spark of the pride incident to humanity subside, on beholding the fallen state of Ghizni! In vain did I look for its "gorgeous palaces and cloud cap'd towers." They had been long levelled with the dust, and save some scattered masses of misshapen ruins not a monument is to be seen of Ghizni's former grandeur. The town stands on a hill of moderate height, at the foot of which runs a small river,† whose borders are occupied by some fruit gardens. Its slender existence is now maintained by some Hindoo families who support a small traffick, and supply the wants of a few Mahometan residents.

* Throughout this quarter of Affghanistan and all the dominions of Persia, the land measurement is calculated by fursungs, which may be roundly computed, at four English miles. In some of the ancient authors, this measurement is termed *parasang*, agreeably to the alphabet of the old Persian in which the letter F is not contained.

† Its current passes to the west or southward; it is the Semilriver.

The climate of Ghizni is so cold as to have become proverbial, and the Affghans told me, that the town has more than once been overwhelmed in snow. The road to Ghizni has, I apprehend, a south-west direction, and is distant from Cabul eighty-two miles, at the rate of four miles to a fursung. I have been the more induced to notice this fact circumstantially; as in our maps its distance and course from Cabul is erroneously laid down; some of the French geographers, even place it to the westward of Kandahar.

In the morning of the 27th of September, at Heer Ghut, five fursungs. The country is interspersed with low hills, and produces, except in some few cultivated spots, little else than a prickly aromatic weed, on which camels feed with avidity; and which with paste of unsifted barley formed into balls, constitutes their common food. This animal is peculiarly useful in countries where as in Affghanistān, the roads are level, the soil dry, and provender, from the thin population, generally scarce. The camel even on much coarser fare than has been mentioned, endures severe fatigue, often carrying a load of eight hundred English pounds; and has so tractable a temper, that eight of them fastened to each other in a string, are managed by two men. When oppressed with thirst on the road, a camel throws from its stomach a fleshy substance of a purple colour, which either returns a supply of water that has been previously deposited, or being put into friction in the mouth, yields such moisture as gives it occasional relief.

On the 27th, our party halted, the places noted as halting stations, take their name either from some adjacent fort, or if in an uninhabited country, from some peculiar aspect or quality they may possess.

On the 29th, at Meercoot, six fursungs. The air had become now so cold, that at this period of the year, and in a latitude between thirty-four and thirty-five, the water which was suspended in a copper vessel from my camel became solidly frozen during the night.

On the 30th, at Mushiedan, in a desert, six fursungs.

On the 1st of October, at Tazee, five fursungs, in a barren track. The air became now very hot in the day, and cold at night.

On the 2d, at Killaat, a fort on an eminence, six fursungs. This quarter of Affghanistān has the general aspect of a desert, and except some small portions of arable land contiguous to the places of habitation, no other cultivation is seen.

(On the 23d, at Teer Andazee, six fursungs. The night air, hitherto cold and bleak, became at this place mild, and the heat of the day oppressive.

On the 4th at Potee,* a small village, situate in a populous and fertile district. Potee lies to the right of the Kandahar road.

On the 5th, in an open well cultivated plain, six fursungs, where halting for a few hours, the kafilah proceeded two and a half fursungs farther to Kandahar. This city, comprised within an ordinary fortification of about three miles in circumference, and of a square form, is populous and flourishing. And lying in the great road, which connects India with Persia and Tartary, has been long a distinguished mart.

At Kandahar, are established many Hindoo families, chiefly of Moultan and the Rajepoot districts, who by their industry and mercantile knowledge, have essentially augmented its trade and wealth. The Turcoman merchants of Bokhara and Samarkand, also frequent this mart, whence they transport into their own country a considerable quantity of Indigo, with which commodity Kandahar is annually supplied from various parts of Upper India. This city is more abundantly supplied with provisions and at a cheaper rate, than any place I have seen on the west side of the Indus. The grapes and melons of numerous kinds are peculiarly high flavoured, and are comparable with the first fruits of Europe. The extensive range of shops occupied by Hindoo traders, with the ease and contentment expressed in their deportment, affords a fair testimony of their enjoying at Kandahar, liberty and protection.

The environs of Kandahar occupy an extensive plain, covered with fruit gardens and cultivation, which are intersected with numerous streams, of so excellent a quality as to become proverbial; and the climate is happily tempered, between the heat of India and the cold of Ghizni.

It is generally supposed in Europe that Kandahar stands in a country of mountains, and we speak of the lofty passes of Kandahar, as a point not less clearly ascertained than the existence of the Alps. Permit me to rectify this popular error, which, like many of a similar texture, has made mountains of mole hills,

* The distance of this march is not given by Foster, but taking it at the average daily length, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ fursungs, the road from Cabul to Kandahar will be 63 fursungs or 272 miles which were travelled by the party in 4 marches. An Indian Army would be more likely to take 30 days for the completion of such a task.

and acquaint you that the face of the country surrounding the new city of Kandahar forms an extensive plain, which as it approaches the site of the old fortress, becomes interspersed with hills; but they are of a moderate height; nor, do they form any barrier of difficult access or deep extent.

The road from Ghizni to Kandahar, according to my gross observations, tends to the south-west; and the country has generally a barren aspect, with a scanty supply of wood and water. The buildings from a scarcity of timber, are constructed as in the Cabul districts, of sun-burnt bricks, and covered with a flat arched roof of the like materials.

FROM KANDAHAR TO HERAT.

On the 8th of October left Kandahar, and proceeded to Koby, three fursungs, a small village surrounded by a fertile plain. At the distance of two or three miles to the northward of Kandahar, is seen on the left, the remains of the old fortress, standing on the summit of a rocky hill of a moderate height, but abrupt elevation. The road to this place tends over a stony ascent of easy access, skirted on each side with scattered hills and wide intervals of level land. It is the form of this part of Afghanistan, which has given rise, I apprehend, to the European belief of the mountains and passes of Kandahar.

On the 9th, at Auskuckana, three fursungs, a small village on a thinly cultivated plain.

On the evening of the 10th, the kafilah moved, and arrived the next morning at Howrah Muddit Khan,* six fursungs, the country open, and the soil, a mixture of light sand and earth, producing generally that species of weed which has been noted in the remarks of the road from Cabul to Kandahar.

On the 14th, at Hhackchamparah, six fursungs. No remarks or habitation were seen during the journey of these two last days.

On the 14th, Greishk, seven fursungs, a large walled village, on the skirts of which runs a small stream of good water; halted two days at this place, where a toll is collected on merchandize and passengers, and where a stock of provisions was

* Howrah signifies an artificial fountain or reservoir of water; one of which had been constructed at this place by Muddit Khan, for the accommodation of travellers.

laid in to supply our consumption, through a tract of desert country extending from this station to the westward.

On the 17th, at Shah Nadir, a station in the desert, seven fursungs. This reservoir built by Nadir Shah, is a square of about twenty feet, over which is erected on pillars a terrace, which extending beyond the margin of the water, affords a convenient lodging to travellers.

On the 18th, at Shorab, * five fursungs; some spots of cultivation were scattered around this station, but no village in sight.

On the 19th, at a Lungherah, a place of halt, in a desert country, where we found only one weak spring of water, which was quickly consumed.

On the 20th, at Dilaram, six fursungs, a fort in ruins which is skirted by a rivulet, on whose margin are seen some scattering trees; a rare sight in this land! but, the adjacent country is barren and uninhabited.

On the 21st, at Buckwan, seven fursungs, a station in the desert.

On the 22d, at Drauze in the desert, six fursungs. This day the sun shot forth its rays with great force, and the ground which we occupied being bare sand, reflected an intense heat. Whilst I was panting under a very flimsy covering, I observed that my neighbour, a Turkoman Seid who had no shelter, was struck by the sun, and lay struggling in a violent agony.

On the 23d, at Ghurmow in the desert, five fursungs. This evening some Hindu traders left our party and proceeded to Ferra, an Affghan town of some note, lying about forty or fifty miles to the south-west of Drauze. The land I travel over exhibits to the fatigued eye, one vast steril plain, without rivers, wood, or scarcely a place of human habitation.

On the 24th, at Ghraunes, six fursungs. A populous walled village, situate near a small running water. Halted there the next day to make the payment of a toll, and purchase provisions for a three days journey over a desert, which reaches from this place to the confines of Khorasan.

On the 27th, at Choos, in the desert, five fursungs.

On the 28th, at Gimmuch, seven fursungs, a station in the desert.

* Signifying salt or brackish water, but at this station the water was fresh.

On the 29th, at Ouckal, a large walled village, standing within the limit of the province of Khorasan, and inhabited wholly by Persians. It is proper here to observe, that the natives of Persia proper, particularly the soldiery, are often termed, at home, as in foreign countries, Kuzzel-Bach; a Turkish compound, signifying, I am informed, red head, and originating from the Persian cap, being covered at the top with red cloth.

On the 30th, a halt.

On the 31st, at Sheerbuchish, a desert station, six fursungs.

On the 1st of November, at Zeraut Grah, seven fursungs. A small village, on the skirts of which are seen the remains of some tombs or religious edifices.

On the 2d, at the city of Herat, three fursungs*. The road from Kandahar to Gimmuch leads to the west, or west by north; from thence to Herat, it has, I apprehend, nearly a northern course, yet I cannot account for the sudden deviation of the tract. The country is generally open, and interspersed with barren rocky hills of a moderate height. The soil is light and sandy, producing naturally little else than the aromatic weed before noted.

The city of Herat stands on a spacious plain, which is intersected with many springs of running water, some of which are supplied with bridges; and the numerous villages surrounded with plantations, must afford a pleasant view to the traveller, whose eye has been wearied with the deserts of Afghanistan.

The director of the kafilah carried us to the caravanserah, where passengers only are lodged; the other places of this description, being all occupied by resident traders.

In all parts of the city which I frequented, I was known only as a Mahometan, except in the caravanserah, where I experienced unceasing insult and derision; for the Persians affect a great scruple in communicating with those of a different religion, than any other sect of Mahometans. I was not even permitted to draw water out of a common well, but ordered to place my vessel on the ground, which was filled by a person hired for the purpose, from a height, and not touched. When I have been waiting for this supply, the town boys who, in their round of diversion, would occasionally take our karavansera in their way, learning that I was an impure person, used to form a cir-

* The whole distance from Kandahar, allowing that the marches, the length of which are not stated, were average ones, is 106 fursungs or 424 miles, and was done in 26 days including 7 halts.

cle round me, and desire to have the unclean part shewn to them, and seemed much disappointed, on being told that I was unclean all over.

Whenever I quitted the purlieus of my lodging, I became a grave, hypocritical Mussulman, with the enjoyment of all his privileges; and the city containing various description of people, there was little apprehension of a discovery. I daily frequented the eating houses, where all the talk of the day is circulated, and chiefly fabricated, in conjunction with the Barber's shop, which in Herat, has a neat appearance. In the centre of it stands a small stone pillar, on the top of which is placed a cup of water, in readiness for operation, and the sides of the shop are decorated with looking glasses, razors, and beard combs. Home having no pleasures for me, I was glad to seek them abroad; nor did I fail in procuring equal amusement and information. Neither Affghanistan nor the northern provinces of Persia, permit the residence of courtezans, or any women that dance or sing for the public entertainment. The northern Persians affect to express an abhorrence of the Indian Mahometans, whom they reprobate for a general depravity of manners, and a neglect of religious duties; yet this temperate and demure people are much defamed, if, under their mysterious carriage of body, they do not practice in their different vocations, every species of deceit and knavery. In India, it is a well known fact, that the Moguls, a denomination given there to all foreign Mahometans, throw off their northern cloke, and becoming notorious debauchees, laugh to scorn the precepts of their doctors.

Herat is a smaller city than Kandahar, but maintains a respectable trade; and the market place occupying a long street, covered with an arched roof, is filled with shops of various wares. Bread, rice and flesh meats, with numerous fruits and vegetables, are equally cheap and abundant; and the grand market, held once a week, is so crowded with the produce of the neighbouring villages, that a passage through it, is difficult and fatiguing. Coarse woollens of a strong texture are manufactured in the adjacent districts, a great part of which made into garments, are exported into various parts of northern Persia; surtouts of sheep-skin, with the wool in the inside, are seen hanging at almost every shop, and are used by all classes of people in the winter season. A small quantity of European commodities is brought to this city from the Gulf of Persia, consisting of French broad cloths, cutlery, small looking glasses, and prints;

but their low prices shew that the demand is very limited. The Police of Herat is judiciously regulated, and the administration of justice, vigorous. Two men, apparently above the ordinary class, having been convicted of theft, were suspended by the heels from a dome, which stands in the centre of the market, where they remained near an hour, to the terror of a gazing populace; having witnessed a part of this exhibition, I returned to my lodging with the interested belief that my property, which was all in specie concealed about my person, had derived from it an additional security.

On exchanging some gold at this place, I found the rate more favorable than at Kandahar, or Kabul; yet still one in sixteen less than the Indian value.

It had been my first intention to have proceeded from Herat to Reshd, the principal town of the Ghilan province, which lies a few miles inland from Inzellee, a Russian factory on the border of the Caspian. It is a computed journey of seventy days, of about twenty miles each, from this city to Reshd,* but the road which leads through the lesser Irak,† has a deviating course from the direct line.

Being informed by the Armenians of Herat, that Russian vessels navigate along the coast of Mazanderan, to which a straight track lay from hence, though not much frequented, from being subject to the depredation of the Turcoman Tartars, I was resolved to pursue this route, at once direct, and wholly unknown to European travellers.

A khafilah being about to proceed to Turshish, a town lying in the direction of Mazanderan, I made an agreement with the director for a conveyance; but with a confidential stipulation, that I was to be received in a Mahometan character; and the better to guard against a discovery of my person, I took the name of an Arab, a people little known in this part of Persia, and the knowledge of whose language is confined only to some of the more learned priests.

At Herat I found, in two karavanseras, about one hundred Hindoo merchants, chiefly natives of Moultan, who, by the maintenance of a brisk commerce, and extending a long chain of cre-

* From Herat to the town of Jubbus, a route of fifteen days, thence to Yerd twenty-five, to Cashan ten, and a fifteen days journey to Reshd.

† There are two provinces of Irak; the lesser and greater; the latter, termed Irak Azeem. of which Bagdad is the capital, chiefly depends on Tur-

dit, have become valuable subjects to the government; but discouraged by the insolent and often oppressive treatment of the Persians, they are rarely induced to bring their women into this country. When the Hindoos cross the Attock, they usually put on the dress of a northern Asiatic; being seldom seen without a long cloth coat, and a high cap. Some Jewish traders reside also at Herat, where they are accused of practising all that system of chicane, to which their tribe is so notoriously addicted in the western world. Being habituated to the manners of upper Asia, and conversant in most of its languages, the Jews and Armenians mix with little personal inconveniency in Mahometan societies.

FROM HERAT TO TURSHISH.

The route of Forster, after his departure from Herat, leads through countries in which, it is very improbable, that our armies will have to operate, but as, on the other hand, these are the provinces on the southern shores of the Caspian, through which the passage of our Russian adversaries will be directed, it is of interest to inquire, what may be the physical facilities or obstacles which present themselves, what the disposition and power of the population and their rulers respectively, and what the natural productiveness of the districts that we may thus; in some degree, judge of the extent of means and munitions which a regular invading Army will have to carry with it, and the assistance which it may hope to derive in its progress from the countries in which it is acting. It is not much that an individual observer, however intelligent and inquiring, can from a single cursory visit, and compelled to one route, communicate of the general geographical features of a country; but, as roads will generally be through the easiest, safest and cheapest parts of a district, where there is most intercommunication, and supplies of bread, wood and water, are more probable, a kind of inferential evidence may be gathered from the descriptions of even the solitary traveller, as to what may elsewhere be expected. Forster's onward route between Herat and the Caspian, proceeded pretty direct, through the North-eastern parts of Khorasan via Khauf, Turshish, Sharood and Sari to Balfrush in the neighbourhood of which he embarked on a Russian vessel to Baku a port of some consideration on the western coast of the Caspian. The distance to Turshish, beyond which we shall not on this occasion

take our readers, appears to have been about 260 miles, which took the traveller's khafilah, not a large one, nor generally ill mounted, twenty-two days, including halts. At first the general aspect of the intermediate country is represented as wild, inhospitable, thinly peopled (except in the neighbourhood of these scattered villages) and uncultivated, the water occasionally scanty and brackish, the weather tempestuous, cold and snowy, provisions scarcely procurable, but, in populousness, cultivation and watering facilities, the mild lying countries exhibited an improvement, though for a space of 40 miles from the vicinity of Dochabad, a sterile waste extends to the very neighbourhood of Turshish on which was neither an inhabitant or any sign of vegetation, as if nature had interposed the barren sand to preclude foreign hostilities, nay to discourage even social intercourse. But in Turshish, as apparently in all the larger cities of Persia and Afghanistan, we find that Hindoo families chiefly we presume from Sinde, are located in greater numbers than one would expect, a fact of which profitable use might be made for the procurement of intelligence and, when our armies should be near enough, perhaps even the creation of a feeling in our favour within their walls.

On the evening of the 22d of November, I left Heraut, and halted that night at Alaum Guffour Chushmah,* three quarters of a fursung.

On the evening of the 24th, moved from the Chushmah, and arrived the next morning at Dbey Soorch, four fursungs. Some little cultivation was seen, but the general face of the country bore the same wild inhospitable aspect, as in the eastern quarter of Khorasan.

On the 26th, at the Pool, or bridge of Skebo, three and a half fursungs, in an uncultivated country. This bridge built of brick and mortar, stands over a small river whose name I could not learn, running to the southward or left, and is fordable at most seasons.

On the 27th, at Corian, a large village, four and a half fursungs. In this neighbourhood, I saw some windmills, for grinding corn; they are constructed on the same principle as those of Europe, but instead of canvas wings, broad leaved flags are substituted. The toll gatherer at Corian affects to observe a peculiar vigilance in the execution of his office, which he saw occasion to exercise on me.

* Chushmah in the Persian, signifies a natural mountain.

On the 20th at Charsoorch, seven fursungs, a station in an uninhabited country, and supplied with one well, whose water was barely sufficient for the supply of our party.

On the 30th, at Tursala, three and a half fursungs, a station in the desert, near a well of brackish water.

On the 1st of December, at Kauff, seven fursungs, a populous, and in this country a large village, which maintains a moderate traffic with Herat, Mischid and Turshish. Markets and public shops being only seen in the cities and principal towns of Persia and Afghanistan, travellers are obliged to apply for provisions to the housekeepers, who are often unable to provide the required quantity. Though Kauff is a village of note, bread in no part of it is publicly vended; and having occasion for a three day's supply, I advanced the required price to a Persian, who, after keeping me in waiting till midnight absconded: Bread and the cheese of sheep's milk, when procurable, was my common fare, which, with a water beverage, gave me a vigor and strength equal to the daily fatigue I incurred. And when the inclemency of the weather is considered, and how broken his rest must be who is carried on the back of the roughest paced animal that moves, thrust also into a crib not half his size, and stunned by the loud clamours of the drivers, you must grant that no ordinary texture of constitution is required to accompany the kafilahs in northern Persia.

Having witnessed the robust activity of the people of this country and Afghanistan, I am induced to think, that the human body may sustain the most laborious service, without the aid of animal food. The Afghan whose sole aliment is bread, curdled milk and water, inhabiting a climate which often produced in one day, extreme heat and cold, shall undergo as much fatigue, and exert as much strength, as the porter of London, who copiously feeds on flesh, meat and ale: nor is he subject to the like acute and obstinate disorders. It is a well known fact that the Arabs of the shore of the Red Sea, who live with little exception on dates and lemons, carry burthens of such an extraordinary weight, that its specific mention to an European ear, would seem romance.

On the 3d of December, at Ruee, four and a half fursungs, a populous village, where a fall of snow produced a change on the face of the land, to which I had been long a stranger. Halted on the 4th, on account of the inspection of some goods which had been damaged by the weather. Three Persians with myself

occupied the lower part of a windmill, which our joint endeavours to defend from the cold, were wholly ineffectual; yet my companions seemed little affected by it. They were horsemen, and having no attendants, were obliged to clean their cattle, and go in search of forage, fuel and provisions: these offices they performed with alacrity, nor did they once shrink from the boisterous drifts of snow and a north wind, that, I verily believe, must have swept every mountain top in Tartary. My body, which a residence of many years in India, had greatly relaxed, and a recent sickness enfeebled, was open to every touch of those rude blasts, and I saw with mortification a north Briton, screening himself from a climate, which imparted vigor to an Asiatic.

On the 5th, at Say Day, five and a half fursungs, a small fortified village, whose adjacent lands extending in a valley, seemed to be well cultivated.

On the 6th, at Ashkara, five fursungs, a small fortified village. A great quantity of snow fell on our arrival at this place, and the weather became so tempestuous, that the kafilah could not proceed. Our party went into the fort to seek shelter, and after earnest intreaties, were conducted into a small dark room, barely capable of defending us against the storm, which had now set in with violence. The inhabitants, aware of our distress, furnished an abundant supply of fuel, which became as necessary to our existence as food; but when the cold was a little qualified, we experienced an urgent want of provisions; not an article of which was to be procured at Ashkara. This dilemma dismayed the stoutest of us, and became the more alarming from the apparently fixed state of the weather. Yet, such cordial pleasures are inherent in society, that, though pent up in a dark hovel, which afforded but a flimsy shelter against the mounds of snow furiously hurled against it, our good humour with each other, and an ample supply of fire, produced cheerfulness and content.

On the 10th, the storm having abated, the kafilah moved before day-break, and arrived in the evening at Hoondeabad, six and a half fursungs, a small village, situate in a well cultivated plain, watered by many rivulets. My companions, who had continued to treat me with much kindness, proceeded from this station to Nishabor, which lies about seventy miles to the north-west of Hoondeabad.

The division of Khorasan, which has been annexed to the Affghan empire, seems to be wholly entrusted to the management

of Persians, who though a conquered people, live in the enjoyment of every right, civil or religious, which could have been granted to them under their own Princes.

When the extensive conquests of the Affghans in Persia are considered, the spacious empire which they have so recently founded and other general reputations for military prowess. I felt a sensible disappointment at seeing their armies, composed of a tumultuous body, without order or common discipline. It is seen, however, that they were good soldiers under Ahmed Shah, who, himself a Prince of conspicuous military talent, and a discerning patron of merit, was empowered to give his troops that forte which they constitutionally possess. Yet, even under this famed leader, the Affghans, impetuous, and haughty from the form of their government, were never an obedient soldiery, and the severe encounters which Ahmed Shah experienced from the Sicques, when he ultimately evacuated the Punjab, are attributed to the desertion of his troops, who already enriched by the plunder of India, retired in large bodies to their own country.

Though far short of the opinion I had formed of it, the Affghan army is much superior to that of Persia at the present day, who long deprived of a monarch, and subjected either to a foreign yoke or the precarious authority of petty chieftains, have lost with their patriotism the spirit of enterprize. It appears that the Persians have been ever ill acquainted with the use of fire arms, and that their grand successes were obtained by the formidable onset of their cavalry. Little other proof indeed is required of their want of skill, than a review of Nair's long siege of Bagdad, which, though a fortification of mean tenability, baffled all his efforts. The matchlock piece is the common weapon of a Persian foot soldier, except in the province of Auderbeijan, and in some parts of Shirvan and Dhaghistan, where the use of the spring lock musquet has been adopted from the Turks; but the ridicule which has been thrown on this practise by the body of the people, will probably long prevent its general introduction.

On the 11th, at Fidgeeroot, a small fort, three and a half fursungs, situate in a cultivated and generally a plain country, in whose vicinity are seen many fortified villages.

On the 12th, at Dochabad, four and a half fursungs, a populous open village, protected by an adjoining fort, and distinguished by a manufacture of raw silk. The districts of Dochabad from the western boundary of the dominion, which in a direction

from Cashmere to this place,* occupy by a gross computation, a rectilinear extent of 800 geographical miles. Were this spacious territory governed by as vigorous and enterprising a prince, as it is peopled by a brave and hardy race of men, the entire conquest of Persia would not be of difficult attainment. But Timur Shah inherits no portion of his father's genius, and his power is seldom seen or felt except some object of wealth, and of late accomplishment be held out to his avarice. The existence of the emperor is then felt, and for the day, dreaded.

On the 13th, at Koot, six farsangs, a village dependent on the chief of Turshish. From the vicinity of Dehabad, a waste extends to this place, on which is neither an inhabitant, nor the least token of vegetation; and it should seem that nature had interposed this barren sand to preclude the assaults of war, and even discourage disposition to social intercourse. To the north, extends a lofty chain of mountains covered with snow,† and the other quarters shew a tract of sand, thinly marked with craggy hills.

The proprietor of the camel on which I rode, had carried me to Koot, his place of residence, fearing to carry his wares, principally composed of rice, to the town of Turshish, lest the chief should take it at arbitrary prices. He told me, that his cattle were not destined for that place, whither I might pursue my way in the best manner I liked, except on his camel. The fort of Turshish being at no greater distance than two miles, I would have proceeded without hesitation, could I have carried my baggage, which though of little value, was too heavy a load for me. After much intreaty, it was transported at my charge, on the back of an ass‡ to the Karavanera at Turshish.

Adjoining to old Turshish, called also Soltanabad, which is of small compass, and surrounded with a wall, is built a new town, in an angle of which stands the Karavanera, the only one I have seen in Persia, which is now invariably supplied with water.

The trade of Turshish, arises chiefly from the import of indigo

* It is to be noted, that some petty chiefships lying between Cashmere and the Indus, are held by independent Affghans.

† A road lead over these mountains to Maschid, which is said to be one hundred miles north-west from Turshish, and about thirty miles to the northward of Nishabor.

‡ The Persian asses are of a strong make, and much used by dealers in small and ordinary wares. I have seen the conveyance of large parties, consisting of those animals which appear to be more active, and endure more fatigue than those of England.

and other dyes from the westward, woollen cloths, and rice, which is scantily produced in this vicinity, from Herat. And the chief article of export seems to be iron, wrought in thick plates, the small quantity of European cloths required at Turshish, is brought from Mozanderan, by the way of Shahroot, or from Ghilan, by the way of the great road of Yazd. About one hundred Hindoo families, Boultan and Jesolmere, are established in this town, which is the extreme limit of their emigration on this side of Persia; they occupy a quarter in which no Mahometan is permitted to reside, and where they conducted business without molestation or insult; and I was not a little surprised to see those of the Bramin sect, distinguished by the appellation of Feerz odah, a title which the Mahometans usually bestow on the descendants of their prophet. Small companies of Hindoos are also settled at Murchi, Yazd, Kachar, Casbia, and some parts of the Caspian shore; and more extensive societies in the different towns of the Persian Gulf, where they maintain a navigable commerce with the western coast of India.

From Burnes' Travels into Bokhara.

(Vol. II. Chapter 3.)

PESHAWUR.

It required some arrangement to commence our advance into the country of the Affghans; for they and the Seiks entertain the most deep rooted animosity towards each other. At Attock, a friendly letter was sent to us by the chief of Peshawur, expressive of his good wishes. I, therefore, addressed that personage, Sooban Shahmored Khan, informing him of our intentions, and soliciting his protection. I likewise sent a letter of introduction from Runjeet to the chief of Acora; but so incessant is power in these countries, that that person had been ejected during the few weeks we had been travelling from Lahore; but the former opened the communication, and kindly despatched a party to meet us. The subjects of Runjeet Sing escorted us to the frontier, which is three miles beyond the Indus; here

we met the Affghans. Neither party would approach, and we drew up at a distance of about 300 yards from each other. The Sikhs gave us their "*wagroojee juttih*," synonymous with our three cheers and we advanced, and delivered ourselves to the Mahomedans; who said, *Was-salam alaikoom!* "Peace be unto you!" We trod our way to Acora, with our new people, the Khuttucks, a lawless race, and alighted at that village, which is nearly deserted, from the constant inroads of the Sikhs. The chief immediately wared upon us, and expressed his dissatisfaction at our having purchased some articles from the bazar since it was a reflection on his hospitality. I begged his pardon, and placed the mistake on my ignorance of Affghan customs, adding, that I would not forget, as I advanced, the hospitality of the Khuttucks of Acora. The chief took his leave, charging us, before his departure, to consider ourselves as secure as eggs under a hen; a homely enough simile, the truth of which we had no reason to doubt. Yet it was at this place that Mr. Moorcroft and his party encountered some serious difficulties, and were obliged to fight their way. We here received a second and most friendly letter from the chief of Peshawar, which was truly satisfactory, since it had been written before he had got any of the letters of introduction which we forwarded. It intimated that a person was approaching to conduct us.

We had now quitted the territories of Hindoostan, and entered on a land where covetousness of a neighbour's goods is the ruling passion: we therefore marched with our baggage. Our few servants were also divided into regular watches for the night. We had two Affghans, two Indians, and two natives of Cashmeer. A Cashmerian paired with an Indian, and the trust-worthy with the most lazy; while we ourselves superintended the posting of the sentries. Our people laughed heartily at this military disposition; but it was ever after enforced in all our travels. We ourselves were now living as natives, and had ceased to repine at the hardness of the ground and the miserable hoves at which we sometimes halted. I had a so disposed of my valuables in what then appeared to me a masterly manner: a letter of credit for five thousand rupees was fastened to my left arm, in the way that the Asiatics wear amulets. My plying passport was fixed to my right arm, and a bag of ducats was tied round my waist. I also distributed a part of my ready money to each of the servants; and so perfect was the check that had been established over them, that we never lost a single

ducat in all our journey, and found most faithful servants in men who might have ruined and betrayed us. We trusted them, and they rewarded our confidence. One man, Ghulam Hoosn, a native of Surat, followed me throughout the whole journey, cooked our food, and never uttered a complaint at the performance of such duties, foreign as they were to his engagements. He is now with me in England.

Our conductor, on the part of Runjeet Sing, left us at Acora. Choonce Lal, for that was his name, was a quiet, inoffensive Brahmin, who did not seem at ease across the Indus. I gave him a farewell letter to his master; and, since his Highness had written for my sentiments regarding the salt-mines of the Punjab, and the best means of profiting by them, I gave him a long account of salt monopolies, telling him that it was better to levy high duties upon salt, than grain. I told him, also, in as many words, that the salt-range was as valuable a portion of his territory as the valley of Cashmeer; but I do not believe that his Highness stood in need of much counsel, as the measures which we had seen at the mines practically proved.

On our road to Acora, we passed a field of battle, at the small village of Sydoo, where, it is said, 8000 Seiks had defended themselves against an enraged population of 150,000 Mahomedans. Bood Sing, their commander, threw up a small breastwork of loose stones, and extricated himself from his dilemma, so as to secure the praise even of his enemies. We now saw the place, and the bleaching bones of the horses which had fallen on the occasion. On the next march we passed the more celebrated field of Noushero, on which our attention had been directed by Runjeet Sing himself. He here encountered the Afghans for the last time; but their chief, Azeem Khan, was separated from the greater part of his army by the river of Cabool. The Seiks defeated the divisions on the opposite side, mainly through the personal courage of Runjeet Sing, who carried a hillock with his guards, from which his other troops had three times retreated. Azeem Khan, of Cabool, fled without encountering the successful army, which had partly crossed the river to oppose him. It is believed that he feared the capture of his treasure, which would have fallen into Runjeet's power if he had advanced; but it is also said, that he was terrified by the shouts of the Seiks on the night of their victory. He attributed their exclamations to the fresh arrival of troops: for they have a custom of shouting on such occasions. We have already

compared this potentate with Porus; and the similar stratagem by which Alexander defeated that prince will also be remembered. As the Greeks had terrified his predecessor on the Hydaspes, the Sikhs now frightened the Affghans by their shouts and pæans.

As we traversed the plain to Peshawur, I felt elevated and happy. Thyme and violets perfumed the air, and the green sod and clover put us in mind of our native home. The violet has the name of "*gool i pughumbur*," or the rose of the Prophet, *par excellence*, I suppose, from its fragrance. At Peerpæe, which is a march from Peshawur, we were joined by six horsemen, whom the chief sent to escort us. We saddled at sunrise, though it rained heavily, and accompanied the party to the city, trying sorely the patience of the horsemen, by declining to halt half way, that they might give timely information of our approach. We pushed on till near the city; when their persuasion could be no longer resisted. "The chief sent us to welcome you, and has ordered his son to meet you outside the city," said their commander, "and we are now within a few hundred yards of his house." We halted, and in a few minutes the eldest son of the chief made his appearance, attended by an elephant and a body of horse. He was a handsome boy, about twelve years o.d, and dressed in a blue tunic, with a Cashmeer shawl as a turban. We dismounted on the high road, and embraced; when the youth immediately conducted us to the presence of his father. Never were people received with more kindness: he met us in person at the doorway, and led us inside of an apartment, studded with mirror glass and daubed over with paint in exceedingly bad taste. His house, his country, his property, his all, were ours; he was the ally of the British government, and he had shewn it by his kindness to Mr. Moorcroft, which he considered as a treaty of friendship. We were not the persons who wished to infringe its articles. Sooltan Mahommed Khan is about thirty five years old, rather tall in stature, and of dark complexion. He was dressed in a pelisse, trimmed with fur and the down of the peacock, which had a richer look than the furniture that surrounded him. We were glad to withdraw and change our wet clothes, and were conducted to the seraglio of Sooltan Mahommed Khan, which he had prepared, *I need not add, emptied*, for our reception. This was, indeed, a kind of welcome we had not anticipated.

An hour had not passed before we were visited by Peer Mohammed Khan, the younger brother of the chief, a jolly and agreeable person. The chief himself followed in the course of the evening; and a sumptuous dinner succeeded, of which we all partook. The meat was delicious, and so was the cookery. We ate with our hands; and soon ceased to wonder at a nobleman tearing a lamb in pieces and selecting the choice bits, which he held out for our acceptance. A long roll of leavened bread was spread in front of each of us as a plate; and, since its size diminished as the meat disappeared, it did its part well. Pilaos and stews, sweets and soups, filled the trays; but the *bonne bouche* of the day was a lamb that had never tasted aught but milk. A bitter orange had been squeezed over it, and made it very savoury. Four trays of sweetmeats followed, with fruit; and the repast concluded with sherbet mixed with snow, the sight of which delighted us as much as our new friends. A watch of night was spent before we broke up; and after the chief had repeated in a whisper his devotion to our nation and anxiety for our welfare, he bade us good night. I had almost lost the use of my legs from the irksome position of constraint in which I had so long sat. If we had been prepared to like the manners of this people, there was much to confirm it on this evening.

On the following day we were introduced to the remainder of the family. There are two brothers besides the chief, and a host of sons and relations. The most remarkable person of the family was a son of Futtih Khan, the Vizier of Shah Mahmood, who had been so basely and cruelly murdered. The lad is about fourteen years of age, and the solitary descendant of his ill-fated father. The sons of the Meer Warez and Mooktar-o-doula, who had dethroned Shah Shooja, were among the party, and the day passed most agreeably. The people were sociable and well-informed, free from prejudice on points of religion, and many of them were well versed in Asiatic history. They were always cheerful, and frequently noisy in their good-humour. During the conversation many of them rose up, and prayed in the room when the stated hours arrived. As we got better acquainted in Peshawur, our circle of acquaintance was widely extended, and visitors would drop in at all hours, and more particularly if they found us alone. The Affghans never sit by themselves, and always made some apology if they found any of us solitary, though it would have been sometimes agree-

able to continue so. In the afternoon the chief invited us to accompany him and his brothers to see the environs of Peshawur. The doctor stayed away, but I rode with them. Of the town of Peshawur I shall say nothing, since the graphic and accurate descriptions of Mr. Elphinstone require no addition. Such, indeed, is the nature of the information contained in his valuable work, that I shall always avoid the ground on which he trod, and in Peshawar confine myself to incidents and adventures of a personal nature. I say this in my own defence. I had accompanied the chief on a day most favorable to a stranger, the "nozoz," or new year, (the 21st of March) which is celebrated by the people. The greater part of the community were gathered in gardens, and paraded about with nosegays and bunches of peach-blossom. We entered the garden of Ali Murdan Khan, and seating ourselves on the top of the garden-house, looked down upon the assembled multitude. The trees were covered with blossom, and nothing could be more beautiful than the surrounding scene. The chief and his brothers took great pains to point out the neighbouring hills to me, explaining by whom they were inhabited, with every other particular which they thought might interest. They also informed me, that the nobleman who had prepared this garden possessed the philosopher's stone (the "sang-i-fars"), since there was no other way of accounting for his great riches. They added, that he threw it into the Indus; which at least eases them of the dilemma as to his heir.

We soon got accustomed to our new mode of life, and, as we made it a rule never on any occasion to write during the day, or in public, had leisure to receive every person who came to see us. In a short time we became acquainted with the whole society of Peshawur; and, during the thirty days that we remained there, had an uninterrupted series of visiting and feasting. Nothing, however, more contributed to our comfort and happiness than the kindness of our worthy host. Soodtan Mahomed Khan was not the illiterate Afghan whom I expected to find, but an educated well bred gentleman, whose open and affable manner made the most lasting impression. As we were sitting down to dinner, he would frequently slip in, quite unattended and pass the evening with us. He would sometimes be followed by various trays of dishes, which he had had cooked in his harem, and believed might be palatable to us. He is a person more remarkable for his urbanity than his wisdom; but he

transacts all his own business: he is a brave soldier; his seraglio has about thirty inmates, and he has already had a family of sixty children. He could not tell the exact number of survivors when I asked him.

On the Friday after our arrival we accompanied the chief and his family to some flower-gardens, where we spent the greater part of the day in conversation. The chief himself sat under one tree, and we ranged ourselves beneath another. Iced sherbet and confections were brought to us, and we heard much of the munificence of Mr. Elphinstone from Moolah Nujeeb, an elderly man, who had accompanied him to Calcutta. In the afternoon we returned to the King's garden, which is a most spacious one, and sat down on the ground with Sultan Mahomed Khan and his family, to partake of sugar-cane cut into small pieces. Four of the chief's sons accompanied us; and it was delightful to see the affectionate notice which he took of his children, none of whom were five years old. Each of them sat on horse back in front of one of his suite, and held the reins in a mastery manner; for the Dooranees are taught to ride from infancy. We then followed the chief to his family burying-ground, where his two elder brothers, Atta and Yar Wahomed Khan, who fell in battle, lie interred. The whole branches of the family were present, and offered up their afternoon prayers in a mosque, close to the cemetery. The sight was very impressive, and the more so, since the sons of the deceased brothers were among the party. The day finished with a visit to a holy man named Shekh Iwus; and such is the usual manner of spending a Friday among the Duranee nobles of Peshawur. The chief's retinue consisted of his relations and servants: he had no guards; and, at first starting, was only accompanied by ourselves and two horsemen. There is a simplicity and freedom about these people greatly to be admired; and, whatever the rule may be, I can at least vouch for petitioners having an ear given to their complaints. Every one seems on an equality with the chief, and the meanest servant addresses him without ceremony. He himself seems quite free from every sort of pride or affectation, and is only to be distinguished in the crowd by his dress, in which he is fond of richness and ornament.

In one of our rides about Peshawur with the chief, we had a specimen of justice and Mahomedan retribution. As we passed the suburbs of the city we discovered a crowd of people,

and, on a nearer approach, saw the mangled bodies of a man and woman, the former not quite dead, lying on a dunghill. The crowd instantly surrounded the chief and our party, and one person stepped forward, and represented, in a trembling attitude, to Sooltan Mahommed Khan, that he had discovered his wife in an act of infidelity, and had put both parties to death: he held the bloody sword in his hands, and described how he had committed the deed. His wife was pregnant, and already the mother of three children. The chief asked a few questions, which did not occupy him three minutes: he then said, in a loud voice, "You have acted the part of a good Mahomedan, and performed a justifiable act." He then moved on, and the crowd cried out "Bravo!" ("Afreen!") The man was immediately set at liberty. We stood by the chief during the investigation; and, when it finished, he turned to me, and carefully explained the law. "Guilt," added he, "committed on a Friday, is sure to be discovered;" for that happened to be the day on which it occurred. There is nothing new in these facts; but, as an European, I felt my blood run chill when I looked on the mangled bodies, and heard the husband justifying the murder of her who had borne him three children: nor was the summary justice of the chief, who happened to be passing, the least remarkable part of the dismal scene. It seems that the exposure of the bodies on a dunghill is believed to expiate in some degree the sins of the culprit, by the example it holds out to the community; they are afterwards interred in the same spot.

We were invited, shortly after our arrival at Peshawur, to pass a day with the chief's brother, Peer Mahommed Khan. He received us in a garden, under a bower of fruit-trees, loaded with blossom. Carpets were spread, and before we sat down the boughs were shaken, which covered them with the variegated leaves of the apricot and peach. The fragrance and beauty were equally delightful. The party consisted of about fifty persons, all of whom partook of the entertainment, which was on a substantial and large scale. There were performers in attendance, who chanted odes in Poooshtoo and Persian. The conversation was general, and related chiefly to their own expeditions. The children of the chief and his brothers were again present: they rioted among the confectionery, and four of them had a pitched battle with the blossom of the trees, which they threw at each other like snow. I do not remember to have seen any place more delightful than Peshawur at this season: the

climate, garden, and landscape, delight the senses, and to all we had been so fortunate as to add the hospitality of the people. I had brought no presents to conciliate these men, and I therefore would receive none at their hands; but, on the present occasion, our host produced a small horse, of a hill-breed, and insisted on my receiving it. "Mr. Moorcroft," said he, "accepted one of these same horses, which availed him in his difficulties; and I cannot, therefore, take a refusal, since you are entering such dangerous countries." The horse was forcibly sent to my house. The sequel will show the strange Providence which is sometimes to be traced in the acts of man.

But our residence at the house of the chief was not without inconvenience, and it required some consideration to devise a plan for our extrication with credit. The chief of Peshawur was at enmity with his brother of Cabool, and wished to persuade us to pass through that city by stealth, and without seeing him. He offered, indeed, to send a Persian gentleman as our conductor beyond Affghanistan; and, had I believed the arrangement practicable, I would have rejoiced: but it was obviously difficult to pass through the city of Cabool and the country of its chief without his knowledge; and a discovery of such an attempt might bring down upon us the wrath of a man from whom we had nothing to fear by openly avowing ourselves as British officers. I was resolved, therefore, to trust the chief of Cabool as I had trusted his brother of Peshawur, so soon as I could persuade Sooltan Mahommed Khan that our intercourse there should never diminish the regard which we felt for him personally. In a few days, he consented to our writing to Cabool, and notifying our approach to Nuwub Jubbar Khan, the brother of the governor, whom I addressed under a new seal, cut after the manner of the country, and bearing the name of "Sikunder Burnes." Sooltan Mahommed Khan now confined himself to advice, and such good offices as would conduct us in safety beyond his dominions. He requested that we might still further change our dress, which we did, and left it as the best sign of our poverty. The outer garment which I wore cost me a rupee and a half, ready made, in the bazaar. We also resolved to conceal our character as Europeans from the common people, though we should frankly avow to every chief, and indeed every individual with whom we might come into contact, our true character. But our compliance with this counsel subjected us to the strongest importunities to avoid Toorkistan, and pass by

the route of Candahar, into Persia. Nothing could save us from the *ferocious* and man-selling Uzbeks, the country, the people, everything was bad. They judged of the calamities of Moorcroft and his associates, and I listened in silence. The chief thought that he had so far worked upon us to abandon the design, that he prepared various letters for Candahar, and a particular introduction to his brother, who is chief of that place.

Shortly after our arrival in Peshawur, Sooltan Mahommed Khan illuminated his palace, and invited us to an entertainment, given, as he assured us, on our account. His mansion was only separated from ours by a single wall, and he came in person to conduct us in the afternoon. The ladies had been spending the day in these apartments, but the "krook"* was given before we entered; and a solitary eunuob, who looked more like an old woman, only now remained. In the evening the party assembled, which did not exceed fifteen persons, the most distinguished in Peshawur: we sat in the hall, which was brilliantly lighted; behind it there was a large fountain in the interior of the house, shaded by a cupola about fifty feet high, and on the sides of it were different rooms, that overlooked the water. The reflection from the dome, which was painted, had a pleasing effect. About eight o'clock we sat down to dinner, which commenced with sweetmeats and confections, that had been prepared in the harem. They were far superior to anything seen in India; the dinner succeeded, and the time passed very agreeably. The chief and his courtiers talked of their wars and revolutions, and answered their numerous questions regarding our own country. The assembly were ever ready to draw comparisons between anything stated, and the records of Asiatic history, referring familiarly to Timour, Baber, and Aurungzebe, and exhibiting at the same time much general knowledge. I gave them accounts of steam engines, galvanic batteries, balloons, and electrifying machines, which appeared to give universal satisfaction. If they disbelieved, they did not express their scepticism. Many of the courtiers of course flattered the chief as they commented on his remarks; but their style of address was by no means cringing, and the mild affability of Sooltan Mahommed Khan himself quite delighted me. He spoke without reserve of unjeet Sing, and sighed for some change that might release him from the disgrace of having his son a hostage at Lahore.

* A Tartar custom and word in clearing the outer apartments of the raglio.

The subject of the Russians was introduced, and a Persian in the party declared that his country was quite independent of Russia. The chief, with much good humour, remarked, that their independence was something like his own with the Seiks, unable to resist, and glad to compromise.

Among our visitors, none came more frequently than the sons of the chief and his brothers; and none were more welcome, for they displayed great intelligence and address. Nearly the whole of them were suffering from intermittent fever, that was soon cured by a few doses of quinine, of which we had a large supply. The knowledge exhibited by these little fellows induced me on one occasion to note their conversation. There were four of them present, and none had attained his twelfth year. I interrogated them, as they sat round me, on the good qualities of Cabool, giving to each two answers: they replied as follows:—1. The salubrity of the climate; 2. the flavour of the fruit; 3. the beauty of the people; 4. the handsome bazar; 5. the citadel of the Balar Hissar; 6. the justice of the ruler; 7. The pomegranates without seed; and, 8. its incomparable "*ruwash*," or rhubarb. Four answers to its bad qualities gave the following information:—1. Food is expensive; 2. the houses cannot be kept in repair without constantly removing the snow from the roof; 3. the floods of the river dirty the streets; and, 4. the immorality of the fair sex, which last is a proverb, given in a Persian couplet.* It does not appear to me that boys in Europe show such precocity, and it is no doubt attributable to their earlier introduction into the society of grown up people. When a boy has arrived at his twelfth year, a separate establishment is maintained here on his account; and, long before that time of life, he is prohibited from frequenting his mother's apartments but on certain occasions. Khoju Mahommed, the eldest son of the chief of Peshawur, whom I have already mentioned, came one day to invite us to dinner, and I expressed some surprise to hear that he had a house of his own. "What!" replied the youth, "would you have me imitate the disposition of a woman, when I am the son of a Doo-ranee?" I occasionally accompanied these scions to the gardens of Peshawur; and found them good associates, as no person ever thought of disturbing us. I remember of hearing

* "Zun i Cabool be yar neest
Arud i Peshawur be juwar neest."

from one of them, a tale of his father's wars and untimely end in battle two years before, and how he took the bloody head of his parent in his arms, when brought from the field without its trunk.

These rambles in Peshawur were not always undertaken in such company; for I used latterly to go unattended even by a capchee or door-keeper of the chief, who used to accompany us on our first arrival. I visited the Bla Hissar, in which Shah Shooja had received so gorgeously the Cabool mission of 1809. It is now a heap of ruins, having been burned by the Seiks in one of their expeditions to this country. I also went to the large caravansary, where that amusing and talented traveller, Mr. Forster, describes with such humour the covetous Moollah, who wished to steal his clothes. Circumstances were strangely changed since his days, now some fifty years ago; he considered his journey and dangers at an end on reaching Cabool, where we looked for their commencement. Passing a gate of the city, I observed it studded with horse shoes, which are as superstitious emblems in this country as in remote Scotland. A farrier had no customers: a saint to whom he applied recommended his nailing a pair of horse shoes to a gate of the city: he afterwards prospered, and the farriers of Peshawur have since propitiated the same saint by a similar expedient, in which they place implicit reliance.

One of our most welcome visiters in Peshawur was a seal engraver, a native of the city, who had travelled over the greater part of Asia and Eastern Europe, though he had not yet attained his thirtieth year. In early life he had conceived the strongest passion to visit foreign countries; and with the avowed, but by no means the only, motive of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, quitted his house without the knowledge of his family, and proceeded by the Indus to Arabia. He had performed the *haj*, and then visited Egypt, Syria, Constantinople, Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago, supporting himself during the journey by engraving the names of the faithful, which appears to be a profitable sort of occupation. With his wealth he enjoyed the new scenes of the Levant, and united himself to other wanderers, from one of whom he had happily escaped a base attempt to poison. After an absence of five or six years, he returned to his family, who had long looked upon him as lost. His father took the earliest opportunity of settling him in life, to check his roaming propensities, so that he now lived quietly in

Peshawur. He appeared quite delighted to visit us, and talk of the Nile and Pyramids, Istamboul and its golden horn, the accounts of which he could get few of his countrymen to believe. He looked back upon his peregrinations with great delight, and sighed that his being the father of a family prevented his joining us. This disposition to wander is a curious trait in the character of the Affghans, for they are great lovers of their country. A Mahommedan, however, is at home every where his creed is professed; for there is a sort of fellowship in that religion, like freemasonry, which binds its members together: among them there are no distinctions of grade or rank, which so strongly mark the society of other sects and countries.

We arrived at the season of the quails, when every one who could escape from his other vocations was engaged in hawking, netting, or fighting these courageous little birds. Every Tuesday morning the chief had a meeting in his court-yard, to encourage the sport. He used to send for us to witness it: it is by no means destitute of amusement, whether we regard the men or the birds; for chief, seryant and subject, were here on an equality, the quails being the heroes not the men. They are carried about in bags, and enticed to fight with each other for grain, which is sprinkled between them. When the quail once runs he is worthless, and immediately slain; but they seldom make a precipitate retreat. Nothing can exceed the passion of the Affghans for this kind of sport; almost every boy in the street may be seen with a quail in his hand, and crowds assemble in all parts of the city to witness their game battles.

Seeing the interest which we took in these scenes, the chief invited us to accompany him on a hawking party, about five miles from Peshawur; but we were unsuccessful, and killed nothing. We went in search of water-fowl, and a party that preceded us had disturbed the ducks. We had, however, an Affghan pic-nic, and an insight into national manners. We sat down under a slight awning, and the servants produced eight or ten young lambs, which had been slain on the occasion. The chief called for a knife, cut up one of them, spitted the pieces on a ramrod drawn from one of his attendant's matchlocks, and handed them to be roasted. He remarked to me that meat so dressed had a better flavour than if cooked by regular servants, and that if we were really in the field he would hold one end of the ramrod and give the other to some one else till the meat was ready, which would make the entertainment

thoroughly Dooranee. I liked this unaffected simplicity. There were about thirty in the party to partake of the *déjeûné*, and not a morsel of it was left, so keen were our appetites, and so good our fare ; but the Affghans are enormous eaters.

As the time of our departure drew near, we had nothing but a continued succession of feasting. We dined with all the chiefs and many of their sons, with priests and Meerzas. Among the most pleasant of our parties was one given by Moollah Nujeeb, a worthy man, who had made an enterprising journey into the Kaffir country at the suggestion of Mr. Elphinstone, and for which he enjoys and merits a pension. He gave us good counsel, and showed much interest in our behalf, but strongly dissuaded us from entertaining a holy person as our guide, on which I had resolved.* The Uzbeks are described to be much under the influence of their priests and Syuds, and I thought that the company of one might avail us on an occasion of difficulty, since Moorcroft had entirely trusted to one of them, who is now in Peshawur. Moollah Nujeeb assured me, on the other hand, that such a person could never extricate us from any difficulties, and would publish our approach every where ; and he further insinuated, that many of the disasters which had befallen the unfortunate Moorcroft were to be attributed to one of these worthies. Such advice from one who was a priest himself deserved notice, and I afterwards ascertained the justness of the Moollah's views.

It was, however, necessary to conciliate the holy man to whom I have alluded, and I visited him. His name was Fuzil Huq, and he boasts a horde of disciples towards Bokhara, nearly as numerous as the inhabitants. My introduction to him was curious ; for Monsieur Court had desired his secretary to write to another holy man of Peshawur, whose name he had forgotten. In his difficulties he applied to me, and knowing the influence of Fuzil Huq, I mentioned him at random : the letter was written by the secretary ; I delivered it, and the saint was gratified at its receipt from a quarter where he had no acquaintance. He received me with kindness, and tendered his services most freely, offering letters of introduction to all the influential persons in Tartary. He had heard that I was of Armenian descent, though

* Among other pieces of advice, he suggested that we should eat onions in all the countries we visited. It is a popular belief that a foreigner becomes sooner acclimated from the use of that vegetable.

in the English employ; nor did I deem it necessary to open his eyes on the subject. I thanked him for his kindness with all the meekness and humility of a poor traveller, and he proceeded to give his advice with a considerable degree of kindness. Your safety, he said, will depend on your laying aside the name of European, at all events of Englishman; for the natives of those countries believe the English to be political intriguers, and to possess boundless wealth. Common sense and reflection suggested a similar line of conduct, but the performance was more difficult. The saint prepared his epistles, which he sent to us; they were addressed to the king of Bokhara and the chiefs on the Oxus, five in number, who owned him as their spiritual guide. We were described as "poor blind travellers," who are entitled to protection from all members of the faithful. They abounded in extracts from the Koran, with many moral aphorisms enlisted for the occasion on our behalf. The saint, however, made a request that we should not produce these letters unless an absolute necessity compelled us; but I looked upon them as very valuable documents. I did not quit this man's house without envying him of the influence over such tribes, which he owes to his descent from a respected parent, of whom he inherited a large patrimony. I had many misgivings about him, for he is not without suspicion of having increased Moorcroft's troubles; and it is certain that the family of one of his disciples was enriched by the wealth of that ill-fated traveller. He, however, possesses documents which lead me to acquit him of every thing; yet I would rather avoid than court the man, and rather please than displease him.

Among other advice, we were strongly recommended to desist from giving medicines to the people; for it had already rallied round the doctor some hundreds of patients, and would sound the tocsin of our approach as we advanced. I had thought that the medical character would have been our passport, and to adventurers I do not doubt its advantage; but our only object being to pass through in safety, it became a subject of great doubt if it should be maintained at all; besides the continued applications of people, which left us no time to ourselves, many surmises were made as to the riches and treasures which we possessed, that enabled us gratuitously to distribute medicines. It was therefore resolved to withdraw from the field by the earliest opportunity; and a plan which I had thought from the beginning as likely to aid us considerably in our enterprise,

was at once abandoned. The bleeding of the people would alone have furnished employment to a medical man, for the Affghans let blood annually at the vernal equinox, till they reach their fortieth year. The people were also labouring under a tertian fever, which increased the number of patients.

The only antiquity which we discovered near Peshawur was a "tope," or mound, about five miles distant, on the road to Cabool, and evidently of the same era as those of Manikyala and Belur. It is in a very decayed state, and the remains would not suggest any idea of the design, had we not seen those in the Punjab. It was nearly a hundred feet high, but the stone with which it had been faced had fallen down or been removed. We procured no coins at it, and the natives could not give any tradition farther than it was a "tope." We also heard of another building similar to this in the Khyber pass, about eighteen miles distant, which we could not visit, from the unsettled state of the country where it is situated. It is in a perfect state of preservation, and both loftier and larger than that of Manikyala. I also heard of eight or ten towers of a like description towards the country of the Kaffirs in Swat and Boonere. It seems very probable that these buildings are the cemeteries of kings, since they are all built with a chamber in the midst of the pile. They may, however, be Boodhist buildings.

A month had now elapsed since we arrived at Peshawur, and the rapid approach of the hot weather admonished us that we need not much longer fear the snows of Cabool and Hindoo Koosh. The thermometer, which had stood at midday at 60° on our arrival, now rose to 87° ; the mulberries had ripened, and the snow had entirely disappeared from the hither range; yet the winter had been very severe; and during our stay at Peshawur, hail-stones fell, which were fully as large as a musket ball. All was therefore bustle for our departure; and our movements were accelerated by the arrival of a letter from Cabool, which begged us to advance without delay. Yet it was no easy matter to bring the chief to pronounce our leave, which was fixed for the 19th of April, after much procrastination.

Among the inmates of Scoltan Mahommed Khan's house, it would be unpardonable to omit the mention of his "maître d'hôtel," Sutar Khan, a native of Cashmeer, a stout good-humoured man, who so long regaled us with his pilaws and other savoury dishes. During the whole of our stay we were entertained at the expense of the chief; and this person, a merry-hearted good soul, with all the polish of his countrymen, sought

to gratify us in every way. Though he did not figure in any high capacity, yet his sister was married to the chief, and his influence was considerable. He was a tall portly man, with large black eyes, which I shall ever remember; for they followed with delight every morsel of his master's which he saw us eat. His appearance showed that he liked the good things of this life, and his disposition make him anxious to share them with others. Such was Sutar Khan, the Cashmæree butler: he pressed us for some receipts to improve the gastronomic art, but we had no cook to tutor him.

(VOL. III. CHAP. 2.)

THE CHIEFSHIP OF PESHAWUR.

The government of Peshawur has been held by a member of the Barukzye family since Futteh Khan placed Shah Mahmood on the throne of Cabool. Peshawur owed allegiance, and contributed to the support of the kingdom, till the year 1818, when the Vizier was put to death. Azeem Khan, his successor, exacted tribute from it during his life time, in the name of Eyoob Shah. Since that time it has formed a separate chiefship, like Cabool and Candanar, now subject, however, to the payment of a yearly tribute to the Seiks. It is governed by Sirdar Sooltan Mahommed Khan, who shares its revenues with two other brothers, Peer, and Saeed Mahommed Khan. A large portion of the country is alienated to different individuals, and the net revenue falls short of nine lacs of rupees per annum. The younger brothers enjoy three lacs, and the chief defrays from the remainder the entire expenses of the country, the tribute to the Seiks, and likewise supports the numerous families of two elder brothers, who fell in battle, and to whom he succeeded.

The power of the chief is confined to the plain of Peshawur, and the hills of Cobat, which form its southern boundary. That plain is well known as one of the richest portions of the Cabool dominions. It is of a circular shape, about thirty-five miles broad, highly peopled and cultivated, watered by nature and art. Within this limited space there are numerous villages, which pay no taxes. The Khuttuks, a tribe of Affghans, in the east, hold the country twenty miles west of the Indus, for the small sum of 12,000 rupees annually, which they render to the chief of Peshawur.

war. The villages on the west, under the Khyber hills, do not pay any thing; and those north of the Cabool river, with some few exceptions, enjoy a like immunity. The only places of note in the chiefship are, Peshawur and Hushtnuggur, which are described by Mr. Elphinstone. Peshawur has fallen into a state of decay with its change of rulers, and it is doubtful if it boasts of a population of one half the hundred thousand souls which occupied it in 1809. Hushtnuggur is the seat of one of the younger brothers; Cohat is held by the other.

The military strength of Peshawur is unimportant. Its contingent of troops cannot be rated above 3000, two thirds of whom may be cavalry. The chief might rally round him a numerous body of irregulars, or, as they are called, "ooloosee;" but they are badly armed, and not to be relied on. Six pieces of artillery and 200 regular infantry complete the power of the chief of Peshawur. With money, the services of the Khyberees, and other hill tribes, may be purchased on an emergency; but the chief has no treasury. In a religious war with the Seiks, an infuriated population may be always raised, and has proved itself formidable on a late occasion, when the Syud Ahmed preached his crusade in this country; yet the whole of these, combined, form but a diminutive force, as compared with his neighbours on the east and west,—the Seiks, and his brother of Cabool. The political influence of Peshawur is as limited as its military power. The Seiks have exacted a tribute from it since the death of the Vizier's brother, Azeem Khan, and retain a son of the chief as a hostage for its fulfilment. It now amounts to sixty horses, with some rice, which is peculiar to Peshawur; and it is annually enforced by an army, which crosses the Indus, and lays waste their territories, if not speedily paid. The amount of the tribute depends on the caprice of Runjeet Sing, but the Seiks will not make a conquest of this country. Without Mahomedan auxiliaries they could not retain it.

The chiefs of Peshawur and Cabool, who are brothers, are at enmity. The power of Cabool is far more consolidated than that of Peshawur; but the latter has an ally in his brother of Candahar, who would resent any attack, either on Peshawur, or his own country. The chiefs of Peshawur and Candahar have been sometime past concerting an attack on Cabool, but it is not far probable that the territories of both may, ere long, be threatened, and perhaps taken, by the Khan of Cabool. In such an event, the chief of Peshawur would call in the aid of the Seiks. This would probably be given, since Dost Mahammed of Cabool

would never consent to the annual tribute now paid to Lahore by his brother of Peshawur. Sirdar Sooltan Mahommed Khan entertains hopes of being able to interest the British Government in his cause, should it decline. He seems to believe that he might hold one portion of the country, by surrendering a part for the protection of the remainder. No chief in the kingdom of Cabool entertains a higher respect for the British than Sooltan Mahommed Khan. This has always been shown by his attention to Europeans who have entered his country. If misfortunes fell upon him, he might be a useful or dangerous partisan. He might espouse the cause of the king, Shooja ool Moolk, though that monarch is no favorite with his family; yet the inconsistency and inconstancy of the Affghan chiefs are proverbial. In any difficulty, the chief of Peshawur would be ably assisted by Peer Mahommed, but his other brother is destitute of energy and enterprise. The whole of the Barukzye family entertain a dread of Shah Shooja ool Moolk, and the Prince Kamran of Herat. The one, if aided by the British, would drive them from their usurped authority; and the other, if assisted by the Persians, might perhaps fix himself on the throne of his ancestors.

Sooltan Mahommed Khan bears a fair reputation, but his government is most oppressive and vexatious. His agents and underlings practice all manner of exactions; goods are taxed far above their value; and the currency is constantly altered and depreciated. An enormous tax is levied on the water-mills, which grind the flour; and it falls heaviest on the lower orders of the people. This chief is about thirty-five years of age; he is ambitious, and at one time held the government of Cabool. He is well educated, and, with good talents, possesses an engaging manner: he reads and writes, and transacts his business in person. He has not the art of settling disputes; and his court presents a scene of confusion, which is hardly to be described or believed. The complainants intrude at all times and places, and state their grievances in the most free and republican manner; yet nothing is ever settled, and the population are heartily disaffected. Like Affghans, the chief of Peshawur, and his relatives, live from hand to mouth; they are liberal of what they possess, and have no wealth. I have been informed that they could not retain their government without this open-handed liberality. The chief of Peshawur has rallied round him some of the most celebrated of the Dooranee nation, who share his bounty. The sons of Akram Khan, and the Mookhtar o Doula, Shah Shooja's two ministers, as also of the celebrated Meer

Waez, are among the number; the latter is an officer of the chief of Peshawur. The only son of the Vazier Futeh Khau likewise resides with Sooltan Mahommed Khan.

Provisions are cheap and plentiful in Peshawur, though their price has risen with the decrease of population. Grain of every description abounds, but is not exported; 65 lbs. of wheat may be purchased for a rupee, which is 10 lbs. less than might be had for the same sum in 1809. Ninety-six lbs. of barley sell for a rupee. A sheep may be had for two rupees; a bullock costs twelve or fourteen; and the rupee is a quarter less in value than the common sonat of India. Fruit of almost every kind is to be had in Peshawur; but it does not stand a journey, like that of Cabool, on account of the great heat. One of the large gardens, which used to let for 7000 rupees a year, now brings but 2000. The diminution is ascribed to the decrease of population; but fruits sell for half the price, now that there is no court to purchase it. The sugar can thrive here, but the people are ignorant of the mode of crystallising its juice. That which is candied is brought from Hindostan, though the native sugar is excellent. The Affghans are very fond of the fresh cane, which they cut in small pieces, and use as a sweetmeat. The most remarkable production of the plain of Peshawur is a kind of rice called "bara," produced on the banks of a rivulet of that name, which comes from Teera, in the Khyber country. The grains of this rice are so long, that fourteen of them are said to make a span. This rice is very superior, which is attributed to the excellence of the water. So strong is this prejudice, that most of the wells of Peshawur are filled from it during winter, and roofed in till the hot weather. They believe this keeps the water cold. The "bara" rice sells so high as 8 lbs. for a rupee, and is exported as a rarity to Persia, Tartary, and all the neighbouring countries, and composes a part of Runjeet Sing's tribute. That produced in other parts of the plain of Peshawur does not differ from common rice.

It has been lately discovered in the low countries of Europe, that a much greater population can be subsisted on a small space of ground, by following the Flemish mode of agriculture. The soil is dug up by the spade, and a succession of crops, chiefly of garden stuffs, is the produce. If there be a country in the Eastern World where this practice might be followed with advantage, it is the plain of Peshawur. The soil is a rich mould, and its spacious plain is intersected with water on all sides, and it is said, continues green during the twelve months of the year.

It yields a succession of three crops annually; and if we reckon the barley, (which is cut twice before it ears and given to horses,) we have no less than five returns a year. The wheat and barley are off the ground by April; vegetables abound, and are produced in fields rather than gardens. Public spirit and intelligence might render Peshawur a most productive region. We have seen that it is favorable to the cane, and recent experiments have proved, that the silk-worm may be reared with advantage. Mulberry trees abound, and the insect is liable to no particular disease. Those which I saw were brought from Cabool and Balkh. The eggs are hatched at the vernal equinox, a few days before the mulberry is in leaf. Till then the insects are fed on a kind of weed, with a yellow flower called, "*khoobikulan*" by the Persians, and common to England. Their education does not differ from that of Europe. The silk is boiled before it is wound. The worms are brought forth by artificial heat, and generally by being tied under the armpits. Exposure to the sun kills the insects, and it likewise deprives the chrysalis of life when in the cocoon. By the end of May the worms have finished their career, and lie dormant in the egg till next spring. They are placed in cellars under ground, to protect them from heat, and they are as carefully guarded against damp. I do not doubt but successions of these worms might be brought forth during the warm months.

The district of Cohat, under Peshawur, deserves a minute description, from the richness and variety of its productions, though it yields but two lacs of rupees to the chief. The salt range lies within this tract, and the mineral abounds. It is sold for one eighth of the price east of the Indus. Gold, copper, iron, and antimony have been extracted from ores found in these hills; and there are two kinds of sulphur. There are also wells of naphtha, or petroleum, for the matter which they eject is used in the neighbouring villages for oil. But the most valuable production of Cohat is its coal, which we discovered during our visit, and explained its utility, much to the astonishment of the people. It occurs on the surface of one of the hills, and in great abundance. The specimens procured for our satisfaction were of a greyish hue, intermixed with much sulphur. It burns well, but leaves much refuse. It has more the appearance of slate than coal; but, as the specimens were taken from the surface, they are not to be viewed as a fair criterion of the mine. The coal is bituminous, and ignites at the candle. The villagers now use it as fuel. The discovery of a coal mine at the head of the Indus may prove

of the utmost importance in these times, since the navigation of that river is open to Attok ; and the mineral is found about forty miles distant from that place, with a level road intervening, close to a large city, where labor is cheap. It is a singular circumstance, that deposits of coal should have been discovered, both at the mouth and head of the Indus (in Cutch and Coliat), within these few years, and since steam has been used in India. It is seldom that discoveries are so opportune, and I trust that they augur favorably for the opening of a new route to commerce by the Indus.

ON THE AFFAIRS OF WESTERN AFGHANISTAN.

HERAT AND CANDAHAR.

The western portion of Afghanistan is held by the chiefs of Candahar and Herat ; who rule as at Cabool and Peshawur. They complete the number of governments into which the monarchy has been dismembered ; and, after our more minute accounts of the two other chiefships, do not require much notice. Candahar is in the possession of a branch of the Barukzye family, and Herat is ruled by Kamran, the son of King Mahmood of Cabool. It has been already mentioned that Shere Dil Khan fled from Cabool to Candahar, and formed the present chiefship, with the spoil of his nephew. He was a man of singular habits, in some respects resembling his brother Futteh Khan ; but morose, as well as cruel. They give an anecdote of his lopping off the finger of one of his boys, telling him at the same time, if he cried, that he could not be his child, or a Barukzye. The young fellow bore it with great patience. Shere Dil Khan, in his flight to Candahar, was accompanied by four brothers. He himself is since dead, as also one of his brothers. Candahar is now governed by Cohun Dil Khan, supported by his two surviving brothers, Ruhum Dil and Meer Dil. The revenues amount to about eight lacs of rupees : his force consists of 9000 horse, and six pieces of artillery ; but, as the city is situated in the heart of the Dooranee country, and near the native seat of the Barukzye family, he could, perhaps, increase his cavalry on an emergency. The government is not popular, nor would it appear, from the acts of oppression, that it deserved to be so. The chief is on bad terms with most of his neighbours. In common with all his family, he is inimical to Kamran of Herat, and has at different times attempted to seize that city. He is also at issue with the chief of

Cabool. The connection between the Peshawur and Candahar branches of the Barukzyes is very close and sincere; but their united efforts will not, in all probability, injure their brother of Cabool. The Candahar chief also seeks to form a settlement on the Indus; and has for several years past sent his troops to threaten Shikarpoor in Sindh. The Ameers of that country have been hitherto able to resist his attacks; but, as there is an open and easy communication between Candahar and the Indus, by the pass of Bolan, the chief is not likely to discontinue his endeavours in that quarter. In a disorganized state of Sindh, he might easily possess himself of Shikarpoor; and such a state of events seems by no means improbable in the country of the Ameers. The chief of Candahar would gladly interest the ruler of the Punjab in his cause; but it is not probable that he will procure his assistance, as he himself looks upon Shikarpoor with an eye of cupidity.

Herat is the only province of the kingdom of Cabool now held by a descendant of the royal family; and Kamran rules it more from tolerance in his enemies than his own power. He receives no aid from his countrymen, since the whole of the chiefs in Afghanistan are enemies, and desire his destruction, in revenge for the assassination of their brother Futtah Khan. Herat has, therefore, become a dependency of Persia. The town itself has of late years been several times entered by the troops of that nation; and only spared by the ready tender of money on the part of its governor. It was threatened in September, 1832, by the Prince Royal in person, who made a pecuniary demand; and also required that the coinage of the city should be struck in the name of the King of Persia. It is probable that both these requests will be granted, since Kamran would gladly hold his power on any terms. The Persians do not appear to contemplate any permanent settlement in Herat, since it would incur the expense of retaining a force, that would diminish the tribute now gained from it. Kamran is said to be in possession of some of the crown jewels of Cabool, and derives a considerable revenue from Herat, which is situated in one of the most fertile countries of the world. By this wealth he is yet able to retain about his person some of the Afghan chiefs, and raise a body of 4000 or 5000 horse. He has no political connections in any quarter; but still clings to the hope of being able to re-establish the monarchy of his father. He has the character of a cruel and tyrannical man, is destitute of friends, and odious to his countrymen;

PERSON, TEMPER, AND HABITS OF DOST
MAHOMMED KHAN, BY ALIF.

(From the Delhi Gazette.)

Dost Mahommed Khan, the present ruler of *Cabul*, in age must exceed forty ; though in appearance younger, by several years ; in height he may be at the utmost five feet eleven inches, but the inclination of the head, and stoop, which all the *Grandees* of *Cabul* and *Persia* affect, and which in those countries, is a most indispensable accomplishment to rank and royalty, make him appear not five feet nine. In person he is well proportioned, neither prone to obesity nor leanness ; and in his younger days must have possessed an elegant figure ; his complexion was originally fair, but his constant application to business, and his indefatigable activity in controlling his country, have now tinged his once bright countenance with that sallow hue, which care and deep thinking but too inevitably imprint on every cheek, however radiant in its early bloom.

His features, (like those of almost all Mahommedans) are of a fine order ; but, Nature, in forming his person, seems to have slightly varied the mould from the form in which she has cast his race ; his face does not shew any likeness to those of his countrymen. Whether this deviation from the general sameness of the *Mahomedan* contour, be a pleasing relief, certainly nobody can look at *Dost Mahommed Khan*, without being struck with his noble mien and engaging air. In his youth he was considered uncommonly handsome. His eyes are different from those of any person I ever saw, that is, when under excitement, they are large and black, but their ordinary expression is soft, and mild, with perfect tranquillity ; but when agitated either by anger, or argument, and even when conversing, they dilate to an unusual magnitude ! —then redden like those of an opium eater, and the eyeballs appear to have revolved, as but a very small portion of them is visible ; but the look is most piercing, and as unpleasant as extraordinary. This is the only time, when warmly descanting on some topic, that his *Ameership* is guilty of looking straight forward and direct at the individual whom he is addressing ; on other occasions he is accustomed to observe his company, by side long and furtive glances, as though he were not entitled to the right of an examination of one's person, but which he nevertheless effects just as well in his own peculiar way, being one more

consonant perhaps to his disposition, which is allowed by every one to contain all the attributes of a consummate Thief?

He is accustomed to rise very early in the morning, and, even before sunrise in the summer months, takes his seat in the *Dewan Khanna* or hall of audience, when the *Qooran* is opened and laid before him; and, with the assistance of his *Moolta*, he proceeds to read or rather spell (for his education has been entirely neglected, and it is only since his accession to the Throne, that he commenced the Persian Alphabet,) over some three or four pages of the Holy Volume, in a loud voice, by way of setting a good example, and offering some atonement perhaps for the mischief he had been plotting during the preceding four and twenty hours: His religion on this point, is very accommodating; the repetition of a few verses of the *Qooran* always entitles a sinner to a partial pardon of his transgressions, and under "this consideration," his *Ameership* it may be presumed, derived no little comfort from his devotions!

During the whole of this time, he is evidently not exactly at his ease, his imperfect style of reading, the working of the brow, and forehead, being precisely similar to that of an Urchin, when repeating a lesson with which he is not so well acquainted as he should be!

The *Moolta* in the mean time, is stedfastly observing the countenance of his scholar, and when three or four pages have been got over, by way of relieving him from the indecency of himself putting aside the book, observes, that sufficient for the purpose has been read!—a suggestion which the other was never yet known to dispute, but who immediately rising from his constrained position, and fetching a long drawn breath, like that of a person having just accomplished a task of some difficulty, he sends forth a volley of abuse, against some party or individual, who had been occupying his thoughts during the time of prayer—his mind being of good capacity, enabling him while engaged in the performance of one thing, to be thinking about another! The *Khowaneen* and others, whose duty is to attend the *Durbar* now arrive, and seating themselves with their backs to the wall of the room, the business of the day commences by admitting those who have complaints to prefer.

The administration of the *Baruk-zuee* chief, is to be considered, more nearly allied to a republican form of Government, than any other; and the *Durbar* of *Cabul* presents a scene nowhere witnessed, perhaps in any country; instead of that solemn

nity, and ceremony, which we hear of in Persia, and other Asiatic climes, here all is noise and confusion, the *Chobdars* are alternately vociferating, and abusing the people endeavouring to gain an entrance; at the same time, poking and striking with their long sticks, those who with more audacity are attempting to effect a passage by force; and what with the clamour of the mob on one side, the upraised arms and brandishing of the bâtons of office on the other, the entrance to the *Dewan Khanu* bears no small resemblance to that of a booth at an Irish fair!— In the midst of this uproar, by way of increasing it as it were, despatches arrive from *Bokhara, Balkh, Heraut, Peshwur*, or some other place, equally great in name and small in value!— These are opened at once and read in public, whatever may be their contents, and as each brave pillar of the State, through deep interest in the cause, feels himself bound to sport an opinion, and warming in the debate, naturally finds himself more eloquent in his own native tongue!— at once, the languages of the *Oozbek and Toorcoman, of Persia, Candahar, Cabul, Peshwur, Cashmere, Sinde*, and even *Hindoostan*, crash upon the ear, so that you feel under some apprehension, that this favorite seat of Pomona for its sins, like another Babel, is visited by a similar punishment.

The mode of administering justice and granting redress is thus. The head *Qazee*, with one or two others of the fraternity, are seated either in front or a little to the right of him, and it is only in a case of some importance, such as murder, or adultery (which are sure however to occur every day) that he thinks it necessary to avail himself, of the assistance of the expounders of the *Shura*: during the trial and examination of evidence, he assists the Doctors of the law most materially by his own remarks, and quoting the various passages which in his opinion, bear on the matter. Other cases of minor importance he disposes of without consulting the opinion of any one, knowing the susceptibility of the whole to corruption. There exists however a more potent reason for his thus in person discharging the duties of Judge, Magistrate, and Collector of Revenue, and Customs, (he shines most in the latter capacity, it is generally thought,) he realizes about 2 lacs of rupees per annum by the imposition of fines on delinquents, and by another very ingenious method, which he never entrusts to other hands, on account of its proceeds!

In all trials held before ~~and~~ by him, of whatever nature, his

Ameership declares, that all parties having been duly sworn, those whose evidence has been contradicted and otherwise disproved, must necessarily have sworn falsely on the blessed *Qooran*, (a privilege which he allows to none but himself;) it is therefore proper that their perjury should be punished by a suitable fine. According to the abilities of the sinner, his goods and chattels are then estimated with a degree of accuracy, which considering he has made no further progress in arithmetic, than a very simple rule, almost the first, but one, in the exercise of which, from his preferring its general application, and by his cogent endeavours to bring every thing under its influence, he has attained considerable skill, (the rule of "Subtraction")—does his *Ameership* considerable credit!—and by way of warning to others, though at the same time he may be enabled to follow his avocations, and appear in public with some degree of decency on confiscating his property, a change of clean linen is always reserved to the poor wretch; this would not be considered much of a boon in any other part of the world, but here, owing to the scarcity of that article of cleanliness, the favor is appreciated as it should be.

During the hours of *Durbar*, which last from morning until 11 o'clock, A. M. he is frequently assailed by Soldiers and others, demanding arrears of pay. Every attempt is made to allay their importunities, by promises which, it need not be said, are never intended to be fulfilled. Should these prove ineffectual, his *Ameership* then has recourse to a stratagem; he suddenly proclaims that it is *Khilwat* or private affairs which he is about to take into consideration, and immediately the whole *Durbar* is cleared, with the exception of one or two confidants. On other occasions, when hard pressed by people clamouring for their pay, he instructs his head man, and factotum, one *Meerza Sumue Khan* to remain at home on a plea of illness, when he declares to those who have demands against him, that on the said *Mirza's* convalescence, their claim shall be satisfied. One can readily imagine that the *Mirza's* health is exceedingly delicate, and subject to occasional relapses! Dost Mahmomed takes exercise on horseback regularly, and at 3 o'clock, P. M. supposing it any time of the year but the depth of winter, his horse is brought to the door of the *Muhul Sarai*; this being known to be the hour at which he again appears in public, several people are already in waiting to assail him with their requests. I have frequently seen him with his hand over the saddle, and one foot in the stirrup, his

tening as patiently and with as much attention to some ragged hind, as though he were in full *Dewan*; he at last is fairly mounted, and now proceeds to a large orchard, about a *koss* and a half distant, under the umbrageous trees of which are fastened his colts and private stud; during his progress he reins up his steed at least a dozen times, to listen to solicitations of every description.

It will be asked what retinue does he take with him?—at the distance of about 200 yards in the rear, may be seen his *kulyan burdar*, with professional apparatus mounted on a stout *Turkistanee Yaboo*.

A few days after my arrival in *Cabul*, I received an order to attend him in his evening rides; I thus had every opportunity of making myself acquainted with his habits and temper. I was, it may be said, the only horseman with him, and myself and the *Hooqqa burdar* formed his only escort—he, however, had holsters to his saddle, in which were a brace of double-barrelled English pistols, loaded, as I understood. In this manner we rode every day to the orchard above mentioned, where a *kaleen* (carpet) being spread to sit on, the superintendent of the stable paraded every horse and colt in succession: some of the principal *Khuvancens* (noblemen) would shortly after arrive, to the number of about a dozen, when the discourse, as might be supposed, ran on the different breeds and merits of the horses. The *kulyan* in the mean time passed round; it was first offered to the *Ameer*, when after 2 or 3 whiffs, I usually was the next admitted to the honour, and men of the highest rank made no scruple at smoking after me. They deride the prejudices of the *Hindootanees*, who refuse to eat or smoke with Europeans, and, morning and evening in the *darbar*, I smoked Dost Mahommed's *Hooqa*, as often as he did himself.

This scene was invariably interrupted by cries of *dad-he-dad*, (justice) from poor people, who had not been able to obtain an audience in the morning; these were always called forward, and heard; thus in the midst of his recreations, he was intruded on, and compelled to forego his favourite amusement, (the inspection of his horses,) to redress that, in which he permits no other person to take the smallest part, the investigation of abuses, in the adjudication of which, he exhibits a degree of patience and equanimity, which I never yet witnessed in any European Functionary; his forbearance and calmness are extraordinary.

I have seen him receive the severest rebukes, even to being told to his face that he lied, and that by people of the lowest

rank, when complaining of his deceptive promises, and hollow engagements; his conduct on such an occasion is directly opposite to what would be usually exhibited by an European, who, without further ceremony, would proceed to floor the gentleman who bestowed on him the application, so odious to the feelings of integrity and honor.

Dost Mahommed adopts a different, and probably much wiser course; he immediately apologizes to the incensed party, expressing his sorrow that any thing on his part should have given offence, promising that for the future, matters shall be arranged to his satisfaction.

His manners evince great urbanity, and politeness, and an exercise of those easy and seducing ways which so effectually engage the affections. He is full of amenity, quite unassuming, and possesses that social address, and civility, which a long intercourse with the world usually produces. Every one is pleased with the graceful ease, and vivacity of his conversation.

It appears somewhat extraordinary, that *Dost Mahommed* early in life having secured the throne of *Cabul*, should not extended his power by foreign conquest, or in default of which formed Leagues with the neighbouring States, tending to have strengthened him—but *Cabul* is so peculiarly situated with regard to the adjacent countries, that it never can derive much assistance from them.

Herat can never despatch one soldier from its own territory, through fear of being besieged by the Persian Army—the gallant little band forming the garrison of that place, being always fully occupied in resisting the attacks of those now beleaguering it. As regards its position with the other two chief *Soonce* powers, *Bokhara* and *Balhh*, the following may best illustrate the probability of their ever affording any succour to the throne of *Cabul*, be its occupant who he may. On the commencement, and during the continuation of hostilities with *Ranjit Sing*, in the contest for *Peshawur*, *Dost Mahommed* applied to the King of *Bokhara* and *Meer Morad Beg* for Troops. to assist him in driving out the *Kafir*, the war being the *Chiza*, or holy war, and not one of private interest, and in which it was the duty of every *Mahomedan* to take a part.

The King of *Bokhara* returned for answer, that owing to the great distance between their several capitals, and the nature of the road, it was impossible for him to render the succour demanded.

Meer Moorad Beg, the ruler of *Balkh*, replied in nearly the same strain, that the whole of his *Sowars* (for he possesses neither Artillery nor Infantry) rendered service upon the following condition, viz. to accompany him in any direction not exceeding 15 days march, after which time they disbanded themselves, and that he had not the means, however he desired, to render the assistance demanded to support his troops at such a distance from *Balkh* as *Peshawur*; nor could he maintain his authority at Home without the presence of his *Cavalry*, amounting, as I understood, to nearly thirty thousand.

Runjeet having taken *Peshawur*, and seduced the Chief of *Bajous* to side with him, *Dost Mahommed* began to entertain apprehensions of his enemy making further encroachments, to resist which has hitherto, since the defeat of *Shah Sooja* at *Candaher* engrossed all his attention, and made *Peshawur* a scene of perpetual warfare, in which the Mahomedan has gained no advantage; but were such not the case, were *Peshawur* still not detached from the Mahomedan dynasty, and that *Dost Mahommed* had the leisure to make the experiment, any attempt on his part to subdue either the garrison or country of *Herat*, while the Prince *Kanran* remains its Ruler, would be futile, unless by the treachery or defection of the troops within it; his artillery being of such wretched order, as to be able to make no impression, much less than to be capable of effecting a breach.

Did he have any design on *Balkh*, *Meer Moorad Beg's Sowars* are supposed to be no wise in point of valour, and equipment, inferior to his own; with horses far superior; and should they by chance get worst would disperse like flying *Arabs*, spread themselves over the trackless wastes of the country, and ever and anon harass his camp, by sudden attacks, and he must resign his conquest as soon as obtained.

He nevertheless possesses a character for martial enterprize, and in India it is generally supposed, that his Military qualities alone have secured him the possession of the Throne of *Cabul*. I am inclined to attribute his success, in a great measure, to another cause, which has been the chief means of his elevation to the sovereignty he now enjoys, and which by its affording powerful aid to his pretensions, has misled people into the belief that *Dost Mahommed*, like many other heroes, owed his present fortunes to his own sabre!

It is of course familiar to all, that in *Cabul* the *Kuzzul Basis* (or *Sheen*) forms no inconsiderable portion of its inhabitants;

there are at least from eight to nine thousand of these in the Army; and the principal secretaries, and confidants of the *Ameer*, are also of this Tribe, usually termed the Meerza Khel. It is also well known that until the accession of the present Ruler, every year in *Cabul*, during the time of the *Moohurrum*, severe conflicts ensued, between the two sects, *Soone* and *Seeo*; the latter being inferior in number, used with difficulty to secure either life or property from the fanatic fury of the opposite party—and the various Rulers, although professing to discountenance these aggressions, yet from being all of the *Soonee* persuasion, were no doubt not only unconcerned, but there is every reason to suppose would have been glad, under the influence of their *Moollas* to have seen the infidel, as the *Sheea* is termed, completely annihilated.

The *Sheeas* thus reduced to desperation, and continually engaged in an unequal contest, which, they foresaw, must sooner or later terminate in their destruction, readily gave support to one, not only openly professing indifference to religious controversy, but whose mother, and first wife, being of their own sect and persuasion, *Kuzzil Bash*, gave strong support to his assertions of impartiality and unconcern on that point.

Thus by birth, and marriage, being intimately connected with the weaker and oppressed party—and secretly no doubt prejudiced in their favour—at any rate his alliance with the Persian is a strong argument in support of such; he found no difficulty where taking up arms against his brother *Sooltan Mahommed Khan*, his nephew *Hubeeb Ollah*, and also the son of *Kamran* the Prince of *Herat*, the whole three most orthodox *Soonees*, and thereby inimical to the *Kuzzil Bash*, in drawing them over to his aid, and through them he finally found himself master of *Cabul*. This diversion of the *Moorad Khanee* in his favour was a most important feature in the case, though I by no means mean to assert that to this only, is to be attributed his success;—the gallantry of his conduct at *Herat* and other places; his having sustained in 4 or 5 engagements, so many reverses from *Hubeeb Ollah*, his again renewing the contest, and finally driving out his hitherto successful foe, fully warrant the assumption that in those days *Dost Mahommed* possessed spirit with the genius of a soldier; added to which, his extreme simplicity of life, which he preserves to this day; being remarkably plain in his dress, and style of living; his unassuming demeanour, good address and persuasive tongue, and the readiness of approach, which he al-

lowed to the meanest soldier, always attracted to him a large body of all castes.

On feeling himself firm in his new position, on the throne of *Cabul*, and perceiving that he was not in possession of a sufficient treasury, or that number of troops, which could enable him to attempt the subjection of any neighbouring country, he set about aggrandizing himself, by weakening the power of his brothers; and he accordingly deprived the celebrated *Jubbor Khan*, the staunch friend of all Europeans, a man of most amiable character, and mild disposition, of his possessions in the *Khilljee* country; another of his brothers *Mahomed Zuman-Khan*, he deprived of the rich jageer of *Jullalabad*; why he has not usurped *Candahar*, is to most people matter of surprise, or it may be owing to its distance from *Cabul*, being at the extremity of his dominions, and not under his immediate surveillance, he feared that did he drive out his brothers, and appoint a deputy, that through some insurrection of the troops and people, or treachery in the Governor, the place might fall into the hands of *Kamran*, who every year attacks some part of the country; and whose bitter enmity to himself and brothers, leaves him assured that any league or collisions between them is utterly out of the question! There is in my opinion another reason, why *Dost Mahommed* has not endeavoured to bring the *Candaharee* chiefs under subjection; his sons are scarcely sufficiently advanced in years, or possessed of that experience which would enable them to act independently, away from his immediate controul; but eventually, when more acquainted with the art of Governing, under the instructions of their present very efficient and accomplished preceptor, in obedience to the system he is now prosecuting, of appropriating every thing to himself, one of them, no doubt, in due season, will supplant the present occupiers of that Province, should he continue in power much longer.

Dost Mahommed's position with two of his neighbours, the Rulers of *Herat* and the *Punjaub*, being that of continual hostility and the most bitter enmity, it next becomes necessary to ascertain what are the terms between him and the Ruler of *Balkh*! *Meer Moorad Beg*, it is well known, entertains no good will towards him, and with good reason as I shall shew. Complaints of the heavy taxation, enforced by this merciless *Oozbeck* Chief on travellers, and his selling, into slavery, people of all descriptions, thus rendering the road through his country dangerous, having been repeatedly made to the King of *Bokhara*, he

dispatched a *Vakeel*, and also entrusted a certain merchant, by name *Budder Coddeen*, deep in the confidence of *Dost Mahomed*, with an overture to him, to the effect that *Balkh* originally was tributary to *Affghanistan*, and that as both parties had cause of complaint against its Ruler, each should make a demonstration to effect his downfall, when a son of the *Ameer* being appointed in his place, would remove the interruptions now existing to trade and travellers! This proposal was not kept so secret, but that *Meer Moorad Beg* managed to get some notice of what was in meditation against him!

Dost Mahomed on the receipt of this message fully perceiving the futility of attempting to put it in execution, dispatched as a *Vakeel* to *Balkh* one *Qoorban Alee*, a *Sheea*, with a letter remonstrating against the cruelties he was practising, more especially, that of selling people into slavery; he, *Dost Mahomed*, never allowing this traffic in his own dominions, and expressing a most virtuous abhorrence of its barbarity, by prohibiting it in any shape whatever, being, he says, as contrary to the precepts of religion, as it is revolting to humanity; that the *Mahomedan* law restricts it to the case of a *Hindoo* or *Hubshee* taken in war with arms, and under no other circumstances is it lawful; so strict is he on this point, that the people of *Cabul* in selling a slave are under the necessity of bribing the *Mooftee* not to take cognizance of the deed; his praise-worthy severity in this particular obliges the better families to have recourse to a cruel stratagem, to procure those dependants so necessary to the comfort and luxurious ease of *Mahomedan* gentility. A servant, frequently a slave, is dispatched to the *Huzara* country, a neighbouring tribe, all of the *Sheea* persuasion, (on which account alone the deception is tolerated) for the avowed purpose of procuring a wife: a young girl, whose family is stricken by that direst wrath of Heaven, poverty, with its never failing accompaniment, misery, is soon procured for a trifling sum of money, and the *nikah* being gone through, is carried into the family of her but too often supposed, husband; the dreadful truth is there very soon made known to her; the ceremony so lately performed derided, and set at nought; unless she should have espoused a slave, when she is compelled to share her husband's lot.

To resume my story however, *Meer Moorad* expressed the greatest indignation at the contents of the *Ameer's* letter, which he tore to shreds in the *Durbar*, and also expressed his anger in

no measured terms, at the circumstance of a *Sheea*, being sent to him in such capacity, a Sect which he swore he would persecute to the last; and added that a dog would have been more endurable than the person sent to negotiate with him, and whom he ordered into confinement forthwith; he further said, that he was fully aware of what was pending between the rulers of *Bokhara* and *Cabul*; that he would put to death the Envoy from that place as well as the said *Buder Ooddeen*, and make an excursion against *Bamyan*, a small place tributary to *Cabul*, and carry off all the people! Nor was his anger assuaged until hearing that an European Physician was attached to the mission under Captain Burnes, he addressed a letter to that gentleman, sent some fine horses to *Dost Mahommed*, expressing his contrition for what had occurred; and requested him to use his influence with the Captain to secure the attendance of the Medical Gentleman, at *Balkh*, to cure his (*Moorad Beg's*) brother of a disease in the eye. The *Amcer*, I believe, made up matters with him, but of the personal feelings between the two, especially since *Dost Mahommed's* alliance with the *Persian*, there can be no doubt.

This fierce *Oozbeck* would shew no unwillingness in joining the present expedition against him, and as in the summer time there are but 10 marches between their capitals, he might be made a most powerful auxiliary in carrying into effect our present plans against *Dost Mahommed*, or any future measures we may adopt against the *Persian*, whom he regards with equal hatred and contempt, scorn and aversion. Allow him but to sniff the gale of war, and *Meer Moorad Beg* is the best Hussar in all Asia. The rapidity and continuance of his marches, the sudden and furious onset of his charge, and the hawk-like stoop with which he strikes his destined object, his heroic example; ever foremost in the battle, fully entitle him to the brilliant appellation won by a former Emperor of the *Turks*; that of *Ilderim* or the *Lightning*! Ask but his services and you have them.

However favourably disposed to him formerly, the *King* and people of *Bokhara* will now withdraw their countenance, and his recent alliance with *Persia* will complete the dissatisfaction already but too general.

I have already stated in a former paper the sentiments of the people in *Cabul* and throughout *Affghanistan*, on the granting ingress to the *Persian*, saying that they would sooner give up the place to the *Sikhs*; that the proffered friendship of the *Persian*

had no other object than the seizure of the place, which the presence of the *Kuzzil Bash* would enable them to accomplish; but they added, we will see how long the *Rafizee* will keep his position. I am of their opinion entirely, in this view they have taken of their own national strength and patriotism. The Persian, if unsupported by the Russian, will meet his doom in *Cabul*: suppose the two however, act in concert with apparent cordiality, and that they succeed in driving *Runjeet* out of *Peshawur*, and at various times and in divers places commit the very venial crime of most unmercifully slicing and otherwise maltreating a few thousand *Sikhs*, what is that to you or me Mr. Editor—rack we, in lonesome toil, a murky brain.—*Runjeet's* we know, has been o'errun with maggots this many a goodly day, and he then may learn the value of the alliance at which he now laughs in his sleeve, the *Yahoo!*

The Persian considering *Dost Mahommed* as a mere instrument, by which to effect his purposes, and the feeling on the part of the other being in every sense reciprocal, the compliment, therefore, stands a fair chance of being repaid in its own coin, as far as regards their good intentions towards each other. The very first advantage, gained by them, would set them both at variance, concerning the division of the spoil, and the Persian might find his way back to his own country, in the best way he could, if he ever succeeded in reaching it at all! And if our object be the destruction of these, we think the surest way of accomplishing it, would be to give them as little annoyance or interruption as possible, just at present, but leave them to the full enjoyment of their amusements. *Dost Mahommed* is daily growing more unpopular; the Army is ill paid; he discharged several of his Troops and their Leaders, for alleged misconduct at *Peshawur*, at the request of his favorite son, *Mahommed Ukkar Kkan*. Several other of the *Sirdars* were also curtailed of their retainers upon various pretences, who were placed under the authority of his sons; his Nephew, whose conduct contributed mainly to the victory at *Peshawur*, was without any good cause or pretence deprived of his Cavalry and Patrimony, the city of *Ghuznee*, which was made over to one of his sons, a boy of sixteen. The whole of these measures gave great offence to the nobility and people of *Cabul*, who daily witness the aggrandizement and ascendancy of his own family, to their detriment.

In his conduct towards his children he is by no means impar-

tial. His eldest son, although possessed of a most excellent disposition, entertaining a high repute for courage and steadiness in the field, and endowed with many other commendable qualities, is scarcely treated by him with common respect, while his younger brother, not remarkable for the possession of extraordinary abilities, has Command of the Army and other advantages, which can be attributed to no other cause than the extraordinary influence of his mother, without whose advice he never engages in any thing, and who can draw him into any project she conceives, and mould him to her purposes, as though with the magic of another Circe !

I must here do him the justice to observe, that he, by no means considers an extensive seraglio as necessary to his high station ; his wives, considering the opportunity his power affords him of increasing their number, are but few, and few are the hours he spends among them ; his whole time, save that which is necessary to repose, being passed in public.

Of his conduct towards merchants and others it may best be understood when I state that he has increased the tax on every article almost three-fold ; he is also in the habit of borrowing money from different individuals, according to their possessions in money or estates. For instance, shortly after he had publicly proclaimed the celebrated merchant, *Budur Ooddeen*, as his adopted father, he drew upon his newly acquired parent for a loan of fifty thousand rupees ! Another merchant, who accompanied me in the Caravan, told me that on his return from *Bokhara* the *Ameer* had extorted from him the sum of five thousand rupees, not one anna of which would ever be returned !—and that several others had suffered in similar ways ; this, together with numerous confiscations, has not much conciliated the affections of the people, who are now drawing a comparison between the present state of *Cabul*, and that which it presented under the Rule of its Kings.

The *Bala Hissar*, or Fort, the site of the residence of the reigning family, where formerly an inch of ground could not be had, now presents to the view nothing but roofless houses, and crumbling walls, and they say, that during the Usurper's reign, at least forty thousand people have emigrated from *Cabul* and its vicinity, to *Bokhara* and other countries ; in some districts two or three years rent has been taken from the Royts in advance !—As regards the state of the country, under his sway, I believe it to be as disturbed and unsafe for travellers, as at any former period. When only one march distant from *Cabul*, in my progress thither,

I was forced by a snow storm out of the main road, into some caverns about 2 miles to the left; on the same day, 40 travellers, including horsemen, pursuing the road I had quitted, were stripped of every thing they possessed; this with the plunder of several *Kafilas*, and in one or two parts, the country being in a state of revolt, more particularly the clan of the *Khiljae*, when they refused to allow a passage to the Persian Vakeel, certainly does not exhibit the present ruler to be so powerful as is generally presumed; several other instances might be quoted to the same effect: I will mention one; *Tugao*, a place about 40 koss from *Cabul*, had withheld the payment of revenue for seven years; two years ago it was taken, after a sharp engagement. Last year, when I left Afghanistan, it had again reared the standard of rebellion!

VOL. III. BOOK II. CHAP. 3.

SKETCH OF EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN,
SINCE THE YEAR 1809.

Before entering upon the affairs of Cabool, it becomes necessary that I should speak of the events which have happened in that kingdom since the year 1809, when Mr. Elphinstone closed his history.

During this period the monarchy has been totally dismembered; the provinces have either declared themselves independent under different chiefs, or been seized by the Seiks. Two kings of Cabool live as exiles in a foreign land; and of the extensive empire of Ahmed Shah Dooranee, the city of Herat alone remains in the possession of the descendants. This speedy dissolution of a power which was so formidable merits attention, since these political changes, in a country which borders on British India, may ultimately influence her destinies.

Shah Shooja ool Moolk lost his throne on the field at Neemla in the year 1809, immediately after the British mission recrossed the Indus. His power had been gradually declining since the fall of his Vizier, and the murder of his comrade, the Meer Wacez. He had failed to conciliate the chief of the great

house of Barukzye Futteh Khan, who espoused the cause of his brother Mahmood, and eventually placed him on the throne of Cabool. Never was the fortune of war more capricious than on this occasion. Shooja took the field with a well appointed army of about 15,000 men: his Vizier, Akram Khan, was slain, and he was defeated by a force of 2000 men, headed by Futteh Khan. The troops of the king had not formed; and the rebels, led on by an experienced general, gained a complete victory on most disadvantageous ground. Shooja fled, with precipitation, to the Khyber country, leaving the greater portion of his jewels and treasure on the field, where they became the spoil of the victors. He made an attempt to regain his crown at Candahar, four months after his defeat; but, like all succeeding endeavours, it proved unsuccessful.

Immediately the day had been decided, Mahmood mounted the elephant which had been caparisoned for Shooja, and the trumpets once more proclaimed him king. So great was the confusion in the camp, that many were ignorant of the result of the battle till this proclamation. The nobles and commanders of Mahmood then tendered their allegiance to him, and many of the court of Shooja did homage on the same occasion. Futteh Khan was promoted to the high rank of Vizier to the empire, which his services had so amply merited; and the whole of the Affghan country, with the exception of Cashmere, submitted to the dominion of Shah Mahmood. Mahmood submitted himself, without reserve, to the influence of his minister, whose conduct, added to his own dissolute character, held out no hopes of tranquillity or good government. Faction sprang up at the court, headed by Prince Kamran, who was jealous of the power which the Vizier had acquired over his father.

The first object of government was the reduction of Cashmere. That province was held by Ata Mahommed Khan, a son of Shooja's Vizier, who had hitherto succeeded in repelling the attacks even of the late king. Futteh Khan, in this difficulty, applied for the aid of the Seiks, and a passage for his troops into the valley, by way of the Punjab. In return for these favours, he promised to set aside nine lacs of rупees of the revenues of Cashmere to the ruler of the Seiks, Runjeet Sing. That potentate and the Vizier had an interview at Jelum, on the banks of the Hyduspes. Futteh Khan was accompanied by the whole of his brothers, eighteen in number, who stood during the ceremony. Some of them strongly advised the assassination of the King of the Seiks; and

one of them is said to have tendered his services by a sign during the meeting. It did not, however, enter into the policy of Futteh Khan. The interview terminated by the army marching on Cashmere, reinforced by 10,000 Seiks, commanded by Mokumchund. The Dooranees took the route of Beembur, and, crossing the Peer-Punjal hills, subdued the valley without opposition, and before the Seiks arrived. This happened in the year 1811. The Governor of Cashmere, after being blockaded in the citadel for a few days, surrendered himself, and was treated with distinction. The oldest brother of the Vizier, Mahommed Azcem Khan, was now appointed Governor of Cashmere.

When the valley had been subdued, the Vizier discovered no anxiety to fulfil his engagement towards his Seik allies, who left the country in disgust. At this time, the ruler of the Punjab received secret overtures from the Commandant at Attok, for the cession of that fortress. It was held by a brother of the ex-Governor of Cashmere, and the offer was at once accepted. Runjeet Sing acquired this valuable possession at the small sacrifice of a lac of rupees, and prepared to defend his new acquisition. These events aroused the attention of Futteh Khan, who quitted Cashmere with all expedition, and marched on Attok. He found the Seik army encamped on the plains of Chuch, about two miles from the fort: the heat of the season was oppressive, and the Seiks had both the advantage of position and water. The Vizier had a contempt for his opponents. The conflict commenced by the advance of his brother, Dost Mahommed Khan, who headed a body of 2000 Affghans, and captured the whole of the Seik artillery. He had dismounted two of their guns, and was proceeding to improve his victory, when he found that he was without support, and that the whole of his brother's army had fled. On the attack of Dost Mahommed Khan, some evil-disposed persons brought a report to the Vizier, that he had been made prisoner, with the whole of his division; and an equally treacherous intimation was conveyed to Dost Mahommed Khan, that his brother had fallen. It only remained for him to retreat, which he effected with honour; and crossed the Indus, previously burning some of his camp equipage, but leaving the greater portion to be plundered by the Seiks. Since this disaster on the plains of Chuch, the power of the Affghans has ceased on the eastern side of the Indus, and that country has been ever since annexed to the dominions of Runjeet Sing.

The energies of the Vizier were soon called for in an opposite

direction, as the King of Persia had demanded a tribute from Herat, the western province of the kingdom. The government of that city was held by a brother of the king, named Hajee Feroz, who was requested to treat the demand with scorn; and the Vizier marched a force in that direction to oppose the Persians. On reaching Herat, Futteh Khan made himself at once master of the person of the Governor, though a brother of his sovereign, and not only extracted the whole of his wealth from him, but violated his harem in searching for it. He then seized Herat, and made every preparation for meeting the Persians, who advanced under Hoossein Ali Meerza, a son of the King. A battle ensued, which was not decisive. The Persians certainly fled, but the Affghans also left the field, and their victory, with the greatest precipitation. The Vizier was struck by a spent ball in the face, and fell on his horse's neck, and on seeing this, his troops became disheartened. The Vizier, however, reaped the full harvest of the campaign, since he refused the tribute which Persia had demanded, and beat off the army that had come to enforce it. He also strengthened the western frontier of the kingdom, by seizing the Governor of Herat, who, though he professed every allegiance to his brother Mahmood, was at best a dubious friend. By this war, however, the garrison in Cashmere was much weakened, since he drew levies from it, which in the end proved most injurious to the interests of Mahmood in that part of his kingdom.

The reign of Mahmood had thus far proceeded, with a success which the most sanguine of his partisans could scarcely have expected: he was restored to a throne which, to all appearance, had passed into other hands; he held Cashmere, and could turn the revenues of that rich valley to the protection of his other provinces; he exacted the usual tribute from the Talpoors of Sinde, and had now warded off an attack from Persia, the only quarter from which he had to apprehend danger. The King himself, rioting in debauchery, was but a silent spectator of these events, and owed his successes to his Vizier, who managed the whole affairs of the kingdom. Futteh Khan profited by his power, and distributed the different governments of Cabool among his numerous list of brothers. He evinced, however, no want of respect and allegiance to the sovereign; and Mahmood seemed satisfied, as he owed his life and his power to his minister. But, if the parent was content to govern on these terms, his son, Prince Kamran, discovered the strongest discontent at

the Vizier's proceedings and resolved to rid himself of a person so formidable, opposed as he was to some ambitious designs which he himself entertained. The prince at last worked upon his father, and succeeded in persuading him that he might govern his country, now that it was consolidated, without the assistance of his Vizier. He, therefore, determined on ridding himself of that powerful chief, his friend and benefactor. Kamran availed himself of an early opportunity, seized Futteh Khan at Herat, and gave an immediate order for his eyes being put out. After a lapse of five or six months, Kamran put the Vizier to death, between Cabool and Candahar, with the full consent of the king. This rash act was perpetrated in the year 1818, and drove the whole of Futteh Khan's brothers into rebellion.

The tragedy which terminated the life of Futteh Khan Barukzeye is, perhaps, without parallel in modern times. Blind and bound he was led into the court of Mahmood, where he had so lately ruled with absolute power. The king taunted him for his crimes, and desired him to use his influence with his brothers, then in rebellion. Futteh Khan replied without fear, and with great fortitude, that he was now but a poor blind man, and had no concern with affairs of state. Mahmood irritated at his obstinacy, gave the last orders for his death; and this unfortunate man was deliberately cut to pieces by the nobles of the court; joint was separated from joint, limb from limb, his nose and his ears were lopped off, nor had the vital spark fled, till the head was separated from the mangled trunk. Futteh Khan endured these cruel tortures without a sigh; he stretched out his different limbs to those who thirsted for his blood, and exhibited the same careless indifference, the same reckless contempt for his own life, which he had so often shewn for that of others. The bloody remnants of this unfortunate man were gathered in a cloth and sent to Ghuzni, where they were interred.

The reign of the king may be said to have terminated with the life of his minister. He had put him to death under pretext of misconduct at Herat, but really in the hope of appeasing some of the nobles of his court; in this the king and his son had most deeply erred. He was now even afraid to encounter a small party of the rebels; and, though in the field with his army, Mahmood precipitately fled to Herat, without even making the attempt. This flight involved a virtual resignation of his power; for though he retained Herat and the title of king, he sunk into a vassal of Persia. He died at that city in 1829, and his son

Kamran succeeded to his limited power. The eldest survivor of the family of the Vizier was Mahommed Azeem Khan, who had been left to govern Cashmere. On the rebellion of his brothers he immediately joined them, and prepared to dethrone the murderer of his brother. The precipitate retreat of Mahmood had rendered any further measures unnecessary; and Azeem Khan now took the extraordinary step of recalling Shoojah ool Moolk from his exile, in the territories of British India. He offered him the crown of Cabool, and sent a Koran to the ex-monarch, under his seal, according to the custom of the country, as proof of his sincerity. Shoojah repaired with every despatch to Peshawar.

Since Shoojah ool Moolk had been defeated at Neenla, he had wandered as a fugitive in various corners of his dominions; and his adventures, which have been detailed by himself in a small volume*, are replete with interest. After his discomfiture at Candahar, he was seized by Ata Mahommed Khan, the son of his former Vizier, and subjected to much indignity. He was for some time confined in the fortress of Attok. The lancet was frequently held over his eyes; and his keeper once took him into the middle of the Indus, with his arms bound, threatening him with instant death. The object of such severity was to extract from him the celebrated diamond, called Koh-i-noor, or *mountain of light*, which he was known to possess. In the meanwhile Ata Mahommed Khan proceeded to Cashmere, and carried the captive monarch in his train. On the fall of that valley he was released by Futteh Khan, and permitted to join his family at Lahore.

His queen, as I may well call the Wuffadar Begum, the most influential lady of his harem, had used every persuasion to prevent Shooja's placing himself in the power of Runjeet Sing; but he disregarded her advice, and had in the end ample reason to regret his having neglected it. This lady was a woman of the most bold and determined character; and her counsel had often proved valuable to her husband, both in his days of power and disaster.

In Lahore, while at the mercy of the Seiks, and absent from her husband, she preserved her own and his honor in a heroic manner. Runjeet Sing pressed her urgently to surrender the Koh-i-noor, or valuable diamond, which was in her possession; and evinced intentions of forcing it from her. He also sought to transfer the daughters of the unfortunate king to his own harem.

* I am in possession of this curious work, which Shah Soojah himself did me the honor of presenting.

The queen seized on the person who conveyed the message, and had him soundly chastized. She also intimated to the Maharaja, that if he continued his dishonourable demands, she would pound the diamond in a mortar, administer it to her daughters, and those under her protection, and then swallow it herself; adding, "May the blood of all of us be on your head!" This lady succeeded in the end in escaping from Lahore, disguised as a Hindoo; and planned the deliverance of her husband, which shortly followed. This was only effected at the expense of the great diamond. A narration of the circumstances relative to its surrender would prove interesting, but it would be out of place in this sketch. It is sufficient to mention, that an imprisonment of the closest nature, insult, and even hunger, fell to the lot of this unfortunate monarch.

The ungenerous part which the king of the Seiks was enacting towards her husband aroused the energies of the queen, who had settled herself at the British station of Ludiana. She arranged the placing of horses on the roads, and Shooja, and his people, made every exertion in Lahore. They hired all the houses which adjoined those in which they were lodged; and opened a passage into the street by cutting through seven walls. A few hours after the household had retired to rest, the king descended by the aperture, and issued into the street in the dress of a native of the Punjab. the city wall had yet to be passed, and the gates were shut. Shooja crept through the common sewer of the city, and fled, with two or three servants, towards the hill country of Kishwar. Here he once more raised the standard of a monarch, and planned an attack on Cashmere, in which he was assisted by the Rajah of Kishtwar. The expedition would have been successful, for the governor of Cashmere had evacuated his frontier position, but an untimely season blocked the roads with snow, interrupted the supplies and once more frustrated the hopes of Shah Shooja. Wandering by a cheerless and ungenial country, the Shah at length reached the British station of Sabathoo in the outer Himalaya, from which he repaired to Lodiana, where his family had found an asylum. He here joined them; and has since shared the bounty of the British government. Few monarchs and few men have been subjected to greater reverses of fortune than Shooja ool Moolk; and we find our sympathies enlisted in his cause by a knowledge of his misfortunes.

Shooja, after all his misfortunes, might have now re-ascended and retained the throne of his ancestors; but before Azeem Khan

had reached Peshawur, he prematurely displayed his notions of royal authority by insulting some friend of his benefactor, whom he considered to be encroaching on his dignity, by using a palankeon. The whole Barukzye family took offence at such ill-timed pride; and Azeem Khan determined to place a more compliant master on the throne.

A favourable opportunity presented itself in the person of Eyoob (or Job), a brother of Shooja. He entered the camp of Azeem Khan, and sued for the throne as the most abject of slaves. "Make me but king," said he, "and permit money to be coined in my name, and the whole power and resources of the kingdom may rest with yourself; my ambition will be satisfied with bread, and the title of king." His conditions were accepted; nor did this puppet monarch ever violate or attempt to infringe the terms by which he had gained the name and trappings of royalty. Eyoob continued as a tool in the hands of Azeem Khan, who was nominally his Vizier. So degraded was now the state of the royal house of Cabool, that the very robe of honour which installed the minister into the viziership of the empire was a portion of his own property, and had been sent privately to the Shah, who conferred it on the Vizier with all the pomp and display of royalty. Several of the young princes who aspired to the throne were delivered over to Eyoob, and put to death. Shooja was immediately driven from Peshawur, and retired to Shikarpoor in Sindh, which the Amiers of that country agreed to cede to him. A series of intrigues, set on foot by his enemies, expelled him even from this retreat; and he fled by the circuitous route of the desert and Jaysulmere to Lodiana. The conduct of Shooja while at Shikarpoor was ill calculated to support his falling fortunes. He forgot the dignity of a monarch in low intrigues with his subjects, in which he tarnished their honour as well as his own. The fitness of Shooja ool Moolk for the station of sovereign seems ever to have been doubtful. His manners and address are highly polished; but his judgment does not rise above mediocrity. Had the case been otherwise, we should not now see him an exile from his country and his throne, without a hope of regaining them, after an absence of twenty years; and before he has attained the fiftieth year of his age.

The death of Futeh Khan, which had drawn his brother, with the greater part of his troops, from Cashmere, left that rich province without protection. The Seiks availed themselves of

the critical moment; routed the Afghans, and captured the valley, which they have ever since retained. The civil wars which followed in Afghanistan exhausted the power of the state; nor was it to be supposed that an active soldier, like Runjeet Sing, would fail to improve his opportunities of aggrandizement. The provinces of Cabool fell one by one into his hands; Mooltan, Cashmere, Leia, and Dera Ghazee Khan, with the whole country on the banks of the Indus and its eastern tributaries, owned him as conqueror. In 1823, he crossed the Indus, and fought the battle of Noushero, on the northern side of the river of Cabool, where he was opposed by a numerous population. They appeared in the field as "Ghazee" or champions of the Mahomedan religion. The conflict was most obstinate, and at last decided by the personal valour of Runjeet himself, who brought up his guards to a height from which his troops had been three times driven. Azeem Khan and all his brothers witnessed the action from the southern side of the river, and were unable to cross and assist their countrymen, since it is not fordable, and they had no boats.

This defeat was so much at variance with the hopes of the Doorances, that their chief fled in the night, and left his guns and tents in the hands of the Seiks, who advanced on Peshawur, and burned its palace. As the battle with Futteh Khan on the plains of Chuch decided the supremacy of the Seiks eastward of the Indus, this campaign established their power between that river and Peshawur. That city has since paid an annual tribute to Runjeet Sing. It is said that Azeem Khan was urged to his precipitate retreat by apprehensions which he entertained for his treasure that had been left at Muchnee, higher up the river than the field of battle. It is also said that he was not satisfied of the fidelity of his brothers; and, besides, feared the increasing army of the Seiks. The disgrace of having submitted to infidels without firing a shot preyed upon his mind, and he did not survive it: he sickened on the road to Cabool, and died immediately on his arrival at that city. On his death-bed he summoned his wives to his presence, dispossessed them of their jewels, which he delivered with the whole of his property to Hubeeb Oollah Khan, his eldest son. He then charged him to wipe off the disgrace from a father's name; and carry fire and sword into the Seik territories. A treasury which fell little short of three millions sterling might have furnished ample means to gratify the request of a dying parent; but since the capture of Cashmere, the Seiks were equally well supplied with the sinews

war. They had also been victorious in the field; and now, aware of their own strength, had become most formidable rivals. Even yet a confederacy of the Dooranee chiefs might have broken their rising power; but a season of discord and anarchy followed the death of Mahommed Azeem Khan. Since that period, Peshawur has been reduced to a state of vassalage; and Runjeet Sing is now confirmed in all the conquests which he had previously made.

Azeem Khan's death became the signal for a scene of family strife. After a variety of cruelty and crime, his son, Hubeeb Oollah Khan, was deprived of his power and fortune. His uncles formed a cabal; and possessing themselves of his person, terrified his mother with the threat of blowing him from a gun, if the whole treasures were not surrendered. The youth had already squandered much of his wealth, and the remainder was now delivered up. Shere Dil Khan carried away with him about half a million sterling, and erected an independent chiefship at Candahar; another was formed at Peshawur; and Cabool itself, after having had several masters, ultimately fell into the hands of Dost Mahommed Khan, another of the Vizier's brothers. Such dissension has sowed the seeds of everlasting discord among this family. The puppet king, Shah Eyoob, lost his son in these scenes of trouble, and fled into the Punjab, where he found an asylum at the court of Lahore, in which he still continues. The royal house of Cabool, which may be said to have disappeared before he acted the part of king, now no longer existed as an ostensible part of the government; and the different chiefs ruled independent of one another: — the Sindians threw off the yoke in the absence of any power to enforce their tribute; Herat was held by the exiled family of Mahmood; Balkh was annexed to the dominions of the King of Bokhara; but the richest share of the provinces had fallen into the hands of the Seiks. It has been said with some truth, that Cabool could never have existed as a kingdom without the possession of Cashmere. The revenues and resources of most of the provinces were expended in them, while the annual subsidy of that valley and Sindh enabled the Dooranee monarchs to extend their power, maintain their honour, and terrify the neighbouring nations. Thus fell the Dooranee monarchy, which existed for a period of seventy-six years, from the time Ahmed Shah was crowned at Candahar, A. D. 1717. We shall now proceed with an account of the different chiefships into which the kingdom has been divided.

THE CHIEFSHIP OF CABOOL.

The capital of Cabool now forms the residence of an independent chief, who holds the surrounding districts and Ghuzni, without any control over the kingdom of the Doorancees. The same circumstances which separated Peshawur, have dismembered Cabool; and since the death of Azeem Khan, the possession of it has been disputed by different members of the Barukzye family. In the year 1826, it fell into the hands of Dost Mahomed Khan, the present chief, and a brother of the Vizier, Futteh Khan. Since then he has greatly extended and consolidated his power. He entrusts the town and dependencies of Ghizni to a brother, and admits no one else to share his fortunes. The limits of the chiefship extend north to Hindoo Koosh and Bameean. On the west it is bounded by the hill country of the Huzaras. To the south is Ghuzni, and to the east it stretches half way to Peshawur, terminating at the garden of Neemla. Much of the country is mountainous; but it contains a large portion of arable land, which is most productive. It lies along the base of hills, and derives a richness from the soil washed from them. The revenues of Cabool amount to eighteen lacs of rupees. Its military force is greater than any among the Affghans, since the chief retains a body of 9000 horse, who are well mounted and accoutred. He has also 2000 infantry, with other auxiliaries, village troops, and a park of fourteen guns, which are well served for a native state. This country is by nature strong and mountainous, though it has good roads through it.

The reputation of Dost Mahomed Khan is made known to a traveller long before he enters his country, and no one better merits the high character which he has obtained. He is unremitting in his attention to business, and attends daily at the Court-house, with the Czee and Moollahs, to decide every cause according to the law. The Koran and its commentaries may not be the standard of legislative excellence, but this sort of decision is exceedingly popular with the people, since it fixes a line, and relieves them from the "jus vagum aut incognitum" of a despot. Trade has received the greatest encouragement from him, and he has derived his own reward, since the receipts of the custom-house of the city have increased fifty thousand rupees, and now furnish him with a net revenue of two lacs of rupees per annum. One in forty, *i. e.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., is the only duty levied in his territory; and the merchant may travel with-

out guard or protection from one frontier to another, an unheard of circumstance in the time of the kings. The chief of Cabool, in his zeal for orthodox government, has deprived his subjects of the luxury of wine and spirits, as being prohibited by his creed. The enactment has driven the jews and Armenians from his country, since they had no other means to procure a subsistence. A good Mahomedan ought not to regret the loss of such luxuries; but with this single exception, I heard of no complaint against the rule of Dost Mahommed Khan. That chief, in common with many of the Afghan nation, was addicted in early life to wine and its concomitant vices. His prohibition of them may be, therefore, capricious; but he, as well as his court, hold out a bright example of sobriety to the community. The justice of this chief affords a constant theme of praise to all classes: the peasant rejoices at the absence of tyranny; the citizen at the safety of his home and the strict municipal regulations regarding weights and measures; the merchant at the equity of the decisions and the protection of his property, and the soldiers at the regular manner in which their arrears are discharged. A man in power can have no higher praise. Dost Mahommed Khan has not attained his fortieth year; his mother was a Persian, and he has been trained up with people of that nation, which has sharpened his understanding, and given him advantages over all his brothers. One is struck with the intelligence, knowledge, and curiosity which he displays, as well as his accomplished manners and address. He is doubtless the most powerful chief in Affghanistan, and may yet raise himself by his abilities to a much greater rank in his native country.

The differences which subsist between Dost Mahommed Khan and his brothers lessen the influence of all parties, and would lay open the state to intrigue and faction, if invaded. The family of Barukzye have nothing to fear from any other Affghan tribe, since they surpass all in numbers as much as in power. The chiefs of Peshawur and Candahar do not want the wish to injure their brother of Cabool, but they cannot accomplish their purpose. Both of them have had a footing in Cabool, and look with envy on the prosperity of Dost Mahommed Khan. Both have emissaries at his court, who excite disturbance; and both cherish hopes of rooting out one whom they consider an usurper. The task will be found difficult; for the chief of Cabool, besides the moderation and justice which secure him so many friends, enjoys an advantage in his Persian descent, which will prove of

material service to him in adversity. He holds the warlike clan of **Juwansheer** in his interests, and takes every occasion to conciliate this tribe, which has so often turned the scale in favour of different pretenders to the throne. He has acquired their language (the Turkish), and promoted their interests and well-being. The Persians of Cabool amount to about 12,000 families; they reside in a separate quarter of the city, which keeps up an *esprit de corps* among them. It also gives them a knowledge of their power, which may prove salutary or prejudicial to the factions that divide the country, according to circumstances. The state of fear which an enemy on both sides must inspire has a bad effect on Dost Mahommed Khan's administration. With his own house as an object of care, he is not likely to pursue conquests abroad, or retrieve the fallen state of Cabool. This alone deters him from attacking Herat, and making some endeavours to wrest Mooltan and Dera Ghazee Khan from the Seiks. He last year made a demonstration against Julalabad, a district between Cabool and Peshawur, worth about seven lacs of rupees a year. He will probably annex it to his power; but, until able to coerce or subdue either Peshawur or Candahar, Dost Mahomed Khan cannot rise above the rank of a chief, or be aught than one among many in Afghanistan. In the present state of politics in the country, he is, nevertheless, the most rising man in the Cabool dominions.

Cabool is a country of great strength, but small resource. It abounds in fruit, but grain grows scantily. The Emperor Baber, on his conquering it, imposed a tax of 30,000 khurwars* of grain on Cabool and Ghuzni, but found in after years, when better acquainted with the country, that the levy was exorbitant. The territory has no doubt improved in a lapse of three hundred years; but provisions are dear in Cabool. In summer, the necessaries of life are rather moderate; fruit and vegetables abound, and the city receives supplies from the surrounding country. In winter, the roads are shut, wood is scarce, grain is dear, and the severity of the climate demands warm clothing. The mills which grind the flour are also frozen up, and the poorest people must purchase animal food. The presence of a force in Cabool has the effect of doubling the price of provisions, which is a sure indication of their scarcity. A large army might still find a comfortable quarter in the city of Cabool, and draw

* A Khurwar is 700 lbs. English.

the supplies which it required, additional to the resources of the country, from Peshawur and the value of the Cabool river, near Julalabad. Forage for cattle is most plentiful; artificial grasses are cultivated to a great extent, and prove a most nutritious food to horses. There are likewise most extensive meadows both at Cabool and Ghuzni. One, called Nawur, in particular, near the latter place, would supply a force of 20,000 cavalry. The city of Cabool has been described elsewhere. It has a population of about 60,000 souls, and a bazar of nearly 2000 shops. Each trade has a separate division of the town. Cabool furnishes a supply of articles far beyond what its size would indicate, for it is a mart, and the entrepôt of a great trade.

It increases daily under the fostering care of its present ruler. As a place of defence, it is contemptible; the city-wall, which has never been good, has fallen down; the summits of the hills that environ the town are crowned with walls, but they are a useless ornament. The Bala Hissar, or citadel, which stands on the eastern side, is a place of no strength, and the other Bala Hissar below it is even more defenceless. The former building, which stands on an eminence, commands a noble view of the surrounding country, and might be made to command the city, which lies at its base.

SUMMARY OF THE AFFAIRS OF CABOOL.

We have now given a sketch of the events which have occurred in Cabool, to the fall of the monarchy; and described the several governments into which it has been divided. Its prosperity as a kingdom seems almost to have terminated with its founder, Ahmed Shah Dooranee. His son Timour evinced none of the energy and activity of his parent. Shah Zuman, his child and successor, defective in education, and cruel in disposition, succeeded to a government relaxed by a long reign of indolence. Shah Zuman, and his brothers, Mahmood and Shoojah, seem alike to have forgotten, on their elevation to a throne, that they ruled a people whose genius was republican. The total overthrow of the dynasty is universally attributed to the misplaced pride and arrogance of the last kings, who now receive no sympathy from the Affghans in their overthrow. Shoojah, indeed, might have regained his power, but for his rash attempts to exer-

cise the authority of king, before he was firmly fixed in it. The Affghans cannot control their feelings of jealousy towards men in power ; and this universal envy has dethroned their kings and butchered their nobles. There is not a person of note, that figures in their history for the last thirty years, who has died a natural death. To be happy under any government, they must either be ruled by a vigorous despot, or formed into many small republics.

All the institutions of the Affghans are favorable to a republic ; and the supremacy of the Barukzye family in Cabool is acceptable to the people ; and I even think favourable to the prosperity of the country. It is by far the greatest clan of the Doorances, amounting to about 60,000 families, which will enable it to maintain its authority. The late royal family of the Sudozyes, on the other hand, were few in number, and looked for support to other tribes. Of these, the principal were the Barukzyes. Hajee Jumal, the most influential of its chiefs, willingly bowed to the authority of Ahmed Shah ; and contributed to fix him on his throne. The successors of that monarch rewarded his services by the murder of his son Poyndi Khan ; and we have related the atrocious assassination of his grandson the Vizier. Had the royal house treated these benefactors with justice, and their subjects with moderation, they might still have reigned in peace. The hatred of this family to the house of Cabool, and the cause which excites it (the assassination of two of their chiefs), forbid the belief that the Barukzyes will ever consent to their restoration. It is certain that the aid of no other tribe can avail them, for the whole wealth of the country is in the hands of their enemies ; and the bulk of the people view their misfortunes with indifference, since it is believed they have drawn them upon themselves. It is evident, therefore, that the restoration of either Shoojah ool Moolk, or Kamran, is an event of the most improbable nature. The dynasty of the Sudozyes has passed away, unless it be propped up by foreign aid ; and it would be impossible to reclaim the lost provinces of the empire, without a continuation of the same assistance. It is more difficult to revive than to raise a dynasty ; and in the common chain of events, if the country is to be ruled by another king, we must look for another family to establish its power in Cabool ; and this, in all probability, will be the Barukzyes.

At present, there is no connexion of a political nature between

the states in Cabool and any foreign power. The Persians have long talked vaingloriously of invading the country, but if there were no treachery on the part of the Kuzzilbash guards at Cabool, they could not certainly make an impression on the kingdom. In a general war, the enmity between the different houses would probably be forgotten, and the united force of the Barukzyes alone amounts to about 30,000 horse. While we were in Cabool, the chief received a notice from his brother at Candahar, who had been threatened by an ambassador from the Persian camp. The reply of Dost Mahommed Khan was characteristic:—"When the Persians come, let me know, and as I am now your enemy, will I then be your friend." The natural strength of Cabool is its best barrier against a successful invasion by an Asiatic power, and if we look to the expedition of Nadir Shah, we are to remember that he was accompanied by many Affghan chiefs, whom he had advanced to favour, and who largely participated in his acquisitions, and the spoils he gained from others.

The political state of Cabool, as a kingdom, becomes at all times an object of the deepest importance to India, from the many changes which constantly take place in that country. Of its four chiefships, one is subject to the Punjab, and another to Persia. The chief of Cabool himself is a man of enlightened views, and may secure a thorough supremacy over the country, on the death of Runjeet Sing. It would not be difficult for him to subdue Peshawar, and he might then seize the provinces on the Indus, and very probably Cashmere. He is a man favourably disposed towards the British Government, as indeed are the whole chiefs of the kingdom. They were not in power when the British mission entered the country in 1809, but our reputation was then established, and the good opinion of all parties has been acquired by our immediate withdrawal afterwards. That circumstance, it is true, was unavoidable; but it has left impressions most favourable to our disinterestedness. In Cabool, therefore, it would not be difficult to form a connexion; and the chief is certainly worthy of notice, since his country lies on the great road by which the manufactures of Britain are imported, and which of late have been considerably increased by his equity and justice. It would require no great expenditure of the public funds to conciliate this chief, and, it is to be remembered, that he is in possession of the most important position in Asia, as regards the protection of British India. Had circumstances brought us

into an alliance with Cabool, instead of Persia, we might have now possessed more trusty and useful allies, nearer home, than we can boast of in that country. We also should have never incurred a tenth of the expenditure, which has been so freely lavished in Persia.

JOURNEY TO CABOOL.

On the 19th of April we took our leave of Sooltan Mohommed Rhan, and Peshawar. Nothing could have surpassed the kindness of this nobleman, and now that we were leaving him he consigned us to a Persian, one of his own Officers, who was sent to Cabool on our account : he then produced a letter to his brother at Candahar, as also to several persons in Cabool ; likewise six blank sheets bearing his seal, which he begged we would fill up to any person of his acquaintance whom we believed could avail us. Such treatment, as may be imagined, called for our gratitude ; but it was with difficulty that I could prevail on the chief to take a pair of pistols of small value. I gave his son a musical box, and he regretted my doing so. As we left his house he saw us mount, and wished us every success and prosperity ; and would have accompanied us for some distance, had we not objected. Several of the good people about him, with whom we had become acquainted, came with us for the first march, and among these were Gholam Kadir, and Meer Alum, two sons of a Cazee, at Ladiana, to whose good offices we were indebted on many occasions while at Peshawar.

There are five different roads to Cabool ; but we chose that which leads by the river, since the pass of Khyber is unsafe from the lawless habits of the people ; and we therefore crossed the beautiful plain of Peshawar to Muchnee. At the city we had become intimate with one of the hill chiefs, who urged us to take the Khyber route ; but no one trusts a Khyberee, and it was not deemed prudent. Nadir Shah paid a sum of money to secure his passage through the defile in that country, which is about eighteen miles in length, and very strong. I should have liked much to see these people in their native state ; but our acquaintance, though a chief, was not to be depended on. He was a tall, bony, gaunt-looking man, like the rest of his tribe, much addicted to spirits ; and, when speaking of his country, he called it

“Yughistan,” or the land of the rebels. I accompanied this person to an orchard near Peshawar, where he wished us to join in a drinking party ; but we considered him and his associates savage enough without intoxication.

We crossed the river of Cabool above Muchnee on a raft, which was supported on inflated skins, and but a frail and unsafe mode of trasport. The river is only 250 yards wide, but runs with such rapidity, that we were carried more than a mile down before gaining the opposite bank. The horses and baggage ponies swam across. Muchnee is a straggling village, at the gorge of the valley where the Cabool river enters the plain. Below that place it divides into three branches in its course towards the Indus. It is usual to navigate this river on rafts ; but there are likewise a few boats, and the pilgrims proceeding to Mecca often embark at Acora, and pass down the Indus in them to the sea. Merchandize is never sent by this route ; but it is important to know there is a water channel of communication from near Cabool to the ocean.

On the 23d we had adjusted all matters for our advance, by conciliating the Momunds, a plundering tribe, somewhat less ferocious than their neighbours of Khyber, through whose country we were to pass. They demanded half a rupee of every Mahomedan, and double the sum of a Hindoo ; but much less satisfied them, though they quarrelled about its distribution. We commenced our march, by scrambling over hills and rocks, and were soon satisfied of the influence of our friends, as we met some individual passengers, attended by mere children, whose tribe was a sufficient protection for them. After a fatiguing march over mountain passes we found ourselves on the Cabool river, which was to be crossed a second time. We had now a full insight into our mode of travelling, and the treatment which we were to expect. We never moved but in a body ; and when we got to the banks of the river under a scorching sun, had no means of crossing it till our friends the Momunds could be again appeased. We laid ourselves down in the shade of some rocks, which had fallen from precipices that rose in grandeur over us to the height of about 2000 feet, and before us the Cabool river rushed with great rapidity in its course onwards. Its breadth did not exceed 120 yards. Towards afternoon, our highlanders produced eight or ten skins, and we commenced crossing ; but it was night before we had all passed, and we then set fire to the grass of the mountains to illuminate our neighbourhood and en-

sare safety to the frail raft. The passage of the river was tedious and difficult : in some places the rapidity of the stream, formed into eddies, wheeled us round, and we had the agreeable satisfaction of being told that, if we went some way down, there was a whirlpool, and, if once enclosed in its circle, we might revolve in hunger and giddiness for a day. This inconvenience we all escaped, though some of the passengers were carried far down the river, and we ourselves had various revolutions in the smaller eddies. There was no village or people on either side of the river, and we spread our carpets on the ground, and heartily enjoyed a cool night after the day's fatigue. The noise of the stream soon lulled most of us to sleep, and towards midnight nothing was to be heard but the voices of the mountaineers, who had perched themselves on a rock that projected over our camp, and watched till daylight. A truly cut-throat band they appeared, and it was amusing to observe the studied respect which all of us paid them. Their chief, a ragged ruffian without a turban, was mounted on a horse : his praises were sung, and presents were given him ; but we had no sooner left the country, than every one abused those whom we had been caressing. The spirit of the party might be discovered by one old man, who drove his horse into a wheat-field, on the verge of the Monund country, calling out, " Eat away, my good animal ; the Monund scoundrels have ate much of my wealth in their time."

After an exposure of about eight hours to a powerful sun, on the following morning we reached Duka by a rocky and difficult road, and pushed on, in the afternoon, to Huzarnow, a journey of upwards of twenty miles. On reaching Duka, we had surmounted the chief part of our difficulties on the road to Cabool. The view from the top of a mountain pass, before we descended into the valley of the Cabool river, was very magnificent. We could see the town of Jalalabad, forty miles distant, and the river winding its way in a snakey course through the plain, and dividing it into innumerable fertile islands as it passed. The Sufued Koh, or white mountain, reared its crest on one side, and the towering hill of Noorgil or Kooaer on the other ; here the Affghans believe the Ark of Noah to have rested after the deluge, and this Mount Ararat of Affghanistan, from its great height, is certainly worthy of the distinction ; it is covered with perpetual snow. There is an isolated rock not far from this place, called Nãogee, in Bajour, which answers, in my mind, to Arrian's description of the celebrated rock of Aornus, which in-

dubitably lay in that neighbourhood. It is said to be inaccessible, but by one road, to be strong and lofty, and large enough to produce grain for the garrison, having likewise an abundant supply of water, which is literally an account of Aornus. It is also within twenty miles of Bajour; and we are informed that the citizens of Bazaria (supposed to be Bajour) fled to Aornus for safety in the night. I have not seen the hill of Nāogee.

At Muchnee, the hills are sandstone: on the tops of the passes there are veins of quartz. In the bed of the Cabool river the rocks are granite; and over the village of Duka the formation is mica, which occurs in vertical strata. A sweet aromatic smell was exhaled from the grass and plants. One shrub looked very like broom; another resembled the flower-de-luce, and supplies the people with mats to build their huts as well as sandals for their feet, to which they are fixed by a string of the same material. Our thirst and fatigue were much relieved by a plant of the sorrel kind, which we found most grateful, and gathered and ate as we climbed over the hills. The pasture is here favorable to cattle, and the matton used in Peshawur owes its flavour to it.

Before leaving Duka we had a visit from the chief of the Momunds, Sadut Khan, of Lalpoor, a handsome man of about thirty, with a good-humoured countenance. We sat under a mulberry tree, on a cot or bed, for half an hour; he pressed us much to cross the river, and become his guests for a few days, when he would entertain and amuse us with his hawks, some of which were carried by his attendants. We declined his civilities on the excuse of our journey. I afterwards learned that this smiling Momund had raised himself to the chiefship of his clan, by murdering two young nephews with their mother.

At Huzarnow we now met a Khyberree, with whom we had some acquaintance in the Punjab, where he had served as an hirkaru, or messenger, to Runjeet Sing. Immediately he heard of our arrival he made his appearance, and, catching me by the feet, and then by the beard, intimated, in the little Persian he could speak, that we were his guests, and must occupy his house in the village; which we gladly accepted. He was a most uncouth looking being, with a low brow and sunken eyes: he had two sons, neither of whom he had seen for fourteen years, till within a few days of our arrival. He had, nevertheless, twice carried expresses to Cabool; and though he had passed his native village and home, he had never stopped to make an enquiry. He had now returned for good to his country.

After a fatiguing march of twelve hours on the saddle, three of which were spent in waiting for stragglers, we reached Julalabad on the morning of the 26th. As we passed Soorkhdewar, where the caravans are sometimes plundered, our conductor, the Persian, whether to show his courage or the disordered state of his imaginations, fancied himself attacked by robbers. He fired his carbine, and, by the time those in the rear came up, had completed a long story of his own daring bravery; how he had punished one of the robbers with the butt-end of his piece, and the danger which he had undergone from his antagonist's ball, that had whistled past his ear! His followers applauded his bravery, and I added my share of praise. It appeared singular that the Persian alone should have seen the highwaymen: but the whole matter was explained by a quiet remark from a member of the caravan; that the gentleman wished to give proof of his courage now that we were beyond danger.

Our route from Huzarnow to Julalabad lay through a wide stoney waste, a part of which is known by the name of the "dusht," or plain of Buttecote, and famed for the pestilential wind or "simoon" that prevails here in the hot season, though the mountains on both sides are covered with perpetual snow. The natives of this country describe the simoon as generally fatal. Travellers, who have recovered, say, that it attacks them like a cold wind, which makes them senseless. Water poured with great violence into the mouth sometimes recovers the patient; and a fire kindled near him has a good effect. Sugar and the dried plums of Bokhara are also given with advantage. Horses and animals are subject to the simoon as well as man; and the flesh of those who fall victims to it is said to become so soft and putrid, that the limbs separate from each other, and the hair may be pulled out with the least force. This pestilential wind is unknown in the high lands of Cabool, and principally confined to the plain of Buttecote now described. It is as malignant in its effect during night as in the day; and in summer no one ever thinks of travelling while the sun is above the horizon. In a party of thirty or forty individuals, one only may be attacked: nor are those who escape sensible of any change in the atmosphere. It may be simply the effects of heat on a certain state of the body.

We were not travelling in the season of hot and pestilential winds; but on this march we encountered one of these storms of wind and dust which are common in countries near the tropic.

In the present instance, it was attended with a singular phenomenon: clouds of dust approached each other from *opposite* sides of the compass, and, when they met, took quite a different direction. It is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the eddy of the wind in a low plain, about twelve or fifteen miles broad, with lofty mountains on either side. Julalabad, we found, had been deluged with rain, which we had entirely escaped.

In a hill north of the Cabool river and the village of Bussoal, we observed some extensive excavations in the rock, which are ascribed to the days of the Kaffirs, or infidels. These caves were hewn out in groups, the entrance to each being separated, and about the size of a common doorway. They may have formed so many villages, since it appears to have been common throughout Asia to dwell in such excavated places; as we learn in the account of the Trogdolites given by different historians. I do not suppose that we can draw an inference as to the people from the existence of this practice in different countries, since it would occur to most uncivilised nations, that a cave in a rock was a more safe residence, in a troubled society, than a hut on the plain. Near Julalabad there are seven round towers; but they differ in construction from the "topes" which I have described. They are said to be ancient, and very large copper coins are found near them. In the country of Lughman, between Julalabad and the mountains, the people point out the tomb of Metur Lam or Lamech, the father of Noah. Some refer the place to the age of the Kaffirs; but the good Mahommedans are satisfied to believe it the grave of a prophet, and that there are only three others on the earth.

We halted for a couple of days at Julalabad, which is one of the filthiest places I have seen in the East. It is a small town, with a bazaar of fifty shops, and a population of about 2000 people; but its number increases tenfold in the cold season, as the people flock to it from the surrounding hills. Julalabad is the residence of a chief of the Barukzye family; who has a revenue of about seven lacs of rupees a year. The Cabool river passes a quarter of a mile north of the town, and is about 150 yards wide: it is not fordable. There are mountains of snow to the north and south of Julalabad, that run parallel with one another. The southern range is called Sufued Koh, but more frequently Rajgul. It decreases in size as it runs eastward, and loses its snow before reaching Duka. In the higher parts the snow never melts; which would give an elevation of about

15,000 feet in this latitude. To the north of Julalabad lies the famous Noorgil, before mentioned, about thirty miles distant; and to the north-west the lofty peaks of Hindoo Koosh begin to show themselves.

We left the river of Cabool, and passed up a valley to Bala-bagh, and could now distinguish the rich gardens that lie under the snowy hills, and produce the famous pomegranates without seed, that are exported to India. We halted in a vineyard. The vines of this country are not cut or pruned, but allowed to ascend the highest trees, and were growing at Bala-bagh, on lilyoaks, about eighty feet from the ground. The grapes so produced are inferior to those reared on a frame-work. It rained at Bala-bagh and our quarters were more romantic than comfortable; which led us, at dusk, to seek for shelter in the mosque. The people seemed too busy in the exercise of religious and worldly matters to mind us, and as yet we had not experienced the slightest incivility from any person in the country: though we strolled about everywhere. They do not appear to have the smallest prejudice against a Christian; and I had never heard from their lips the name of dog or infidel, which figures so prominently in the works of many travellers. "Every country has its customs," is a proverb among them; and the Affghan Mahomedans seem to pay a respect to Christians which they deny to their Hindoo fellow-citizens. Us they call "people of the book;" while they consider them benighted and without a prophet.

At Gundamuk we reached the boundary of the hot and cold countries. It is said to snow on one side of the rivulet, and to rain on the other. Vegetable life assumes a new form; the wheat, which was being cut at Julalabad, was only three inches above ground at Gundamuk. The distance does not exceed twenty-five miles. In the fields we discovered the white daisies among the clover; and the mountains, which were but ten miles distant, were covered with forests of pine, that commenced about a thousand feet below the limit of the snow; we required additional clothing in the keen air. Travellers are subject to a variety of little troubles, which amuse or try the temper, according to the disposition of the moment. A cat possessed itself of my dinner this evening, as I was about to swallow it; yet I satisfied the cravings of a hungry appetite with bread and water; which, I may add, was ate in a filthy stable: but we were fortunate in getting such accommodation. I beg to add my encomia on the

bread of this country, which they leaven and bake much to the palate.

About three miles from Gaudamuk we passed the garden of Neemla, celebrated for the field of battle in which Shah Shoojaool Moolk lost his crown, in the year 1809. The garden is situated in a highly cultivated valley surrounded by barren hills. It is a beautiful spot; the trees have all been pruned to, or attained, the same height, and shade beneath their bows a variety of flowers; among which the narcissus grows most luxuriantly. The spot, though ornamented by art, is ill chosen for a battle; and the fortune of war was here strangely capricious. Shooja lost his throne and his vizier, sustaining a defeat from an army ten times inferior to his own. Never dreading such a result, he had brought his jewels and his wealth along with him; which he was happy to relinquish for his life. Futteh Khan, the vizier of Mahmood, who succeeded in gaining the day for his master, seated him on one of the state elephants, which had been prepared for the king, and took this mode to proclaim his victory. Shoojah fled to the Khyber country, and has since failed in all his attempts to regain his kingdom.

Nothing strikes a stranger in this country more than the manner of keeping their horses, which differs so much from India. They never remove the saddle during the day; which they believe gives the horse a better rest at night. They never walk a horse up and down, but either mount him, or make him go round in a circle till he is cool. They give no grain, at this season, feeding them on green barley, which has not eared. They picket eight or ten horses to two ropes, which they fix in line parallel to one another. They always tie a knot on the tail. They keep the kind quarters of the horse covered at all times by a very neat felt, fringed with silk, which is held on by the crupper. They use the Uzbek saddle, which resembles that of our own busars, and which I found agreeable enough, and always used. The riders tie their whip to the wrist. The Affghans take great care of their horses, but do not pamper them with spices, as in India, and always have them in excellent condition.

We continued our march to Jugduluk, and passed the Soorkh road, or red river, by a bridge with a variety of other small streams, which pour the melted snow of the Sufued Koh into that rivulet. The waters of all of them were reddish: hence the name. The country is barren and miserable. Jugduluk is a wretched place, with a few caves for a village. There is a

proverb which describes its misery: "When the wood of Jugduluk begins to burn, you melt gold:" for there is no wood at hand in the bleak hills. We halted under a grove of trees, which is memorable as the spot where Shah Zuman, one of the kings of Cabool was blinded.

On our way we could distinguish that the road had once been made, and also the remains of the post-houses, which had been constructed every five or six miles by the Mogul emperors, to keep up a communication between Delhi and Cabool. They may even be traced across the mountains to Balkh, for both Humaioun and Aurungzebe, in their youth were governors of that country. What an opinion does this inspire of the grandeur of the Mogul empire! We have a system of communication between the most distant provinces as perfect as the posts of the Cæsars.

On our way to Cabool we met thousands of sheep tended by the wandering Ghiljees, a tribe of Affghans; who, now that the snow was off the ground, were driving their flocks towards Hindoo Koosh, where they pass the summer. Nothing could be more pastoral. The grown-up people followed the sheep as they browsed on the margin of the hills, and the boys and girls came up about a mile or two in rear, in charge of the young lambs. An old goat or sheep encouraged them to advance, and the young people assisted with switches of grass, and such ejaculations as they could raise. Some of the children were so young, that they could hardly walk; but the delight of the sport enticed them on. On the margin of the road we passed many encampments, where they were either moving or packing up. The Affghans have a low, black, or rather brown tent. The women did every thing for their lazy husbands, loaded the camels and drove them on: they are indeed swarthy dames, not very remarkable for beauty, with all their Arcadian life. They are well clad, and shod with broad iron nails fixed to their soles. The children were uncommonly healthy and chubby; and it is said that these wandering people do not marry till they reach their twentieth year.

After passing the Soorkh road, we reached Ispahan, a village that marks another of Shooja's defeats, but before he gained the throne. A story is told of the vizier Futteh Khan, who was afraid of being supplanted on this field of battle by the Dooranee nobleman who aspired to the office of vizier. This individual, whose name was Meer Alum, had, on a former occasion, insulted

Futteh Khan, and even knocked out one of his front teeth. The injury had to all appearance been forgiven, for he had since married a sister of the Vizier; but the alliance had only been formed that Futteh Khan might easier accomplish his base intentions. The night before the battle he seized upon his brother-in-law and put him to death. A heap of stones, here called a "toda," marks the scene of the murder. The Vizier's sister threw herself at her brother's feet, and asked why he had murdered her husband? "What!" said he, "have you more regard for your husband, than your brother's honour? Look at my broken teeth; and know that the insult is now avenged. If you are in grief at the loss of a husband, I'll marry you to a mule-driver." This incident is not a bad illustration of the boisterous manners and feelings of the Affghans. A saying among them bids one fear the more, when an apparent reconciliation has taken place by an intermarriage.

By midnight on the 30th we reached the pass of Luta-bund, from the top of which the city of Cabool first becomes visible, at a distance of twenty-five miles. The pass is about six miles long, and the road runs over loose round stones. We lay down at a spring called Koke Chushma, or the Partridge Fountain, and slept without shelter through a bitterly cold night. Our conductor's hawks died from its effects, to his great grief. *Luta* means a shred or patch; and this pass is so called, from travellers leaving some shred of their clothes on the bushes in the pass. In the winter the snow blocks up this road.

We rose with the morning star, and prosecuted our journey to Cabool, which we did not reach till the afternoon. The approach to this celebrated city is any thing but imposing, nor was it till I found myself under the shade of its fine bazar, that I believed myself in the capital of an empire. On our road we passed the village of Bootkhak, where Mahmood of Ghuzni, on his return from India, is said to have interred the rich Hindoo idol which he brought from the famous Somnat. At Cabool, we proceeded straight to the house of the Nawab Jubbar Khan, the brother of the governor, who gave us a cordial welcome, and sent to the bazar for a dinner, which I enjoyed. Not so my unfortunate companion, whose health forsook him immediately after crossing the Indus; his strength was now completely undermined. A doubt arose as to the examination of our baggage at the Custom-house; but I judged it more prudent to exhibit our poverty than allow the good people to form designs against our supposed wealth.

We were not, however, prepared for the search; and my sextant and books, with the doctor's few bottles and paraphernalia, were laid out in state for the inspection of the citizens. They did them no harm, but set us down without doubt as conjurors, after a display of such unintelligible apparatus.

Our worthy conductor, after he had safely delivered us into the hands of the Nawab, took his leave to enjoy his native city, which he had not seen for eight years. Mahommed Shureef was what might be termed a good fellow. Though but a young man, he had been a merchant, and realised a fortune, which he now enjoyed in hunting and hawking, with "cup of good sack." He was corpulent and dropsical, but might be seen every morning with his hawks and pointer at his heels. He kept his revels more secretly. I never saw a boy more delighted than was this person as we entered Cabool; had it been Elysium, he could not have said more in its praise. He had been a most companionable traveller, and added the address of a Persian to the warmth and good feeling of an Affghan. An incident occurred on our entering Cabool, which would have delighted other men than him. A beggar had found out who he was, and within half a mile of the city gate began to call down every blessing on his head, and welcomed him by name to his home, in a strain of great adulation. "Give the poor man some money," said Mahommed Shureef to his servant, with a significant nod of his head; and it would have been a difficult matter to determine whether the merchant or the beggar seemed most delighted. Our conductor then bid us adieu, with a recommendation that we should trust any body but those who volunteered their services; as he did not give his countrymen the credit for a high standard of morality. He exacted a promise that we should dine with him, and I thanked him for his advice and attentions.

ON THE COMMERCE OF CABOOL.

The commerce of Cabool has undergone a great alteration, from political causes, since the year 1809, when this country was visited by a British mission. In the time of the monarchy, the trade with India was considerable, and our commercial factory in Sinde, for a long time, was principally supported by the demand from Affghanistan. The abolition of that establishment led the merchants of Cabool to seek their supply in the bazars of India;

and though the monarchy has ceased to exist, yet the body of the people has acquired a taste for European manufactures quite unprecedented. I have stated that the wealth of Cabool is now to be found eastward of the Indus; but the dismemberment of this once extensive kingdom into a variety of small chiefships, has not proved prejudicial to the interests of commerce. The wealth of the state is now subdivided, and we have four or five different courts, instead of one, of overgrown magnitude, which, in so poor a country as Cabool, has a very material influence on the market. But this is no speculative view of the subject; for the collections and town duties of the city of Cabool have greatly increased since the exile of the kings, and risen one fourth within the last six years, without any additional imposts being levied. Not only has the consumption of British and Indian manufactures been augmented in the country itself, but the transit trade to Toorkistan has at the same time increased it.

The merchandize of Britain, which is sent into these countries, is landed in India, either at Calcutta or Bombay. I am given to understand that the greater supply is derived from Bombay. The caravans from both these places concentrate in Cabool, which they reach by three principal routes. 1. The merchants from Bengal take the route of the Ganges, Delhi, Hansee, Bhawalpoor, Mooltan, and cross the Indus at the ferry of Kaheree, above the latitude of 31° north. From this they proceed to the Golairee pass and Goomul river to Ghuzni and Cabool. 2. Those from Bombay proceed by Guzerat to Pallee, in Marwar; from whence they cross the desert to Beecaneer, and join the above route at Bhawalpoor. 3. A portion of the merchandize from Bombay is shipped for Sonmeeanee or Curachee, in Sinde; from which they reach Caudahar in eighteen marches, and proceed thence to Ghuzni and Cabool. Such part of these goods as is not sold in the country, or intended for the Bokhara market, is sent to Herat. The route through Sinde to Shikafpoor is little frequented, from fear of the Kakers. It will be observed in this enumeration, that the great road between India and Persia, from Delhi, by Lahore, Attok, and Peshawar, to Cabool, is deserted: this arises from heavier duties being levied by the ruler of the Punjab than by his neighbours. Such goods as are exported from Unritsir, which is the mart of the Punjab trade, cross the Hydespes (Jelum) at Juag, and join the other routes at Kaheree. It is, therefore, a singular fact, that the city of Peshawur, which lies on the very eastern frontier of Affghanistan, is supplied with European and Indian articles, from Cabool;

to the westward. The merchants can bring them cheaper to market by this circuitous route, and therefore prefer it; which, in part, accounts for the increased amount of the receipts in Cabool.

The principal carriers of this trade between India and Cabool, are the Lohanees, a pastoral tribe of Affghans, who occupy the country eastward from Ghuzni to the Indus. Many of these are men of great opulence, and proceed in person to make their purchases in the Indian markets. Their families and flocks repair, in due season, to meet them on the banks of the river, and their merchandize is conveyed on their own camels, by easy marches, to Ghuzni. The intervening country is mountainous, and the roads are stony and difficult; but the territory is their native soil, and they are free from the imposts and duties that obstruct commerce. The caravan reaches Cabool about the beginning of June; here the Lohanees dispose of their goods, and prosecute their journey to Bokhara. In return for the merchandize which is sold in Cabool, these traders export horses, the madder of Ghuzni and Candahar, as well as a great quantity of fruit, both fresh and dried. With these they repair to the banks of the Indus, where their camels are retained till the arrival of the caravan of the ensuing season.

It is a trite remark of the natives in these countries, that the exports of India are but grass, and her returns are gold. These are Indigo, Cotton and Sugar, the chief imports of Cabool. The goods consist of white Cloths of all kinds, Calicoes, and Muslins; also Chintzes of European manufacture; Shawls, Brocades, Dacca Muslins, Punjab turbans, Spices, &c. about a thousand camel-loads of these are now consumed yearly in Cabool. Previous to the year 1816, this country was supplied with many articles from Russia; but the Chintz trade, which is to be dated from that time, has effected a material change. The manufactures of Europe have since flowed from India with increased volume on this part of Asia. It has been believed, and not erroneously, that the Cloths of Russia not only found their way to Bokhara, but to the countries southward of Hindoo Khoosh, and were distributed through the provinces of Cabool; but a commercial revolution, almost unobserved, has gradually changed the channels of commerce. It would be difficult, in the most civilized kingdom of Asia, to furnish the most authentic data, which are so necessary to our European notions for the establishment of such an important point; but the inward Custom-house receipts prove it. To the justice and equity of Dost Ma-

homed Khan, the chief of Cabool, we must mainly attribute a change so beneficial to Britain. Once effected, the fabrics of Russia have failed to vie with our own, and an outlet for our exports, which we owe to the wisdom of a chief, has been improved by the superiority of the exports themselves. The only cloths now received from Russia are nankeen and broad chintz, of a description which are not manufactured in Britain.

The chiefs of Peshawar and Candahar do not extend to commerce, that encouragement which so distinguishes their brother at Cabool; but their conduct in this respect is of less consequence, as they have less power and influence; and the great road to Toorkistan passes through the country under Cabool. The shawl trade from Cashmere to Persia has been driven into other routes by the exactions of the Candahar chief. These goods are now either sent by way of Bombay and Bushire, or the circuitous route of Cabool, Bokhara and the Caspian. I am persuaded that these exactions at Candahar arise from ignorance, for the chief is well disposed to the British government; and he must be aware of the fact, that all the Bokhara merchants choose the route of Cabool, to his detriment. It is otherwise with the Peshawar chief, who is overawed by the Seiks, and can only secure his existence by oppression. His capital, which stands on the high road from India to Tartary, has ceased to be an entrepôt of trade, owing to his own exactions, as well as his disturbances with the Seiks. The only merchandize imported into Peshawar, is consumed in the city; and, as I have before said, much of it is brought by way of Cabool. No merchant can afford to transport his goods through the territories of the Punjab to Peshawar; and the Khyber pass between that city and Cabool is unsafe. A tax of sixty rupees is levied on each horse between Peshawar and Lahore, which has almost suppressed that trade. Peshawar has no manufactures peculiar to itself, but a coarse kind of cotton loongee, which is exported through Tartary and the whole of Afghanistan. European goods are sold in its bazars, but the demand is limited. The better orders of people wear them; and chintz dresses and muslin turbans are common. They also wear Russian nankeens and velvets, and Indian silks. The lower classes dress in the cloths of the country. The whole revenues of the city of Peshawar do not amount to 30,000 rupees a year.

The trade to Bokhara or Toorkistan is so intimately connected with that of Cabool, that it is necessary to state the information which I have gathered on that subject before I offer any

confusion on this commerce. That it can be improved and extended, I feel most fully satisfied, since those who shared it with us have been driven from the field within these few years, and the import of India chintz has nearly ceased. The duties of Cabool are also moderate, not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It occurs to me that the establishment of fairs or bazars, in imitation of the Russians, is the best means which we can follow towards the accomplishment of so desirable an end as the extension of British commerce westward of the Indus. The Cabool merchants began to frequent these annual assemblages in Russia within the last fifteen years; and at present make extensive sales and purchases. They have been so much encouraged by the Emperor, that the greater part of the Russian trade to Bokhara has fallen into their hands; of which the Uzbecks complain bitterly. I mention the fact, to shew that these institutions might be introduced with the greatest advantage on the frontier of our Indian empire, which immediately adjoins that of Cabool. It may be seen that they have attracted merchants to a distant country, who would more readily embark their capital in speculations nearer home, if they had an opportunity. This would diminish their risks, and, in all probability, increase the demand, and consequently, the exports of British manufactures to Afghanistan. It would at the same time counteract the intrigues and designs of the great power I have named. No men are more deserving of encouragement than the Lohanee merchants of Cabool: they are an enterprising race, who may be often met in the upper parts of India. In returning to their own country, they speak of little civilities, which are sometimes shewn them, with a gratitude that proves how sensibly they would appreciate the more substantial favours of a more liberal government. An introduction to the authorities in India, and a few presents of the most trifling description, would be to them a strong manifestation of the good feelings of our government. It would also show them that it took an interest in their welfare, and that it was not our desire to transfer the trade of British goods into the hands of British merchants, which is universally believed by these people. In my interviews with them, I have often had to combat such an opinion, which I did, by assuring them that it was an increase of the national exports which we desired, and not an enrichment of any individual set of men. Perhaps the most material service which can be rendered to these people is, the removal of grievances in the Custom-house, that have been generally felt in these countries. That they only require to be known to be redressed, is, I am sure, most certain.

AFFGHAN HISTORY.

(From Conolly's Overland Journey to India)

THOSE whom this sketch will interest will have read Elphinstone's History of the Affghans. We in vain sought for information that would throw a light upon the origin of this people: the *Tuarikh-e Khan jehan Khan*, a work written in Persian, to which we were referred, is so full of fable and improbable circumstances, and so inaccurate with regard to early dates and genealogies, that little reliance is to be placed on it: and, as it apparently is the book from which Mr. Elphinstone extracted his notices of the supposed descent of the Affghans, I cannot do better than refer my readers to that gentleman's work. I made careful enquiry about the modern history of this nation: the accounts which I obtained from the best informed men we knew tallied so nearly with those given by Mr. Elphinstone, that I trust I may be excused for borrowing from that author's narrative such details as will give a connection to my continuation of it.

The last of the Seffis resigned his crown to Mahmood Ghilgie, at Isphahaun, A. D. 1722. Five years after, Nadir Shah rose to free Persia, and not only drove the Affghans thence, but, after some hard fighting, defeated them in their own country. The Affghans were then known as two great rival tribes, the Ghilgies, and the Abdaullees. In the year 1737, Zulfacar and Ahmud Khans, brothers, of the Suddozye (the chief) tribe of the Abdaullees, entered Nadir Shah's service, and followed him in his wars, in command of a large body of their clan. Zulfacar Khan, it appears, was subsequently appointed Hâkim at Heraut, and fell in a battle with the Ghilgies; Ahmud Khan's conspicuous gallantry endeared him to Nadir Shah, and he remained in high rank and favour with that monarch until he was murdered in his camp at Couchân (June, 1747). Ahmud Khan then withdrew from the Persian army, followed by the Affghans at that time serving in it, and, hastening to Candahar, as head of the Suddozyes, took upon himself the exercise of chief authority there. The sum of thirty lacs of rupees (according to Khojeh Abdul Kurreem, from the revenue of Peshawur, Cabul and Sinde) arriving at Candahar at the time for Nadir Shah, Ahmud Khan took possession of it: this enabled him to equip a body of attached troops, composed of the veterans who had fought under him for Nadir Shah, and before that year was end-

ed, he proclaimed himself King of the Affghans and caused himself to be crowned at Candahar, assuming the title of Doo-ree Dooroun (the pearl of the age) and changing the name of the Abdaullees to Doorancee.

Ahmud Shah reigned twenty-six years, and during the whole of that period scarcely knew rest, marching continually east and west, to subdue foreign enemies and subject domestic ones: twice he marched conqueror into Dehlee, and four other times to different points in India. In the west, he carried his arms as far as Neshapore and Astrabad. In his fiftieth year, his constitution sank under constant fatigue of mind and body, and, in June 1773, he left the great monarchy which he had founded to his eldest son Timour.

Timour Shah was not a fit successor to such a man. He had neither the enterprize nor the vigour of mind of his father, and was content to reign in indolent magnificence for more than twenty years, during which time he laid the germ of a decay "which has advanced with rapid strides under the reigns of his successors."—Timour committed the error common to Mahomedan potentates, that of begetting many children, who fought for the inheritance. Those whom this history concerns were—Hummayoon, the eldest, by one wife: Shah Zemaun and Shah Shoojau, by another (favourite, because of the same tribe :) Shah (a pet name from infancy) Mahmood and Prince Feerooz Oodeen by a third.

Timour Shah died at Cabul, May 1793. The succession not having been fixed, Shah Zemaun proclaimed himself King at that city, and, through the influence of Poynder Khan (breveted Serafrauz Khan,) Chief of the powerful tribe of Baurickzye, secured the support of the other lords there. His first act was to send his Vuzeer, Wuffadar Khan Suldozye, with an army, to take Candahar. Hummayoon had there proclaimed himself King, struck coin, and assumed such prerogatives of royalty as were within his reach; but being ill supported, he was beaten by Zemaun's troops: he fled from Candahar, and lived a precarious life for a year, when he was seized and blinded, and his name does not again occur in this history.

At Herat, Mahmood was Hakim; but as he acknowledged Zemaun's authority, he was allowed to retain his government. Prince Feerooz Oodeen was with him; shortly after, on some disagreement, he went the Hadjee, and on his return lived in Iran. From that time he is generally spoken of as Hadjee Feerooz.

Shah Zemaun was popular, and might have retained his kingdom, had he set about organising it; but he left that care to a man every way unworthy the office of Vuzeer, and gave himself up to a project of invading India. So often as he advanced east, he was recalled by danger in the west, and he dallied with it till he lost his crown.

Mahmood, who, in acknowledging him King, had only made a virtue of necessity, rebelled as soon as he could muster a force. He made three attempts for the throne, in 1794, 97, and 99: but was unsuccessful in each, and finally took refuge at the Court of the Shah of Persia. In 1800, he accompanied that monarch on his second expedition into Khorassan. His hopes had revived, for Futteh Allee Shah promised him assistance, and great discontent prevailed against Zemaun Shah in consequence of his severity to six conspirators, all men of rank, and headed by the same Serafrauz Khan who had been instrumental in securing him the crown. Their intention was to murder the Vuzeer, and depose the King in favour of Shoojah. Zemaun upheld his minister, and put them all to death; a vengeance as fatal in its effects as severe: not only did it lose him the crown, but to it may be traced all the misery which has since afflicted Affghan-istan through Futteh Khan.

Futteh Allee Shah's promises came to nought, and Mahmood, left helpless, retired to Tubbus, with his son Kamraum and a few staunch followers. He shortly received an invitation from Futteh Khan Baurickzye, and while he hesitated to accept it, that Chief presented himself at Tubbus, and offered to assist him with his tribe.

Futteh Khan succeeded to the chieftainship of the Baurickzyes, when his father was executed by Zemaun Shah: naturally of an ambitious character, he had the death of a father to avenge, and, in assisting Mahmood, he saw a prospect of gratifying both his passions. On the Koran Mahmood and he swore to serve each other, and, setting out from Tubbus with a small party, they travelled through Seestaun to the Helmund. At Girishk, the influence of Futteh Khan showed itself; Baurickzyes, Ishaukzyes, and Alizyes, flocked to Mahmood's standard, and, possessed of sufficient force, they advanced and invested Candahar: after forty days, Futteh Khan obtained entrance into the city at night, by stratagem; the royal governor fled hastily away, and the place was theirs without bloodshed.

Zemaun Shah was near the Indus, preparing to invade Hindoostan, and it was not till he heard of the fall of Candahar that

he was roused to a sense of his *own* danger. Leaving his brother Shoojah at Peshawur, in charge of the most valuable crown property, he hastened to Cabul; but, even had the Dooranee lords been willing to overlook his recent severity, it would have been impossible for a man so detested as his Vuzeer to have met the danger properly. His fears were shared by the King, and they showed them, by attempting to treat with the rebels, instead of at once marching to quell them. Popular opinion was turned against the Shah, and, when at length he marched on Candahar with thirty thousand men, the effects of his conduct were shown in the desertion of many to the usurper. When the Royal vanguard neared Futteh Khan's army, it went over to a man.

On the news reaching head-quarters, the conscience-stricken Vuzeer gave up all for lost, and, imparting his alarm to the King, they fled back to Cabul. Meeting there but little sympathy, they continued their flight to the Shainwarree country. The attendance of so odious a person as the Vuzeer was in itself sufficient to prevent many nobles from sharing the fortune of their master; they nearly all went over to the usurper, and the dethroned King, strange to say in an Afghan country, was given up by the man whose hospitality he had sought. He was blinded and confined at Cabul, and Futteh Khan took the life of the ex-Vuzeer in atonement for his father's blood.

Shahzadeh Kyser, a son of Zemaun Shah's, was at Herat. His minister now intrigued with Hadjee Ferooz, and that prince, coming to Herat, was confirmed by Mahmood in the government of the province. Kandahar was given to Kamraun, Mahmood's eldest son.

The new King gave himself up to indolence and enjoyment. Akrum Khan Alizye, a lord who had shared his worst fortunes, and Futteh Khan, were at the head of affairs, but they soon quarrelled: their rival parties weakened the state, and the people, who, in a change of government, had hoped for relief from the oppressions of Wuffadar Khan, found themselves at the mercy of an undisciplined soldiery, whose excesses Futteh Khan* winked at, that he might attach them more particularly to himself.

Such a reign could not last. Futteh Khan upheld it by military force for more than two years, during which time he defeat-

* Futteh Khan was a profligate and ambitious man, of desperate valour, and unbounded liberality. His character was so correctly drawn by Mr. Elphinstone, that it may be traced in his every action since the period at which that gentleman wrote.

ed three endeavours of the Prince Shoojah to overthrow it, and two insurrections of the Ghilgies, who vainly hoped to profit by the dissensions of the Dooraunees, and restore their* dynasty. At last Akram Khan died, and Futteh Khan being away with the army settling the provinces, Mookhtar Oudoulah, (son of Shah Wullee Khan)† who considered Futteh Khan as a usurper of his hereditary right as Vuzeer, set on foot an insurrection, in which he was assisted by the Meer Waez, a saint of reputed strict manners, and of great influence over the people.

The population of Caubul is greatly of the Sheah persuasion, and, as Mahmood's body-guard was chiefly composed of Persians, he gave favour to their sect. Offended at this, the Meer Waez zealously concerted with the Mookhtar Oudoulah, and, inflaming the Soonee population of the neighbourhood, raised a religious tumult, in which Mahmood was deposed: the Mookhtar Oudoulah brought Prince Soojah to Caubul, and, on reaching the city, he was hailed King, and conducted in triumph to the palace.‡ Soojah imprisoned Mahmood, but spared his sight; a rare act of clemency, and one which he unfortunately had afterwards cause to regret: he immediately restored his brother Ze-maun to liberty, and his only act of rigour, if such it may be called, was to punish the man who had basely given up Ze-maun.

Futteh Khan went to Kamraun at Candahar; but, as they could not make head there, the Prince repaired to Furrak, and the ex-Vuzeer offered his services to the new King. They were not accepted, and he retired to his castle at Girishk. Prince Kyser was made ruler at Candahar, and Hadjee Ferooz was allowed to retain the government of Herat.

Mookhtar Oudoulah was appointed prime minister, and the commencement of Shoojah's reign was promising, but he made an enemy of his Vuzeer, by wishing to act independently of him, and there were not wanting persons to increase their jealousy. Gaining the crown after so many years of adversity, Shoojah found himself surrounded by men to whom he was under obligations, but who were too many for his resources; those whom he could not provide for intrigued to weaken the existing ministry, in the hope of bringing themselves in, and thus Shoojah,

* The office of Grand Vuzeer was originally made hereditary in the family of Shah Wullee Khan, of the Baumizye tribe; but first Zeinaum, next Mahmood, departed from this rule.

† Vide Elphinstone.

‡ Vide Elphinstone.

with the best desires, felt himself unable to restore the tone of a government which his predecessor had so much weakened.

Futteh Khan, whose life was intrigue, set on foot many rebellions, and, in the summer of 1805, by his assistance enabled Kamraun to eject Prince Kyser from Candahar. Shoojah marched in person against the rebels, who were assisted from Heraut with six thousand men, under Mullick Cossim, (Hadjee Ferooz's son); but these latter being recalled by a threatened invasion of the Persians, the intriguers found themselves without an army; Kamraun fled to Furrak, Futteh Khan again tendered his services to Shoojah, and the latter, hoping to make a friend of so dangerous an enemy, accepted them.

During Mahmood's unsettled reign, the Persians had taken Meshed, and established there a governor of Persian Khorassan, and they showed that their further encroachments would depend upon the Affghans' means of resisting them. They now threatened Heraut under Mahommed Khan Cujjer, Naib of Khorassan.

Hadjee Ferooz, necessitated to be warlike, exerted himself with much policy to meet the danger. He declared it a war of faith, and called upon Sooffee Islam,* a famous saint of the neighbourhood, to use his interest with the followers of the blessed Imaams. Most of the towns people were Sheahs, and could but wish well to the Persians; but, among the Soonnees, Moolahs exchanged their books for swords, and those of the country round flocked to the Sooffee's standard. In all were collected

* Sooffee Islam was of Oosbeg origin, and formerly famous as a freebooter. Renouncing this character, he took that of a Derveish, and, assuming the name Sooffee Islam, settled in Bokhara Shereef, where, as his doctrines were of the easiest, he soon attracted many disciples. Shah Moraud Beg, (King of Bokhara,) familiarly called Beggee Jan, a strict observer of the Soonnee forms, and who was more ambitious of fame as a saint than as a king, condescended, it is said, to strike the innovator upon the mouth with his shoe, and publicly to abuse him for his morals: certain it is, that he expelled him the city, and the Sooffee retired to Koorook, a province of Heraut, where he settled, and rose to great esteem with all ranks. The Soonnees vied with each other in sending him presents of grain, sheep, &c., and as he gave freely of what cost him nothing, he got a character of great charity. He was so free from the common prejudices of religion that he married eighteen wives, daughters of his devoted admirers. He is described as a small man, pale, with a little beard on the chin. Being lame, he rode in a palkee; great the honour of those who carried him. Some time before his death he shed a tooth, which was buried with honour in his garden; a tomb raised over it commemorates the fame of so great a saint.

eleven thousand men, (Affghans and Eimauks;) but only two thousand were soldiers, and with these Hadjee Ferooz marched to encounter the Cujjers, who were superior both in numbers and discipline. A battle was fought beyond Shikkeewân; the Soonnees, who were excited to the highest pitch of fanaticism, charged furiously upon the Sheahs, but, fighting with more zeal than tact, they were divided and sadly cut up. Sooffee Islam fell a martyr, and his body was ignominiously burnt by the victorious Persians, who now advanced and threatened the city of Heraut. The Dooranees rallied to defend it, but Hadjee Ferooz, rendered cautious by his defeat, paid fifty thousand rupees to be quit of the invaders.

Shoojah had at this time too much to occupy him at Caubul to think of resenting the affront:—jealousies had increased in his councils, and an attempt (favoured, it was said, by his Vuzeer,) was made to raise one of the confined princes to the throne. This, though it failed, had serious consequences: for, in the confusion caused by it, Mahmood escaped. He fled to his son Kamraun at Furrâh, and thence went a few days after, with fifty attendants, to visit his brother Ferooz at Heraut. He rode in one day to Gauzer Gau, a village four miles from Heraut, where he put up.

Hadjee Ferooz was much troubled at hearing of his brother's arrival:—he put the city into a state of defence, and went the next day to pay the visit which duty and custom required of him, attended by a numerous, well-armed retinue.—Arrived where Mahmood was seated, he saluted him, and, unasked, passed to a seat:—further, when the Shah's calceon was brought in, Ferooz smoked in his presence; thus failing in the two greatest points of etiquette.*

There was little but meanness and timidity in the character of Hadjee Ferooz; he feared letting Mahmood into the town, and hoped by his unnatural conduct to induce him to leave its vicinity. His object was answered, for Mahmood, disgusted at the ingratitude and impertinence of a brother whom he had first raised to the power he enjoyed, shortened the interview, and returned to Furrâh.

* In common Persian life, it is not good manners for a man to smoke, or even to take a seat in presence of his father or elder brother, unless he be specially bidden. In the higher ranks these punctilios mark every shade of a man's rank, and are very nicely insisted upon.

In the beginning of 1800, Shah Shoojah went to Sima, but allowed the Ameer to withhold much of their tribute due, upon pretence of bad seasons. Futteh Khan, who accompanied him, irritated at his thus yielding, or more probably seeing a chance of his former power in the restoration of Mahmood, took an early opportunity of quitting the army with three thousand men, and marched to join Mahmood.

The Vuzeer had remained at Caubul, but, perceiving that his influence with Shah Shoojah had greatly decreased, he resolved to place a more compliant master on the throne, and accordingly intrigued with Prince Kyser.

Intelligence reached the Shah that the Mookhtar Oudoulah had proclaimed Kyser King at Caubul, and that they had taken Peshawer: Shoojah marched directly to the latter place, defeated the rebels, and entered Peshawer in triumph, with the Vuzeer's head borne behind him on a spear. Next, Shoojah marched an army against Mahmood, who, joined by Futteh Khan, had again taken Candahar: he defeated the rebels, and retook the city, and then returned to Peshawer, 10th January, 1809, shortly after which period the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone arrived at his Court, on a mission from the British Government.

The object of this embassy was to secure the friendship of the Affghan monarch, so as to prevent the intrigues of the French, who threatened to carry the war into Asia, and a very excellent understanding was established between the Dooraanee Court and the British mission, during the stay of the latter at Peshawer: unfortunately, however, the good footing which Mr. Elphinstone had gained was lost to us, in consequence of an immediately succeeding revolution, which dethroned Shah Shoojah: our negotiations in Persia at this time prevailing over those of the French, the event was not of immediate consequence to us, but it is to be regretted that any thing should have occurred to break off a friendship so happily commenced, and that the subsequent state of this interesting country has been such as to preclude us from entertaining any definite relations with its rulers.

For the office of Vuzeer, Shoojah now selected Akram Khan Baumizye, a man of courageous but arrogant and close disposition, and, as a check upon him, he gave his confidence to several Persian lords who were at his court, and he was considered firmly established on the throne: but he had been rendered too confident by his late successes, for he sent Akran Khan, with his army, to reduce the rebellious province of Cashmeere, which was

held by Atta Mohammud Khan, son to the late Vuzeer Mookhtar-lung, and Futteh Khan, who, though defeated, was never disheartened, got together more troops, and again advancing, retook Candahar for Mahmood.

This news reached Shoojah at Peshawer. While he comforted himself with the hope that Akram Khan would return and defeat the rebels in the west, came news of the entire discomfiture of the army in Cashmeer. This was closely followed by the news that the rebels were advancing upon Caubul. Shoojah, unprovided with money, and without zealous ministers, was surprised; but he equipped as effective an army as the haste would admit of, and resolved to try a battle at Peshawur, where he hoped that those to whom he had shown so much kindness would rally round him. In case of a reverse, his harem was sent towards Rawil Pindiee, and Zemaun Shah accompanied it.

Shah Mahmood entered Caubul on the 17th of April 1809, with an army of between five and six thousand horse. One of his first acts was to seize and put to death Meer Allum Khan, an influential Noorzye chief; a very impolitic deed, and one which gave great offence, as it was felt to have been instigated by the private animosity of Futteh Khan. It caused a blood-feud between the Noorzyses and the Baurickzys, and many of the latter tribe expressed strong disapprobation at the conduct of their chief, for hitherto no Dooraunee had been molested on account of the part that he had taken in civil war. Shoojah marched from Peshawer on the 15th of June: on the 29th day of the same month, Futteh Khan met his troops on their march, in the hills half way between Caubul and Peshawer, and, attacking them briskly before they could form, put them to confusion. Akram Khan was killed, fighting bravely in a vain attempt to restore the day, and Shoojah seeing all lost, fled over the mountains south of the Khyber pass to Hessauruk. He stayed at the latter place a few days, and was joined by some of his adherents, when, finding that Mahmood remained at Caubul, he returned to Peshawer. As he had some reason to impute his defeat to treachery, Shoojah was inclined rather to retire into Hindostan than to trust his countrymen in another struggle for the throne, but the earnest persuasions of those who remained faithful to him, induced him to try his fortune once more, and he accordingly left Peshawer with a small party, and took the direct road to Candahar.

The reason why Mahmood did not follow up his victory was, that he feared to venture from Caubul: much disaffection exist-

ed among his sirdars, in consequence of the execution of Meer Allum Khan Noorzye, and the tribe of the murdered chief, burning to avenge his death, had gathered under Abdoolah Khan, his father, and threatened an insurrection. There were indeed grounds for alarm, for, as soon as the insurgents had made head, they were joined by Yehyah Khan Baumizye, (brother to the late Vuzeer Akram Khan) Sauloo Khan Ishaukzye, and other Dooranee lords of note, and, feeling themselves strong, they advanced upon Candahar. Prince Aiyood,* who had been left in charge there, marched out with a small force to oppose the rebels, but, seeing their superior strength, or perhaps hoping to gain their favour for himself, he joined them, and they amicably accompanied him on his return to the capital.

A few days after this event, arrived Shah Shoojah. Misfortunes seemed to follow the steps of this monarch, for, on the tenth evening of his march from Peshawer, when he and his followers had retired to rest at a place called Mookur, one Noor Mohummud Khan Dooranee, who had a blood-feud with his Nussuckchee Bâshee, came upon that nobleman by stealth, and murdered him while he slept; depriving the king at once of a faithful friend and an influential partisan. However, Shoojah continued his march to Candahar, and when his approach was announced to the insurgent chiefs, they went out a great distance to meet him, and escorted him with all honour to the city. Prince Aiyood, who at first distrusted him, being reassured by many kind promises, embraced the good cause, and it still looked well, for many of the provinces yet held out for Shoojah; the Noorzyes, who were bound to his side by the strong desire of avenging their chief's death, mustered in considerable force, and the lords who took part with him subscribed so liberally, that he shortly saw himself at the head of a well equipped army: he had the advantage of position, being at Candahar, in the centre of the Dooranees, and his character stood in every way higher than did that of his enemy, who, in addition to his late cruelty, had been rendering himself odious by heavy exactions upon the people of Caubul. Mahmood's only strength lay in the genius of Futteh Khan, but here again the fortune of that extraordinary man predominated. The armies were drawn up for battle, when Sauloo Khan Ishaukzye (probably by concert) went over to Mahmood's side, a treachery so unlooked for, that it caused much confusion among

* A son of Timour Shah's, half brother to Mahmood.

Shoojah's troops, and Futteh Khan, seizing the moment to charge, bore down impetuously upon them at the head of his whole force, and put them to the rout. The unfortunate Shoojah, again forced to fly, took the road south to the Indus, and, crossing the river at Bukkar, proceeded to rejoin his family at Rawil Pindée.

Shortly after his arrival at this town, (February 2d, 1810,) Shoojah had an interview with the Siekh monarch, Runjeet Sing, who received him with many professions of esteem, and kept him a guest in his camp for ten days. On returning to his family, Shoojah found messengers from Atta Mohummud Khan, the rebel governor of Cashmeer, who had sent him both money and troops, desiring him to try his fortune again. The Shah accordingly set out, and, fording the Indus on the 20th of March, eight miles above Attock, he marched to Peshawer, and took undisputed possession of that city; Mohummud Azim Khan Baurickzye, Mahmood's governor, evacuating the place on his approach.

Shoojah kept Peshawer till the month of September in that year, when Mohummud Azim Khan, coming from Caubul with a strong force, drove him beyond the Indus again. He made a third attempt in the month of December 1811, but suffered a defeat at Akora, and was at last fain to rejoin his family at Rawil Pindée. In the spring of the year, he was invited to Cashmere by Atta Mohummud Khan, and as that chief had given many proofs of devotion, Shoojah did not hesitate to go; but when he reached the valley, the treacherous governor seized and confined him, for no apparent cause, except perhaps that he bore in mind the tragical, but merited, death of his father the Mookhtar-lung.

When the news of this fresh misfortune reached the Royal family at Rawil Pindée, they began to fear lest some violence should be offered to them; and, remembering the attentions which Runjeet Sing had bestowed upon Shoojah, they determined to seek refuge at the Sikh court, and accordingly, in the month of September 1812, retired to Lahore, where Runjeet received them kindly.

Mahmood was now King again at Caubul, but (to judge by his conduct) had not learned to profit by his reverses: Kauraan assumed the government at Candahar; Hadjee Peerooz was still allowed to keep Heraut; and Futteh Khan was grand Vuzeer. This chief had regained entire sway over Mahmood, and took the surest way of strengthening his power, by placing his near relations over the provinces of the kingdom.

As soon as Mahmood was relieved from fear of Shoojah, he felt necessary to direct his attention to his country east of the Indus, for Atta Mohummud Khan was still in open rebellion in Cashmeere, and Runjeet Sing, perceiving the disunion of the Affghans, had commenced his long meditated encroachments upon the Doo-raunee provinces in the Punjaub. Many skirmishes took place between the Affghans and the Sikhs, but, in the end of the year 1812, Futtelh Khan made a truce with the Maharajah, and engaged to give him nine lacs of rupees, if he would assist in expelling the rebel governor from Cashmeere. Runjeet Sing agreed to the proposal, and, entrusting his dewan, Mokum Chund, with the command of ten thousand men selected for this enterprize, returned to his capital.

The allied forces commenced operations against the rebels in Cashmere, and the first month of the new year saw them in possession of the valley. Atta Mohummud Khan fled when the last passes had been forced, carrying off his treasure by the direct road through the mountains to Peshawer. When Futtelh Khan and Runjeet Sing's Dewan arrived at the capital of Cashmere, they learned that the unfortunate Shah Shoojah was imprisoned in a neighbouring fort. Futtelh Khan released the monarch, and it appears, made some overtures to him, but Shoojah had been taught to distrust the chief's professions, and, longing to be with his family, determined to accompany Runjeet's dewan on his return to Lahore.

When Atta Mohummud Khan was forced to fly from Cashmere, his brother Jandaud Khan held the fort of Attock, and, instigated by motives of revenge and avarice, he offered to give up this important post to Runjeet, on condition of receiving a rich jaghere in the Punjaub. The Maharajah too well knew the value of this fortress to hesitate about securing it; he made great promises to Jandaud Khan, and immediately sent a strong force to garrison the place. When Futtelh Khan was informed of this arrangement, he refused to pay the stipulated sum for the assistance of the Sikh troops, declaring the spirit of the treaty violated; and, leaving his brother Mohummud Azim Khan with the troops, in charge of Cashmere, he posted to Caubul, and returned with another army to retake Attock; so war was declared again between the two nations.

Runjeet was prompt to defend his newly acquired position, and sent his best troops, under dewan Mokum Chund, to encounter the Affghans: a desperate battle was fought between

the two armies, and victory was at first doubtful, but all the gallantry of the Affghans did not avail them against the discipline of the Sikhs, and, after an obstinate resistance they were completely routed, and fled, leaving one thousand of their best men upon the field.

This was great triumph to Runjeet, and the pride of Futteh Khan seems to have been broken as well as mortified, if we may believe him to have dictated the following cool proposal, which was shortly after sent secretly in a letter, as from Shah Muhood, to the British Government :

—“ As we worship the same God, it is our duty jointly to extirpate the infidels who are so many thorns in the garden of the Punjaub. As soon as the flame of war shall have been kindled, and troops under Vuzeer Futteh Khan put in motion towards that quarter, God willing, we shall soon put the idolaters to confusion, and then we will divide the Punjaub between us.”—The Vuzeer, however, kindled a flame to little purpose against the thorns of the Punjaub, and his attention was shortly called to the aggressions of foreign enemies in another quarter.

During the late events, Hussan Allee Meerza had succeeded his brother Wullee Mohumud Meerza, as governor of Persian Khorasaun; and in the beginning of 1818, he wrote to Hadjee Ferooz, desiring that the titles of his father, the Shah of Persia, should be stamped upon money coined at Heraut; that his name should be read in the Khotba, and that tribute should be given him: further, it was desired that Ferooz, in ratification of these hard terms, should give his daughter to Hussan Allee Meerza's son.

Ferooz answered evasively, and sent a young son (Mullick Hossein) to Caubul, requesting assistance against the Persians, Futteh Khan being sent for from Peshawer, proposed to march fifteen thousand men to Heraut, and Mahmood assented; but, in recollection of the unworthy treatment he had received at his brother's hands, desired the Vuzeer, if opportunity served, to seize and confine Hadjee Ferooz; then fight or make terms with the Cujers as seemed most expedient.

Futteh Khan accordingly marched with Mullick Hossein, to whom he paid assiduous attention, putting in practice every artifice that suggested itself to so artful an intriguer, to impose upon the credulity of the young prince. He threw out hints that, slighted by Mahmood, he longed for an opportunity of transferring his allegiance to Ferooz: Mullick Hussein eagerly caught at this idea, and, to confirm him in it, Futteh Khan, instead of

halting at Candahar, sent his troops forward eight miles from the city, and joining them after a hasty audience of Kamraun, gave out that the Shahzadeh wished to seize him.

Kamran was much troubled at this report, for he had become very jealous of the Vuzeer, and conceived that this was a plan to embroil him with the king his father: he in open durbar disclaimed all idea of injuring Futteh Khan, and sent Mohummud Hossein Khan (a Persian noble, his servant, and a friend of the Vuzeer's,) to beg him to dismiss such an idea from his mind, and to name the author of the slander.

Futteh Khan had made a long march, and the envoy reaching his camp about sun-set, found him seated before his tent, in company with his brothers Dost, Mohummud, Sheerdil, and Poor-dil Khans, and others. Before he could deliver a word of his message, Futteh Khan assailed him with reproaches, for having forgotten old friendship, and made party with the prince against him; but, said the Vuzeer loudly, "If such is to be my reward for long and tried service to Shah Mahmood I renounce it,—there are others who will prize it more." He would not hear the envoy, but made a point of his remaining his guest for the night; some hours after, he made his tent private, and sent for his old friend, whom he received with the greatest cordiality, and jeered for his want of discernment. "This firman," said he, "sends me to seize the Hadjee; it was necessary to blind so wary a person, so do you return to Kamraun, and tell him that I am his servant."

Futteh Khan was more than ever attentive to Mullick Hossein, persuading him that he would beat the Persians, and then march back with Ferooz to depose Mahmood: the young prince was completely blinded, and thus they reached Heraut. News of the rupture with Kamraun had preceded them, producing the effect that Futteh Khan wished; Mullick Hossein was earnest in persuading his father how entirely the Vuzeer was devoted to his service, and the suspicions of even so cautious a person were laid asleep.

The camp was formed two miles from the city, and profusion reigned in it; the towns-men were feasted there, and they in turn invited the soldiers to the city. This unreserved intercourse lasted for ten days, the engrossing subject with all being the expected conflict with the Persians. At the end of this time, Futteh Khan contrived to induce the Khans most in Ferooz's interests to the camp, for a council of war. He arranged that many of his men should be in town, and, proceeding with his bro-

ther Dost Mohummud and a large retinue to pay his respects to Hadjee Ferooz, he seized that prince suddenly at audience,* and made himself master of the citadel, before those who were in camp suspected his design.

Futteh Khan next brought his men close under the walls of the town, and, having imprisoned Ferooz and his family, he sent for the Persian envoy, whom he thus addressed:—“Money is coined in *Mahmood's* name, his name is read in the Khotba, and to *him only* is tribute given;—I, his servant, acknowledge no other authority, if your master wishes to dispute it,—Bismillah!” In God's name!

Mahmood was very indignant when he heard that his instructions had been exceeded to an extent that cast dishonour upon himself; more so when, as his share of the spoil he received only a few horses; but Futteh Khan felt himself beyond his indignation, and, with what fell to his† share of Ferooz's money, doubled his force, and prepared to meet the Persians.

Hussan Allee Meerza marched from Meshed, on receiving Futteh Khan's answer, with a mixed force amounting in all to fourteen thousand men. He had four thousand of the Shah's regular footmen, (Semnaunees and Dainghaunees)‡ under Sirdar Zulfacar Khan, and the rest of his army consisted of cavalry. There were three hundred Kourds under Hussan Khan Chinn-raunee, (a reputed hero, with a double-headed spear,) some Arabs of a tribe seated near Berjend, and horsemen from the neighbourhoods of Neshapore, Sabzawar, Meshed, and Toorshish. He was accompanied by Meerza Abdul Wahab, Moutim-ud-Dowlah, who had been sent by the Shah to put Khorasnaan in order, but who brought only his talent and sanctity to the field.

Hussan Allee Meerza, who perhaps had judged too hastily of the Affghan character from Hadjee Ferooz's former conceding

* Ferooz, alarmed at the number of the Vuzeer's attendants, rose, and attempted to retire by a private passage to his inner apartments; but he was immediately pursued, and Dost Mohummud Khan, followed by a large party, paid so little regard to what has been esteemed sacred by mussulmans, that he rushed after him into the women's apartments, there seized him, and then plundered his valuables to the very ornaments upon the women; and Dost Mohummud Khan himself, it is said, insulted Ferooz's daughter-in-law, by attempting to cut a bunch of pearls from off part of her dress.

† Dost Mohummud Khan, who had secured much of what was valuable, rather than account with his brother for so great a share, fled with it by a direct road to Peshawer.

‡ Provinces of repute for furnishing good soldiers.

behaviour, sent an envoy from Jam to Futteh Khan, (who had marched out to Ghoorian,) urging him to avoid bloodshed by agreeing to the required terms : but the Vuzeer sent back the envoy with his former answer, and talked of following in the steps of Mahmood Ghilgie : he had increased his army to thirty thousand men, and it would be difficult to say what were the projects of so ambitious a man, with such an army at command.

The rival forces mutually advancing, came in sight of each other at Kahreeze, about "chaust" (breakfast) time, on the 25th May 1818, and by noon the Carools* were engaged in a sham fight,—“careering their horses, firing their matchlocks, shaking their lances, and shouting, to show their manhood.” The Affghan force the while was breaking into line opposite to the one which Hussan Allee Meerza had formed. A Charazee of water which gives name to the place ran through the field; both parties performed the ablutions prescribed for the dead, in case they should fall in battle, and exchanged their usual clothes for fighting apparel. Hussan Allee Meerza doffed his prince's suit for the dress of a common trooper, but Futteh Khan, “Sirdar-e-Sirdar-aun,” (chief of chiefs.) dressed all in black, and, mounted on a famed charger, “was proud to make his tall figure conspicuous in front of the centre of his line.”

The Persians had eight light guns, and two hundred camel-swivels. The Affghans had but four guns, and one hundred swivels, but they were better mounted, and in numbers far superior to their enemy : the artillery of each line was in front of its centre, but Hussan Allee Meerza of excess of cannon planted two guns on either wing.

Booneard Beg Hazaureh, with three thousand of his tribe, had come near the field of action, probably to dispose of his services. The Prince Khan sent and desired him to side with neither party, to plunder the conquered and welcome. So he kept aloof with his men, waiting like vultures to fall upon the vanquished.

An envoy came from Futteh Khan, to propose, as an adjustment, the cession of Ghoorian. Hussan Allee Meerza was disposed to agree, and were his sirdars, with the exception of Zulfacar Khan, an old nobleman, whose desperate valour had gained him the reputation of a madman :—however, the Moatimud-Dowlah was called upon to *istakaur*, or cast the event; he

* Vanguards.

did so, and it came up, "That it was good to cede Ghourian." Next, Futteh Khan went to desire that the Persian force should fall back:—again the Moatin-ud-Dowlah istakhaured, and pronounced, "That it was good to fall back," but Zulfacar Khan became like a madman at the idea of such an act, and would not hear of it. "To retire," he said, "would be to acknowledge themselves inferior; which, please God, the 'Shahau Shah's' troops never were, when opposed to the scum of the earth;" and then, in the fulness of his heart, he damned the Affghans for Soonnees and infidels, swearing that he would "burn their fathers, and dishonour their houses;" and he ordered the gunners to show the envoy how warm a reception his countrymen might expect. Three or four guns were rapidly let off, and the envoy coupling this display with old Khan's hostile speech, thought it safest to put spurs to his horse and ride back to his party; the bravado fire was turned from the Affghan side, and the battle began.

A general discharge of artillery was kept up for some time, without doing much execution on either side; there was a little distant skirmishing, and then more than half the Affghans, headed by Sheerdil, Cohundil, and Poordil Khans, and the old Sirdar Yar Mohumud Khan Alleekkozye, put their horses to the gallop, and, loosening rein as they got to full speed, they placed their left arms across their foreheads, and, flourishing their swords and shouting, charged furiously upon the Persian line. Their greatest numbers were directed against the left wing, where Zulfacar Khan was with his infantry. "They knew that there was but one man in the line, and their object was to break it where he was."

Muddud Khan Sangzve (Dooraunee) had a few years before come to Meshed, and was in the Persian ranks against his countrymen. When Zulfacar Khan cursed the Soonnees so warmly, his heart turned; he was the first to fly, and his desertion, and the impetuous charge of the Affghans, struck a panic into Hussan Allee Meerza's army, which rapidly spread through his mixed ranks, and, one after another, the two centre and the right divisions broke and fled. The camel-swivels were carried off, but the great guns were deserted; Hussan Allee Meerza made some attempts to stop his men which greatly endangered his own life; it was gallantly saved by the hero of the two-headed spear, whose horse he mounted after his own had been wounded, and he escaped from the field with a small party about him.

Zulfacar Khan had firmly stood the charge of the Affghans,

and, returning a steady fire of musketry, had sent them back in confusion upon their own line, and then secured his guns. About this time Futteh Khan was struck in the mouth by a spent ball, which caused him to fall upon his horse's neck; those about him, supposing him killed, and seeing their countrymen return in disorder from the charge, lost heart and fled; and though Futteh Khan regained his seat, and waved his sword to his troops, he failed in rallying them; he saw victory snatched from his grasp by an event as singular as unlooked for, and had no alternative but to lay the accident on his "fate," and take the road to Heraut after his men.*

Hussan Allee Meerza succeeded in rallying part of his troops about three miles from the scene of action, and shortly learned that the Affghans had fled; upon which he returned to his faithful Sirdar, who kept the field, and arriving there when it was well night, fired off his remaining powder to victory.

Some of the earliest fugitives reached Meshed in an incredibly short space of time, and sang "tout-est-galore." The Vuzeer was for flight, and great consternation prevailed, but Meerza Hidayut Oollah, the high priest, reminding the inhabitants that no person of any sect called Mahummudan had ever dared to commit the impiety of firing at the sacred walls of Meshed, proposed to remain defended within them till help should arrive from the Shah; at any rate to wait certain intelligence. It was not till the prince returned, that this victory was believed; then Meshed was illuminated for joy, and all sorts of congratulation and feasting went on. A large picture, which still hangs in the citadel, was painted to commemorate the event, and Hussan Allee Meerza got the title of "Sword of the Throne."

Futteh Khan, finding that the Persians did not pursue, lit up Heraut for his share of the victory; not long after it, came Kamraun from Candahar. Mahmood, justly alarmed at the growing power of his Vuzeer, had come to Candahar, and had sent Kamraun thence to Heraut, lest Futteh Khan, having ejected Hájee Ferooz, should keep the place on his own account. The prince put up in a summer palace in the Baugh-e-Shah, † refusing to

* Boonecard Beg plundered both armies in their retreat. In Futteh Khan's tent he got reach booty, remains of Hadjee Ferooz's wealth, which had been brought to the field; and on the Persian side he captured the Moutim-ud-Dowlah, who was afterwards restored. The Persians, who must have their joke, declare that Meerza Abdul Wahub istakhoured which road to take, and chose the wrong one; moreover, that finding it hot, he asked his mountaineer captors for some ice and secunj-been, (sweetened vinegar.)

† A mile from the city.

enter the town; probably because the citadel was in the hands of the Vuzeer's nephew, Ameen-oul-Moolk. Futteh Khan, who went daily (as was his duty) to salaam, was repeatedly asked for a share of Hâjee Ferooz's property, but he first answered evasively, and, at last, directly, that what his sword had earned he would keep. He was frequently warned by his friends, that the dishonour he had put upon the royal family in violating Hâjee Ferooz's hârem rankled in the hearts of Mahmood and Kamraun, and he was requested to appease the latter with part of the spoil; but his scornful answer was—"I twice placed Mahmood upon the throne, and his kingdom is now in the hands of my kinsmen; who is Kamraun, therefore, that in a dream he should think of injuring me?"—Kamraun wrote to his father, that Futteh Khan was in reality king, and proposed putting him away. Mahmood left all to his discretion, and the prince consulted his revenge rather than it. Shortly after, Futteh Khan, coming as usual to morning salaam, found the prince with those lords most in his interests; among them Atta Mohummud Khan Foorzye, who had the blood-feud of Meer Allum Khan to avenge. The cruel scene which then took place, evidently been planned: the conversation was led to the subject of the late battle with the Persians, and one the Khans took occasion to throw out a taunting allusion to the Vuzeer's flight; this was followed up by a sarcasm from another of the party, and when Futteh Khan turned fiercely upon them, the prince took their part, and assailed him with violent reproaches for having brought lasting disgrace upon the Affghan name, by flying before an infidel army not half so numerous as his own. Fired at this, Futteh Khan replied with indignation, that, as no man control the decrees of Providence, so he could not be held answerable for them, and he added proudly, that with regard to the imputations cast upon his courage, Shahzadeh Kamraun could hardly need to be reminded of what the sword of Futteh Khan had done both for and against him.* Nothing more was needed to complete the prince's rage; he rose up in his anger, and gave the word to his ready attendants, who immediately seized the Vuzeer, and on the spot blinded him; Atta Mahommed Khan, on a sign from the prince, thrusting the point of a dagger into his enemy's eyes. Futteh Khan was then put upon a horse, and sent to confinement in the citadel. Mohummud Hossain Khan, a Persian nobleman, (the same who had followed him with a message when he marched

* Alluding to occasions during the civil war, on which he had worsted the prince. Vide Elphinstone.

from Candahar,) was appointed to command there, and Poordil Khan, with his nephew Ameen ool-Moolk, were seized and added to his charge.* When the news reached camp, it broke into small parties and dispersed. Sheerdil and Cohundil Khans effected their flight to Girishk.

Five months after, Kamraun returned to Candahar, taking with him his unfortunate victim in a litter, the brother and the nephew of the Vuzeer, and also Hajee Ferooz. The latter was released on his arrival at Candahar, probably because he was not worth keeping, and he retired to Meshed. The other captives were tortured for money; Futteh Khan's mother offered a lac of rupees for her son's alive, but Futteh Khan sent to desire her not to give any thing, as both money and life would be taken, and as, in his then lamentable state, he set little store upon existence.

The immediate consequence of Kamraun's cruelty was that all Futteh Khan's brother's rebelled, and Mahmood soon found himself but nominally king. He was pressed to return to Caubul, but he put off his march thither till the cold weather rendered it impracticable. Dost Mahommed Khan, emboldened by the

* I relate the following anecdote in the words of the man who gave it to me; he had served Mohummed Hossein Khan, the father of our host, at Herant:—"When Futteh Khan was brought to the citadel, and put under charge of my master Mohummed Hossein Khan, I was appointed peishkhdimit to him, and I was with him till he was taken away. A few days after I had first waited on him, a party came to the apartment. One said, 'Salaam Alikoom Vuzeer.' 'Alikoom Salaam!' answered Futteh Khan, 'who are you?' 'I am Cossim Khan.' 'What Cossim Khan?' 'A man of the Vakeel's—Shahzadeh Kamraun sends to say, that for what is past he is sorry;—he hears that your eyes pain you much, and deprive you of sleep, because there still remains part of the flesh, and he begs you will let me remove it, that you may be put at ease.'—(It was rumoured that Atta Mohummed Khan had not entirely destroyed the sight with his dagger.) Futteh Khan did not at first reply, then he answered bitterly, and in a changed voice, 'The prince takes too much thought on my account, does he wish to put salt upon a wound? My eyes can be no worse, but now, they are well as they are.' Seeing that the imposition would not pass, they did not dissemble further, but threw him down, and drew his eyes out of their sockets. Futteh Khan did not even groan, though he evidently suffered much torture. 'If ever there was a man in this world, that was he!' I was left alone with him: the whole of that night he walked up and down the apartment, wringing his hands, and asking what crime he had committed to be thus tortured. At whiles he would imprecate curses upon the authors of his calamity, then pray that he might die. Towards morning he was exhausted, and slept many hours: he was afterwards calm, but very melancholy; very regular in his prayers. He seemed most to feel the falling off of several friends, who were afraid to have communication with him, and he often said that Mahmood would lose Khorassaun by his precipitate cruelty."

inaction of the royalists, and joined by two other brothers, raised a party and threatened Cabool; and then only Shahzadeh Jehanguire (Kamraun's son) was sent with a small force to relieve Prince Sooltan Mohommud Khan,* who had been left there in command. The prince reached Caubul, but the cold was so great that some of his party died on the road.

With Jehanguire was sent Atta Mohommud Khan Baumizye, to direct him in his government. To this man the rebel brothers wrote that revenge was their sole object, and that, if he would send away Jehanguire, they would consider him in the right of an elder brother, take the city for him, and then turn their strength upon Candahar.

Atta Mohommud Khan allowed himself to be seduced by their fair words, and made party with them. His defection disheartened the royalists in the town, and it was easily taken: Jehanguire retired to the Baulah Hissar,† but the rebels, vigorously beseiging him there, blew up a bastion, and then the prince, mounting his horse, put himself at the head of a few devoted followers, and gallantly cutting his way through the rebels when it was dusk, escaped at the city-gate, and Dost Mohommud Khan and his brothers remained masters of Caubul.

They had now to dispose of Atta Mohommud Khan, who was not less occupied in projecting means to get rid of them. They were, however, beforehand with him, and, failing in an attempt to blow him up at a feast, seized him there and blinded him.‡ Dost Mohommud Khan, then doubting how far he, not being of the Suddozye tribe, should at first be recognized as ruler at Caubul, ostensibly appointed Sooltaun Mohommud Khan governor, but kept the real authority in his own hands.

In the spring, Mahmood convinced of the necessity, marched

* Descended from Timour's son Aiyoub.

† Citadel.

‡ There were two brothers; one in the service of Atta Mohommud Khan, and the other a servant to Dost Mohommud Khan. Atta Mohommud Khan, having accepted the rebel brothers' invitation to a feast, had seated himself and his party on powder enough to blow them through the roof. The man in Dost Mohommud Khan's service, seeing his own brother of the party, called him out, and told him that the host's leaving the room on an excuse, was only awaited as a signal to fire the train. The second brother, having eaten his master's salt, returned instantly to save him, and told him of the plot. The rebels, finding that their treacherous intentions were suspected, thought it as well to throw off the mask; so, laying hands on their guest before he could make his escape, they on the spot deprived him of sight.

his troops to the vicinity of Caubul. He was accompanied by his son Kamraun, and Futteh Khan was taken with them in a litter. Gool Mohummud Khan Populzye was left Naib at Candahar. As soon as the royalists had marched from Candahar, the Giriskh brothers got together two or three thousand men, and put themselves between the city and the army; they then sent to the Naib, desiring him to surrender the capital. Gool Mohummud Khan, with the tact of a real diplomatist, agreed to give the city to them in case Mahmood should be defeated, and, satisfied with this promise, they withdrew to await the event.

Dost Mohummud Khan could oppose but three thousand men to Mahmood's large army, but he knew how Futteh Khan had been loved by the King's troops, and, calculating upon much defection from them, he resolved to abide a battle. The armies were separated by a line of hills, and for ten days thus remained, messages passing to and fro, but all attempts at reconciliation proving vain. At the end of the time spent so foolishly, a noble, named Shahpussund Khan, told Mahmood that many of his Sirdars were disaffected, and inclined to give him up to the enemy; and he mentioned Attah Oollah Khan Alizye, (a Sirdar of influence,) as among the number. The next day, Dilowar Khan Shahghausee went over with fifty horsemen, and Mahmood, with his characteristic want of energy, instead of sifting the matter, gave up all for lost. After evening prayers, he assembled his Sirdars to council in open plain, and Futteh Khan was placed in the midst: Mahmood addressing him, said, that he was weary of seeing the blood of his people shed; that what had passed could only be regretted, but that if the Vuzeer would bring his brothers to their allegiance, they should be continued in their respective governments, and higher honours than ever be heaped upon himself. "You offer what is gone from you," replied Futteh Khan, "and what has a blind man to do with power? Before you deprived Futteh Khan of sight, you should have secured the authority in the hands of his kindred. Do you act as you deem best to quell the storm you have raised; I wash my hands of all consequences, and will abide my fate."—Mahmood, enraged at his obstinacy, then completed his vengeance, by ordering "the man who was his friend to step out and strike the first blow:" twenty swords were drawn, for many that stood there had life-reckonings with Futteh Khan, and he was literally cut to pieces.

Though he should have been re-assured by the part his *Sirdars* had taken in the murder, which put a feud between themselves and the rebel family, Mahmood could not shake off his disquiet at Shahpussund Khan's intelligence; perhaps remorse at his cruel return to one who had twice gained him a throne, added to his natural timorousness, made him distrustful of those about him, and fearful of the dreadful reckoning which the rebels would exact should he be betrayed into their hands. It is difficult to judge the feelings of any tyrant, but Mahmood was a weak as well as a bad man. On the second night after the tragedy, he and his son, the Prince Kamraun, without making known their intentions, mounted their horses, and, escorted only by a small party of their most trusty retainers, fled by the direct road through the Sheah Hazareh country to Heraut. Their departure was so little suspected that it was midnight before the news spread in the camp, which was then suddenly broken up: some few went over to the rebels, but the greater number followed Mahmood to Heraut. With them came Atta Oollah Khan Alizye, and then the King, convinced how hastily he had acted, was with difficulty dissuaded from putting Shahpussund Khan to death. This nobleman is described as an intriguer, gifted with so rare a speech that he could talk any body into his projects. He well knew how to play upon the weak intellect of his master, and, little doubt is entertained, purposely deceived him in this instance; but his plans evidently failed, nor is it, I believe, generally known what they were.

Dost Mohammud Khan and his brothers were glad to return to Caubul, so unexpectedly ceded to them; and Gool Mohammud Khan, faithful to his promise, gave up Candahar to the *Girishk* brothers.

Mohummud Azeem Khan, full brother to Futteh Khan, and and next in age of the family, had marched from Cashmere with a strong force, when he heard of Kamraun's cruelty, leaving Jubbar Khan, (a half brother,) governor in "the valley;" but, before his arrival at Caubul, he heard that Dost Mohammud Khan had taken the city. Mohummud Azeem Khan then wrote to his brother, warning him that Aiyob's* son would league with his fellow *Suddozyes*, and counselled that he should be put to death to revenge Futteh Khan's blood: this Dost Mohammud Khan's regard for his good name forbade his doing, but he

* Sooltaun Mohammud.

feigned to fly from his elder brother, and allowed him to take possession of Caubul.

Mohummud Azeem Khan, upon this, took thought how to rid himself of Soaltaun Mohummud Khan, and, at the same time, save his own reputation. He found an instrument in another of the Suddozye princes, who was induced by the prospect of succession, artfully held out to him, to murder his brother. Next, the intriguer, with the same temptation, instigated an uncle to assassinate his fratricide nephew; and, lastly, sending a person to assure the old man in confidence that Azeem Khan was only looking about for another Suddozye to murder him, he frightened him from the city, and it remained his own.

Dost Mohummud Khan now returned from Ghuzni, nominally governor of that place; but he lived with his brother, to whom, in consideration of his seniority, he ceded the exercise of chief authority at Caubul. Sheerdil, Poordil, and Raheemdil Khans established themselves as joint rulers at Candahar, and other brothers of the family were appointed to the governments of Peshawar and Jallallahabad.

Thus was overthrown the Dooraanee monarchy.—The ex-king and his son had, by their cruel and dastardly conduct, forfeited claim to the sympathy of the people, who also, in the continual struggles and changes which had taken place among the royal family since the death of Shah Timour, had lost much of their respect for the sovereign tribe; and the rebel Sirdars, by appropriating the revenues to the maintenance of select troops, were able to retain the governments which they had usurped.

Shah Shoojah, to whom some now looked, was in Hindoostân: he was, indeed, induced, to venture back to his country in the winter of 1818, but his endeavours to reinstate himself were as unsuccessful as his former attempts had been. The adventures of this monarch from the time of his dethronement are quite a romance:—on his release from imprisonment in Cashmere, he accompanied Runjeet Sing's Dewan to Lahore, where he had the happiness of rejoining his family; but he had not been many days in the capital, when his host began to act a very unworthy part towards him. Shoojah had preserved some valuable jewels, among which was the "Koh-e-Noor," or the "mountain of light," a diamond of immense value, taken from Mohummud Shah by Shah Nadir, when he invaded Hindoostân, and which at the death of the Persian monarch came into the possession of Ahmud Shah Dooraanee. This rare stone Runjeet demanded, in

a manner which showed that he would not be refused. Shoojah was naturally unwilling to part with a gem of such value, especially when his adverse fortune rendered it probable that he might need it, and it was not until his unfortunate guest had suffered every indignity, that the possessor of millions was able to extort the jewel from him.

The Maharajah's rapacity was not even satisfied with the possession of "the mountain of light," for he used many unworthy means to obtain the jewels which yet remained to the royal exiles; so that, seeing the terms upon which they were to remain guests at Lahore, they were determined to seek refuge in the British provinces.

A Puthan horse-dealer, named Arab Allee Khan, was the person who assisted the ladies of the harem to escape; providing horses upon which they made a forced march to the Sutlej. The following account of their flight was written by a native then resident at the Court of Lahore, who had means of ascertaining the facts.

The princesses and their female attendants dressed themselves as women of the country, and leaving the palace which had been allotted to them as a residence, repaired in the evening to the house of a banker in the city, and from that to the residences of two other persons, in order to elude pursuit. Their departure from the palace, and their disguise, had been noticed, and it was judged necessary to acquaint the Maharajah with the circumstances, but the King had drunk wine and was asleep, and the Jemadar Khooshaul Sing dreaded to intrude upon his privacy; however, as the case was urgent, he sought the advice of a Fakeer (or Hakeem) Azizodeen, a sort of Oliver Daim, barber-physician and minister, who, possessing the entire confidence of his master, scrupled not to rouse him: the monarch, therefore, being awakened, and told of the necessity, immediately gave orders to secure the fugitives, and they were taken before they had set out from the city. But, notwithstanding this failure, they immediately after contrived to elude the vigilance of the palace-guards, and, through the assistance of the Puthan horse-merchant mentioned, safely effected their escape across the Sutlej into the British territory. On the 2d December, 1814, it was announced to the political agent at Loodeana, that Wuffa Begum, and the females of Shah Shoojah's harem, had arrived in the town of that place. Embarrassing as was the circumstance of their arrival, considering our political relations

with the king they had fled from, there could be no doubt what course to pursue, and the British agent therefore sent to assure the royal fugitives of the protection of his government, and to welcome them with the courtesy due to their sex and misfortunes.

The Shah Shoojah, being more closely watched, was detected in the attempt which he made to escape at the same time with his family. When Runjeet heard that the latter had reached the British provinces, he closely imprisoned Shoojah, and treated him with much rigour; placing sentries in his very apartment, in the fear lest he also should escape across the Sutlej; for the Sikh monarch had not at that time learned sufficiently to appreciate the honour and good faith of the British Government, and, having from the first been jealous of our alliance with the Affghauns, he appears to have been filled with vague apprehensions that we might concert with, or assist, the ex-king to his prejudice.

All his precautions, however, to keep his royal guest a captive, proved ineffectual: in the month of April, in the ensuing year, Shoojah in the most enterprising and wonderful manner, escaped from Lahore; climbing over the walls of several courts, and creeping through a drain to outside the city wall, and then continuing his flight to Kishtewaur, the Mohummudun Rajah of which country received him in the kindest manner, and not only welcomed him as a guest, but gave him money, with which he raised troops, and marched in the hope of being able to take Cashmeere. Again fortune played this unlucky monarch false: on his march through the hills, he was overtaken by so heavy a snow-storm that some of his followers perished in it, and the rest were dispersed: it seemed as though he was but warring against his fate, and, therefore, instead of returning to his generous friend, he disguised himself, and set out upon a hazardous journey over the mountains, and, after experiencing hardships such as fall to the lot of few men, he reached the British post of Subbathoo, and then proceeded to join his family at Loodeeana, where he has since lived, as a grateful pensioner of that government, whose embassy he had a few years before received, when seated on the throne of Caubul.

Runjeet Sing did not relax in his endeavours to make the Indus the boundary of his dominions on the west, and to the accomplishment of this politic design he brought that vigilance and indefatigable perseverance which had raised him from nothing

to the command of an empire. He had failed in more than one attempt upon Mooltaun, but the Affghans were well aware that he only waited a favourable opportunity to renew his attack; and Fetteh Khan, rendered careful by his defeat, collected a large force at Peshower, and established his head-quarters at that place, in order to support his countrymen in the Punjaub, or in Cashmeere, and to take advantage of any opportunity that might present itself of recovering the fort of Attock, or of annoying his enemy.

The occasion of the Vuzeer's being called to Herat in the spring of 1818 has been related. His departure left the Doorannees east of the Indus to their own resources, and Runjeet Sing, ever prompt to seize an advantage, only waited till the Affghan army had marched from Peshower, to send his disciplined troops and a battering train, to lay siege to the city of Mooltaun.

Nawaub Mozuffer Khan, who commanded at the latter place, held out obstinately against the Sikhs, his religious pride inducing him to scorn their proffered terms; but his garrison was weak, and in valour only a match for the besiegers: he made one or two sharp sallies, and repelled some partial assaults during a long seige, but, while he thus weakened his own force, he did not make any serious impression upon his enemies; and, on the 31st of May, the Sikhs mustering their whole force for the attack, made an assault upon several parts of the defences, and after a desperate contest, succeeded in possessing themselves of the ramparts. The battle did not end here, for the deadliest hatred urged both parties to continue it; the remnant of the Affghans fell back upon the town, and, till they were nearly all slain, maintained an unequal strife with the Sikhs, who, pouring in over the no longer defended walls, fought their ways from house to house, giving no quarter, and committing cruel outrages upon the defenceless inhabitants. The Nawaub Mozuffer Khan, with two sons, fell gallantly in the storm, and more than a thousand Affghans are said to have died with him. The town was completely sacked, and when order was in some degree restored, the inhabitants were set to repair the breaches; a strong Sikh garrison filled the city, and all authority was taken out of the hands of Mahummudans: the cow was declared sacred, the cry of the Muezzin forbidden, and the idolatrous followers of Gonro-Govind tore down the crescent of Islâm.

Possessed of Attock and Mooltaun, Runjeet saw himself master of the Punjaub, and he soon ceased to apprehend any attempt

on the part of the Affghans to recover the country, he had driven them from, for in the same year, fell the long tottering Dooranee monarchy; and the rulers of the petty states which were established upon its ruins, even if they had not been engrossed with the care of securing their newly usurped possessions, were not separately in a condition to make head against him.

The complete disunion of his long formidable enemies opened to Runjeet Sing an unbounded prospect of empire. His position at Mooltaun enabled him to overawe the Mohummudan chief of Buhawalpore, till then a subject of the king of Affghanistan; and further south, following the course of the Indus, was the rich province of Sinde, the Ameers of which country took early measure to free themselves from the yoke of the rebel Sirdars of Candahar, and the Maharajah could not but contemplate the period when his superior force might cause the large tribute which they had paid to the king of Caubul to flow into his own coffers. Runjeet's greatest efforts against the highlands of Cashmeere had hitherto been foiled by the firmness of the Affghans, but when, in consequence of the murder of Vuzeer Futteh Khan, his brother Mohummud Azeem Khan marched to head his rebel kinsmen at Caubul, leaving the valley but imperfectly garrisoned by a small force under his half-brother Jubbar Khan, the Maharajah at once saw his opportunity, and, putting himself at the head of his best troops, he marched with such speed north, that he was at the mountain passes before his enemies well knew that he had left Lahore. The hasty arrangements for defence which Jubbar Khan then made, availed little against the vigorous attack of the Sikhs, who, flushed by their recent successes, pressed on eagerly, and drove the Affghan garrison from barrier to barrier, till, losing all heart, they retreated into the valley, and then, following the example of their leader, fled by the western pass through the mountains to Peshawar. On the 5th of July 1819, Runjeet Sing marched his victorious army into the capital of Cashmeere; nor did his successes end here, for, anxious to strike a blow which should convince the Affghans of their inability to cope with him on any ground, he left his general in command of an efficient force in the valley of Cashmeere, and, proceeding with the residue of his troops to Attock, he forded the Indus, in defiance of the enemy who occupied its western bank, and driving them before him, marched on to the city of Peshawar, and received the submission of the inhabitants of that place, after which he returned to Lahore.

Humiliated as the Affghauns felt at their entire defeat by an idolatrous enemy, whom in former times they had driven before them, and whom they had so long despised, the state of anarchy into which their country had been thrown by the revolution, prevented their making any strong effort to recover their character. The rebel Sirdars of Caubul, who were the most concerned in the aggressions of the Sikhs, feared at first to leave Caubul, but, after four years, seeing that the ex-king and his son remained quietly at Herat, they gained confidence, and, in the spring of 1823, Mohummud Azeem Khan, learning that the Sikhs were again about to cross the Indus into his territory, marched at the head of all his troops to oppose them.

In the month of March was fought the last great battle between the Affghauns and the Sikhs. The latter crossed the Indus, and Mohummud Azeem Khan advanced from Peshawur to meet them. Against the advice of his brother Dost Mohummud Khan, who commanded his vanguard, he made a fatiguing march from Peshawur to a spot called Hnzzaroo, where he was to be joined by his half-brother Sumnud Khan, who had been sent on to raise the Khuttucks and Eusofzyes. On reaching the ground, he found himself close to the Sikhs, but separated from them and from his allies by a deep stream; he lost some men in a vain attempt to cross this water, and was compelled to remain an inactive witness of an engagement between Sumnud Khan's men and the Sikhs, in which the superior numbers and the discipline of the latter prevailed, and his countrymen, after an obstinate defence, fled to the hills in their rear.

Could Mohummud Azeem Khan have taken part in the engagement, it is probable that the Sikhs might have lost the day; for only after a long and bloody contest did they succeed in defeating the wild mountaineers who met them. The latter, urged on by the bitterest feelings of national and religious antipathy, fought like madmen; lads of twelve and fifteen years (it was related) though armed only with long knives, throwing themselves upon the Sikh battalions, and endeavouring to stab the soldiers behind their bayonets. In the rear of the highlanders were two hillocks, to which, as often as they were repulsed, they retreated, but only to rally and charge again upon their invaders; and, with such undiminished vigour did they return to the combat, that the Sikhs began almost to despair of conquering them, and at one time were seen to waver, upon which Runjeet, the "Napoléon de l'Orient" (as a late French traveller aptly named him), who had watched the conflict from a height in the rear of his troops, seized the standard of his body guard, and led into the thickest of the fight.

This restored the spirit of the Sikhs, and eventually their discipline prevailed. "The last stand was made near sun-set, by two hundred of the Eusofzyes, who, forming upon the hillock in their rear, with loud shouts of "ALLAH," charged bravely upon the infidels, but the kaufirs (said the narrator of this engagement,) met them with their *Nizam*,* and their swords could not tell against it. some fell, as men should, blade in hand, and with their faces to the enemy, the rest did not attempt to rally again, but made for the hills, and, as night was coming on, the exhausted Sikhs did not attempt to pursue them.

Mohummud Azeem Khan did not wait the night where he was, for, recollecting that he had left his treasure on the road behind him, he began to fear lest his fugitive allies, the Khut-tucks, should direct their course to it, and so marched hastily back to secure it, abandoning his guns and tents. These Dost Mahommed Khan, who had encamped apart with the vanguard, brought off the next day, defended from the Sikhs by the same obstacle which had prevented his taking part in the engagement: he overtook his brother near Peshawur, and returned with him to Caubul; but Azeem Khan never recovered the shame of his reverse: he and Sumnud Khan both fell sick; the latter died in a few days, and shortly afterwards, Azeem Khan, feeling that he should not survive, collected his great wealth, and gave it to his son Abiboollah Khan, charging him to wipe off the stain from his memory by raising troops to fight the Sikhs.

On Mohummud Azeem Khan's decease, Abiboollah Khan was anxious to comply with his father's last injunctions, but, when he would have assumed his seat, he was resisted by Dost Mohummud Khan, who declared that, though he had respected his brother's seniority, yet that the Sirdarship of Caubul was his by right of original conquest, and he raised a party to support his claim.

For some days Caubul was the scene of skirmishes between the troops of Abiboollah Khan and his uncle: as the former could afford to pay his followers well, he soon had the largest army, but fortune, which seemed to play into the hands of Dost Mohummud Khan, assisted him, by a stratagem of his brother Sheerdil Khan, who, to sound the chance of getting Caubul for himself, wrote from Candahar to Abiboollah Khan, offering to assist him in ejecting Dost Mahommed Khan. Deceived by his professions, Abiboollah Khan invited Sheerdil Khan to Caubul; when the latter chief arrived, he found that singly he could not hope to dispossess his nephew, and therefore he privately made party with his brother: arguing with Abiboollah

* Discipline.

Khan upon the scandal of a quarrel between such near relations, and, assuring him that Dost Mohummud Khan was willing to agree to a fair compromise, he persuaded him to come to a conference, and, there seizing him, caused him to be imprisoned, after which he himself assumed the government at Cabul.

Dost Mohummud Khan did not dispute the rule with his elder brother, but, as a recompense for his share in the plot, he demanded a large portion of Abiboollah Khan's confiscated wealth. Sheerdil Khan refused to part with his ill-gotten treasure, and upon this the brothers were at issue, and fought morning and noon regularly for several days, when four others of the family, coming from Peshawur, made the following terms between them. Sheerdil was to retire to Candahar with all his wealth, and to cede Cabul and its revenue to Dost Mohummud Khan. Sheerdil accordingly returned to Candahar, and Dost Mohummud Khan assumed the government at Cabul, where he has ever since ruled in undisputed authority.

To return to the royal family.—Shah Mahmood, on his arrival at Herat, resigned all exercise of authority to Kamraun, and endeavoured to lose the sense of his misfortunes in intoxication. A year after, Shahpussund Khan proposed to raise by subscription a force with which to march and take Candahar from the rebels; Kamraun to give fifty thousand, he ten thousand rupees, and the other Sirdars, the merchants, &c. according to their ability. Kamraun liked all parts of the scheme but the first, having, he protested, no money, and on this point he quarrelled with his adviser. Next representing to his father that Shahpussund Khan was the chief cause of their misfortune, Kamraun proposed to punish the intriguer, and in part indemnify themselves by taking his wealth. Mahmood offered no objection, and Shahpussund was accordingly seized and taken to Kullah Laush, a strong hill-fort on the border of Seestaun, which, together with the place called "Juwaine," was his family inheritance. After Kamraun had extorted all the money that he could from his prisoner, he deprived him of the fort of Laush, but permitted him to retire to Juwaine with his family.

Shahpussund Khan now wrote to Hadjee Ferooz at Meshed, that, if he would come to Juwaine, he would raise a force and take Furrak for him. Hadjee Ferooz was too badly off not to obey the summons, and Mohummud Khan, Nahee of Kauin, assisting them with some troops, they were able to take Furrak from Kamraun's Hakim. The prince marched from Herat to recover this fortress, and drove the allies within its walls. Shahpussund Khan, being hard pressed, made a capitulation, the

cases of which were—that he was to remain at Furrak as Kamraun's Hakim, and that Hadjee Ferooz was to be sent about his business. The latter returned to Meshed, and Shahpussund Khan, not feeling sure of Kamraun, went to Killich Khan Timoorce at Khaff, whom, with Ibrahim Khan Jemshed-dee, he associated in a fresh plot in favour of Hadjee Ferooz, which that unlucky prince engaged in, preferring all hazards to living in actual poverty.

Kamraun applied to Booneard Beg Hazareh for assistance, and his troops so worsted the rebels, that Killich Khan was left on the field, and Ferooz with his other assistants, had they not fled early, would have been taken. They rode northward, but, having the ill luck to meet on the way troops which Mohammed Khan of Toorbut had sent to co-operate with Booneard Beg's men, they took to a hill and fought. Ibrahim Khan was shot, Shahpussund Khan escaped, and went to Toorbut-e-Hyderah, where he made a fast friendship with the master of the troops he had fled from, but poor Hadjee Ferooz was made prisoner, and sent with the head of Ibrahim Khan to Geraut, where he was imprisoned in the citadel.

A few months after, Kamraun resolved to march upon Candahar. He left Mustapha Khan Zootee, (Limauck), in charge of the citadel, and desired one Manawullee Khan to follow him, when he had got what money he could from Mohammed Hosein Khan, a cousin of his own. The relative of the prince naturally took umbrage at a man who was continually dunning him, and, repairing to Mahmood, (who had gradually become jealous of the authority, which he had resigned into his son's hands,) he represented Manawullee Khan as a meddling fellow in Kamraun's interests, whom it would be well to confine, and, getting so much leave from the Shah, he, in excess of it, put the man to death on his own account. He then made friends with Mustapha Khan; they brought Booneard Beg Hazareh into council, and, finding themselves strong, seized Mahmood, and, confining him in the citadel, released Hadjee Ferooz, and proclaimed him King.

This farce lasted eighteen days; then Mustapha Khan, on condition of being made Lord executive, promised Mahmood to restore him. He brought the Shah down to the town with a party: King Ferooz and his allies fled one after another, and at this juncture arrived Kamraun from Candahar, and found the gates closed against him. This was the work of Mustapha Khan, who, fearing Kamraun's vengeance, persuaded Mahmood that his authority would be at an end the moment he allowed

his son to enter the town. Kamraun, enraged at such a reception, was for besieging his father, but he fled hastily on the approach of an unlooked-for enemy.

The Candahar brothers, hearing of the quarrels in the royal family, thought that good opportunity offered itself for completing their revenge, and, following Kamraun to Heraut, they partially invested the city,

Mahmood was now reduced to beg assistance from Shahpussund Khan, to whom he wrote requesting him to induce Mohummud Khan of Toorbut to move to the relief of Heraut. His application was effectual, and Mohummud Khan marched to Ghourian; but, finding that the city was invested, he wrote to the rebel brothers that he had come to side with them, and upon this, Sbeerdil Khan rode to Ghourian to welcome him. They marched back together to near the city, when Mohummud Khan, greatly to the relief of the besieged, who had watched his party from the ramparts, turned off, and was admitted within the walls. Upon this the brothers raised the siege and returned to Candahar.

Mohummud Khan received lands for his service, and he presented Shahpussund Khan, as an injured, still devoted, servant; Mahmood, therefore, restored him to favour and confidence. But this arrangement did not suit Mustapha Khan, who, conscious that there was not room both for himself and Shahpussund, imagined that the policy of the latter would be to bring in Kamraun, who would kill him. "You entertain jealousy against me," said he;—Shahpussund denied it. "Then come and give me your hand* upon the Koran that you do not." When Shahpussund went to the citadel he was seized and imprisoned; Mahmood, apprehending fresh violence to his own person, fled from his city, and Mustapha Khan was lord of it.

Mahmood stayed his flight at Subzaur. Doorraunees, however sundered, have common causes which unite them, and they flocked round their king in a case which involved their nationality.† Kamraun came from Furrab with a force, jealousies were forgotten, and they made one cause against the usurper. Meer Sadik Khan, Berdoorraunee, wrote from within Heraut that he would open the gates on their approach. Kamraun

* 2d Kings, c. x. v. 15.—Jehu meeting Jehonadab, salutes him, and asks—"Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? And Jehonadab answered, It is.—If it be, give me thine hand," &c.

† Mustapha Khan was not even an Affghan, though it is probable that to make Heraut his own never entered his imagination till Mahmood's flight put him in possession of it.

pressed on, was admitted into the town, and immediately besieged the citadel: he sprung a mine under a bastion, and Mustapha was glad to resign his brief authority on promise that his life should be spared; but Kamraun foully broke his oath; for he had not been many days in Heraut when he put Mustapha Khan to death:—(in the winter of 1824).

Affairs fell into the old train, and Shahpussund Khan, and the other lords about Mahmood, seeing themselves without interest, moved him anew to take the supreme power into his own hands. Those about Kamraun played the part that suited their interests, and, working on the fears of Mahmood by hinting that his son wished to seize him, caused him to retire to Gauzer-Gau, a village four miles from the city, where is entombed the famous Soonnee Saint Khojeh Abdoollah Ansarree. There he resided for six months, when, getting a fresh fright, he fled over the Moorghaub. The Wallee of Meimunna persuaded Derveish Khan Jemsheddee to assist him with three thousand troops, and with these he retraced his steps. Kamraun sent his Sirdar and his son Jehanguire with two thousand men to keep the road from Meimunna, but the Shah was in correspondence with a man of this camp, Sumunder Khan Baumizye, and, having information of their position, he came circuitously upon them in the grey of the morning, and, by help of Sumunder Khan's treacherous flight, routed them; but, wanting the resolution to follow up his advantage by attacking the city, he went and intrenched himself outside it in the Baugh-e-Shah. Kamraun, reinforced by troops from Furrak under his general Yar Mohammud Khan, attacked his father's allies, and had not beaten them out of their advanced intrenchment, when Mahmood mounted and fled over the Moorghaub again.

The Persian prince, Hussan Allee Meerza, had marched from Meshed to help Kamraun, who had made friends with him after the battle of Kahreese, but, finding that the enemy had fled, he returned home, leaving his son Arghoon Meerza at Heraut, with three thousand horse. This young prince, joined by Kamraun's Sirdar, pursued Mahmood; after some skirmishing with the Hazarehs, a treaty was made, the chief article of which was, that no assistance was to be rendered by them to Mahmood. He was accordingly told to seek refuge elsewhere, and this unfortunate, now old man, was again a wanderer. He retired to Laush, where he remained a year in a pitiable state, wanting every thing: Kamraun, at last, struck with remorse, sent two sons with presents and a dutiful message; they brought him with a show of honour to Heraut, but he closed his eventful life after a year, and Kamraun was legally king.

Though it is impossible not to compassionate a man so severely visited in his old age, yet there was little in the character of Shah Mahmood to render him worthy of commiseration. His first act was rebellion against his king and brother, Shah Zemaun, and no feeling of gratitude for the forbearance which had been shown him, interfered to prevent his dethroning Shah Soojah, to make himself a second time king. He appears ever to have been more studious to indulge his sensuality than to promote the good of his people, and as he did not gain the throne by any merit of his own, so he was unable to sustain himself at the height to which fortune had raised him: shortsighted as ungrateful, he murdered the man to whom he owed every thing, and, deprived of his support, fell through his own weakness.

The character of Kamraun has been described in the journal: for the bad qualities which mark it, we could wish to find apology in the circumstances under which he was educated, but nothing can excuse his cruel ingratitude to Futteh Khan, or his unnatural conduct towards his own parent. His bad conduct as a ruler may in some measure be extenuated, when it is remembered that, having lived almost without a friend, he has often suffered from the treachery of those to whom he trusted: now driven to a corner of his dominions by rebel enemies, he has thought it expedient to fill his coffers, in order to be prepared for a still greater reverse, or, haply, for an opportunity of recovering the throne of his father.

CABOOL.

(Abridged from Burnes' Travels into Bokhara.)

We had previously heard of the amiable character of our host, Nawab Jubbar Khan; and even found him, on personal acquaintance, to be quite a patriarch. He heals every difference among his many and turbulent brothers: himself the eldest of his family, he has no ambitious views, though he once held the government of Cashmeer, and other provinces of the Dooranee empire. His brother, the present chief of Cabool, has requited many services by confiscating his estate; but he speaks not of his ingratitude. He tells you that God has given him abundance for his wants, and to reward those who serve him; that there are few pleasures equal to being able to give to those around, and to enjoy this world without being obliged to govern. I disco-

vered, during my stay at Cabool, that the Nawab assumes a false character, but expresses himself, as he feels, with sincerity. Never was a man more modest, and more beloved: he will permit but a single attendant to follow him; and the people on the high and by ways stop to bless him; the politicians assail him at home to enter into intrigues, and yet he possesses the respect of the whole community, and has, at the present moment, a greater moral influence than any of the Barukzye family in Afghanistan. His manners are remarkably mild and pleasing; and from his dress one would not imagine him to be an influential member of a warlike family. It is delightful to be in his society, to witness his acts, and hear his conversation. He is particularly partial to Europeans, and makes every one of them his guest who enters Cabool. All the French officers in the Punjab lived with him, and keep up a friendly intercourse. Such is the patriarch of Cabool; he is now about fifty years of age; and such the master of the house in which we were so fortunate as to dwell.

Our first object, after arrival, was to be introduced to the chief of Cabool, Sirdar Dost Mahommed Khan. The Nawab intimated our wishes, and we were very politely invited to dine with the governor on the evening of the 4th of May. Dr. Gerard was unable to attend from sickness; but Mr. Wolff and myself were conducted, in the evening, to the Bala Hissar, or Palace of the Kings, where the governor received us most courteously. He rose on our entrance, saluted in the Persian fashion, and then desired us to be seated on a velvet carpet near himself. He assured us that we were welcome to his country; and, though he had seen few of us, he respected our nation and character. To this I replied as civilly as I could, praising the equity of his government, and the protection which he extended to the traveller and the merchant. When we sat down, we found our party consist of six or eight native gentlemen, and three sons of the chief. We occupied a small but neat apartment, which had no other furniture than the carpet. The conversation of the evening was varied, and embraced such a number of topics, that I find it difficult to detail them; such was the knowledge, intelligence, and curiosity the chief displayed. He was anxious to know the state of Europe, the number of kings, the terms on which they lived with one another; and, since it appeared that their territories were adjacent, how they existed without destroying each other. I named the different nations, sketched out their relative power, and informed him, that our advancement in civilisation did no more exempt us from war and quarrels than his own coun-

try ; that we viewed each other's acts with jealousy, and endeavoured to maintain a balance of power, to prevent one king from overturning another. Of this, however, there were, I added, various instances in European history ; and the chief himself had heard of Napoleon. He next requested me to inform him of the revenues of England ; how they were collected ; how the laws were enacted ; and what were the productions of the soil. He perfectly comprehended our constitution from a brief explanation ; and said there was nothing wonderful in our universal success, since the only revenue which we drew from the people was to defray the debts and expenses of the state. "Your wealth, then," added he, "must come from India." I assured him that the revenues of that country were spent in it ; that the sole benefits derived from its possession consisted in its being an outlet to our commerce ; and that the only wealth sent to the mother country consisted of a few hundred thousand pounds, and the fortunes taken away by the servants of the government. I never met an Asiatic who credited this fact before. Dost Mahommed Khan observed, that "this satisfactorily accounts for the subjection of India. You have left much of its wealth to the native princes ; you have not had to encounter their despair, and you are just in your courts." He enquired into the state of the Mahommedan principalities in India, and as to the exact power of Runjeet Sing, for sparing whose country he gave us no credit. He wished to know if we had any designs upon Cabool. He had heard from some Russian merchants of the manner of recruiting the armies by conscription in that country, and wished to know if it were general in Europe. He had also heard of their foundling hospitals, and required an explanation of their utility and advantage. He begged I would inform him about China ; if its people were warlike, and if their country could be invaded from India ; if its soil were productive, and its climate salubrious ; and why the inhabitants differed so much from those of other countries. The mention of Chinese manufactures led to a notice of those in England ; he enquired about our machinery and steam engines, and then expressed his wonder at the cheapness of our goods. He asked about the curiosities which I had seen, and which of the cities in Hindostan I had most admired. I replied, Delhi. He then questioned me if I had seen the rhinoceros, and if the Indian animals differed from those of Cabool. He had heard of our music, and was desirous of knowing if it surpassed that of Cabool. From these matters he turned to those which concerned myself ; asked why I had left India, and the reason for changing my dress. I informed him that I

had a great desire to see foreign countries, and I now purposed travelling towards Europe by Bokhara; and that I had changed my dress to prevent my being pointed at in this land; but that I had no desire to conceal from him and the chiefs of every country I entered, that I was an Englishman, and that my entire adoption of the habits of the people had added to my comfort. The chief replied in very kind terms, applauded the design, and the propriety of changing our dress.

Before we withdrew, the chief made a very friendly tender to assist us in our journey, and offered us letters to the Chiefs on the Oxus, and the King of Bokhara. he also requested that we should frequently visit him while in Cabool, as he liked to hear of other countries, and would make us welcome. We left him at midnight, quite charmed with our reception, and the accomplished address and manners of Dost Mahommed Khan.

I lost no time in making excursions near Cabool, and chose the earliest opportunity to visit the tomb of the Emperor Baber, which is about a mile from the city, and situated in the sweetest spot of the neighbourhood. The good Nawab was my conductor in the pilgrimage. I have a profound respect for the memory of Baber, which had been increased by a late perusal of his most interesting Commentaries. He had directed his body to be interred in this place, to him the choicest in his wide dominions. These are his own words regarding Cabool: —“The climate is extremely delightful, and there is no such place in the known world.”—“Drink wine in the citadel of Cabool, and send round the cup without stopping: for it is at once a mountain, a sea, a town, and a desert.”*

The grave is marked by two erect slabs of white marble, and, as is usual, the last words of the inscription give the date of the Emperor's death. The device in the present instance seems to me happy: “When heaven, Roozvan asked the date of his death. I told him that heaven is the eternal abode of Baber Badshah.” He died in the year 1530. Near the Emperor, many of his wives and children have been interred; and the garden, which is small, has been once surrounded by a wall of marble. A running and clear stream yet waters the fragrant flowers of this cemetery, which is the greatest holiday resort of the people of Cabool. In front of the grave, there is a small but chaste mosque of marble; and an inscription upon it sets forth that it was built in year 1640, by order of the Emperor Shah Jehan, after defeating Mahommed Nuzur Khan in Balkh.

* Erskine's Translation of Baber.

and Budukhshan, "that poor Mahomedans might here offer up their prayers." It is pleasing to see the tomb of so great a man as Baber honoured by his posterity.

There is a noble prospect from the hill which overlooks Baber's tomb, and a summer-house has been erected upon it by Shah Zuman, from which it may be admired. The Nawab and myself climbed up to it, and seated ourselves. If my reader can imagine a plain, about twenty miles in circumference, laid out with gardens and fields in pleasing irregularity, intersected by three rivulets, which wind through it by a serpentine course, and wash innumerable little forts and villages, he will have before him one of the meadows of Cabool. To the north lie the hills of Pughman, covered half way down with snow, and separated from the eye by a sheet of the richest verdure. On the other side, the mountains, which are bleak and rocky, mark the hunting preserves of the king; and the gardens of this city, so celebrated for fruit, lie beneath, the water being conducted to them with great ingenuity. I do not wonder at the hearts of the people being captivated with the landscape, and of Baber's admiration; for, in his own words, "its verdure and flowers render Cabool, in spring, a heaven."

Our intercourse with the people was on a much better footing at Cabool than in Peshawur, for we were no longer in the house of a chief, and not troubled by too many visitors. The Nawab occupied one side of a large mansion, and left the other part to us. He, however, rallied round him many good sort of people, with whom we became acquainted; he brought them over in person, and we passed to and fro between each other's apartments during the whole day. The habits which we had adopted, now gave us many advantages in our communications with the people. We sat along with them on the same carpet, ate with them, and freely mingled in their society. The Affghans are a sober, simple, steady people. They always interrogated me closely regarding Europe, the nations of which they divide into twelve "*koollahs*," or crowns, literally hats. It was delightful to see the curiosity of even the oldest men. The greatest evil of Mahomedanism consists in its keeping those who profess it within a certain circle of civilisation. Their manners do not appear ever to alter. They have learning, but it is of another age, and any thing like philosophy in their history is unknown. The language of the Affghans is Persian, but it is not the smooth and elegant tongue of Iran. Pooshtoo is the dialect of the common people, but some of the higher classes cannot even speak it. The Affghans are a nation of children; in their quarrels

they fight, and become friends without any ceremony. They cannot conceal their feelings from one another, and a person with any discrimination may at all times pierce their designs. If they themselves are to be believed, their ruling vice is envy, which besets their nearest and dearest relations. No people are more incapable of managing an intrigue. I was particularly struck with their idleness; they seem to sit listlessly for the whole day, staring at each other: how they live it would be difficult to discover yet they dress well, and are healthy and happy. I imbibed a very favourable impression of their national character.

Cabool is a most bustling and populous city. Such is the noise in the afternoon, that in the streets one cannot make an attendant hear. The great bazar, or "Chonchut," is an elegant arcade, nearly 600 feet long, and about 30 broad: it is divided into four equal parts. Its roof is painted; and over the shops are the houses of some of the citizens. The plan is judicious; but it has been left unfinished; and the fountains and cisterns, that formed a part of it, lie neglected. Still there are few such bazars in the East; and one wonders at the silks, cloths and goods, which are arrayed under its piazzas. In the evening it presents a very interesting sight: each shop is lighted up by a lamp suspended in front, which gives the city an appearance of being illuminated. The number of shops for the sale of dried fruits is remarkable, and their arrangement tasteful. In May, one may purchase the grapes, pears, apples, quinces, and even the melons of the by-gone season, then ten months old. There are poulterers' shops, at which snipes, ducks, partridges, and plovers, with other game, may be purchased. The shops of the shoemakers and hardware retailers are also arranged with singular neatness. Every trade has its separate bazar, and all of them seem busy. There are booksellers and venders of paper, much of which is Russian, and of a blue colour. The month of May is the season of the "folodeh," which is a white jelly strained from wheat, and drunk with sherbat and snow. The people are very fond of it, and the shop-keepers in all parts of the town seem constantly at work with their customers. A pillar of snow stands on one side of them and a fountain plays near it, which gives these places a cool and clean appearance. Around the baker's shops crowds of people may be seen, waiting for their bread. I observed that they baked it by plastering it to the sides of the oven. Cabool is famed for its kabobs, or cooked meats, which are in great request: few cook at home. "Rhwash" was the dainty of the May season in Cabool. It is merely blanched rhubarb, which is reared under a careful protection from the sun, and

grows up rankly under the hills in the neighbourhood. Its flavor is delicious. "Shabash rhuwash ! Bravo rhuwash !" is the cry in the streets ; and every one buys it. In the most crowded parts of the city there are story-tellers amusing the idlers, or derisives proclaiming the glories and deeds of the Prophets. If a baker makes his appearance before these worthies, they demand a cake in the name of some prophet ; and, to judge by the number who follow their occupation, it must be a profitable one. There are no wheeled carriages in Cabool : the streets are not very narrow ; they are kept in a good state during dry weather, and are intersected by small covered aqueducts of clean water, which is a great convenience to the people. We passed along them without observation, and even without an attendant. To me the appearance of the people was more novel than the bazars. They sauntered about, dressed in sheep-skin cloaks, and seemed huge from the quantity of clothes they wore. All the children have chubby red cheeks, which I at first took for an artificial colour, till I found it to be the gay bloom of youth. The older people seem to lose it. Cabool is a compactly built city, but its houses have no pretension to elegance. They are constructed of sun-dried bricks and wood, and few of them are more than two stories high. It is thickly peopled, and has a population of about sixty thousand souls. The river of Cabool passes through the city ; and tradition says that it has three times carried it away, or inundated it. In rain, there is not a dirtier place than Cabool.

It is in the mouth of every one, that Cabool is a very ancient city ; they call it 6000 years old. It formed once, with Ghuzni, the tributary cities of Bameean. Strange has been the reverse of circumstances ;—Ghuzni, under Mahmood, in the eleventh century, become a great capital ; and Cabool is now the metropolis both over it and Bameean. It is said that Cabool was formerly named Zabool, from a kaffir, or infidel king, who founded it ; hence the name of Zaboolistan. Some authors have stated, that the remains of the tomb of Cabool, or Cain, the son of Adam, are pointed out in the city ; but the people have no such traditions. It is, however, a popular belief, that when the devil was cast out of heaven, he fell in Cabool. In Cabool itself there are not exactly traditions of Alexander, but both Herat and Lahore are said to have been founded by slaves of that conqueror, whom they call a prophet. Their names were Heri (the old name of Herat) and Lahore. Candahar is said to be an older city than either of these. While at Cabool, I made every attempt to procure coins, but without success, ex-

cepting a Cufic coin of Bokhara, which was 843 years old. Among the rarities brought to the Cabool mint, I heard of a coin of the shape and size of a sparrow's egg,—a whimsical model. Triangular and square coins are common : the latter belong to the age of Acbar.

In the number of our visitors was an Armenian, of the name of Simon Mugurditch, commonly called Sooliman, who gave us a sad account of the dispersion of his tribe. There are but twenty-one persons now remaining, from a colony of some hundreds introduced by Nadir and Ahmed Shah from Joolfa and Meshid in Persia. By inscriptions in their burying-ground, it would appear that some Armenian merchants had settled in Cabool even before that period. During the Dooranee monarchy, they held offices under the government, and were respected, till the time of Timour Shah's death. In the disputes about the succession, they have gradually withdrawn their families to other countries ; and the present chief of Cabool, with the best intentions, has put a finishing blow to the Armenian colony, by a strict prohibition of wine and spirits. He has also forbidden dice, with every description of incontinence, and likewise threatened to grill some of the bakers in their ovens for light weights. After a life by no means temperate, this chief has renounced wine, and, under the severest penalties, commands that his subjects should be equally abstemious. The Armenians and Jews of Cabool have, therefore, fled to other lands, as they had no means of support but in distilling spirits and wine. There are but three Jewish families in Cabool, the wreck of a hundred which it could last year boast. If Dost Mahommed Khan can succeed in suppressing drunkenness by the sacrifice of a few foreign inhabitants, he is not to be blamed ; since forty bottles of wine or ten of brandy might be purchased from them for a single rupee. As the chief in person shows so good an example to his people, we shall not criticise his motives, nor comment with severity on the inconsistency of a reformed drunkard. Cabool seems to have been always famed for its revels.

The Armenians clung to us as if we had been an addition to their colony, and we breakfasted with Simon Mugurditch and his family, where we met all the members of it. The little children came running out to meet us, kissed our hands, and then placed their foreheads upon them. They are a very handsome people. We saw their church—a small building, which could never have contained a hundred people. Our host Simon gave us a very comfortable entertainment, and laid it out on a cloth covered with sentences of the Koran. "It was an Afghan cloth,"

said he, "and Christians are not injured by these sentences, nor eat a less hearty meal." The Armenians have adopted all the customs and manners of Mahommedans, and take off both shoes and turbans on entering their church. They are a harmless inoffensive people, but fond of money.

Since our departure, we had been travelling in a perpetual spring. The trees were blossoming as we left Lahore, in February; and we found them full blown in March, at Peshawur. We had now the same joyous state of the season in Cabool, and arrived at an opportune time to see it. This state of the spring will give a good idea of the relative height of the different places, and of the progress of their seasons. Cabool is more than 6000 feet above the level of the sea. I passed some delightful days in its beautiful gardens. One evening I visited a very fine one, in company with the Nawab, about six miles from the city. They are well kept and laid out; the fruit trees are planted at regular distances; and most of the gardens rise with the acclivity of the ground in plateaus, or shelves, over one another. The ground was covered with the fallen blossom, which had drifted into the corners, like so much snow. The Nawab and myself seated ourselves under a pear-tree of Samarcand, the most celebrated kind in the country, and admired the prospect. Great was the variety and number of fruit trees. There were peaches, plums, apricots, pears, apples, quinces, cherries, walnuts, mulberries, pomegranates, and vines, all growing in one garden. There were also nightingales, blackbirds, thrushes, and doves, to raise their notes, and chattering magpies, on almost every tree, which were not without their attraction, as reminding me of England. I was highly pleased with the nightingale; and, on our return home, the Nawab sent me one in a cage, which sang throughout the night. It is called the "Boobool i huzar dastan," or, the nightingale of a thousand tales; and it really seemed to imitate the song of every bird. The cage was surrounded by cloth; and it became so noisy a companion, that I was obliged to send it away before I could sleep. This bird is a native of Budukhsan. The finest garden about Cabool is that called the King's garden, laid out by Timour Shah, which lies north of the town, and is about half a mile square. The road which leads to it is about three miles long, and formed the royal race-ground. There is a spacious octagon summer-house in the centre, with walks that run up from each of its sides, shaded with fruit trees, having a very pretty effect. A marble seat in front shows where the kings of Cabool sat in their prosperity, among

————— “ the pears
 And sunniest apples that Cabool,
 In all its thousand gardens, bears.”

The people are passionately fond of sauntering about these gardens, and may be seen flocking to them every evening. The climate of Cabool is most genial. At mid-day the sun is hotter than in England; but the nights and evenings are cool, and only in August do the people find it necessary to sleep on their balconies. There is no rainy season, but constant showers fall as in England. The snow lasts for five months in winter. During May, the thermometer stood at 64° in the hottest time of the day; and there was generally a wind from the north, cooled by the dew that covers the mountains. It must usually blow from that quarter, since all the trees of Cabool bend to the south.

Cabool is particularly celebrated for its fruit, which is exported in great abundance to India. Its vines are so plentiful, that the grapes are given, for three months of the year, to cattle. There are ten different kinds of these: the best grow on frameworks; for those which are allowed to creep on the ground are inferior. They are pruned in the beginning of May. The wine of Cabool has a flavour not unlike Madeira; and it cannot be doubted, that a very superior description might be produced in this country with a little care. The people of Cabool convert the grape into more uses than in most other countries. They use its juice in roasting meat; and, during meals have grape powder as a pickle. This is procured by pounding the grapes before they get ripe, after drying them. It looks like Cayenne pepper, and has a pleasant acid taste. They also dry many of them as raisins, and use much grape syrup. A pound of grapes sell for a halfpenny. I have already mentioned the “rhuwash,” or rhubarb of Cabool: it grows spontaneously under the snowy hills of Pughman; and Cabool has a great celebrity from producing it. The natives believe it exceedingly wholesome, and use it both raw, and cooked as vegetables. They tell an anecdote of some Indian doctors, who practiced for a short time at Cabool, and waited for the fruit season, when the people would probably be unhealthy. Seeing this rhubarb in May and June, these members of the faculty abruptly left the country, pronouncing it a specific for the catalogue of Cabool diseases. This, at all events, proves it to be considered a healthy article of food. When the rhubarb is brought to market, the stalks are about a foot long, and the leaves are just budding. They are red; the stalk is white: when it first appears above ground, it has a sweet taste like milk, and will not

pear carriage. As it grows older, it gets strong, stones being piled round to protect it from the sun. The root of the plant is not used as medicine. There are no date trees in Cabool, though they are to be found both east and west of it—at Candahar and Peshawur. There the people are ignorant of the art of extracting an intoxicating juice from them, as in India. Peshawur is celebrated for its pears; Ghuzni for its plums, which are sold in India under the name of the plum of Bokhara; Candahar for its figs, and Cabool for its mulberries; but almost every description, particularly stone fruits, thrive in Cabool. Fruit is more plentiful than bread, and is considered one of the necessaries of human life. There are no less than fourteen different ways of preserving the apricot of Cabool: it is dried with and without the stone; the kernel is sometimes left, or an almond is substituted in its stead; it is also formed into cakes, and folded up like paper. It is the most delicious of the dried fruits.

Among the public buildings in Cabool, the Bala Hissar, or citadel, claims the first importance; but not from its strength. Cabool is enclosed to the south and west by high rocky hills: and at the eastern extremity of these the Bala Hissar is situated, which commands the city. It stands on a neck of land, and may have an elevation of about 150 feet from the meadows of the surrounding country. There is another fort under it, also called the Bala Hissar, which is occupied by the governor and his guards. The citadel is uninhabited by the present chief; but his brother built a palace in it called the "Koolah i Firingee," or the Europeans' Hat, which is the highest building. Dost Mahommed Khan captured the Bala Hissar, by blowing up one of its towers: it is a poor, irregular, and dilapidated fortification, and could never withstand an escalade. The upper fort is small, but that below contains about five thousand people. The King's palace stands in it. The Bala Hissar was built by different princes of the house of Timour, from Baber downwards. Aurungzebe prepared extensive vaults under it, to deposit his treasure; and which may yet be seen. While it formed the palace of the kings of Cabool, it was also the prison of the younger branches of the royal family, in which they were confined for life. They tell a story, that, when set free from their prison, after murdering their keeper, they looked with astonishment at seeing water flow—so close had been the confinement in their walled abode. It is difficult to say, whether

these unfortunate men were not happier than in their present state, which is that of abject poverty. Many of the sons of Timour Shah came in absolute hunger to solicit alms from us. I advised them to make a petition to the chief for some permanent relief, but they said that they had no mercy to expect from the Barukzye family, now in power, who thirsted after their blood.

Near the Bala Hissar, and separated from it and every part of the city, the Persians, or Kuzzilbashes, as they are called, reside. They are Toorks, and principally of the tribe of Juwansheer, who was fixed in this country by Nadir Shah. Under the kings of the Cabool they served as body-guards, and were a powerful engine of the state. They yet retain their language, and are attached to the present chief, whose mother is of their tribe. I had an opportunity of seeing these people to advantage; being invited to a party given by our conductor from Peshawur, the jolly Naib Mahommed Shureef. I met the whole of the principal men, and their chief, Sheereen Khan. The entertainment was more Persian than Affghan. Among them, I could discover a new people, and new mode of thinking; for they have retained some of the wit that marks their countrymen. As the evening was drawing to a close, the chief called on a person to display his powers, not in a tale, but in depicting the peculiarities of the neighbouring nations. He began with the Affghans; and, after an amusing enough exordium, which expected the Dooranees or chiefs, (who, he said, were not like other Affghans,) he described the entry of some twenty or thirty nations into paradise. When the turn of the Affghans came, he went on blasphemously to relate, that their horrid language was unintelligible, and that, as the prophet had pronounced it to be the dialect of hell, there was no place in heaven for those who spoke it. The fellow had humour, and brought in some Affghan phrases, much to the amusement of the company. He then attacked the Uzbeks for their peculiar way of making tea, and their uncouth manners. He now levelled his batteries against the whining, cheating and deceitful Cashmeerian; and these people must be belied indeed, if they be not masters in vice.* All parties, however, admit their talents

* A Persian couplet runs thus:—

“ Dur juhan ust do taefu be peer;
Soonee i Balkh, Shiab i Cashmeer:

which may be translated, that there is not an honest man among the Soonees of Balkh or the Shiabs of Cashmeer.

and ingenuity, which is a considerable counterbalance. The natives of Herat, and their peculiar dialect, exercised the powers of this loquacious Meerza: he imitated the roguery of his custom-house; and allowed himself, as the officer on duty, to be bribed out of his due, by accepting some wine, which he pretended was not for himself.

The difference between eastern manners, and those of Europe, is nowhere more discernible than in their manner of saying good things. An European enjoys an anecdote; but he would be very much surprised to be called on in a company to tell one for its amusement. In the East, there are professional anecdote makers; in the West, we are content with a bon-mot as it flows in the course of conversation. Both may be traced to the government: for, in the East, though there is much familiarity, there is little social intercourse; and, in Europe, good manners teach us to consider every one at the same board on an equality.

During our stay, the "Eed" occurred, which is the festival kept in commemoration of Abraham's intention to sacrifice his son Isaac. It was observed with every demonstration of respect: the shops were shut; and the chief proceeded to prayer at an appointed place, with a great concourse of persons. In the afternoon, every one was to be seen flocking to the gardens; nor could I resist the impulse, and followed the crowd. In Cabool, you no sooner leave the bazar, than you find yourself on the banks of the river, which are beautifully shaded by trees of mulberry, willow, and poplar. Almost all the roads round the city lead by the verge of aqueducts or running water. They are crossed by bridges; and the large river has three or four of these edifices; but they cannot boast of architectural beauty. The finest gardens of Cabool lie north of the city; and they, again, are far surpassed by those beyond, in the district of Istalif, under the first snow-clad mountains, towards Hindoo Koosh. Their site is to be seen from Cabool. I was conducted to the tomb of Timour Shah, which stands outside the city, and is a brick building of an octagon shape, rising to the height of 50 feet. The interior of it is about 40 feet square, and the architecture resembles that of Delhi. The building is unfinished. A lamp was formerly lighted on this sepulchre; but the sense of this king's favours, like that of many others, has faded. Timour Shah made Cabool his capital, and here is his tomb. His father is interred at Candahar, which is the native country of the Dooranees.

I moved about every where during the day, and had the pleasure of many sociable evenings with our host the Nawab, whom I found, like many of his countrymen, in search of the philosopher's stone. Such an opportunity as our arrival seemed to promise him a rich harvest. I soon undeceived him, and laughed at the crucibles and recipes, which he produced. I explained to him, that chemistry had succeeded alchymy, as astronomy had followed astrology; but as I had to detail the exact nature of these sciences, my asseverations of being no alchymist had little effect. He therefore applied himself to the doctor, from whom he requested recipes for the manufacture of calomel and quinine plasters and liniments; which it was no easy matter to furnish. He could not credit that the arts of giving and manufacturing medicines were distinct; and set us down as very ignorant or very obstinate. He would not receive the prepared medicines, as they would be of no use to him after we had left. We found this feeling generally prevalent; and woe be to the doctor in these parts who gives medicines which he cannot make. We kept the Nawab in good humour, though we would not believe that he could convert iron into silver. We heard from him the position of many metallic veins in the country. He produced among other curiosities some asbestos, here called cotton-stone (sung i poomba), found near Julalabad. The good man declared that he must have some of our knowledge in return for what he told so freely. I informed him that I belonged to a sect called Freemasons, and gave some account of the craft, into which he requested to be admitted without delay. But, as the number of bretheren must be equal to that of the Pleiades, we put it off to a convenient opportunity. He confidently believed that he had at last got scent of magic in its purest dye; and had it been in my power, I would have willingly initiated him. He made me promise to send some flower-seeds our country, which he wished to see in Cabool; and I faithfully forwarded them. I cut the plates out of Mr. Elphinstone's History of Cabool, and presented them to the Nawab at a large party; and not only is the costume exact, but in some of the figures, to their great delight, they discovered likenesses. Pictures are forbidden among the Soonee Mahomedans; but in the present instance they proved very acceptable. Among the Nawab's friends we met a man 114 years old, who had served with Nadir Shah. He had been upwards of eighty years in Cabool,

and seen the Dooranee dynasty founded and pass away. This venerable person walked up stairs to our rooms.

From the crowd of people we constantly met at the house of our host, I was resolved on gathering some information on the much disputed point of the Affghans being Jews. They brought me all their histories, but I had no time to examine them, and wished for oral information. The Affghans call themselves, "Bin i Israeel," or children of Israel; but consider the term of "Yahooder," or Jew, to be one of reproach. They say that Nebuchadnezzar, after the overthrow of the temple of Jerusalem, transplanted them to the town of Ghore, near Bamee-an; and that they are called Affghans, from their chief Affghana, who was the son of the uncle of Asof (the vizier of Solomon), who was the son of Berkia. The genealogy of this person is traced from a collateral branch, on account of the obscurity of his own parent, which is by no means uncommon in the East. They say that they lived as Jews, till Khaleed (called by the title of Caliph) summoned them, in the first century of Mahomedanism, to assist in the wars with the Infidels. For their services on that occasion, Kyse, their leader, got the title of Abdoolrushid, which means the Son of the mighty. He was also told to consider himself the "butan" (an Arabic word), or mast of his tribe, on which its prosperity would hinge, and by which the vessel of their state was to be governed. Since that time, the Affghans are sometimes called *Putan*, by which name they are familiarly known in India. I never before heard this explanation of the term. After the campaign with Khaleed, the Affghans returned to their native country, and were governed by a king of the line of Kyanee, or Cyrus, till the eleventh century, when they were subdued by Mahmood of Ghuzni. A race of kings sprung from Ghore, subverted the house of Ghuzni, and conquered India. As is well known, this dynasty was divided, at the death of its founder, into the divisions east and west of the Indus; a state of things which lasted till the posterity of Timourlane reduced both to a new yoke.

Having precisely stated the traditions and history of the Affghans, I can see no reason for discrediting them, though there be some anachronisms, and the dates do not exactly correspond with those of the Old Testament. In the histories of Greece and Rome we find similar corruptions, as well as in the later works of the Arab and Mahomedan writers. The Affghans

look like Jews; they say they are descended from Jews; and the younger brother marries the widow of the elder, according to the law of Moses. The Affghans entertain strong prejudices against the Jewish nation; which would at least show that they had no desire to claim, without a just cause, a descent from them. Since some of the tribes of Israel came to the East, why should we not admit that the Affghans are their descendants, converted to Mahommedanism? I am aware that I am differing from a high authority*: but I trust that I have made it appear on reasonable grounds.

As the chief desired, I passed another evening with him; and the doctor, being convalescent, accompanied me; Mr. Wolff had proceeded on his journey to India. Dost Mahommed Khan pleased us as much as ever; he kept us till long past midnight, and gave us a full insight into the political affairs of his country, and the unfortunate differences that exist between him and his brothers. He expressed hopes of being able to restore the monarchy, evinced a cordial hatred towards Runjeet Sing, and seemed anxious to know if the British Government would accept his services as an auxiliary to root him out; but I replied, that he was our friend. He then promised me the command of his army, if I would remain with him: an offer which he afterwards repeated. "Twelve thousand horse and twenty gus shall be at your disposal." When he found that I could not accept the honour, he requested me to send some friend to be his generalissimo. On this occasion, we had some highly interesting conversation regarding the Kaffirs, who live in the hills north of Pe-hawur and Cabool, and are supposed to descend from Alexander. The chief, on the former occasion, had produced a young Kffir boy, one of his slaves, about ten years old, who had been captured for two years. His complexion, hair, and features were quite European; his eyes were of a bluish colour. We made him repeat various words of his language, some of which were Indian. The Kffirs live in a most barbarous state, eating bears and monkeys. There is a tribe of them called "Neemchu Moossilman," or half Mahommedans, who occupy the frontier villages between them and the Affghans, and transact the little trade that exist among them. It is curious to find a people so entirely distinct from the other inhabitants, and unfortunately every thing that regards them rests in obscurity.

* See Mr. Elphinstone's Cabool, vol. i p 244 et. seq

I have hereafter stated the particulars which I collected regarding the Kiffirs, whom I take to be the aborigines of Affghanistan, and in no wise connected with the reputed descendants of Alexander the Great, as has been stated by some authors.

We had passed nearly three weeks in Cabool; which appeared as a few days. It was now necessary to prepare for our journey, which seemed no easy matter. No caravan was yet ready; and it was even doubtful if the roads were passable, as snow had fallen during the month. It occurred to me that our best plan would be to hire a *Casila-bashee*, or one of the conductors of the great caravans, as one of our own servants; and we might thus proceed at once, without the delay attendant upon a caravan, and, I hoped, with equal safety. The Nawab did not altogether relish the plan, nor our precipitate departure. He would have willingly kept us for months. We, however, entertained one Hyat, a sturdy but hale old man, who had grown gray in crossing the Hindoo Koosh. When the Nawab found our determination to depart, he urged his relative, the Ameen ool Moolk, a nobleman of the late Shah Mahmood, who carries on commercial transactions with Bokhara and Russia, to despatch one of his trusty persons with us. It was therefore determined that a brother of his Nazir, or steward, named Doulut, a respectable Affghan, also styled the Nazir, should proceed with us. He had business in Bokhara, and was even going on to Russia: our movements expedited his departure. Every thing looked well, and we were furnished by the Nawab's kindness with letters to the Affghans in Bokhara. The most influential of these was Budr-oo-deen. His agent in Cabool, who brought me the letters, was resolved on being rewarded for doing so by an enjoyment of our society. His name was Khodadad, and he was a Moollah. He stopped and dined with us; but declared, that whatever might be our wisdom as a nation, we had no correct ideas of good living. He did not like our English fare, which was cooked with water, he said, and only fit for an invalid. Khodadad was a very intelligent man, who had travelled in India and Tartary, and was well read in Asiatic lore. He had also studied Euclid, whom his countryman, he said, nicknamed "Uql doozd," or wisdom-stealer, from the confusion which he had produced in men's heads. He was not fond of mathematics, and wished to know our motive for studying them: he had not heard that it improved the reasoning faculties; and only considered the persons versed in Euclid, as

deeper read than others. The chief also prepared his letters; but there is little communication between the Affghans and Uzbecks, and we found them of no service; that for the King of Bokhara was lost or stolen. One of Dost Mahommed Khan's court, however, the governor of Bameean, Hajee Kauker, furnished us with letters, which were of real use, as will afterwards appear. This man, though serving under the chief of Cabool, is more friendly to his brother of Peshawur, by whom we were introduced to him. I held my intercourse with him secret, and he tendered the services of fifty horsemen, which it was prudent to decline.

Before our departure from Cabool, I made the acquaintance of many of the Hindoo or Shikarporee merchants. The whole trade of Central Asia is in the hands of these people, who have houses of agency from Astracan and Meshid to Calcutta. They are a plodding race, who take no share in any other matters than their own, and secure protection from the Government by lending it money. They have a peculiar cast of countenance, with a very high nose: they dress very dirtily. Few of them are permitted to wear turbans. They never bring their families from their country, which is Upper Sindh, and are constantly passing to and from it; which keeps up a national spirit among them. In Cabool, there are eight great houses of agency belonging to these people, who are quite separate from the other Hindoo inhabitants. Of them, there are about three hundred families. I met one of these Shikarporee merchants on the Island of Kishan, in the Gulf of Persia; and were Hindoos tolerated in that country, I feel satisfied that they would pread all over Persia, and even Turkey.

With such an extensive agency distributed in the parts of Asia which we were now about to traverse, it was not, as may be supposed, a very difficult task to adjust our money matters, and arrange for our receiving a supply of that necessary article, even at the distance we should shortly find ourselves from India. Our expenses were small, and golden ducats were carefully sewed up in our belts and turbans, and sometimes even transferred to our slippers; though, as we had to leave them at the door of every house, I did not always approve of such stowage. I had a letter of credit in my possession for the sum of five thousand rupees, payable from the public treasuries of Lodiana or Delhi: and the Cabool merchants did not hesitate to accept

it. They expressed their readiness either to discharge it on the spot with gold, or give bills on Russia at St. Macaire (Nijnei Novgorod), Astracan, or at Bokhara, which I had no reason to question: I took orders on the latter city. The merchants enjoined the strictest secrecy; and their anxiety was not surpassed by that of our own to appear poor; for the possession of so much gold would have ill tallied with the coarse and tattered garments which we now wore. But what a gratifying proof have we here of the high character of our nation, to find the bills of those who almost appeared as beggars cashed, without hesitation, in a foreign and far distant capital. Above all, how much is our wonder excited to find the ramifications of commerce extending uninterruptedly over such vast and remote regions, differing as they do from each other in language, religion, manners, and laws.

Finis.